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## 61sT CONGRESS : : 2D SESSION 1909-1910

## SENATE DOCUMENTS

## VoL. 92



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| $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { 61st Congress } \\ \text { 2d Session }\end{array}\right\}$ | SENATE $\quad\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { Document } \\ \text { No. } 645\end{array}\right.$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| REPORT ON CONDITION <br> OF <br> WOMAN AND CHILD WAGE-EARNERS IN THE UNITED STATES <br> IN 19 VOLUMES <br> VOLUME VII: CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH CHILDREN LEAVE SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK <br> Prepared under the direction of <br> CHAS. P. NEILL <br> Commissioner of Labor |  |
|  | ASHINGTON <br> ENT PRINTING OFFICE $1910$ |

In the Senate of the United States, June 15, 1910.
Resolved, That the complete report on the condition of woman and child wage-earners in the United States, transmitted and to be transmitted by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor in response to the act approved January twenty-ninth, nineteen hundred and seven, entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to report upon the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States," be printed as a public document.

Charles G. Bennett,

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## LETTERS 0F TRANSMITTAL.

## Department of Commerce and Labor, Office of the Secretary, Washington, November 17, 1910.

Sir: In partial compliance with the Senate resolution of May 25, 1910, I beg to transmit herewith a report showing the results of an investigation into the conditions under which children leave school to go to work.

This report has just been completed, and is the seventh section available for transmission of the larger report on the investigation carried on in accordance with act of Congress approved January 29, 1907, which provided "That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to investigate and report on the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States wherever employed, with special reference to their age, hours of labor, term of employment, health, illiteracy, sanitary and other conditions surrounding their occupation, and the means employed for the protection of their health, persons, and morals."

The remaining parts of the general report are being completed as rapidly as possible and will each be transmitted at the earliest practicable moment.

Respectfully,

Charles Earl, Acting Secretary.

Hon. James S. Sherman, President of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

## Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Labor, Washington, November 17, 1910.

Sir: I beg to transmit herewith Volume VII of the report on woman and child wage-earners in the United States, which relates to the conditions under which children leave school to go to work in selected industrial communities. This is the seventh section transmitted of the report of the general investigation into the condition of woman and child workers in the United States, carried on in compliance with the act of Congress approved January 29, 1907.

The general conduct of the field work of the investigation of the conditions under which children leave school to go to work has been under the direction of Special Agent Edith Wilkinson. In the preparation of her report important assistance has been given by Miss Mary Conyngton. The general preparation of the report has been carried on under the direction and immediate supervision of Chas. H. Verrill.

I am, very respectfully,

Chas. P. Neill, Commissioner.

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, D. C.

INTRODUCTION.


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## INTRODUCTION.

The main part of this report consists of an intensive, though by no means an exhaustive, study of 622 children in seven different localities, taken from two northern and two southern States. To this is appended a more general study of certain features of the schools attended by these children. No attempt is made to do more than present in the simplest way possible the facts that were ascertained, leaving to others the important office of pointing out what should be the practical outcome of the investigation.

The plan adopted includes a study of conditions classified as domestic, educational, industrial, legal, social, and hygienic. These conditions are studied with a view to discovering answers to the following general questions:

How many children in the selected industrıal communities are leaving school to go to work?

Are their numbers increasing or decreasing?
What sort of children are they, and from what sort of homes do they come?

What sort of schools have they attended, and what has been their school experience?

What are the causes of their leaving school?
What legal regulations are there of the conditions under which they leave school, the conditions under which they enter the world of work, and the conditions under which they continue to work?

What educational, social, and recreational opportunities do they have after leaving day school, and how far do they make use of them?

What has been so far the industrial experience of the selected children?

What, so far as can be learned from the experience of the older members of the families, and from the expressed judgments of the children's employers, are their industrial prospects, and how are these prospects likely to be affected by the conditions under which they begin their industrial life?

## SELECTION OF PLACES FOR THE INVESTIGATION.

As the scope of the study was necessarily limited, the selection of places was of much importance. Industrial and educational opportunities alike had to be taken into consideration in order to secure localities that should be representative. Educators, employers, and
others interested were consulted, and four States finally selected, ranking, according to their employment of children, as shown by the census of 1900 , as follows: ${ }^{a}$

## RHODE ISLAND.

First in rank in per cent of boys ( 10 to 15 ) at work, 22.1. ${ }^{\text {b }}$
First in rank in per cent of girls ( 10 to 15 ) at work, 17.3. ${ }^{\text {b }}$
First in rank in per cent of boys (12) at work, 9.8. ${ }^{\text {c }}$
First in rank in per cent of boys (13) at work, 19.6. ${ }^{\circ}$
First in rank in per cent of girls (13) at work, 14.7. ${ }^{d}$

## PENNSYLVANIA.

First in rank in number of boys ( 10 to 15 ) at work, $65,592 .{ }^{\text {b }}$
Second in rank in number of girls (10 to 15) at work, 35,626 (New York first). ${ }^{\text {b }}$

First in rank in number of children ( 10 to 15) among States where the greatest number work in places of less than 50,000 population (59,153 in small places; 42,065 in large places). ${ }^{e}$

First in rank in number of boys (11) at work, $1,946 .^{\text {c }}$
Fourth in rank in number of girls (11) at work, 920 (North Carolina first, South Carolina second, Georgia third). ${ }^{d}$

First in rank in number of children (12 and 13) at work, 23,966. $\boldsymbol{f}$
Second in rank in per cent of boys ( 10 to 15 ) at work, 17.5 (Rhode Island 22.1).c

Second in rank in per cent of boys (13) at work, 18.3 (Rhode Island 19.6). ${ }^{\text {c }}$

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Third in rank in number of boys (10) at work, 1,082 (North Carolina first, Georgia second). ${ }^{\text {e }}$

Second in rank in number of girls (10) at work. 1,066 (North Carolina first). ${ }^{d}$

Fourth in rank in number of boys (11) at work, 1,155 (Pennsylvania first, North Carolina second, Georgia third). ${ }^{\text {c }}$

Second in rank in number of girls (11) at work, 1,048 (North Carolina first). ${ }^{d}$

[^0]Second in rank in per cent of boys (10) at work, 5.4 (North Carolina 5.5). ${ }^{a}$

First in rank in per cent of girls (10) at work, 5.6. ${ }^{\text {b }}$
First in rank in per cent of boys (11) at work, 7.2. ${ }^{\circ}$
First in rank in per cent of girls (11) at work, 6.8. ${ }^{b}$
Third in rank in per cent of boys (12) at work, 8.4 (Rhode Island 9.8, North Carolina 9.5). ${ }^{\text {a }}$

First in rank in per cent of girls (12) at work, 8.6. ${ }^{\text {b }}$
Fourth in rank in per cent of illiteracy of native white children (10 to 14), 14.8 (North Carolina 16.6, Louisiana 16.1, Alabama 15.3).c

Second from foot in rank in per cent of children (10 to 14) at school, 52.1 (Louisiana 50.5). ${ }^{\text {d }}$

## GEORGIA.

Second in rank in number of boys (10) at work, 1,148 (North Carolina first). ${ }^{a}$

Third in rank in number of girls (10) at work, 974 (North Carolina first, South Carolina second). ${ }^{b}$

Third in rank in number of boys (11) at work, 1,291 (Pennsylvania first, North Carolina second).a

Third ịn rank in number of girls (11) at work, 997 (North Carolina first, South Carolina second). ${ }^{b}$

Third in rank in per cent of boys (10) at work, 3.6 (North Carolina 5.5, South Carolina 5.4). ${ }^{a}$

Third in rank in per cent of girls (10) at work, 3.2 (South Carolina 5.6, North Carolina 4.7). ${ }^{\text {b }}$

Fourth in rank in per cent of boys (11) at work, 4.9 (South Carolina 7.2, North Carolina 6.7, Virginia 5.1). ${ }^{a}$

Third in rank in per cent of girls (11) at work, 3.8 (South Carolina 6.8, North Carolina 6.3). ${ }^{\text {b }}$

Seventh in rank in illiteracy of native white children (10 to 14), 10.4 (North Carolina 16.6, Louisiana, 16.1, Alabama 15.3, South Carolina 14.8, Tennessee 11.6, Arkansas 11.1). ${ }^{\text {c }}$

Fourth from foot in rank in per cent of children (10 to 14) at school, 58.2 (Louisiana 50.5, South Carolina 52.1, Alabama 54.5). ${ }^{\text {d }}$

Rhode Island.-Providence, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket are the chief industrial centers, no others having as many children at work. Providence was too large, for to visit each of the 102 schoolhouses, as the plan would have required, would consume too much time in proportion to the number of schedules obtained. Pawtucket and Woonsocket were of a manageable size, and, according to the Census of Manufactures of 1905 , each had a larger percentage of children at

[^1]work than Providence. In the percentage of average attendance at public day school for $1905-6,{ }^{a}$ based on the total population according to census estimate for 1905, Pawtucket and Woonsocket exhibited an interesting contrast, while their industrial conditions appeared very similar. Pawtucket had a percentage of 11.4, Woonsocket had a percentage of 8.5 . These two places were chosen for Rhode Island.

Pennsylvania.-The greater bulk of child labor in this State is in the smaller cities and boroughs. Therefore, a list was made of all cities or boroughs in the State whose population in 1900 was over 10,000 and under 20,000 and in whose manufacturing industries, according to the Census of Manufactures, 1905, 100 or more children were employed. These places were Pottsville, Hazleton, Pottstown, Plymouth, Carbondale, South Bethlehem, Dunmore, Columbia, and Beaver Falls. From this list Pottstown was cut out, because there appeared to be scarcely any industry there in which child labor was typical. For those that remained, except South Bethlehem, the percentage was found of average daily attendance in public day schools for $1905-6^{a}$ based on the total population, according to the census estimate for 1905. For South Bethlehem the average daily attendance was not reported. Plymouth had the lowest percentage of school attendance, 11.9 per cent, and Hazleton had the highest, 16.3 per cent. For this reason, these two places were chosen for Pennsylvania. It happened that they were both in Luzerne County, in the anthracite coal fields, and only about an hour's trolley ride distant from each other.

South Carolina.-The basis of selection consisted of the three cities of the State whose population in 1900 was over 8,000 and under 50,000 . These were as follows:

POPULATION OF CITIES SELECTED FOR THE INVESTIGATION IN SOUTII CAROLINA AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT WORK IN MANUFACTURES.

|  | City. | Population, 1900. | Children at work in manufactures, 1905. | Per cent of children at work of population, 1900. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Columbia. |  | 21,108 | 333 | 1.6 |
| Greenville. |  | 11,860 | 168 | 1.4 |
| Spartanburg. |  | 11,395 | 322 | 2.9 |

Columbia was chosen as having the greatest number of children at work, and as representing probably a greater variety of occupations for children than either of the other cities which are known chiefly as textile centers.

[^2]Georgia.-The basis of selection consisted of the only three cities of the State whose population in 1900 was over 8,000 and under 50,000 , where over 35 children were employed in manufactures (according to the Census of Manufactures, 1905). These were as follows:

POPULATION OF CITIES SELECTED FOR THE INVESTIGATION IN GEORGIA AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT WORK IN MANUFACTURES.

|  | City. | Population, 1900. | Children at work in manufactures, 1905. | Per cent of children at work of population, 1900. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Augusta |  | 39,441 | 423 | 1.1 |
| Macon... |  | 23,272 | 349 | 1.5 |
| Columbus |  | 17,614 | 357 | 2.0 |

Columbus was chosen as having the largest percentage of children at work and as offering an opportunity to study some interesting experiments in industrial education.

The following table shows the cities selected, together with the population of each, the number of manufacturing establishments and of men, women, and children employed, as given by the Census of Manufactures, 1905, and the per cent of average attendance at public day schools, 1905-6:

POPULATION, NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS, NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN AT WORK AND AT SCHOOL OF TOTAL POPULATION, IN CITIES SELECTED FOR THE INVESTIGATION.

| Cities. | Population. |  | Manufacturing establishments, 1905. |  |  |  | Per cent of children at work of population,1905. | Per cent of average attendance at public day school, 1905-6, of population. ${ }^{2}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & 1900 \\ & \text { U.S. } \\ & \text { Census. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1905 \\ \text { U.S. } \\ \text { Census } \\ \text { estimate. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | Employees. |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | Men, 16 and over. | Women, 16 and over. | Children, under 16. |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 39,231 | 43,381 | 186 | 6,504 | 4,780 | 770 | 1.8 | 11.4 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 28,204 | 32, 196 | 103 | 5,195 | 2,881 | 596 | 1.9 | 8.5 |
| Columbus, Ga.. | 17,614 | 17,769 | 52 | 3,013 | 1,064 | 357 | 2.0 | 15.8 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 21, 108 | 23,988 | 41 | 1,682 | 378 | 333 | 1.4 | 9.5 |
| Plymouth, Pa . | 13,649 | 15,804 | 25 | 145 | 643 | 184 | 1.2 | 11.9 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 14,230 | 15,533 | 62 | 611 | 666 | 129 | 1.8 | 16.3 |

a Report of Bureau of Education.
To these were added later, grouped under the title of "Georgia and Alabama counties," the environs of Columbus, industrially a part of the city, but politically and educationally outside the city limits, and in one direction outside the State. These were Phoenix, Ala., with a population in 1900 of 4,163 , Girard, Ala., with a population of 3,840 , and North Highlands (often called Bibb City), with a population locally estimated at about 500 .

This gave seven localities, each with racial, industrial, legal, educational, or social characteristics of its own.

## PLAN AND SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

The sources of information were schools, homes, employers, and miscellaneous authorities. First there were secured from the school authorities in each city visited a complete list of all the children who had left school to go to work between certain specified dates, together with information as to each child's name, address, age, date of leaving school, grade last attended, parent's name and occupation, the teacher's estimate of the child's general capacity, scholarship, deportment, general characteristics, and the reason why he left school.

The home was then visited, and certain information secured as to-
Nativity and race of parents and child.
Industrial history of each member of family.
Family and individual finances.
Housing conditions.
Attitude of child and parents toward school.
Attitude of child and parents toward manual, industrial, or trade training.

Ability and willingness of parents to keep child in school longer.
Instruction outside of regular schooling.
Personal traits of child.
Reasons why child left school.
Vacation work.
Method of securing work.
Effect of work on home behavior of child.
Health of child and of others in family at time of going to work and at date of visit.

Child's ambition and parent's ambition for him.
Child's use of leisure time.
Child's attitude toward evening schools and other educational opportunities and his use of them.

Illegal employment and illegal absence from school.
Conditions of employment that ought to be illegal, but at date of visit were not.

The employers of the children were next visited, and information secured from their point of view as to-

Characteristics of children employed.
Opportunities for advancement of the children.
Educational needs of the industry.
Sources of supply for the different grades of skill required and number of employees of each grade, with wages.

School statistics were then to be obtained in each place visited, showing enrollment and attendance by grade, by age, and by sex for the years 1905-6 and 1906-7; showing also the number of children leaving school for all causes by grade, by age, and by sex for the
years 1905-6 and 1906-7; and showing also the number of grammar school graduates by age and by sex for the same years.

Hearty cooperation from schools, from homes, and from employers was the rule; distrust or resentment was the exception and was generally soon overcome when met. As soon as the task of selecting the children was undertaken in each place, problems of definition promptly presented themselves.

Who are meant by "children?"
What is meant by "school?"
What is meant by "leaving school"?
What is meant by "work ?"
The arbitrary age limit attaching to the term "children" was adopted and none called "children" who had attained the age of 16. In the South, the inquiry was limited to white children.

As to schools, it was necessary to decide whether the inquiry should be limited to public schools, and whether it should be extended to high schools or confined to the elementary grades.

It was decided to limit the inquiry to public and parochial schools, it apparently being necessary to include the latter because of the large number of children who had attended such schools in some of the localities studied. For several reasons it was considered better not to extend the investigation to children leaving high school to go to work. The great and significant drop in school attendance comes before the high school is reached, and those leaving it would probably represent a quite different class from those going from the lower grades.

In connection with the third problem-what is meant by "leaving school"?-several perplexing situations were found. A child graduates from the elementary school, for instance, and feels that he has completed his education. There may be no reason why he should not go on, but the idea of doing so has never formed any part of his plans. A girl of 8 is found working in the cotton mills from 6 to 8 a. m. and 1 to $6 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., attending school from 9 to 12 ; is she to be considered as having left school to work, or are the three hours at school to constitute her a pupil instead of a working child, in spite of the eight hours in the mills? In some places in the South it seems the family custom to alternate school attendance between two children, one working while the other goes to school, the children exchanging their rôles at certain intervals. Should the one who happens to be at work at a given time be considered as having left school?

In regard to the fourth problem-what is meant by going to work :some complexities appear. Is a girl at work who merely helps her mother in keeping the house? When a child helps its parents, irregularly, about a little store or a fruit stand, is it working? What of the children who are kept out of school to "tote dinners," and do no
other work? Such problems varied from place to place according to local circumstances and customs.

As the value of the investigation depends largely upon the representative character of the group of children investigated in each case, it seems well to give a rather full description of each place visited and of the method of procedure adopted in each.

## PAWTUCKET, R. I.

The Rhode Island bureau of industrial statistics, in the annual report for 1906, gives the following description of Pawtucket:

Pawtucket is the second city in Providence County and in Rhode Island. It had a population of 43,381 in 1905; a gain of over 33 per cent in ten years. * * * Measured by the diversity of its industry, Pawtucket probably exceeds any city of its size in the country-perhaps in the world. There may be other cities of its size which exceed it in volume of business or in the value of their products, but they are more dependent upon special lines-upon the manufacture of cotton or woolen goods, boots and shoes, steel or foundry products, or some other one line. Brockton, Haverhill, and McKeesport, cities of about Pawtucket's population, each and all surpass it in the value of their products of manufacture, but in each case they depend almost wholly upon one line of industry. Pawtucket has about 200 industries, and its largest, that of cotton manufacture, contributes only about one-fifth of the value of its total manufactured products. And yet, it is doubtful if there are more than half a dozen cities in the country that exceed Pawtucket in the value of their cotton manufactures. This city is also a large manufacturer of worsted goods and of foundry and machine shop products. Pawtucket has to-day the largest thread mill in the country and one of the largest in the world. ${ }^{a}$

The work began in Pawtucket in December, 1907, the first list of names being secured from the stubs of the employment certificates issued by the truant officer. These stubs contained data as to the age, proof of age, birthplace, etc., of the applicant.

During the calendar year 1907 there were granted in Pawtucket 771 age and employment certificates. Many of these were to children who had previously been at work under the age of 14 years, as permitted by the law in force up to January 1, 1907, but who had been compelled under the provisions of a new law to return to school and wait until their fourteenth birthday before going to work again. These "old certificate cases" had left school the first time considerably before the period this study was intended to cover, and the conditions which brought them back to school and necessitated a second leaving were so unusual and so unlikely to recur that it did not seem worth while to study these cases in detail. They were omitted from the investigation, therefore, but in estimating the number of children

[^3]leaving school to go to work within the selected period they should be considered. It is worth noting that of the 462 children whose schools were designated in the certificate stubs 137 , or 29.7 per cent, were from parochial schools.

As mentioned before, it was thought best to confine the study to those children who left school before completing the grammar grades, or, in other words, before finishing the work of the elementary school. No high-school pupils were taken, and no grammar-school graduates.

As it was impossible to study the whole number who received certificates during 1907, a selection became necessary. If a period too recent should be selected, the children would not have had much industrial experience since leaving school; while if the period should be too remote, it would be harder to find the children and harder to secure information about them from their teachers.

The distribution of the 771 certificates issued throughout the year was as follows:

| January | 113 | August | 51 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| February | 50 | September. | 76 |
| March. | 42 | October | 44 |
| April. | 65 | November.. | 39 |
| May | 46 | December | 51 |
| June. | 106 | Total | 771 |
| July | 88 | Total | 771 |

April, May, June, and July were chosen, giving a list of 305 names to begin with.

Lists of these names were then sent to the different public and parochial schools, with a request for any additional names of children who left school to go to work during April, May, and June, 1907. As a result of this request, 62 additional names were secured, making a total of 367 .

From these were deducted all "old certificate" cases, grammar school graduates, high-school pupils, children who had worked only in vacation, and those who had died, or moved away from the city, or for any other reason could not be included. These various classes included 264 , leaving a total of 103 children, 59 boys and 44 girls, for whom full home schedules were secured.

Afterwards 23 of their employers were visited, covering establishments where 71 of the children were employed. Only 21 employers' schedules were secured in full, the other two establishments being so small that most of the questions were inapplicable.

Meantime, visits were made to the schools, both day and night, parochial and public, and observations of the teaching and the general conditions recorded. Additional information was obtained from the teachers in regard to the children, as to their natural capacity, scholarship, deportment, and other matters indicated on the printed form. One hundred and five teachers were seen in Pawtucket.

## WOONSOCKET, R. I.

The Rhode Island bureau of industrial statistics in part 3 of the annual report for 1906 gives the following description of Woonsocket:

Woonsocket is one of the liveliest manufacturing cities in the country. It had a population of 32,196 in 1905, and is adding to its numbers at the rate of about a thousand a year. More than one-fifth of the population, counting men, women, and children, are employed in the textile mills, and while the textile workers are in the majority, other large interests are well represented. Woonsocket has 14 factories which make woolen or worsted goods or yarns; eight cotton goods or cotton yarn mills; three handkerchief factories; four which turn out knit goods; a silk mill, and manufactories of paper tubes, clothes wringers, carriages, confectionery, foundry products, paper boxes, cigars, lumber, sash, etc., bread and pastry, top-roll coverers, tin goods, tapes, and bindings, fiber spools, soap, poultry food, saddlery goods, machinery, tools and mechanical specialties, cotton and woolen machinery, rubber shoes and arctics, shuttles, and dyeing and bleaching products. Woonsocket is formed from a cluster of mill villages on both sides of the Blackstone, which has gradually grown together. About half of its population is of Canadian French extraction. ${ }^{a}$

The method of procedure was practically the same to begin with as it had been in Pawtucket. During the year under consideration 648 age and employment certificates were granted, distributed as follows:

| January | 51 | August | 60 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| February | 33 | September. | 60 |
| March. | 45 | October. | 60 |
| April. | 76 | November. | 33 |
| May. | 57 | December. | 20 |
| June... | 52 | Tota | 648 |
| July.. | 101 | Total | 648 |

The same period was chosen for Woonsocket as for Pawtucket; namely, April, May, June, and July, giving a list of 286 names to begin with. This list was supplemented by 110 additional names secured directly from the teachers, giving a total list of 396 children. Making deductions for the same reasons as in Pawtucket, 175 were left, 99 girls and 76 boys, for whom full home schedules were serured. Afterwards 22 of their employers were visited, covering establishments where 113 of the children were employed; 21 employers' schedules were secured. Visits were made to the schools, as in Pawtucket, with similar results. Ninety-five teachers were seen in Woonsocket.

The teachers' lists as checked up by the lists from the certificate stubs did not seem to be as nearly complete as could be desired, and, moreover, reports were reaching the agents from school officials and

[^4]from mothers in the homes visited, that there were many children in Woonsocket working under the legal age. The methods of work hitherto pursued were not calculated to discover these children if there were any such. If they had obtained certificates, they must have falsified their age, and would doubtless give the same false age when the homes were visited, so that the certificate list would not serve to bring them to light. The teachers' lists would not be likely to include them, because those who were under legal age would not dare to tell the teacher that they were going to work. They might do one of two things: They might say that they were going to move out of town, and might indeed move to another quarter of the city and be lost to the view of the school officials until the next school census; or they might say that they were going to the French or other parochial school. Such a case as the former was actually found among the girls, one of whom was said by the teacher to have left because "she was to move to Providence." She had not returned to school, and the teacher thought she was not 14 . It was found by the agents that she did not move to Providence. Such a case as the latter was actually observed by one of the school principals, who found that a child had been illegally out of school for several months, and in consequence of her having made such a statement as above suggested, to her teacher, no report of her absence had been made to the truant officer. After this occurrence, this principal made it an invariable rule to report the case to the truant officer at once whenever a pupil said he was going to attend a parochial school. If, however, a child should actually attend the parochial school for a short period and then make a statement to his teacher that he was going to return to the public school, he might slip out of school attendance altogether and be able to get in several months of work before discovery.

It seemed desirable to make a test and see, if possible, how much of this sort of thing was going on. A selection was made of one of the largest elementary schools in the city (enrollment during 1906-7, 428), situated in a factory neighborhood, which was attended for the most part by children of working people, many of whom were of French Canadian parentage.

The teachers' registers were examined for April, May, and June, 1907, and the names noted of all children from 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive, who had left the school, for any reason whatever, and whose names did not reappear in the books for September, 1907, including the names of all children 10 to 13 years of age who stayed until the end of June and who were not found registered in September, 1907. There were 54 such children. All of these were looked up by visiting their homes when they could be found, by inquiring of the teachers of the schools where some of them were said to be, or inquiring of the post-
office authorities, or of their former neighbors and others, in cases where they had actually moved away. The net result of this inquiry was as follows:

Clear cases of illegal absence from school............................................... 1
Perhaps moved out of town, perhaps in French school (conflicting testimony). 9
The others either had moved out of town, were attending other schools, or had become of the proper age, and had obtained certificates to work. The results obtained from this school did not seem to warrant further inquiry along this line.

## COLUMBUS, GA., AND ENVIRONS.

The Columbus Board of Trade publishes a booklet from which the following extracts are taken:

Fourteen cotton and woolen mills are at present being operated by seven corporations. Outside of the cotton mill interests, there are many other industrial plants, including two large clothing manufacturing establishments; barrel and paper-box factories; three cotton compresses; cotton-seed oil mills; two large iron foundries; four ice factories; plow factories; fertilizer manufactories; three hosiery plants; one very extensive wagon and buggy factory; three candy factories and syrup refineries; four large brick plants, making building and fire clays of excellent quality; and numerous other minor industries incident to a manufacturing center. Three companies operate five steamers regularly between this point and Apalachicola. At present seven railroads center here, operated by three of the great Southern trunk lines.

For many years Columbus has enjoyed the advantage of a most excellent graded school system.

The population of the city of Columbus and its immediate suburbs, according to the city directory census of 1906 , is 38,415 .
Columbus was the first southern city visited, and the method of procedure contained two new features.

In order to make sure that the list of children leaving school to go to work was reasonably complete, a plan was adopted similar to the special plan used in Woonsocket in connection with one of the schools there. That is, if any child after leaving school either before or at the end of the term failed to return to that same school the following September, he was looked up, and if he was not actually found in another school by one of the agents his home was visited. No evidence was accepted as to his being in school, except the word or the record of his present teacher, unless it was found, beyond doubt, that he had moved out of town.

Every white schoolroom (above kindergarten and below high school) in the city and in three county schools just outside the city was visited by one particular agent, and the children in attendance. were asked how many had ever worked in mills or factories. Those
who indicated that they had, 206 in number, were asked several questions each, as to present age, age at beginning work, length of time worked, preference of school or work, reasons for liking work, fatigue in work, etc. The results of this inquiry will be given later.

In Columbus there was no employment certificate system such as was found in Rhode Island, there being no truant officer, and indeed no compulsory school attendance law. The ordinary school records were therefore the only source of the school list.

The following shows the distribution of the 128 cases of white pupils who left public school to go to work throughout the year 1907, according to the records in the superintendent's office:

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

(Not including secondary industrial school.)
Month ending-
January 18 ..... 19
February 15 ..... 7
March 15 ..... 15
April 12 ..... 19
May 10 ..... 20
June 7 ..... 26
October 15 ..... 2
November 15 ..... 9
December 13 ..... 7
Total ..... 124
SECONDARY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.
Month ending-
July 31. ..... 1
October 31 ..... 2
November 30 ..... None.
December 20 ..... 1
Total ..... 4
Grand total ..... 128

During the same time, 82 colored pupils left school to go to work, but these were not studied.

The four school months ending June 7, 1907, were chosen as the period for study, giving a list of 80 children to start with. This list was largely supplemented by additional information from the teachers themselves, and included all who left school in June and did not return in September. There was one Catholic academy in Columbus, with about 125 pupils, which was also visited, and which furnished a list of five names, from which four schedules were obtained.

No deductions were made in Columbus, or in any of the places subsequently visited, on the ground that the children had previously been at work and had returned to school and were not now leaving school for the first time. For in the three southern places it was so much the custom for children to alternate work and school that
such cases were considered representative of fairly permanent and not merely transitional conditions. There was no progressive advance in the legal age limit, as in Rhode Island, or other change going on such as to cause any unusual number of such cases.

In all the names of 240 children leaving school in Columbus were obtained. Making the usual deductions of those not falling within the scope of the investigation, there remained 77 children, 51 boys and 26 girls, for whom schedules were obtained.

In three county schools, two of which were across the river in Phoenix and Girard, Ala. (mill villages from which most of the people came to Columbus to work), and one just north of the city, in North Highlands, otherwise "Bibb City," another mill village, a different period of time had to be chosen because the teachers no longer had in their possession the records of the previous year. The visits being made in March, 1908, a list was secured of all children who had left school to go to work during the current year to date. These "Georgia and Alabama counties" cases included 91 names, of which, after the usual deductions had been made, there remained the names of 39 boys and 21 girls for whom schedules were obtained. Fourteen employers were visited, covering establishments where 75 of the children were employed, and 14 employers' schedules were filled out. Sixty-nine teachers were seen in Columbus and vicinity.

## COLUMBIA, S. C.

The Handbook of South Carolina, issued by the state department of agriculture, commerce, and immigration in 1907 (p.560), gives the following facts in regard to Columbia:

Among the [eight] cotton mills of Columbia is the Olympia, the largest cotton mill under one roof in the world. Two hosiery mills consuming 1,000 bales of cotton annually. Among the diversified manufacturing plants may be named: A modern glass factory employing 240 men and manufacturing an annual output worth $\$ 220,000$; a distillery, capitalized at $\$ 100,000$; six lumber manufacturing plants with an estimated output of a half million dollars; three fertilizer factories with an annual output of $\$ 900,000$; three cotton-oil mills with an annual output of over $\$ 1,000,000$; four large foundries and machine shops; one mattress factory; one cotton compress; three large bonded warehouses of the Standard Warehouse Company with a storage capacity of 60,000 bales; four extensive rock quarries; three large brick manufacturing plants; two thoroughly large modern ice-manufacturing plants; one press-cloth factory; one soap factory; one carriage factory; one modernly equipped factory for the manufacture of aseptic gauzes and chemicals; a large and modern gas works; one paint factory; one shirt factory; one large Coca-Cola plant; several mineral spring and bottling plants; two cattle yards; several large cattle and poultry farms; two well-equipped and prosperous greenhouses; one large electric-power station (water), developing at full capacity 12,000 horsepower, current sold and transmitted to any point; one large
electric-power station, steam driven, developing 6,000 horsepower; two daily newspapers, morning and afternoon, respectively; three large printing and bookbinding plants.

Practically the same method of procedure was followed in Columbia as in Columbus. The agents themselves personally went over the teachers' registers with the teachers, and inquired about every child who was recorded as having left school, including in the list for investigation every case that seemed at all doubtful. The same period of time was selected as in Columbus, namely, the last four months of the school term ending June, 1907, and the summer vacation. The one parochial school was visited, and furnished a list of five names, from which four schedules were secured. The final list for Columbia contained 128 names. After the usual deductions were made there remained 62 children, 41 boys and 21 girls, for whom home schedules were obtained. Fourteen employers of 43 of the children were visited and 7 employers' schedules filled out. Forty teachers were seen in Columbia.

## PLYMOUTH, PA.

Plymouth is a coal-mining town (estimated population, 1905, $15,804)$, just across the Susquehanna River from Wilkes-Barre. It was settled in 1768 by colonists from Connecticut. It extends about two miles along the river, and with its rocky, gullied streets straggles about a mile up the steep hill that rises almost from the water's edge. The borough itself contains five coal breakers, while just outside the borough limits, in Plymouth township, are nine others. Besides the mining industry, there are in the borough and vicinity two knitting mills, two silk mills, two squib factories, two planing mills, one paperbox factory, four mining-drill shops, and other miscellaneous industries. Racially the population is exceedingly mixed.

Besides the public schools, there are three parochial schools, one Polish with 120 pupils, one Slovak with 161 pupils, and one American with 345 pupils.

The plan of procedure here was nearly the same as in the other cities, except that, for lack of time, no lists were taken from the parochial schools. Visits were made to these schools, however, and it was ascertained that during the selected period of time 23 children had left the parochial schools to go to work. The period of time selected was, as before, the last four months of the school year 1906-7, which ended in May that year, and the summer vacation. The list for Plymouth contained 104 names. After making the usual deductions, there remained 84 children, 51 boys and 33 girls, for whom home schedules were obtained.

All the public schoolrooms were visited and the children asked how many had ever worked in breakers, mills, or factories. The 13
employers of 63 children were visited, and 12 employers' schedules were obtained. Fifty-seven teachers were seen in Plymouth. An unexpected feature of the situation in Plymouth was the large number of children between 8 and 14, inclusive, who were neither attending school nor working. Some indication of the extent of this practice was shown by an inquiry on this point made in the schoolrooms. The pupils (aided by the teachers) were able to report offhand 54 children (mostly mentioned by name) between 8 and 14 years of age, inclusive, who were neither in school nor at work.

## HAZLETON, PA.

Hazleton is in the heart of the anthracite coal fields. It is only about an hour's ride by electric railway from Plymouth, but a greater contrast could hardly be imagined. It is a clean, prosperouslooking place, with broad, well-kept and well-shaded streets, and every evidence of civic pride and vitality. Its population, according to the census estimate of 1905 , was 15,533 , a little smaller than that of Plymouth, but it now has the appearance of a much larger place. The Hazleton Board of Trade claims a population of 60,000 people within a radius of 5 miles. In the vicinity of the city are 94 coal mines and 24 collieries, employing 11,646 persons. Besides the mining industry, there are two shirt factories, two knitting mills, one silk mill, one flag and badge factory, three iron and steel works, and one planing mill.

The population is largely German and German-American (not Pennsylvania Dutch), with a later infusion of Slavic and Italian immigrants.

The procedure here was the same as in Plymouth. The last four school months of the term ending June, 1907, and the summer vacation constituted the selected period of time. The three parochial schools were visited, though no lists were taken. From the three 20 children were said to have left to go to work during the selected period. From the public schools 72 names were obtained. After making the usual deductions there remained the names of 36 boys and 25 girls, for whom home schedules were obtained. Eight employers of 27 of these children were visited and eight employers' schedules secured. Sixty-three teachers were seen in Hazleton. ${ }^{a}$ There were in Hazleton, as in Plymouth, many children between 8

[^5]and 15 , inclusive, who were neither at work nor at school. Seventytwo such cases were reported to the agent by the school children.

Throughout this work of collecting data, parents, teachers, employers, and others visited showed themselves almost without exception friendly and helpful. In nearly one-third of the cases studied (205) the child himself was seen.

In order to compare the different localities studied the following table has been prepared, setting forth in detail the facts secured from each place visited:

TABLE 1.-NUMBER OF NAMES OF CHILDREN SECURED, NUMBER OF CHILDREN STUDIED, AND DEDUCTIONS MADE FROM NUMBER OF CHILDRENLEAVING SCHOOL FOR WORK, BY LOCALITY.

|  | Pawtucket, R. I. | Woonsocket, R. I. | Columbus, Ga. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Colum- } \\ & \text { bia, } \\ & \text { S. C. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ply- } \\ & \text { mouth, } \\ & \text { Pa. } \end{aligned}$ | Hazleton, Pa . | Georgia and Alabama counties. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total names secured. | 367 | 396 | 240 | 128 | 104 | 72 | 91 | 1,398 |
| Deductions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Old certificate" cases. | 130 | 80 |  |  |  |  |  | 210 |
| Over 16 at leaving school. | 7 | 11 | 18 | 3 |  |  | 2 | 41 |
| High-school pupils....... | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |
| Grammar-school graduates... | 29 | 10 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 40 |
| Returned to school without working. |  | 2 | 75 | 1 |  |  | 8 | 86 |
| Worked only in vacation........... | 72 | 32 | 3 |  | 7 | 1 |  | 115 |
| Did not work. ............ | 6 | 13 | 18 | 31 | 11 | 7 | 14 | 100 |
| Worked previously abroad....... | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| Left school before specified period. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  | 5 |
| Sent to reform school............... | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| Died. | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| Moved away from locality | 10 | 31 | 35 | 21 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 107 |
| Could not be located. | 1 | 14 | 10 |  |  |  | 1 | 26 |
| Duplications or miscellaneous. |  | 27 |  | 9 |  |  | 1 | 37 |
| Total. | 264 | 221 | 163 | 66 | 20 | 11 | 31 | 776 |
| Number studied: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 59 | 76 | 51 | 41 | 51 | - 36 | 39 | 353 |
| Girls. | 44 | 99 | 26 | 21 | -33 | 25 | 21 | 269 |
| Total. | 103 | 175 | 77 | 62 | 84 | 61 | 60 | 622 |
| Schoolrooms visited. | 71 | 61 | 42 | 31 | 42 | 58 | 11 | 316 |
| Employers' schedules secured | 21 | 21 | 14 | 7 | 12 | 8 |  | 83 |

## METHOD OF HANDLING THE MATERIAL OF THE INVESTIGATION.

Before beginning the discussion of the material accumulated, it may be worth while to give a brief account of the methods of tabulating certain data.

Beginning with the facts concerning race, it was found that the number of races represented varied from 12 in Pawtucket to 5 in the southern towns. Since some of the races were very scantily represented, it seemed best to group the families, according to the race of the father, under four heads, as American, other English-speaking, predominant foreign race, and other. In the South there were so few of foreign race that it did not seem worth while to segregate them except in a few tables, as "American" and "Other."

The "predominant foreign race" in Pawtucket and Woonsocket was French Canadian; in Plymouth, Slavic (including Russian, Polish, Slovak, and Lithuanian) ; and in Hazleton, German.

The purpose of investigating financial conditions was, of course, to throw light on the question whether the families could have kept the children at school longer. A number of questions of definition presented themselves in this connection, answers to which are found in the following statements:

1. Only members of the family living at home were considered.
2. Married sons and daughters at home were counted as "outside boarders and lodgers," not as "members of family."
3. The family fund was regarded in two aspects-earnings and income. The "family earnings" were the sum of the full earnings of all the members of the family living at home. It was found by ascertaining for each member the rate of wages throughout the year, with the number of days worked at each rate, and adding the earnings thus obtained. To this were added profits from sources other than earnings (such as boarders, gardens, domestic animals, etc.). The family income was made up of the amounts actually contributed by the different members for family use, plus such of the profits from other sources as were turned in for family use. The full earnings of fathers and mothers were always considered as belonging to the family fund.
4. In obtaining per capita earnings and per capita income two different counts of the number of members in a family were made. For per capita earnings the number included all the earning members, plus any nonearning members for whom the earnings were expended. For per capita income the number included only those of the earning members who were not counted as boarders, plus any nonearning members for whom the income was expended, this latter group being designated as "spending members."
5. The net income from gardens, domestic animals, and rents was always used.
6. The income from boarders is also net. To find it $\$ 1.50$ a week was taken as a rough estimate of the cost of food for each boarder, and that sum was deducted from the gross receipts before making the addition to the family earnings or income. ${ }^{a}$
7. If a person was a member of a family as wage-earner, or boarder and lodger, or dependent, for the greater part of a year, his earnings for that time were counted in the family earnings, and his contribution was counted in the family income, and he was counted in the total members and in the number of spenders. If he was a member of the

[^6]family the smaller part of the year his earnings were not counted in the family earnings nor was he reckoned as a member of the family group. Any contribution he made then was counted as "income from other than regular sources."
8. Per capita earnings and per capita income were calculated both for the year and for the week. The year was the one ending at the date of the visit. For earnings the week was either (1) the current week at date of visit (used only in Table 32), or (2) the average week derived from the year by using 52 as a divisor. In the case of income the average week was always used.
9. The average weekly income was computed in five different ways, according to the nature of the expenditure in relation to which it was desired to measure the family's financial ability. The methods were as follows:
(a) Without any deduction.
(b) Deducting rent or taxes.
(c) Deducting rent or taxes and income from children under 14.
(d) Deducting rent or taxes and income from all children under 16. (This method is often designated briefly as "all deductions except sickness and death.')
(e) Deducting rent or taxes and income from all children under 16 and expenses on account of sickness and death occurring during past year. (This method is often designated briefly as "all deductions.")

The reason for adding expenses on account of sickness and death to the deductions made in former investigations along this line was the discovery that in many cases such expenses had been very heavy and the computation of the income without taking them into account would not give a fair measure of the financial condition. In some cases it was just these expenses which turned the scale between comfortable living and poverty. In Plymouth, for instance, a family was found whose per capita weekly income with all deductions except expenses for sickness and death was $\$ 3.87$, but deducting these expenses also they had a per capita weekly income of but 87 cents. This is an extreme case, but the same thing in a less degree was found in many other instances. ${ }^{a}$
10. In some cases estimates were made of the amount earned or of the amount paid in by members of the family. Ordinarily these did not affect the amount of the family earnings, but only their distribution among the earning members. For instance, if a child not on the pay roll of a mill helped a brother or sister or parents who were on the roll an estimate was made of the amount earned by the child, which was deducted from the earnings of those he assisted and treated throughout as his. An estimate of the amount paid in

[^7]was also made in the case of a child, not a boarder or lodger, who kept all his earnings, but bought his clothing, wholly or in part. The estimated amount by which this expenditure relieved the family was considered as a contribution to the family income. The number of cases estimated and the items affected by them are as follows:

Estimates affecting total family income................................................... 9
Estimates affecting distribution of earnings............................................... 27
$$
\text { Total estimated cases } a \text {....................................................................... } 54
$$
11. Rent for the past year was computed on the basis of the monthly rent paid at the time of the visit. Undoubtedly some families might not have been paying the same rate throughout the year, but the errors arising from this source would be trivial. When a whole family boarded, one-third of the price of board was considered as rent. There were 6 cases of this kind. When rent was given for services rendered, an estimate was made of its money value, and this sum added to the family earnings. There were 9 cases of this kind. When rent or taxes could not be ascertained an estimate was made of their amount.
12. When two or more children coming within the investigation were found in one family, as occurred in 32 cases, the family was, of course, counted but once in all discussions pertaining to the family as a whole. These are designated, for brevity's sake, as "duplicate families."
13. Certain families, on account of the extreme irregularity of the conditions, were not considered in any of the tables that deal with the family as a unit. For instance, where a child was an orphan, living as a domestic in a private family not related to her, there seemed no reason for trying to show anything in the way of family conditions for her. Again, when, as occurred in a few cases, the earnings of the father and other members of the family could neither be ascertained nor reasonably estimated, such families were not used in making up the family tables. The facts relating to the children as individuals, however, were used just as they were in the case of the children in the other families. Only 14 such instances were found.

Up to this point only questions directly related to the facts collected have been considered. Before discussing this material further it seems necessary to give some consideration to a closely allied mat-ter-the standard of living. Plainly our knowledge of the incomes of these selected families is of value only as it enables us to judge whether or not they could have kept their children in school longer. But to do this we must know what may reasonably be expected from a given income. Throughout this discussion it will be assumed that
a family whose income did not permit the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living could not fairly be called able to keep its children in school. Two questions naturally arise at once: What constitutes a reasonable standard of living, and on what income can it be maintained?

This is no place for an extended discussion of either question. As to the first, most people will admit that a reasonable standard involves a sanitary habitation in a decent neighborhood, not overcrowded to the point of peril to health or morals; a sufficiency of food, plain, perhaps, but nourishing enough to maintain the working efficiency of the family unimpaired; clothing sufficient for decency and comfort; some provision for heat, light, furniture, expenses of illness, birth, and death; some allowance for car fare, schoolbooks, recreational expenses, and incidental expenses. More might well be added, but with less than this it can scarcely be said that a reasonable standard is maintained.

On what income can such a standard be secured? Thrift and good management have much to do with the amount required; one family will live comfortably on an income which to another means absolute poverty. Nevertheless there is certainly a point beyond which thrift and good management can not take the place of income, but where does this point fall?

Several important studies of this subject have been made of late years. The conclusions reached differ naturally from place to place, but there is a pretty substantial agreement that no income is sufficient which does not allow a weekly expenditure for food of at least $\$ 1.50$ per adult male, and for other members proportionately, according to Atwater's ratios. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

In view of the conclusions reached in these various studies, it seems not unreasonable to assume that--
(1) Rent, being the most variable expense, should be eliminated before comparable measurements of financial ability can be made for families living in different localities.
(2) A family whose per capita weekly income, after rent is paid and after expenses for sickness and death are met, is less than $\$ 1.50$ a week without the earnings of children under 16 , usually needs help from some source, if the children are to be kept in school.

[^8](3) A family whose per capita weekly income, with all the deductions mentioned above, is $\$ 2$ or over, would not with good management suffer physical hardship if the children should remain in school to the age of 16 .

This leaves a sort of twilight zone between the per capita incomes of $\$ 1.50$ and $\$ 2$, in which the ability of the family to keep the children in school may be reasonably in doubt, depending largely on the degree of thrift and intelligent planning of which it is capable. It is impossible to over emphasize the importance of good management; indeed, in reading some of the schedules it almost seems as if the amount of income is relatively unimportant, so much is sometimes secured with a small income and so little with a large one.

In many cases where the income was low, it required exceptionally good management to make the income support the family, and in some, without the earnings of children under 16, the thing could not possibly have been accomplished. Considerably less than one-third of the families with per capita weekly incomes of less than $\$ 2$, after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16, were found to have comfortable, attractive homes. A somewhat larger number of the families with such incomes lived under really bad conditions, while a trifle more than one-third had decent homes, neither the best nor the worst.

Some cases were found of families in which a relatively high income failed to result in comfort, or even in decency, of living conditions.

Several homes showed an interesting, contrast between squalid exterior environment and pleasant interior. In the Georgia and Alabama counties there were no marked cases of poor homes on high incomes, except in the matter of exterior conditions. And in these outlying communities there were no very good localities to choose from. Plymouth is like the Georgia and Alabama communities in that the prevailing exterior conditions are poor, insanitary, and unsightly.

The whole number of families having a total per capita weekly income, without deduction, of $\$ 3$ or over, who lived in "fourth-class"a neighborhoods was 37 ; with house and premises in "bad" condition, 43 ; with interior in "poor" or "wretched" condition, 36. The number of families with the above-mentioned income, living under conditions bad in all three respects was 7.

More than half, however, of the families having a total per capita weekly income, making no deductions, of $\$ 3$ or over, lived in houses whose interior was attractive, and nearly one-half had attractive

[^9]houses and premises, in first or second class neighborhoods. Interior conditions are much more responsive to an increase of income than exterior, the character of the neighborhood being the most stationary of such conditions.

## RELATIVE NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK.

In endeavoring to form some estimate of the relative number of children who are leaving school in the different localities visited to go to work, three sources of information are available, namely, (1) the Census of Manufactures, 1905; (2) the reports from 83 establishments visited in this investigation; (3) the lists secured from the school officials in this investigation. From the first we secure the following table:

TABLE 2.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 AT WORK IN MANUFACTURES.
[Compiled from Special Reports of Census Office, Manufactures, 1905, Part II.]

|  | Cities. | Children employed in 1905. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Number. | Per cent of total number of employees. | Per cent of population. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. |  | 770 | $\bullet 6.4$ | 1.8 |
| W oonsocket, R.I. |  | 596 | 6.9 | 1.9 |
| Columbus, Ga. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  | 357 | 8.1 | 2.0 |
| Columbia, S. C. |  | 333 | 13.9 | 1.4 |
| Plymouth, Pa . |  | 184 | 18.9 | 1.2 |
| Hazleton, Pa. |  | 129 | 9.2 | . 8 |

a Nearly all the Georgia and Alabama children worked in Columbus.
It will be noticed that in the proportion which children form of the total number of employees in manufactures, Plymouth and Columbia are far in the lead, the proportion in Plymouth being materially larger than anywhere else. When we consider the proportion which children employed in manufacture form of the total population, Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Columbus show practically the same per cent, while Plymouth stands next to the lowest.

As the 83 establishments visited in the course of this study contained only a portion of the working children of each State, the figures gathered can not be used as a basis for any general statements. A comparison of the proportion which the children formed of the total employees in these selected establishments with the proportions given in the census figures does serve, however, to show the representative character of the establishments studied. The table following shows the number and per cent of children in these establishments.

TAble 3.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 AT WORK IN 83 ESTABLISHMENTS VISITED.

| Cities. | Males. |  | Females. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent of total number of employees. | Number. | Per cent of total number of employees. | Number. | Per cent of total number of $\mathrm{em}_{3}$ ployees. |
| Pawtucket and Woonsocket, R. I. | 545 | 3.6 | 769 | 5.2 | 1,314 | 8.8 |
| Plymouth and Hazleton, Pa.a. | 244 | 4.7 | 355 | 6.9 | 599 | 11.6 |
| Columbus, Ga., and Columbia, S. C.b. | 660 | 8.2 | 469 | 5.9 | 1,129 | 14.1 |
| Total. | 1,449 | 5.1 | 1,593 | 5.7 | 3,042 | 10.8 |

[^10]These two tables have dealt with the children found in industry. Turning now to the children who left school to work, we have the data for a comparative table, showing how many left in each place. In Rhode Island, children who had been out of school at work previous to the selected period of time were not included in the list because the conditions which caused them to return to school were due to a transitional period between the old law and the new law, which was going into effect progressively, and it was thought that such examples would not be representative enough. But in the South, and to a less extent in Pennsylvania, it was found to be a custom of children to alternate work and school. Such cases, therefore, were not excluded from the lists in those localities.

In endeavoring, however, to arrive at an estimate of the relative number of children who left school to go to work in the different localities visited, it would not be fair to omit altogether the "old certificate cases" in Rhode Island. The table, therefore, has been made up in the following manner.

The number of children of each age enrolled in the public schools was taken as a base. The number of children included in the investigation who left the public schools was counted and doubled. The purpose of the doubling was to give what would be a conservative estimate of the number leaving during the entire year, of which the period included in this report covers not more than half. To this doubled number was added in Pawtucket and Woonsocket a due proportion of the "old certificate cases;" that is, children who had legally left school at the age of 13 , but had been compelled by the change in the law to return to school or wait till they were 14 before returning to work. But instead of doubling the number of 14 -yearolds in Pawtucket and Woonsocket, a certain proportion were transferred to the 13 -year-olds, since.in the early part of the year 1906-7 the legal age for beginning work was 13 .

Table 4.-ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO LEFT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO GO TO WORK DURING THE YEAR 1906-7 AND PER CENT OF SUCH CHILDREN OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF SAME AGE AND SEX.
[It should be noted that this table shows the estimated number for the year 1906-7, while Table 5 shows the number for the period covered by the investigation.]

NUMBER.

| Sex and locality. | Children who left school at age of- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Under 8 years. | 8 years. | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| BOYs. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I |  |  |  |  |  |  | 22 | 101 | 26 | 149 |
| Woonsocket, R. I |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 37 | 92 | 15 | 145 |
| Columbus, Ga... |  |  | 4 | 4 | 18 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 18 | 96 78 |
| Columbia, S. C. ......... | 4 |  | 4 | 4 | 10 | 12 | 16 | 18 | 10 | 78 |
| Plymouth, Pa |  |  |  | 6 | 10 | 22 | 32 | 24 | 8 | 102 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 16 | 42 | 10 | 72 |
| GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 19 | 85 | 11 | 115 |
| Woonsocket, R. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 39 | 85 | 11 | 136 |
| Columbus, Ga. |  |  |  | 4 | 6 | 10 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 52 |
| Georgia and Alabama counti |  |  |  |  |  | 6 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 42 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 4 | 6 |  | 6 |  | 8 | 12 |  |  | 42 |
| Plymouth, Pa |  |  |  |  | 2 | 4 | 34 | 20 | 6 | 66 |
| Hazleton, Pa.......... |  |  |  |  |  |  | 16 | 22 | 12 | 50 |
| BOYS AND GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 41 | 186 | 37 | 264 |
| Woonsocket. R. I. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 76 | 177 | 26 | 281 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 4 |  | 4 | 8 | 24 | 26 | 32 | 30 | 22 | 150 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties | 2 | 2 |  |  | 2 | 24 | 40 | 32 | 18 | 120 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 8 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 16 | 20 | 28 | 18 | 10 | 120 |
| Plymouth, Pa. |  |  |  | 6 | 12 | 26 4 | 66 32 | 44 | 14 | 168 122 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 32 | 64 | 22 | 122 |

## PER CENT.


a Total enrollment of this age and sex not reported.
$49450^{\circ}$-S. Doc. 645 , $61-2$, vol 7-3

In looking at the totals shown by this table it will be noticed that by far the highest percentage of children who left school to go to work is found in the Georgia and Alabama counties, where the proportion rises to 14.6 per cent. This seems to indicate a low school enrollment rather than a large exodus of children, as these county districts stand next to the foot of the list in the absolute number leaving. The difference between the percentage in the county districts where the people are almost without exception of native stock and a place like Woonsocket with a large foreign population shows very clearly the effect of years of work in the North toward creating a public sentiment against early employment of children.

In this table, as in the table showing the proportion that working children form of the whole population, Woonsocket and Columbus show almost identical figures; but Pawtucket, which in the earlier table ranked with these two, here makes a better showing, only 4.6 per cent of its enrolled school children under 16 leaving school to go to work. The difference between the sexes is worth noting. Columbus and Columbia had the largest percentages of boys leaving school to go to work, but Woonsocket led in the number and proportion of girls. The proportion of the Woonsocket girls of 14 leaving school is truly astonishing. Less than 5 per cent of the total number enrolled at this age go on to school the next year. It will appear from succeeding tables that this is largely a racial matter, the striking proportion of girls leaving at this age being due to the French Canadian custom of putting the girls to work as soon as the law allows. This tendency was not found to any marked extent among foreigners of other races. Thus in Hazleton the foreign element is large and the law is laxer than in Woonsocket; but not more than 22.6 per cent among the girls left from any one age group.

The table shows very plainly the difference in age requirements in the various localities. Columbus makes a bad showing here, 12.2 per cent of its 11 -year-old school children leaving to go to work, 14.4 per cent at 12 , and 19 per cent at 13 . Woonsocket shows 15.4 per cent at 13, while Plymouth shows the surprising proportion of 46.4 per cent at this age.

Summarizing the table, it will be observed that the 14 -year-old children lost a larger percentage than those of any other age in Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Hazleton; the children 13 years old lost more than those of any other age in Columbia and Plymouth, while in Columbus a larger proportion left at 15 than at any other age. The enrollment of Georgia and Alabama counties was not obtained by ages.

## AGE, RACE, AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK.

Turning from the general question of how numerously children leave school for work to the particular children with whom this study
is concerned, we have a group of 622 , all but 2 of whom left school to go to work within the schedule period. The two exceptions had never attended school, having received their education at home. The facts concerning their age ${ }^{a}$ and sex are given in the table immediately following.

## TAble 5.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO LEFT SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK DURING THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE INVESTIGATION, BY AGE

 AND SEX.[In this table age is given according to statements secured at the homes of the children. In 30 cases in Plymouth the age as given at home was higher than shown by the school inquiry; elsewhere the differences were negligible. Two children who had not attended schooi but had received their education at home are not included in this tabie.]


In regard to age it will be noticed that a few of the children left school at about the age they should have been entering it. In the two northern cities the preponderance of those leaving at 14 years old is very marked. In Pawtucket 64.1 per cent of the whole number leaving during the period under consideration left at this age, while in Woonsocket the proportion was 65.9 per cent. The proportion would probably have been larger still but for the fact that the investigation took place at a transition period when the legal age for beginning work had just changed from 13 to 14 . Nowhere else is there found such a massing upon a single age. ${ }^{\text {b }}$

[^11]Before taking up the question of why these children left school, it may be well to refer to two practices which affect the matter of leaving-the habit or custom of alternating between school attendance and work, and the practice of attending school a portion of the day and working the rest.

As to the first, it was found that 65 , or 10.5 per cent, of the 622 schedule children had returned to school, of whom 54 were in Columbus, Columbia, and Plymouth. But only 44 of these were in school at the date of the visit, 21 having left again.

As to the second, it seems a characteristic custom in Columbia for children 7 years old and upward to work and attend school at the same time. Some work only after school in the afternoon, others before school in the morning as well as after the afternoon session, while still others attend only one session of school, working all the rest of the time. Naturally this leads at times to serious overwork. Two contrasting cases may be cited:

Columbia.-Edgar was a spinner in a cotton mill. He went to the mill at 6 a. m., came home at noon, attended school (first grade) from 1 to 2.45 p . m., and then returned to the mill and worked until $6 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., working 51 hours a week and earning $\$ 1.90$. He had begun work 3 months before at the age of 9 . He said he did not know how to play; just sat still and whittled a stick. He usually went to bed as soon as he got something to eat. He was a pale, thin, lifeless little chap, with pasty-looking skin and dull eyes, very much undersized, and acted like an old, tired man; smiled patiently when spoken to. He liked school and read a question out of the schedule very creditably and glowing with pride. When asked what he would like to be, he said he never thought of such a thing, but wished he could read fast. The father was sick and earned only $\$ 4$ a week, and the weekly per capita income (after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16) was only 19 cents.

Pamelia was Edgar's sister. She had begun to spin two weeks before at the age of 8 . She worked 9 hours on regular full days and 6 hours on Saturday- 51 hours a week. She went to the mill at 6 a. m. and worked till 12 m. , attended school from 1 to $2.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and worked in the mill again from 3 to 6 p . m., earning $\$ 1.20$ a week. The teacher said she was a bright little girl. It was a special holiday afternoon when the agent called, and the two poor, little, listless pale children were sitting on the steps "resting."

Columbia.-Mary and Grace were sisters 11 and 9 years old. Mary began work at 9 , "filling batteries" in a cotton mill. When she left school in May, 1907, she had had 20 months' schooling and was in the third grade. Grace began the same work at 7, and when she left school in March, 1907, she had had 12 months' schooling and was in the first grade. Both of the girls worked 61 hours a week in the mill until October. Since that time they had been attending school regularly; "like it fine-love to study, and are fond of the teacher;" have missed only 2 days, much of the time having to walk $1 \frac{1}{2}$ miles
to go to school. They attended school from 9 to 12 m . and from 1 to 3 p . m., and worked in the mill from 3.15 to 6 p . m. They were both bright, pretty children, neatly dressed and well-mannered. They were of average size, sturdy looking, with good color. Thestepfather earned $\$ 15$ a week, the weekly per capita income (after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16) being $\$ 3.83$.

Only 15 cases of this combination of work and school attendance were found, 5 in Columbus and 10 in Columbia.

Having the age and sex of the children, the question naturally arises: "What sort of children are they? From what kind of families do they come?" A full description of the personnel of the families will be given in Chapter II, but a few points may be mentioned here. More than four-fifths of the children, 83.9 per cent, had been born in the United States, but only 41.5 per cent had American fathers. The French Canadian, Slavic, and German were the leading foreign races represented, but many other races appeared less numerously. The following summary gives in brief the racial distribution of the families of the children studied:

TABLE 6.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHOSE FATHERS WERE IN EACH SPECIFIED RACE GROUP.

| Locality. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Amerl- } \\ & \text { can. } \end{aligned}$ | Other English speaking. | French Canadian. | Slavic. | German. | Other races. | Not reported. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |
| Woonsocket, R. | 9 | 28 | 130 |  |  |  |  | 75 |
| Columbus, Ga...... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Georgia and Alabama |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C...... | 58 |  |  |  |  | 4 |  | ${ }_{62}^{60}$ |
| Plymouth, Pa. | ${ }^{23}$ | ${ }^{21}$ |  | 36 |  | 4 |  | 84 |
| Hazleton, Pa . |  | 6 |  |  | 6 |  |  |  |
| Total ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 258 | 96 | 154 | 36 | 26 | 51 | 1 | 622 |

[^12]In order to form some idea of the general character of the families, a classification was made of the housing and neighborhood conditions represented. Neighborhoods were divided into four classes, ranging from the pleasant residence districts which well-to-do business and professional people would naturally select which form the first class, down through the streets of respectable but not attractive houses of the second class, and the shabby, depressing tenements of the third, to the genuine slum conditions which characterize the fourth class. The conditions of the individual houses and premises were classified in much the same way.

The following table shows the grouping of the families ${ }^{a}$ according to these classifications correlated with their weekly per capita income. In this table no deduction has been made from the income, since the purpose is not to show the ability or inability of the families to keep their children longer in school, but to indicate what their social standards lead them to consider necessary, given a certain income, in the way of housing and neighborhood conditions.

Table 7.-NUMBER OF FAMILIES HAVING EACH CLASSIFIED PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME, BY HOUSING CONDITIONS.

| Housing conditions. | Families having per capita weekly income (no deductions) of- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | To-talfam-ilies. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \text { Un- } \\ \text { der } \\ \$ 0.50 \end{gathered}\right.$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 0.50 \\ \text { to } \\ 00.99 \end{gathered}$ | $\left\|\begin{array}{\|c} \$ 1 \text { to } \\ \$ 1.49 \end{array}\right\|$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \$ 1.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & \$ 1.99 \end{aligned}\right.$ | $\$ 2 \text { to }$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 2.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & \$ 2.99 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 3.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & \$ 3.99 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 4 \text { to } \\ \$ 4.49 \end{array}$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \$ 4.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & \$ 4.99 \end{aligned}\right.$ | $\$ 5 \text { to }$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 6 \text { to } \\ & 87.99 \end{aligned}$ | $\$ 8 \text { to }$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 10 \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ |  |
| NEIGHBORHOOD. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First class.. |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |  | 1 | 25 |
| Second class |  | 2 | 6 | 9 | 23 | 24 | 26 | 17 | 13 | 18 | 23 | 13 | 5 |  | al79 |
| Third class | 2 | 1 | 22 | 33 | 38 | 55 | 38 | 29 | 25 | 13 | 22 | 9 |  | 1 | b288 |
| Fourth class |  | 2 | 10 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 15 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 |  | 72 |
| Not reported |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |
| Total | 2 | 5 | 39 | 53 | 70 | 87 | 73 | 53 | 58 | 36 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 2 | c567 |
| HOUSE AND PREMISES. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Attractive |  | 3 | f | 12 | 27 | 33 | 26 | 26 | 20 | 14 | 23 | 13 | 4 | 1 | a 209 |
| Fair | 2 |  | 12 | 25 | 31 | 38 | 35 | 21 | 24 | 18 | 22 | 14 | 3 | 1 | b246 |
|  |  | 2 | 20 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 4 |  |  | 109 |
| Not reported .......... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 2 |  |  | 3 |
| Total | 2 | 5 | 39 | 53 | 70 | 87 | 73 | 53 | 58 | 36 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 2 | c567 |
| INTERIOR. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Containing luxuries |  | 1 | 1 |  | 7 | 8 | 9 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 14 | 11 | 3 |  | 85 |
| Attractive |  | 1 | 6 | 8 | 21 | 24 | 23 | 18 | 18 | 13 | 13 | 8 | 3 | 1 | d157 |
|  |  |  | 13 | 23 | 24 | 43 | 24 | 15 | 23 | 11 | 16 | 7 |  |  | e202 |
|  |  |  | 12 | 10 | 12. | 4 | 11 | 3 | 1 |  | 3 | 2 | 1 |  | 60 |
| Wretched |  |  | 6 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 4 |  | , |  |  | 1 |  |  | 43 |
| Not reported | 2 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |  | 2 | 4 |  | 1 | 20 |
| Total | 2 | 5 | 39 | 53 | 70 | 87 | 73 | 53 | 58 | 36 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 2 | c567 |

a Not including 3 families who board.
$b$ Not including 4 families who board.
c Not including 7 families who board.
d Not including 2 families who board. e Not including 5 families who board.

As might be expected in a group of families selected as these were, a considerable majority were found in third and fourth class neighborhoods, but their presence there does not always imply necessity. Of those living in third-class neighborhoods, 15.6 per cent, and of those in fourth-class neighborhoods, 16.7 per cent had per capita weekly incomes of $\$ 4.50$ and over. When it comes to the condition of the house
$a$ It will be observed that the number of families does not agree with the number of children. In some cases two children included in this study were found in one family, and in others the child had no family. In the case, for instance, of an orphan girl supporting herself by domestic work, there is no relation between the circumstances of the family for whom she is working and the child's withdrawal from school, and no reason for studying the family in any way. There were 574 separate families which could properly be included in this study.
itself, this indifference is less marked, only 11 per cent of those living in houses classed as bad having this same income, while 9.7 per cent of those living in houses of which the interior conditions were "poor" or "wretched" were thus comparatively affluent. Taking the group as a whole, we see that only 12.8 per cent of those for whom reports were secured lived in fourth-class neighborhoods, 19.3 per cent in houses described as bad, and 18.8 per cent in houses of which the interior conditions were poor or wretched. Considering their grouping from the other side, 36.2 per cent lived in either first or second class neighborhoods, and 37.1 per cent in houses of attractive appearance; 44.2 per cent had made the interior of their homes attractive, while about a third of this latter group had gone beyond necessities in their furnishings, adding musical instruments, pictures, etc. On the whole, the impression produced by the study of the home and neighborhood conditions was that this was a fair average group of working people, containing some examples both of easy circumstances and of acute poverty, but not, as a group, representing either extreme.


## CHAPTER I.

REASON FOR LEAVING SCH00L T0 G0 T0 W0RK.


## CHAPTER I.

## REASON FOR LEAVING SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK.

## INTRODUCTION.

Taking, then, this group of over 600 children, what was the main reason in each case for leaving school and beginning work? It was frequently difficult to decide upon the real answer to this question. Sometimes the mother would say they were unable to keep the child in school; sometimes the visible conditions of the home would present an appearance of extreme poverty, and yet the per capita weekly income without the earnings of the children under 16, after rent was paid and sickness and death expenses met, would turn out to be $\$ 4$, $\$ 5, \$ 6$, or even $\$ 8$. Sometimes trouble in school would be given as the reason, the mother claiming that they were both able and willing to keep the child at school, when the weekly per capita income (with deductions as above) was under $\$ 1$ or even under 50 cents. Often, when the income was well above the minimum standard and when the child's dissatisfaction with school was alleged, or perhaps inability to "keep him off the streets," it was evident that although probably the dissatisfaction and possibly the inability existed, the actuating cause was the desire for more money. The clue to the real reason was sometimes furnished by the teacher, sometimes by a neighbor. Many times it was perplexing to the mother to try to assign a reason for such an absolutely natural pro-ceeding-"he's of an age to work, why shouldn't he?" Very frequently there appeared to have been a combination of circumstances, no one of which alone would have been sufficiently influential.

Giving as careful weight as possible to the alleged reasons, and testing them by the information gleaned from various sources about each family, the following table was constructed, showing the main reasons for leaving school correlated with the family income. In deciding whether or not a child's earnings were really necessary, the ground was taken that ordinarily if, after deduction of rent, expenses of sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16, the per capita weekly income were as much as $\$ 2$, necessity could not be considered the real reason; if it fell as low as $\$ 1.50$, the child's wages might legitimately be regarded as necessary; and between these points whether or not the child's earnings could be spared would depend so much upon the character of the family that it might almost be called a question of morals or intellect, rather than of finance.

Table 8.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO LEFT SCHOOL FOR EACH SPECIFIED CAUSE BY CLASSIFIED PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME OF FAMILIES (ALL DEDUCTIONS BEING MADE).
[Two children who had not attended school, but who had received their education at home, are not included in this table.]

| Classified per capita weekly income of families. | Children leaving school to go to work for each cause. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Necessity. |  |  | Child's <br> help <br> desired, <br> though <br> not neces- <br> sary. | Child's dissatisfaction with school. | Child's preference for work. | Other causes. | Total. |
|  | Earnings necessary to family support. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Help } \\ & \text { needed at } \\ & \text { home. } \end{aligned}$ | Self-support necessary. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under \$0.50. | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| \$0.50 to \$0.99 ......... | 9 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 10 |
| \$1.00 to \$1.49 .......... | 5 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 6 |
| \$1.50 to \$1.99 . . | 6 |  |  | 4 | 1 | 1 |  | 12 |
| \$2.00 to \$2.49... | 1 |  |  | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| \$2.50 to \$2.99... |  |  | 1 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| \$3.00 to \$3.49. |  |  |  | 4 | 3 |  |  | 7 |
| \$3.50 to \$3.99.. |  |  |  | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| \$4.00 to \$4.49 ... |  |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | , |  | 7 |
| \$4.50 to \$4.99. |  |  |  | 1 | 3 | 3 |  | 7 |
| \$5.00 to \$5.99.. |  |  |  | 3 | 3 | 2 |  | 8 |
| \$6.00 to \$7.99 .......... | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | 4 |
| \$8.00 to \$9.99.......... |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 2 |
| Not reported. | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 3 |
| Total. | 26 | ........... | 3 | 28 | 31 | 12 | 3 | 103 |
| WOONSOCKET. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$0.50 to \$0.99... | 8 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 9 |
| \$1.00 to \$1.49.. | 16 | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 19 |
| \$1.50 to \$1.99. | 6 |  | 1 | 9 | 1 |  | 1 | 18 |
| \$2.00 to \$2.49 | 4 |  |  | 14 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 23 |
| \$2.50 to \$2.99. |  | 1 |  | 14 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 22 |
| \$3.00 to $\$ 3.49 . . . . . . . .$. |  |  |  |  | 7 | 3 |  | 19 |
| $\$ 3.50$ to $\$ 3.99$ |  |  |  | ${ }_{10}^{6}$ | 6 5 | 4 | 1 | 18 |
| \$4.50 to \$4.99. |  |  |  | 5 | 2 | 2 |  | 9 |
| \$5.00 to \$5.99 |  |  |  | 3 | 2 | 1 |  | 6 |
| \$8.00 to $\$ 7.99 . . . . . . .$. | 1 |  |  | 2 | 1 | 2 | ..... | 6 |
| $\$ 8.00$ to $\$ 9.99$... $\$ 10.00$ and over. |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Not reported.......... |  |  | 3 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 5 |
| Total | 36 | 2 | 4 | 74 | 33 | 18 | 6 | a 173 |
| COLUMBUS. <br> Under $\$ 0.50$ | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$0.50 to \$0.99........... | 9 |  |  |  |  |  |  | ${ }_{9}^{4}$ |
| \$1.00 to \$1.49.. | 9 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 10 |
| \$1.50 to \$1.99......... | 8 |  |  |  | 3 |  | 1 | 13 |
| \$2.00 to \$2.49. | 1 |  |  | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| \$2.50 to \$2.99.. | 2 |  |  | 3 | 2 | 1 |  | 8 |
| \$3.00 to $\$ 3.49$... |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 |
| \$3.50 to $\$ 3.99 \ldots$ |  |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |  |
| \$4.00 to $\$ 4.49 .$. |  |  |  | $\stackrel{2}{2}$ |  | 2 |  | 4 |
| \$5.00 to \$5.99... |  |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | 3 |
| \$6.00 to \$7.99 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 3 |
| \$8.00 to \$9.99. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |
| Not reported. |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 |
| Total. | 33 |  | 1 | 16 | 17 | 7 | 3 | 77 |
| georgia and alabama counties. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under \$0.50.. | 3 |  |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |
| \$0.50 to \$0.99 .......... | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| \$1.00 to \$1.49.......... | 4 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |
| \$1.50 to \$1.99. | 4 | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 | 14 |
| \$2.00 to \$2.49. | 1 |  |  | 6 | 5 | 1 | :........ | 13 |
| \$2.50 to \$2.99 ....... |  |  |  | 5 | 3 |  |  | 8 |
| \$3.00 to \$3.49... |  |  |  | 1 | 3 |  |  | 4 |
| \$3.50 to \$3.99. |  |  |  | 2 |  | 1 |  | 3 |
| \$4.00 to \$4.49 ..... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$4.50 to \$4.99 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| \$5.00 to \$5.99 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| Not reported......... | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| Total. | 17 | 1 |  | 16 | 19 | 5 | 2 | 60 |

TAble 8.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO LEFT SCHOOL FOR EACH SPECIFIED CAUSE \$Y CLASSIFIED PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME OF FAMILIES (ALL DEDUCTIONS BEING MADE)-Concluded.

Children leaving school to go to work for each cause.

Classified per capita
weekly income of families.

## columbia.

50.50 to 0.50
$\$ 1.00$ to $\$ 1.49$.
$\$ 1.50$ to $\$ 1.99$
$\$ 2.50$ to $\$ 2.99$.
$\$ 3.00$ to $\$ 3.49$
$\$ 4.00$ to $\$ 4.49$
$\$ 4.50$ to 84.99.
$\$ 5.00$ to $\$ 5.99$
$\$ 8.00$ to $\$ 9.99$
$\$ 10.00$ and ove
Not reported.
Total......
PLYMOUTH.


## Total......

Under $\$ 0.50$.
$\$ 0.50$ to $\$ 0.99$
$\$ 1.00$ to $\$ 1.49$
$\$ 2.00$ to $\$ 2.49$
$\$ 2.50$ to $\$ 2.99$
$\$ 3.00$ to $\$ 3.49$
$\$ 3.50$ to $\$ 3.99$
$\$ 4.00$ to $\$ 4.49$
$\$ 4.50$ to $\$ 4.99$.
Not reported
Total.
all localities.
Under $\$ 0.50$.
$\$ 0.50$ to $\$ 0.99$
$\$ 1.00$ to $\$ 1.49$
$\$ 1.50$ to $\$ 1.99$
$\$ 2.00$ to $\$ 2.49$
$\$ 2.50$ to $\$ 2.99$
$\$ 3.00$ to $\$ 3.49$
$\$ 3.50$ to $\$ 3.99$
$\$ 4.00$ to $\$ 4.49$.
$\$ 4.50$ to $\$ 4.99$.
$\$ 5.00$ to $\$ 5.99$.
$\$ 6.00$ to $\$ 7.99$.
$\$ 8.00$ to $\$ 9.99$..
Not reported.
Total.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

| Necessity. |  |  | Child'shelpdesired,thoughnot neces-sary. | Child's dissatisfaction with school. | Child's preference for work. | Other causes. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Earnings necessary to family support. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Help } \\ & \text { needed at } \\ & \text { home. } \end{aligned}$ | Self-support necsary. |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 4 \\ & 3 \\ & 4 \\ & 5 \end{aligned}$ | 2 |  | $\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ 5 \\ 5 \end{array}$ | 1 <br>  <br> 2 <br> 1 <br> 1 <br> 2 |  | 1 <br> 1 <br> 1 <br> $\cdots$ | 8 4 9 9 9 11 10 |
|  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \dddot{2} \\ 1 \end{gathered}$ | $\cdots \begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 2 \end{array}$ | 1 | 1 | 2 3 3 |
|  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
|  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| 16 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 11 | 4 | 12 | 62 |
| $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 7 \\ 11 \\ 2 \end{array}$ | ……i | - 1 | $\begin{aligned} & 4 \\ & 4 \\ & 1 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ 7 \\ 7 \\ 7 \\ 4 \\ \cdots \\ \cdots 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 1 \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ \cdots \end{array}$ |  | 7 11 14 14 14 10 8 1 1 1 2 1 |
| 26 | 1 | 2. | 11 | 33 | 6 | 5 | 84 |
| $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 5 \\ 3 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 2 \\ \cdots \\ \cdots \end{gathered}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{r} 4 \\ 2 \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ \cdots \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 1 \\ 4 \\ 3 \\ 4 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ \hdashline \cdots \\ 3 \\ 1 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \ldots \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ \ldots \quad 1 \end{array}$ |  | 4 6 8 14 11 4 2 3 2 5 2 |
| 15 |  |  | 12 | 21 | 9 | 4 | 61 |
|  | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 3 \\ 1 \\ \ldots \end{gathered}$ | $\left\|\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ \cdots \cdots \cdots \\ \hdashline \cdots \cdots \cdots \end{array}\right\|$ | 1 <br> $\ldots$ <br> 26 <br> 41 <br> 37 <br> 18 <br> 16 <br> 14 <br> 9 <br> 6 <br> 3 <br> 1 <br> $\ldots$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 4 \\ 10 \\ 20 \\ 30 \\ 22 \\ 18 \\ 10 \\ 13 \\ 11 \\ 9 \\ 6 \\ 2 \\ \cdots \quad 4 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ \ldots \\ \hline 3 \\ 9 \\ 7 \\ 8 \\ 4 \\ 8 \\ 4 \\ 5 \\ 5 \\ 3 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{array}$ | 1 1 3 5 10 4 2 3 1 3 $\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots$ | 33 52 71 94 98 75 42 38 33 28 20 15 4 2 |
| 169 | 6 | 11 | 173 | 165 | 61 | 35 | a 620 |

a Not including 2 children who never attended school.

## Of those for whose families the incomes could be ascertained the number and per cent leaving for the different causes stand as follows:

TAble 9.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL FOR SPECIFIED CAUSES, FOR FAMILIES WHOSE INCOMES COULD BE ASCERTAINED.

| Cause for child leaving sehool to go to work. | Number. | Per cent. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Earnings necessary to family support. | 177 | 29.3 |
| Child's help desired, though not necessary | 172 | 28.4 |
| Child's dissatisfaction with school. | 161 | 26.6 |
| Child's preference for work. | 60 | 9.9 |
| Other causes ....... | 35 | 5.8 |
| Total. | 605 | 100.0 |

Or if we include all cases, regardless of whether the income could be ascertained, and take the causes more in detail, we have the following:

Table 10.-SUMMARY OF CAUSES FOR CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL.

| Cause for child leaving school to go to work. | Number. | Per cent. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Necessity: |  |  |
| Earnings necessary to family support. |  |  |
| Help needed at home.. | 11 |  |
|  |  |  |
| Total. | 186 | 30.0 |
| Child's help desired, though not necessary: |  |  |
| In family support.. | 140 |  |
| In home work.... | 14 |  |
| To earn money for education of self or relative | 7 |  |
| Total.. | 173 | 27.9 |
| Child's dissatisfaction with school: |  |  |
| Tired of school.. | 35 |  |
| Disliked school (general manner of life there) | 54 |  |
| Disliked teacher.. | 31 |  |
| Disliked to study | 16 |  |
| Could not learn. | 10 |  |
| Too big for class. | 14 |  |
| Total.. | 165 | 26.6 |
| Child's preference for work: |  |  |
| Work preferred to school. |  |  |
| Spending money wanted..................... | 8 9 |  |
| Association desired with friends who worked |  |  |
| Total.. | 61 | 9.8 |
| Other causes: |  |  |
| Ill health................ | 16 |  |
| To be kept off the streets... | 1 |  |
| To avoid vaccination....... | 2 |  |
| Removal of residence. | 1 |  |
| Mother's disapproval of coeducation. | 1 |  |
| "Too much play"... | 1 7 |  |
| Company pressure.. |  |  |
| Total. | 35 | 5.7 |
| Grand total. | a 620 | 100.0 |

These reasons are important enough to deserve somewhat extended comment. The inclusion of the cases in which the family income could not be definitely ascertained makes so little difference in the percentage under each general cause that they have been ignored, and the discussion based on the summary for all places given in Table 8 and the more detailed summary in Table 10.

## leaving school due to necessity.

Turning first to the largest group-those who leave from necessitywe have 166 cases of known income in which the financial aid of the children seemed necessary for the family support. For those with the lowest incomes there is no question possible. Take, for example, a family of four in Woonsocket. The father averaged about $\$ 3$ a week when working, the mother, worn out and in feeble health, could add nothing to the income, and the oldest child was put to work as soon as the law allowed because the family were so poor that "every penny was needed." The boy had been at work about six months, and when we consider that, including his pay, only $\$ 276$ had been earned by the family in the year preceding the visit, no one will wonder that his parents looked upon his wages as "necessary," even though the child, who was 14 , had grown irritable and nervous since going to work, was too tired to go to evening school, and was described as a poor, undernourished little lad, whose chief longing was to get out into the open country whenever he was not working.

In this particular case it is entirely possible that the father was partially to blame for the scantiness of his earnings, but no such criticism is possible in the following case. Here the father had an earning capacity of $\$ 15$ a week, but during the year preceding the visit an unsuccessful attempt to start in business for himself, followed by equally unsuccessful efforts to secure a permanent position, had reduced his earnings to $\$ 300$. As he had a wife and five children, ranging from 13 downward, this was obviously an insufficient allowance. Nevertheless, the parents were not willing to send their children into the mills until they reached the point where they actually had not the money to pay the eldest child's school fee. Then, as they could not keep her in school, three weeks before the agent's visit they let her go to work in a knitting mill, firmly determined that as soon as the father could get a steady job she should return to school.

Cases like these can not be considered exceptional, since Table 8 shows that of 169 children who left school from the necessity to assist in the support of the family there were 68 whose families, after deductions were made of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16 , had a per capita weekly income of less than $\$ 1$, and 52 others whose families had per capita incomes ranging from $\$ 1$ to $\$ 1.49$. Such incomes mean such a degree of poverty that parents
can not be blamed if they feel that earnings are more important than schooling.

The table shows, however, 14 cases in which necessity is given as the reason, although the per capita weekly income ranged from $\$ 2$ upward. Of course, such a classification indicates unusual circumstances of some kind. Take, for instance, the two cases in which the per capita income was $\$ 6$. The incomes, it must be remembered, were calculated for the year preceding the date of the visit. In the first of these two cases, at the time the child, a boy of 15, began work, the income was practically nothing, the father, the only wageearner in a family of four, had been out of work two months, and the situation looked desperate. At about this time the mother began to take boarders, at which she made a decided success. The father regained his work and the family income reached a comfortable figure, but the boy's wages at the time he began working were sharply needed. In the other case, the father of the child had died during the year. His earnings during the part of the year he lived and the insurance ( $\$ 1,000$ ) received on his death brought the year's income up to a large figure. But the father's death left a family of four with only one wage-earner, a youth of 20 , whose earnings were not sufficient for the family support, so that it might reasonably be looked upon as a matter of necessity that this child, a boy of 14 , should do his share in providing for the family.

One other case with a large per capita income was due to somewhat similar circumstances. The father had been killed in an accident, and without the benefit money received on his death the per capita income would have been under $\$ 1$. Here again there were four in the family and the mother regarded the earnings of this child, a girl of 14 , as really necessary.

One exceptional case was found among these families, in which the per capita income was insufficient because the stepfather was a drunkard and the mother a thriftless manager. In this case, however, the child was nearly 16 before she began work.

The remaining 10 cases fall into two classes. In five cases the death or desertion of the father (the latter occurring in only one instance) had thrown the burden of the family support either on a mother whose earnings were insufficient or on a relative whose continuous acceptance of the burden could not be counted on. Thus one girl of 14 went to work from necessity, though the weekly per capita income was over $\$ 2$. In this case the greater part of the income had been contributed by an aunt who, at the time the girl went to work, was just about to be married, when the income received from her would cease. More often the chief remaining breadwinner would be an older brother, who might not be willing to continue responsible for the whole support of the family after the younger members reached working age. In this group only one child went
to work under 14, the one exception being a boy of 12 in a State in which this was the legal age for beginning work.

In the second group, also containing five cases, there was only one instance of orphanage, but in each instance the child's beginning work was due to some abnormal condition, such as illness or lack of work on the part of the older members of the family. In several cases after the child had been at work a short time the necessity ceased to exist, but by that time the break with school had been made and he usually kept on as a wage-earner.

The cases in which children had left school because their help was needed at home usually meant a combination of illness and a small income in the family. The mother was ill or perhaps, as in one case given, two or three younger children were ill with the measles. A nurse was out of the question, but help must be had somehow; naturally, the oldest child was taken out of school to meet the emergency, and too often when the emergency was over he failed to return. It will be noticed that there was one case in which this cause was assigned although the per capita weekly income was over $\$ 2.50$. This was one of the comparatively few cases found during the investigation in which the child's work was rendered necessary by a parent's intemperance. The father, a violent and abusive drunkard, did nothing whatever toward the family support, and was seldom at home. The mother tried to meet the situation by going into the mill herself. Her earnings, with what two sons also in the mills could make, brought the family income up to a reasonable figure, but her health was broken and she was quite unable to be in the mill all day and do the housework at night. Consequently as soon as the oldest girl reached legal age, she left school and became the housekeeper.

Concerning the five from families with known incomes who left school because their earnings were needed for their own support there is little to say. All were living with relatives-aunts, uncles, or grandparents-and all had reached the legal age for beginning work before they left school. Only one left as early as 13 , and one remained in school till nearly 16 . The relatives were not usually very prosperous, and it is not surprising that they felt they had done their full duty in supporting the children unaided until they had finished the required period of school training. ${ }^{a}$

On the whole, it will be seen that the families grouped under the head of necessity represent a low level of financial well-being. A few cases were found in which the receipt of insurance money had brought the year's income up to a comfortable figure, but even this temporary prosperity was rare. In general the families of this

[^13]group lived on the plane where life is a grim struggle for the necessities of existence, and their children's earnings were sharply needed. In most cases, also, this poverty did not seem traceable to any direct fault on the part of the parents. Only 18 cases were found among the 574 families in which a father had been unemployed during any part of the preceding year on account of intemperance or other fault. For the most part the wage-earners of these families were unskilled workers, whose wages at best were low. There was no chance for them to lay anything by for a rainy day, and illness or accident or a period of slack work brought them real suffering. In such a group the parents or relatives had permitted the immediate necessities of the family to outweigh the children's ultimate advantage. It is a depressing situation which confronts both these families and the student of the problem.

## Leaving school not necessary, but considered desirable.

In turning to the group of children who left school because their earnings were desired, though not absolutely necessary, we find a very striking difference in the distribution of incomes. In the preceding group, where the children's earnings were deemed necessary to the family support, only 18 , or 10.2 per cent, of the families concerned had weekly per capita incomes, after the deduction of rent, expenses of sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16 were made, of $\$ 2$ or over; in this group 84.3 per cent had such incomes. Only one case was found here in which the reported income, after deductions as above were made, fell below $\$ 1.50$. This was a French Canadian family, of which the members had one by one gone back to Canada, except the mother and daughter, who were lingering here, rather inexplicably. The low income shown indicates only the mother's earnings; when the girl's wages were added the income reached a reasonable figure, and in Canada the family owned a large farm, which they seemed to be managing at a profit. With this apparent exception, none of the incomes were so low as to indicate any real suffering.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of this group of families was the acceptance of work as the natural condition of the child, interfered with by rather incomprehensible laws which required him to waste a certain number of years in school, but to which he should properly turn as soon as this obstacle could be surmounted. A few families were found who had been in the country only a short time and had no idea of anything except work for their children; if they thought of the law at all, it was only to rejoice that their children were old enough to be exempt from its operation.

There were other families in which there was a real resentment toward the law, a feeling that the parents had a right to the child's
earnings, that school was a needless extravagance, and that the child ought of right to be put to work at the earliest moment. One such family consisted of the parents and one son. The man was earning $\$ 935$ a year, and after deductions of rent, expenses of sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16, the weekly per capita income was over $\$ 5$. The child was a bright, studious lad, fond of school and anxious to continue, but as soon as he reached the legal age his mother insisted on his going to work. In another case the parents, while making no claim of need, apparently considered that if they might not openly put their boy to work they would at least get the good of him in spite of the law, so they made him do the housework at home, sending him to school so tired that he was unable to study.

In general, however, the attitude was not so much hostility to school attendance as indifference to it. Sometimes this same indifference seemed to extend itself in a striking degree to the circumstances of the child's employment. In one case, for instance, in a family having a per capita income of $\$ 3.79$ after deduction of rent, expenses of sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16, a boy of 12 left school to go to work as stable boy at a race track. His mother seemed to realize that this work was hardly desirable for a boy of his years, indeed, mildly regretted it, though more because it took him from home than on account of its moral influence. But the idea of keeping him at school, or even of interfering decisively to change his work, did not seem to present itself as a possibility.

In some cases the children might have been allowed to remain in school but for the family desire to possess property. A house or a farm was bought and the children taken from school to help pay for it. Twelve such cases occur in this group. Six of them were under 14 ; two were 9 and 10 years, two were 12, and two were 13.

Fourteen children - 6 boys and 8 girls-left school to "help at home." For all the boys and for three of the girls this meant helping in some business the parents were carrying on for which they did not wish to hire outside helpers. Four of the remaining girls were taken out to help in the housework, though the family income would have permitted engaging some one else for this purpose. The fifth represented a curious sacrifice to social position. The girl of 15 was kept at home, because there were five children younger than herself and the income would not permit of hiring help. There was an older daughter of 18 who might naturally have helped in the household tasks, but the family had decided that they would have one lady in their number, and according to their conception of ladyhood it was entirely incompatible with work. Consequently the lady of the family led a life of genteel nonoccupation, while the younger
sister left school to help an overworked mother. Two of the girls and one of the boys in this group were 13, and one boy was 12 ; the others were all over 14.

A small group of four boys and three girls were working "to earn money for education." Three of the boys and one girl were working to secure for themselves better advantages than their parents could give them. The other three, a boy of 12 and two girls of 8 and 9 years old in the same family, were all working to help educate an older brother for the ministry. The family was large, the income moderate, and the whole family, including the future minister of the gospel, considered it entirely right and fitting that the younger children should work to earn money for his education.

Considering this group as a whole, it is evident that in most cases the withdrawal of the children from school could not be justified through pressure of circumstances. There was some indefensible exploitation of the child's wage-earning capacity by parents, some ill-judged sacrifice of one child to another, and a few examples of children working intelligently and purposefully to forward their own ambitions; but the most apparent feature was an indifference to education on the part of parents and children alike, and a disposition on the part of the former to cut short the child's school days for entirely insufficient cause.

## LEAVING SCHOOL DUE TO DISSATISFACTION.

In turning to the group of children who left school mainly because they were dissatisfied with it, we find a somewhat different state of affairs. The financial motive is no longer predominant, its place being taken by the child's own attitude toward school. It is true that in nearly one-fourth of the cases the weekly per capita income was under $\$ 2$, but financial necessity was never assigned as a reason. Somehow or other, if the child had been anxious to go, the family would have contrived to keep him in school.

The particular reasons influencing the individual children who were reported as dissatisfied with school show rather an interesting sex distribution, as follows:
TABLE 11.-REASONS FOR BEING DISSATISFIED WITH SCHOOL-BOYS AND GIRLS COMPARED.

|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tired of school. |  |  |  |
| Disliked school.. | ${ }_{20}^{42}$ | 12 | 54 31 |
| Disliked to study | 11 | 5 |  |
| Could not learn. | ${ }^{6}$ | 4 |  |
| Not promoted.. | 3 10 |  |  |
| Total. | 111 | 54 | 165 |

It will be noticed that the cases of dissatisfaction are more than twice as numerous among the boys as among the girls, and that there is no single cause of complaint which affects as many girls as boys.
"Tired of school" seems to indicate merely a restlessness natural to children, akin to that which later often makes them leave one occupation for another with no sufficient cause. Many of the children who left on this account had already tired of work and would have been glad to go back to school, but they had fallen behind their classes, or were ashamed to admit their mistake, or the family, having grown accustomed to their earnings, did not wish to spare them, or some other obstacle stood in the way.
"Disliked school" indicates a much more serious cause, a definite and sometimes an intense distaste for the general character of school life. Sometimes this indicates a strong bent toward some other kind of activity, as in the following case:

German family in Woonsocket; per capita weekly income (after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16) \$4.94. Boy grew rapidly and by 13 was a big, strong, able-bodied man. Loved hard work or anything which called for physical strength. Had no outlet for this strength in school and was mischievous and dissatisfied. As soon as he reached legal age, left school, and went into a machine shop. Is learning his trade and expects to become, as his father puts it, "the best machinist Rhode Island ever sent out, or Germany either."

Instances like this, however, were distinctly exceptional. Ordinarily the child had no strongly marked taste for anything else, but his studies failed to interest him, the routine of school life irked him, and he disliked it all with an intensity of which he himself could give no adequate explanation.

Concerning the next ground of dissatisfaction, the child's dislike of the teacher, it is difficult to speak with much assurance, as it was manifestly impossible to investigate the children's complaints and see how far they were justified. In some cases it was evident that the parents were really to blame. The child had misbehaved, had been punished, had made a grievance of this, and the parents had either encouraged him in feeling injured or had taken no interest in the matter and allowed him to "get even" by leaving school. Sometimes the ground of offense was absurdly trivial, as when a child decided to leave because the teacher reported to her parents the fact that she had been absent during one session when she was supposed to have gone to school; in other cases no cause was assigned, the parents being entirely satisfied with a vague statement that the child didn't like the teacher.

On the other hand, there seemed abundant reason to believe that in some cases the teachers were much to blame. One teacher, such
as is described in the following instance, might drive away many children:

American family, weekly per capita income (after deduction of rent, expenses of sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16) $\$ 2.60$. Girl was timid and afraid of her teacher, who was very strict and totally unsympathetic, and used her rudely before the classes. Girl had defective hearing and often she would not hear what the teacher said. On several occasions when the child asked for the question a second time the teacher exclaimed, "Sit down, you are a stupid fool." The mother visited the school several times to try to secure civil treatment for her daughter, but to no effect. Parents were able and willing to send her 2 years longer, but she was so unhappy and accomplishing so little that they consented to her leaving as soon as she reached legal age.

A dislike for study, which accounts for 16 cases of withdrawal, did not imply mental dullness, but rather mental indolence. These children seemed to have no fault to find with either school or teacher, but the kind of exertion required for study was unpleasant to them and neither they nor their parents had sufficient conception of the value of education to make them look upon this distaste as something to be overcome, or at least disregarded.

The next group, composed of those who left because they could not learn, were most obviously children who needed special training. Some were so feeble-minded that they should have been in an institution, and others, though not quite so defective, were totally unable to benefit by the ordinary courses given in the ordinary manner. Their presence among the normal children was a waste of time for themselves and a hindrance for the others, and since the community did not supply, and their parents could not afford, proper teaching for them, going to work was perhaps the best thing they could do.

The small group who left because they failed of promotion were normal children who for some reason did not pass, usually in one of the higher grades, and who, mortified by their failure and sure it was the teacher's fault, not theirs, preferred leaving school to going over the same work again.

A more important group is the next one, composed of children who left because they were too large for their class. In some cases dullness or dislike of study had made these children fail of one promotion after another until they had been overtaken by the little ones; in other cases, while their mental development had been normal, they had grown so rapidly that they looked years older than their real age, and found it very unpleasant to be graded with those apparently so much younger than themselves. It is to be noted that this cause of dissatisfaction was nonexistent in the southern communities, where the custom of changing from school to work and back again made it seem to all concerned an entirely normal thing for large children to be in low grades.

## LEAVING SCHOOL DUE TO PREFERENCE FOR WORK.

Turning to the next general division, those who preferred work, we find that in most cases it was a real liking for work, rather than for its attendant circumstances, which accounted for their leaving school. For the most part, these children did not dislike school; in fact, many of them distinctly liked it; only, they liked work better. Again and again among these schedules we come upon the statement: "Left school in vacation, fully intending to return in fall, but preferred to work after he had begun," or "Girl liked school and intended to graduate, but went to work during vacation and having got started didn't want to give it up." These children did not seem to have a special aptitude for any particular kind of work, nor were they learning trades; they simply liked industrial life better than the schoolroom. Unfortunately, at the time of the investigation, most of them had not been working long enough for any conclusions to be drawn as to the permanency of their preference for work.

The next two groups of this division are insignificant in point of numbers, but are interesting in their bearing on the frequent assertion that children-especially girls-go to work for the sake of getting spending money. In only eight instances was this the predominant motive, three being boys and five girls. On the other hand, out of nine who left mainly for the sake of being with friends who had gone to work, eight were girls. Apparently the desire for spending money among these girls was a decidedly weaker motive than friendship, while among the boys it was somewhat stronger.

## LEAVING SCHOOL DUE TO MISCELLANEOUS CAUSES.

The reasons of the small group who left school for miscellaneous causes require in general little comment. In regard to the first cause, ill health, a few cases were found of precocious children who were fond of their books and were so obviously over-studying that the teachers themselves advised removal from school for a time. There were other cases in which the industrial life really seemed in itself helpful. Children who had been delicate and frequently ailing in school grew better when they began work. In some cases the occupation was carefully chosen to give them light work and plenty of open air exercise, but two cases were found in which millwork seemed beneficial.
"Company pressure" as a reason was found only in one southern community. Four mills in Columbia were said to insist at times upon the children of employees coming to work in the mill and fifteen families testified to personal experience of this practice.

One man who had until four months before been an overseer in one of these mills and had been dismissed "because his successor had a
large family of experienced millworkers," gave much information about the way mill hands are obtained, and incidentally about the pressure put upon the families to send the children into the mill. He was sent by the manager of A- mill to bring families from the country to work in the mills, his instructions being to bring as large families as possible, but to accept none whose moral reputation was not good. He said if a family would not allow the children to work they were forced to leave the village. Single men are turned out for men with families.

The mill superintendents themselves were quite frank about the matter. The superintendent of X——mill, a young man, who had worked his way up, beginning as a doffer at 12 years of age, said he wanted to give every child who wanted an education a chance to get it, but that they could not always go to school just when they wanted to, and must take turns in going, or must even, if the mill needed hands, leave school for a time. If children were willing to keep at it, however, they could get their schooling in time. He said the company owned 143 houses, renting at 50 cents a room per month. As a rule he expected two hands at least from a three-room house and four from a six, but he showed in his rent book a number of houses from which but one hand came to the mill.

The agent of the Y-_ Mills Company said their corporation owned 108 houses, containing 4 to 8 rooms, which were rented at 20 cents a room per week. Normally a family having four rooms would be expected to have at least two hands in the mill.

The following is a list of the children in Columbia who went to work because of company pressure, with the weekly per capita income (all deductions) of the family, and what the parents or guardians said of their ability and willingness to send the children longer to school:

TABLE 12.-CHILDREN WHO WENT TO WORK BECAUSE OF COMPANY PRESSURE, COLUMBIA, S. C.

a This boy takes turns with his sisters in going to school.
$b$ The low income is due to a death occurring in the family after the girl began work. The per capita income before sickness and death expenses were deducted was $\$ 1.12$.

In no other place than Columbia was it stated that pressure was brought to bear by employers to secure the services of children, except it might be indirectly by rent scales. One mill in Columbus furnished a copy of its rent scale, in force in March, 1908, which follows:
Old and new houses, with only 1 hand at work, per room per month. ..... $\$ 1.25$
New houses, 2 hands at work, per room per month ..... 80
Old houses, 2 hands at work, per room per month ..... 60
New houses, 3 or more hands at work, per room per month ..... 75
Old houses, 3 or more hands at work, per room per month .....  50Water rent as heretofore, 35 cents per month.

## DISCUSSION OF REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL.

In discussing this whole subject, it must always be remembered that ordinarily the child's withdrawal from school was the result of several causes, no one of which would by itself have been sufficient. In the preceding table the cases have been tabulated according to what seems to be the principal motive, the decision as to this motive being frequently a difficult matter. Taking the table as a whole, it will be noticed that there were two leading causes, the financial reason and the child's dissatisfaction with school, of which the former accounts for over one-half, and the latter for something over onequarter of the cases. Less than one-third of these withdrawals can be ascribed to necessity. It is rather a striking fact that while in only 29.3 per cent of the cases with known incomes did the children's earnings seem really necessary, the per capita weekly income, after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16 , was under $\$ 2$ in 41.3 per cent of all the cases and under $\$ 1.50$ in 25.7 per cent. It will be recalled that in the discussion of the required income, families having a per capita weekly income (after all deductions had been made) of between $\$ 1.50$ and $\$ 2$ were looked upon as being in a kind of dubious zone in which their ability to keep their children longer in school would depend almost as much upon their moral and intellectual qualities as upon their financial situation. It is evident from the above figures that the majority of those in this economic borderland made a pretty good showing as to thrift and ability to manage without the children's earnings. As a matter of fact, in only 36.2 per cent ( 34 instances) of these borderland cases did the children's earnings seem really necessary.

When we turn to the group in which the children left school because their assistance though not absolutely necessary, was desired, we find a less favorable showing. In 60.5 per cent of these cases the weekly per capita income (after all deductions had been made) was $\$ 2.50$ a week, or over. The local distribution of these cases, shown in the table following, was rather unexpected.

TAble 13.-NUMBER AND PER CENT, IN FAMILIES HAVING PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME (AFTER ALL DEDUCTIONS) OF $\$ 2.50$ AND OVER, OF CHILDREN TAKEN FROM SCHOOL BECAUSE THEIR ASSISTANCE, THOUGH NOT NECESSARY, WAS DESIRED.


The largest proportion of these cases in which children were taken out of school unnecessarily for the sake of their earnings occurred in a predominantly native-born community (of the 62 children studied in Columbus only 4 were of other than native-born American descent), and the smallest percentage is found in a place of such markedly foreign population as Plymouth. Perhaps this difference is diminished by the fact that it is not unusual in the southern communities for children to leave school and return to it again and again. This does not, however, explain the difference between Columbus and the other southern communities.

Apart from the financial reasons, it will be noticed that the causes for leaving school are often trivial. A child takes a dislike to a teacher or gets tired and restless, or thinks he would like to earn money or to join companions who have left school, or for some other reason takes a fancy to leave and promptly does so, the parents either acquiescing or protesting ineffectively. A lack of firm parental control accounts for a number of these withdrawals.

With many families, especially in Woonsocket, the reason for the child's leaving school to go to work was more negative than positive. It was not so much that there was a reason for his doing so as that there was no reason for his not doing so; and while these cases were distributed among the positive reasons adopted for classification a separate count was made of them, showing all the families in which it appeared to be considered as the natural thing to send the boys or the girls to work at the earliest possible moment. This count resulted as follows:

TAbLE 14.-CHILDEN WHOSE GOING TO WORK WAS REGARDED AS A MATTER OF COURSE.


It will be observed that in three of the places studied there was no tendency to look upon sending girls to work as a natural thing, and that in general the number of girls going to work as a matter of course is smaller than the number of boys. In Woonsocket alone the number of such girls (36) is considerably larger than that of the boys (21).

It will be noticed that Woonsocket is also the only place in which the whole number of girls going to work is larger than of boys. In this respect it was such a marked exception as to excite curiosity, and upon further investigation several interesting facts were discovered.
(1) Taking into consideration the whole group of children studied in Woonsocket who left the public schools to begin work, it was found that there was no excess of girls among them.
(2) When these same children were separated into race groups, it was found that among the French Canadians the preponderance of girls was very marked. For the other race groups the preponderance of boys was so great that for the children leaving the public schools as a whole it overbalanced the excess of girls among the French Canadians and produced the situation shown in (1).
(3) The enrollment of the largest public school in the French Canadian district (which was also the largest school in the city) showed a greater number of boys enrolled at the ages of 14 and 15 than of girls. Apparently the French Canadians feel that boys can profit
by more schooling than girls. Only a few French Canadians were in the high school.

In the great majority of cases where the children left school because school was unattractive or work was more attractive, the parents were "able and willing," as they stated, to send the children to school longer; in some cases really anxious. The lack of parental control was very noticeable. This resulted a few times from a conviction that it is injurious to a child to "force" him to go to school against his will, but generally it was simply weakness; the child tircd out the parent and won his own way. The intense hatred of some of the children for school, some of those even who were warmly praised by their teachers, was startling. But it should also be stated that nearly twice as many children decidedly liked school as hated it; and it must never be forgotten that in all this discussion we are dealing only with the selected children who left school and not with any of those who stayed in school.

Vacation work was the cause of many children's leaving school permanently. The number of those who began work in vacation, intending to return to school but did not, is more than twice as large as the number of those who began in vacation and returned. The following is the distribution of such cases:

TAbLe 15.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO BEGAN WORK IN VACATION INTENDING TO RETURN TO SCHOOL, BUT WHO DID NOT RETURN, AND NUMBER WHO BEGAN WORK AND DID RETURN.

| Locality. | Did not return. |  |  | Returned. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 5 | 8 | 13 | 2 |  | 2 |
| Georgia and Alabama coun | 10 | 5 | 15 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Columbia, S. C......... | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Plymouth, Pa. |  |  | . | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Total. | 30 | 19 | 49 | 14 | 9 | 23 |

## CHAPTER II.

## CIRCUMSTANCES POSSIBLY INFLUENTIAL IN CAUSING CHILDREN TO LEAVE SCHOOL.



## CHAPTER II.

## CIRCUMSTANCES POSSIBLY INFLUENTIAL IN CAUSING CHILDREN TO LEAVE SCHOOL.

## INTRODUCTION.

In the preceding section the main reason for each child's leaving school has been dealt with; in this it is proposed to take up outside circumstances by which they may have been influenced, grouping them under two heads: Domestic conditions and school experiences.

In general, the families studied were in nowise different from many of their neighbors. The impressions as to the physique, intelligence, degree of cultivation, etc., which can be gathered in an inquiry of this kind are necessarily too superficial and too much affected by the observer's personal bias to form the basis of definite conclusions. About 60 per cent of the families visited were noticeably neat, intelligent, capable, ambitious, and pleasant; of the others some were ignorant and untidy, and a few fell far below the average, but on the whole the group represented very fairly what one might expect to find. It was a fair average group, neither more nor less.

Four of the children, three boys and one girl, were found to be feeble-minded. One of these was in Pawtucket, 1 in Woonsocket, and 2 in Columbus. Taking all places together, 12 other members of families, 3 male and 9 female, were found to be either feeble-minded or insane.

Four mothers, one in Woonsocket, one in Columbus, one in Plymouth, and one in Hazleton, were in insane asylums.

The poor health of the father or the mother had sometimes an influence upon the child's determination to leave school and go to work. The following is the number in each locality of fathers and mothers who were in poor health at the time the child went to work:

Table 16.-FAMILIES WITH FATHER OR MOTHER IN POOR HEALTH, BY LOCALITIES.


## RACE AND NATIVITY.

The country of birth of the children and of their parents is shown for each of the communities included in this study in the following table:

TABLE 17.-COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS AND OF CHILDREN.


Table 17.-COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS AND OF CHILDREN-Concluded.


Of the children themselves, 83.9 per cent were born in the United States. In no locality was the percentage less than 90 except in Pawtucket ( 78.6 per cent) and Woonsocket ( 61.5 per cent).

Half of the children ( 50.7 per cent) had American-born fathers. The largest number and by far the largest proportion of these were found in the southern places. In the four northern places the percentage of such children ranged from 15.7 per cent in Woonsocket to 60.7 per cent in Hazleton.

The main point of interest in connection with this table is to see whether any racial tendencies can be discovered in the matter of taking children from school to go to work. Among the parents of the Rhode Island families studied nativity and race were so closely related that the two terms may be used as identical. Comparing the birthplace of these parents (both father and mother being considered for each child) with the birthplace of the general population as given by the Rhode Island state census of 1905 we have the following:

[^14]TAble 18.-PER CENT OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK AND OF GENERAL POPULATION BORN IN EACH SPECIFIED COUNTRY, PAWTUCKET AND WOONSOCKET, R.I.
[In the preceding table the parents were counted as many times as there were children, i. e., it two children came from one family the parents were counted twice. In this table the parents are counted but once, regardless of the number of their children.]

| Country of birth. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | General population (per cent). | Parents of schedule children (per cent). | $\begin{gathered} \text { General } \\ \text { popula- } \\ \text { tion (per } \\ \text { cent). } \end{gathered}$ | Parents of schedule children (per cent). |
| United States. | 66.9 | 30.6 | 57.6 | 14.9 |
| England. | 9.8 | 14.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 |
| Scotland. | 2.8 8.0 | 6.8 12.1 | 4.4 | 6. 0 |
| Canada: |  |  |  | 6.0 |
| English Canadian. | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.7 |
| French Canadian. | 6.3 | 20.4 | 27.9 | 68.9 |
| Other countries. | 4.7 | 14.1 | 6.1 | 5.9 |
| Total. | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

It will be noticed that the American-born parents furnished far less than their proportionate number of cases of withdrawing children from school, and that in general all the foreign-born parents appeared more numerously than their representation in the general population warrants. In both places the French Canadians are the leading foreign race. In Pawtucket these furnished more than three times, and in Woonsocket nearly three times, their proportionate share of withdrawals. There can be no question that a distinct racial custom exists among them of sending children to work at the earliest legal age.

In the southern localities the parents were so generally American that no comparison of races is possible.

For Plymouth and Hazleton no authoritative statistics as to race distribution of the population could be secured. In Plymouth, after carefully canvassing the membership of the churches and making due allowance for those not church members, a rough estimate of the racial distribution was made, which is shown in the following table, compared with the racial distribution of the schedule parents:

TABLE 19.-PER CENT OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK AND OF GENERAL POPULATION OF EACH SPECIFIED RACE, PLYMOUTH, PA.

|  | Race. | General population (per cent). | Schedule parents (per cent.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| American... |  |  |  |
| English and Welsh. |  | 10.6 | 25.0 28.0 |
| Slavic.............. |  | 44.3 | 42.8 |
| Other. |  | 15.2 | 4.2 |
| Total |  | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The Slavic group includes the Russians, Poles, Slovaks, and, for convenience sake, the Lithuanians. It will be seen that this group falls slightly below the proportion it might fairly have given. The Welsh and English make a surprisingly poor showing here, for which no explanation could be discovered.

Not even a satisfactory estimate of the racial distribution of the Hazleton population could be secured. A study of racial affiliations of the church membership gave grounds for believing that the Slavic element constituted about 30 per cent of the population, while the Germans formed about 24 per cent. Of the schedule parents the Slavic group contributes only 10.7 per cent, while the Germans gave 43.5 per cent. It will be noticed that there is a striking difference between the practice of the French Canadians in Pawtucket and Woonsocket and the Slavic element in the Pennsylvania towns, the latter seeming to show a much greater appreciation of the value of school training for their children.

In Plymouth and Hazleton, although so many of the parents are foreign-born, the percentage of American-born children is about as large as in the South. This seems to indicate that their immigrants are not of as recent arrival as the immigrants in Woonsocket, where 35.6 per cent of the children studied were born in Canada.

## PARENTAL CONDITION AND POSITION OF CHILD IN FAMILY.

Parental conditions were in a number of cases responsible for the child's going to work, though such cases were not so numerous as might have been expected. Table 20, immediately following, presents the conditions in this respect.

## Table 20.-CONDITION OF CHILDREN AS TO PARENTS.

[This table deals with the children, so its figures do not agree with those of the following tables, which deal with the families. Thus in Pawtucket 5 children had stepfathers at home, but these 5 children belonged to only 3 families. In Columbus 6 children had fathers who had deserted, but they represented only 3 families.)

| Condition as to parents. | Children of specified condition in- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga. |  | Georgia and Alabama counties. |  |
|  | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\substack{\text { Num. } \\ \text { ber. }}}{ }$ | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| Father with family. | 76 | 73.8 | 143 | 81.7 | 51 | 66.2 | 47 | 78.3 |
| Father dead. | 19 | 18.4 | 21 | 12.0 | 19 | 24.7 | 12 | 20.0 |
| Father a deserter. | 5 | 4.9 | 6 | 3.4 | 6 | 7.8 |  |  |
| Irregular or not reported | 3 | 2.9 | 5 | 2.9 | 1 | 1.3 | 1 | 1.7 |
| Total | 103 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 77 | 100.0 | 60 | 100.0 |
| Father or stepfather with family... | 81 | 78.7 | 147 | 84.0 | 51 | 66.2 | 51 | 85.0 |
| family | 22 | 21.3 | 28 | 16.0 | 26 | 33.8 | 9 | 15.0 |
| Total. | 103 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 77 | 100.0 | 60 | 100.0 |
| Stepfather with family | 5 | 4.9 | 4 | 2.3 |  |  | 4 | 6.7 |
| Stepfather a deserter | 8 |  | 18 | ${ }_{10} .6$ | 3 | 3. 9 | 5 | 8.3 |
| Mother a deserter. | 2 | 1.9 |  |  | 3 | 3. | 5 | 8.3 |

- But known to be away from family.

Table 20.-CONDITION OF CHILDREN AS TO PARENTS-Concluded.

| Condition as to parents. | Children of specified condition in- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Columbia, S. C. |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | Num- ber. | Per cent. | Number. | Per |
| Father with family | 37 | 59.7 | 71 | 84.5 | 47 | 77.0 | 472 | 75.9 |
| Father dead....................... | 19 | 30.6 | 9 | 10.7 | 12 | 19.7 | 111 | 17.8 |
| Father a deserter................... | $\stackrel{4}{2}$ | 6.5 3.2 | 1 | 3.6 1.2 | 2 | 3.3 | 26 13 | 4.2 |
| Total. | 62 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 | 61 | 100.0 | 622 | 100.0 |
| Father or stepfather with family.... | 43 | 69.4 | 73 | 86.9 | 49 | 80.3 | 495 | 79.6 |
| Neither father nor stepiather with family................................. | 19 | 30.6 | 11 | 13.1 | 12 | 19.7 | 127 | 20.4 |
| Total. | 62 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 | 61 | 100.0 | 622 | 100.0 |
| Stepfather with family | 6 | 9.7 | 2 | 2.4 | 2 | 3.3 | 23 | 3.7 |
| Stepfather dead.. |  |  | 1 | 1.2 |  |  | 1 | . 2 |
| Stepfather a deserter |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | . 2 |
| Mother dead. | 7 | 11.3 | 4 | 4.8 | 7 | 11.5 | 52 | 8.4 |
| Mother a deserter . |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | . 3 |

a But known to be away from family.
Supplement to Table 20.
NUMBER OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES OTHER THAN FATHERS, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO CHILDREN.

| Place. | Stepfather. | Grandfather. | Adopted father. | Brother. | Uncle. | Cousin. | Custodian. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 3 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Woonsocket, R.I | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 3 |
| Columbus, Ga....... |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C....... | 5 | 1 |  | $i^{-}$ |  |  | 1 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 2 |  |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. | 18 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 |

Table 20 is based on the number of children, each child counting as one, though there may be two or more in one family. It would seem more logical to have made the count by families instead of by children, but it was found impracticable, owing to cases like the following:

In one family were two children, a boy and a girl. The girl was an adopted child, her father being dead, so although in the same family as the boy, and the family being used as one in other tables, their conditions as to parents were different.

In another family were two boys; in the case of one, his mother had died and his father married again, his father had afterwards died and his stepmother married again, so both father and mother were dead; the other boy in the same household had a stepfather, but his mother was living, so that the two boys were stepbrothers and had different conditions as to parents, although in other tables they are considered as belonging to the same family.

It will be seen that in the case of 111 , or 17.8 per cent, of the children their own fathers were dead, and in 26 , or 4.2 per cent, of the cases
they had deserted. The percentage of those whose fathers were dead ranged from 10.7 per cent in Plymouth to 30.6 per cent in Columbia, while the percentage of those with deserting fathers ranged from none in Georgia and Alabama counties to 7.8 per cent in Columbus. There was a significant difference between the sexes, only 52 , or 8.4 per cent, of the children having lost their mother by death, or less than half as many as had lost their fathers. Desertion on the part of the mothers was practically nonexistent, only 2 children having been thus abandoned.

In 23 cases, or 3.7 per cent, the children had stepfathers living with the family. In a few cases the stepfather seemed less willing to keep a child in school, but in general there was no noticeable difference between the families having own fathers and those with stepfathers.

One hundred and twenty-seven, or 20.4 per cent, of the children had neither father nor stepfather at home. But these families did not always nor even generally seem to be crippled financially by the absence of the male head, as shown by the following summary, in which the first column shows the number of families having female heads only, and the second the number of these same families whose per capita income with all deductions except sickness and death was $\$ 100$ and over for the year preceding the visit of investigation:

Table 21.-NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS ONLY AND NUMBER WITH ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME OF $\$ 100$ AND OVER.

| Familles with female heads only. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Clty. $\quad$ Number. $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { Number } \\ \text { having } \\ \text { sion and } \\ \text { over per } \\ \text { capita } \\ \text { income.a }\end{gathered}\right.$ |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I <br> Woonsocket, R. I <br> Columbus, Ga <br> Georgia and Alabama counties <br> Columbia, S. C. <br> Plymouth, Pa. <br> Hazleton, Pa. |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

a With all deductions, except for expenses of siekness and death.
The list of children studied includes none who "had to go to the mill with the mother because there was no one at home to take care of them," but there were several instances of children woefully neglected, running wild, and growing up lawless, because the mother was working and unable to care for them and to see that they went to school. The following is a case in point:

The mother, an elderly woman, left a widow a year and a half ago, with 6 children from 5 to 18 years of age (thé youngest one adopted),
works in the mill, gets up at 3 a. m., does the cooking for the day and leaves the cold victuals for the two little ones, who are supposed to go to school, but the mother does not know for sure whether they go or not. The two little ones were ragged and rather dirty, but the mother was neat and clean, and the little girl of 13 was clean, though barefoot. The four older children, aged respectively $11,13,16,18$, all work in the mill, but without the earnings of the two youngest, the per capita weekly income after rent is paid would be $\$ 1.02$.

Sometimes there was no need of the mother's working, but she simply "preferred mill work to housework," as in the following case:

One mill woman, whose husband is an electrician in a cotton mill and earns $\$ 11$ a week, says she prefers to work in the mill rather than to do housework. She has been in the mill practically all her life and feels lonely and doesn't know what to do without it. The younger sister is barefoot, dirty, but rather refined looking, as is the other child, but the mother seems to know nothing but the mill. The weekly per capita income of the family, with all deductions, is $\$ 3.40$. The child (of 15) earns as much as the mother, $\$ 7.50$ per week.
We have seen that orphanage, either partial or complete, plays but a small part in causing the children to leave school for work. To what extent does the indolence or incapacity of the natural supporters of the family force the children to become wage-earners? Table 22 gives the status of both fathers and mothers in regard to the family income. In this table mothers were not counted as "at work" unless they were earning money from sources outside the family. Thus, if members of the family living at home paid in a part of their earnings for board and lodging, the mother was not on that account considered as being at work; but if she took nonrelatives to board she was reckoned as working and counted as an earning member.
TABLE 22.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED CONDITION AS TO FATHERS AND MOTHERS.

| Condition as to fathers and mothers. | Pawtucket, R.I. |  | Woonsocket,R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga. |  | Georgia and Alabama counties. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | Per | Number. | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. |
| Total families. | 99 |  | 167 |  | 63 |  | 52 |  |
| fathers.a |  | 81.8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Families having fathers at work. | 81 |  | 143 | 85.6 | 41 | 65.1 | 43 | 82.7 |
| Families having fathersidie, incapaci- <br> tated, or retired. |  | . 0 | 8 | 4.8 | 3 | 4.8 | 1 | 1.9 |
| Families having fathers dead, deserters, or away and not contributing. | 17 | 17.2 | 16 | 9.6 |  | 30.1 |  | 15.4 |
| MOTHERS.a | 17 |  |  |  | 19 |  | 8 |  |
| Familles having mothers at home, not working |  | 75.8 | 13723 |  |  | 74.625.4 | 10 |  |
| Families having mothers at work ....- | 17 | 17.1 |  | ${ }_{13.8}^{82.0}$ | 16 |  |  | 78.9 19.2 |
| serters, or away...... | 7 | 7.1 | 7 | 4.2 |  |  | 1 | 1.8 |

[^15]Table 22.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED CONDITION AS TO FATHERS AND MOTHERS-Concluded.

| Condition as to fathers and mothers. | Columbia, S. C. |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  | Hazelton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| Total families | 53 |  | 82 |  | 58 |  | 574 |  |
| Pathers.a |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Families having fathers at work..... | 38 | 71.7 | 70 | 85.4 | 47 | 81.0 | 463 | 80.7 |
| Families having fathersidle, incapacitated, or retired. | 2 | 3.8 | 2 | 2.4 | 1 | 1.7 | 18 | 3.1 |
| Families having fathers dead, deserters, or away and not contributing. | 13 | 24.5 | 10 | 12.2 | 10 | 17.3 | 93 | 16.2 |
| Families having mothers at home, not working. | 31 |  | 70 | 85.4 | 45 | 77.6 | 447 | 77.9 |
| Families having mothers at work.... | 19 | 35.8 | 10 | 12.2 | 12 | 20.7 | 106 | 18.5 |
| Familles having mothers dead, deserters, or away. | 3 | 5.7 | 2 | 2.4 | 1 | 1.7 | 21 | 3.6 |

a In this table "father"=male head; "mother"=mother or stepmother.
A great deal is said both in the North and in the South about men who put their wives and children to work and then retire from active life. Undoubtedly such cases exist, but this table shows that they are not numerous in the families included in this investigation. The largest percentage of such cases found was only 4.8 per cent, while in Georgia and Alabama counties, our distinctively mill settlement, only one such case was found ( 1.9 per cent). ${ }^{a}$ In the total number of 574 families, only 3.1 per cent of such cases were found, and this includes the fathers who were actually incapacitated by age or disease. Evidently the children were not, as a group, working because of their fathers' indolence. Neither were they to any considerable extent working because of desertion on the fathers' part.

The list of families having deserting fathers stands as follows:
Table 23.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES WITH DESERTING FATHERS, BY LOCALITIES.


[^16]Evidently the fathers of these families are not at all generally shirking their obligations as workers. They may perhaps be exploiting the children unnecessarily, but the table shows that in the great majority of families having a male head he is at work.

When we consider the question of mothers as earning members of the family group, we find the following local distribution. The three southern places, with their distinctively American population, stand well in the lead in this matter, Columbia having by far the largest proportion of any place studied, Columbus making a good second, and the Georgia and Alabama counties saving the situation to some extent by having a slightly smaller percentage than Hazleton, although they exceed the three other northern places. The following table gives full details concerning these mothers. In this table both the weekly wages and the earnings for the past year are net, a fact which does not affect those working for wages outside their home, but becomes of importance when those who took boarders are under consideration. No mother whose net earnings amounted to less than $\$ 20$ during the year has been included:

TABLE 24.-OCCUPATION, DAYS WORKED, EARNINGS, ETC., OF MOTHERS WHO CONTRIBUTE TO SUPPORT OF THE FAMILY.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.
[The weekly wages reported were not always received for the entire time worked; hence the yearly earnings may not agree with the weekly wages and days worked.]

| Race of father. | Mothers who contribute to support of the family. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Race. | Conjugal condition. | Industry and latest occupation. | Weekwages | Days worked. | Earnings during year. |
| Irish. | Irish | Widowed. | Paper mill | \$7.00 | 128 | \$149 |
| English. | English.......... | Deserted.. | Cotton, weaver | 10.00 | 205 | 341 |
| French Canadian.. | French Canadian. | . do..... | .....do. | 7.00 | 295 | 344 |
| English........... | English. | Married... | Storekeeper | 7.00 | 308 | 423 |
| American. | American | do | Housewife, takes Cotton, spooler. | 3.50 7.00 | (a) | 182 |
| English | American | do | Storekeeper. | 7.00 | 12 | 90 |
| French Canadian. | French Canadian. | do | Housewife, takes boarders | 4.00 | (a) | 936 |
| Italian.. | Italian............ | . do | Housewife, takes lodgers. | (a) | (a) | 57 |
| American | Irish. | do | Boarding house........ | 20.00 | 365 | 1,040 |
| German. | German | do | Housework, storekeeper | 10.00 | 308 | 513 |
| Italian | Italia | do | Housewife, takes boarders.. | 4.50 |  | 234 |
| Irish | Irish. | do | Worsted, spinner | 6.60 | 103 | 113 |
| American | American | ...do | Weaver. | 8.00 | 257 | 342 |
| Do. | ...do | ...do | Housewife, does washing | 6.00 | (a) | 102 |
| German. | German. | ...do...... | Cleaning and washing... | 5. 00 | 308 | 256 |
| American | $\Lambda$ merican | ...do | Housewife, takes boarders. | 3.50 | (a) | 182 |

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| Irish. | Irish. | Widowed. | Housework, storekeeper. | \$10.00 | (a) | \$628 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do. | French Canadian. | ...do. | Housework, private families.- | 1.50 | 308 | 77 |
| French Canadian. |  | Deserted. | Silk mill, weaver. | 12.00 | 292 | 583 |
| English.. | Irish...... | Separated. | Rubber shop..... | 8.00 | 257 | 342 |
| American | American........ | Married.. | Candy factory | 6.00 | 308 | 303 |
| Irish. | French Canadian. | ...do. | Seamstress. | 2.00 | 104 | 35 |
| French Canadian.. |  | do | Housewife and weaver | 10.00 | 103 | 171 |
| Irish. | Irish. | do. | Housework | 6.00 | 308 | 308 |
| English | English. | do.. | Cleaning and washing. | 5.00 | 156 | 130 |

TAble 24.-OCCUPATION, DAYS WORKED, EARNINGS, ETC., OF MOTHERS WHO CONTRIBUTE TO SUPPORT OF THE FAMILY-Continued.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.-Concluded.

| Race of father. | Mothers who contribute to support of the family. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Race. | Conjugal condition. | Industry and latest occupation. | Weekly wages. | Days | Earn ings durin year |
| Russian. | Russian Jew. | Married | Housewife, takes boarders.. | 35.00 | (a) | \$260 |
| French Canadian. | French Canadian. | . do. | - $\mathrm{w}^{\text {. d do. }}$ | 17.50 | (a) | 910 |
|  |  | do | Worsted. | 6.20 | 231 | 207 |
| Do. |  | ...do | Paper mill. ................... | 6.00 | 296 | 296 |
| ${ }^{\text {D }}$ | do | . . do | Housewife, takes in washing. | 1.50 | (a) | 78 |
| Irish............. |  | do | Dressmaking, housework..... | 4.00 | (a) | 203 |
| French Canadian. | do | do | Housewife, takes boarders... | 2.50 | (a) | 130 |
| Do. |  | do | Housewife, knitting mill... | 10.00 | 103 | 171 |
| English............. | English.......... | do | Housewife, takes boarders... | 2.50 | (a) | 130 |
| French Canadian. | French Canadian. | do | Housewife, takes in washing. | (a) | (a) | 39 |
| Do. | , | do | Housewife, takes boarders... | 2.50 | (a) | 130 |
| Do. |  | ...do....... | Worsted, winder .......... | 6.40 | 52 | 55 |
| Do. |  | do | Housewife, takes board | 4.00 2.50 | (a) | 208 130 |

## COLUMBUS, GA.

| American. | American. | Widowed. | Cotton, spooler | 87.00 | 100 | \$66 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do. | do | do. | Cotton, weaver | 7.86 | 222 | 289 |
| Do | do | do | Hosiery, inspector | 4.80 | 270 | 216 |
| Do | do | ...do | Seamstress, takes board | (a) | (a) | 94 |
|  |  |  | Cotton, warper tender. | 6.00 | 77 | 77 |
| Do | do | ..do...... | Housewife, takes boarders. | 13.50 | (a) | 728 |
| Do | do |  | Housewife, takes lodgers.. | (a) | (a) | 84 |
| Do |  | Separated. | Housewife, takes boarders | (a) | (a) | 390 |
| Do |  | Deserted.. | Cotton, comb winder. | 7.00 | 300 | 350 |
| Do |  |  | Cotton, quilt weaver...... | 10.50 | 306 | 536 |
| Do |  | Married... | Housewile, takes boar | 4.00 | (a) | 104 |
| Do |  | ...do...... | Cotton, spooler. | 6.00 | 300 | 300 |
|  |  |  | Housework, takes boarders | 10.36 |  | 540 |
| English. |  |  | Housewife, takes boarders. | 12.50 | 180 | 375 |
| American | do | do...... | Cotton, wearer. | 4.25 | 71 | 50 |
| D |  | ..do...... | Knitting mill.............. | 4.00 | 269 | 179 |

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| American. | American. | Widowed. | Teaches school, presses | \$6.00 | 365 | \$417 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do. | do | do | Cotton, warper.... | 7.50 | 210 | 263 |
| Do | do. | do | Cotton, inspector | 6.00 | 306 | 306 |
| Do | do | . do | Cotton, drawing in | 11.00 | 282 | 517 |
| Irish. | do | Marrled... | Cotton, comb winder | 8.50 | 70 | 99 |
| American |  | ...do.. | Housewlfe, takes boa | 1.00 | (a) | 38 |
| Do. |  |  | Dressmaker... | 4.00 | 150 | 100 |
| Do | do | ...do...... | Cotton, spinne | 6. 24 | 300 | 313 |
| Do. |  | d | Dressmaker. | 4.00 | 150 | 100 |
| Do. |  |  | Cotton, speeder tender | 7.50 | 200 | 250 |

COLUMBIA, S. C.

| American. | American. | Widowed. | Housewife, takes boarders.... | (a) | (a) | \$207 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do. | do | ..do.. | ....do........................ | \$9.00 | 365 | 468 |
| Do | do | .d | Housewife and dressmaker... | 1.00 | (a) | 52 |
| Do. | do | ...do | Housewife, takes boarders. | 4.00 | (a) | 101 |
| Do. |  | . | .....do........................ | 1.50 | (a) | 78 |
| Do. | do | . do...... | Housewife, seamstress, boarders. | 2.00 | (a) | 100 |
| Do. | do. | Separated. | Housewife, takes boarders.... | 6.92 | (a) | 180 |
| Do |  | Married... | Hous | (a) | (a) | 156 |
| Do | ....do | ...do. | dors | 41.92 | (a) | 2,180 |
| Do. | ....do | do | Cotton, weaver. | 9.00 | 300 | 450 |
| Do. |  | ...do...... | Housewife, dressmaker, storekeeper. | 5.00 | 308 | 257 |
| Do. | do. | do. | Housewlfe, takes boarders.... | 10.00 | (a) | 520 |

TABLE 24.-OCCUPATION, DAYS WORKED, EARNINGS, ETC., OF MOTHERS WHO CONTRIBUTE TO SUPPORT OF THE FAMILY-Concluded.

COLUMBIA, S. C.-Concluded.

| Race of father. | Mothers who contribute to support of the family. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Race. | Conjugal condition. | Industry and latest occupation. | Week1 y wages | Days worked. | Earnings during year. |
| American... | American.. | Widowed. | Cotton, spooler...... | \$4.50 | 200 | \$150 |
|  |  | ...do...... |  |  | (a) | 26 |
| Do. Do. | do | ...do. | Housewife, takes boarders | 5. 88 1.50 | (a) | 306 |
|  |  | ..do. | Cotton, weaving | 1.50 | (a) | 78 87 |
| Do. |  | do | Housewife, takes boarders | (a) | (a) | 50 |
|  |  | ...do...... | .....do..................... | 6.00 | (a) | 312 |

## PLYMOUTH, PA.

| Welsh. | Welsh. | Widowed. | Tobacco factory, stripper. | \$4. 50 | (a) | \$63 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Russian. | Russian | .do. | Housewife, takes boarders. | (a) | (a) | 38 |
| Welsh. | Welsh | do. | Housewife, takes in washing. | 2.50 | 150 | 63 |
| Slovak | Slovak | Deserted.. | Agriculture, laborer . | b 1.80 | (a) | 31 |
| American | American | Married | Housewife, takes boarders | 1.50 | (a) | 78 |
| German | German | do |  | 1.50 | (a) | 78 |
| Welsh | Welsh. | do | Housewife, takes in washing. | 1.00 | (a) | 52 |
| Slovak | Slovak | do |  | (a) | (a) | 38 |
| American | American | do |  | 1.00 | (a) | 50 |
| English. | English. | ...do...... | Nurse, house | (a) | (a) | 75 |

## hazLETON, PA.

| German. | German. | Widowed. | Dressmaker | \$3.00 | 308 | \$154 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do | do | ...do | Housewife, laundress | 3.00 | (a) | 156 |
| Do | d |  | .do. | 3.00 | (a) | 24 |
| American. | American. | Deserted.. | Housewife, seamstress | 3.00 | (a) | 156 |
| German. | German.. | Married... | W ashing. | 3.00 | (a) | 156 |
| American. | American. | ...do. | Candy store | 1.00 | 308 | 51 |
| German. | German. | do | Dressmaker | 4.00 | 300 | 200 |
| Do. | -...do. | do | Housewife, takes boa | (a) | (a) | 120 |
| American | American. |  | Laundress........ | 1.25 | 308 | 64 |
| Polish. | Polish. |  | Housewife, takes boa | 2.00 | (a) | 90 |
| German | German.. |  | Do..do........... | 3.00 3.00 | (a) ${ }_{150}$ | 144 75 |
| Do. | American. |  | Domesti | 3.00 | 150 | 75 |

a Not reported.
band board.
It will be seen that a large number of these working mothers were engaged in occupations which could be carried on at home. They kept boarders, or took in washing or sewing, or had a little store connected with their house, or otherwise avoided going away from home. If we consider only those who worked regularly away from home we have the following results:

TABLE 25.-MOTHERS REGULARLY WORKING AWAY FROM HOME.

| Locality. | Number. | Per cent. | Locality. | Number. | Per cent. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket. | 7 | 7.1 | Plymouth. | 3 | 3.7 |
| Woonsocket | 10 | 6. 0 | Hazleton. | 1 | 1.8 |
| Columbus. ${ }_{\text {Georgia and Alabama counties. }}$ | 9 6 | 14.3 11.5 | Total | 39 | 6.8 |
| Columbia. ...................... | 3 | 5.6 |  |  |  |

Here, again, we find by far the largest proportion of mothers working outside their own homes in two distinctively American communities. A glance at Table 24 shows, however, that the proportion of widowed, deserted, or separated women is much larger among the working mothers in the southern places than in the northern towns. This difference is not sufficiently great to explain fully the difference in the number of working mothers, but it throws some light on it. ${ }^{a}$

Of course, in drawing conclusions, we must always remember that we have a special selection of families to deal with, namely, the families where one or more of the children were just leaving school to go to work, and must therefore avoid too broad an application.

So far we have considered only the heads of families. The following table shows the complete membership of the families:

Table 26.-MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY.


Looking first at the wage-earners, it appears that there are 2.15 male to 1.29 female wage-earners per family. When we consider only the wage-earners under 16 years of age, the difference between the

[^17]sexes is less marked, the average per family being 0.61 male to 0.47 female. ${ }^{a}$ The average number of wage-earners under 16 per family varied considerably from place to place, standing as follows:
Pawtucket, R. I.
0.96
Plymouth, Pa
Woonsocket, R. I....................... . . 93
Columbus, Ga.......................... 1.30
Georgia and Alabama counties..... 1.30
Columbia, S. C........................ . 1.50
Hazleton, Pa86

The greater relative importance of young workers in the southern localities shows very plainly here, Plymouth being the only northern place which comes up to the average for all places.

From the second part of the table it appears that while over twothirds of the families still have children in school less than one-half have children at home, not earning wages. (Children in this classification include all the descendants of the parents, whether adults or minors.) It also appears that the families are as a rule large, the average membership at home nowhere falling below six.

A common argument for a lenient child-labor law is in behalf of the widowed mother with a large family of children whose oldest boy is just becoming able to help in their support. It is interesting to note that among the boys included in this investigation there are nearly as many youngest children in the family as there are oldest, and in Pawtucket, Georgia and Alabama counties, and Columbia there are actually more youngest than oldest children among the boys. The following is a summary of the numbers of oldest and youngest in each locality:

Table 27.-Position of child in family.
[Only the oldest and youngest children are included here; an only child is not included.)

| Locality. | Oldest. |  |  | Youngest. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Pawtucket. |  | 12 |  |  |  |  |
| Columbecket | 16 13 | 18 | 34 <br> 18 | 12 | 16 | ${ }_{12}^{28}$ |
| Georgia and Alabama coun | 6 | 9 | 15 | 8 | 1 |  |
| Columbia.............. | 5 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| Plymouth... | 17 | 9 3 | 26 13 | $\begin{array}{r}3 \\ 6 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | 1 4 |  |
| Hazleton.... | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. | 77 | 62 | 139 | 62 | 35 | 97 |

## PRESENT OR LATEST INDUSTRY OF HEAD OF FAMLY.

Having dwelt at length on the race and constitution of the families studied, some consideration, first of their industrial, and then of their

[^18]financial condition is in order. Turning to the question of the occupations or industries of the fathers, or, rather, of the heads of the families, we find that these are so numerous and so varied that detailed description is impracticable. In Pawtucket alone 40 industries are represented by the heads of families-not to speak of the much larger variety of occupations in these industries. Employments are grouped, therefore, in such a way as to show separately the leading industries or industry groups of each place.

It may be stated briefly here that of the 520 heads of families engaged in specified industries, for whom reports were obtained, 16.5 per cent were engaged in independent business or profession; 41 per cent in mines or textile establishments, and 42.5 per cent in miscellaneous industries.

Table 28 shows by race the number of heads of families engaged in each specified industry group.

Table 28.-PRESENT OR LATEST INDUSTRY OF HEADS OF FAMILIES, by race.


Table 28.-PRESENT OR LATEST INDUSTRY OF HEADS OF FAMILIES, BY RACEConcluded.

| Locality and industry. | American. |  | Other English speaking. |  | Slavic. |  | Other races. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| PLYMOUTH, PA. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Independent business or profession. | 1 | 4.8 | 2 | 10.5 | 5 | 15.6 | 2 | 100.0 | 8 | 10.8 |
| Mines.. | 16 | 76.2 | 14 | 73.7 | 26 | 81.3 |  |  | 58 | 78.4 |
| Textile... | 1 | 4.8 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 14.2 | 3 | 15.8 | 1 | 3.1 |  |  | 7 | 9.5 |
| Total | 21 | 100.0 | 19 | 100.0 | 32 | 100.0 | 2 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 |
|  | American. |  | Other English speaking. |  | German. |  | Other races. |  | Total. |  |
| Hazleton, Pa. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Independent business or profession. | 3 | 21.4 | 2 | 22.2 | 1 | 4.8 |  | 12.5 | 7 | 13.5 |
| Mines.... | 2 | 14.3 | 5 | 55.6 | 7 | 33.3 | 5 | 62.5 | 19 | 36.5 |
| Textile. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 4.8 |  |  | 1 | 1.9 |
| Miscellan | 9 | 64.3 | 2 | 22.2 | 12 | 57.1 | 2 | 25.0 | 25 | 48.1 |
|  | 14 | 100.0 | 9 | 100.0 | 21 | 100.0 | 8 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 |
| All localities. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | All races. |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| - |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Independent business or profession. <br> Mines and textiles. <br> Miscellaneous (including other factorles and machine shop and iron foundry) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 520 | 100.0 |

## UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG ADULTS OF FAMILIES.

The unemployment of the father, in connection with the child's leaving work, has already been treated in the discussion of the domestic environment. Fuller details are given in Table 29, together with facts concerning unemployment of other adult wage-earners. Wherever an adult wage-earner had been employed less than 300 days in the preceding year it was noted as a case of unemployment, and where the cause of unemployment could be learned the cases were included in a tabulation by causes. In each case in which a father had been unemployed the cause was learned.

The net result of the inquiry into the unemployment of the fathers during the period covered by the investigation is, in brief, that according to the agents' judgment only 18 fathers had been unemployed, either for a long or short time, through their own choice or their own fault. Of the other adult wage-earners, 482 had been unemployed for varying periods, and for 217 , or 45 per cent, of these the cause was specified. For the two classes these causes were as follows:

TAble 23.-CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF FATHERS AND OF OTHER ADULT WAGEEARNERS.

| Cause of unemployment. | Fathers unemployed. |  | Other adult wageearners unemployed. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Slack work. | 70 | 36.5 | 105 | 48.4 |
| Inability to find work | 22 | 11.4 | 6 | 2.8 |
| Illness or accident.. | 75 | 39.1 | 49 | 22.6 |
| No effiort to find work | 4 | 2.1 | 20 | 9.2 |
| Dissatisfied with conditions of work |  |  | 2 | . 9 |
| Old age. | 6 | 3.1 |  |  |
| Drunkenness. | 7 | 3.6 |  |  |
| Miscellaneous. | 8 | 4.2 | 35 | 16.1 |
| Total. | 192 | 100.0 | 217 | 100.0 |

It will be noticed that among the wage-earners generally slack work accounts for far more unemployment than any other cause, but that among the unemployed fathers, illness or accident takes the leading place, slack work appearing as a close second. Probably this is due to the general custom of laying off single men first when numbers are to be reduced.

Turning to the amount of unemployment, Table 30 shows the number of heads of families and of other wage-earners (not including schedule children) who had worked less than 200 days during the year, and the average number of days worked by the two classes of wage-earners by sex and locality. Schedule children are not included in this table because many of them had not yet been at work a year. Georgia and Alabama counties are combined with Columbus because nearly all the wage-earners who lived in Georgia and Alabama worked in Columbus.

TABLE 30-DAYS WORKED DURING THE YEAR BY ALL WAGE-EARNERS EXCEPT SCHEDULE CHILDREN.

| Locality and class of wage-earners. | Total persons whose days were reported. |  | Average number of days worked by- |  | Number of persons who worked less than 200 days. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heads of families... | 83 | 4 | 262 | 248 | 11 | 1 |
| Other wage-earners. | 111 | 78 | 270 |  | 14 | 9 |
| Total. | 194 | 82 | 267 | 273 | 25 | 10 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heads of farnilies... | 145 | 181 | 281 | 286 | 9 |  |
| Other wage-earners. | 196 | 181 | 278 | 271 | 16 | 22 |
| Total. | 341 | 184 | 279 | 271 | 25 | 22 |
| Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and A labama counties: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other wage-earners.......................... | 86 82 | 10 86 | $\begin{gathered} 277 \\ 263 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 244 \\ & 236 \end{aligned}$ | 10 | ${ }_{26}^{2}$ |
| Tota | 168 | 96 | 270 | 237 | 22 | 28 |
| Columbia, S. C.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heads of families. | 37 | 3 | 264 | 353 | 6 |  |
| Other wage-earners. | 52 | 56 | 245 | 239 | 13 | 15 |
| Total. | 89 | 59 | 253 | 245 | 19 | 15 |

TAble 30.-DAYS WORKED DURING THE YEAR BY ALL WAGE-EARNERS EXCEPT SCHEDULE CHILDREN-Concluded.

| Locality and elass of wage-earners. | Total persons whose days were reported. |  | Average number of days worked by- |  | Number of persons who worked less than 200 days. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. |
| Plymouth, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heads of families... Other wage-earners. | 68 49 | $\stackrel{2}{27}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 262 \\ & 246 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 127 \\ & 257 \end{aligned}$ | 2 8 | 2 |
| Total. | 117 | 29 | 255 | 248 | 10 | 8 |
| Hazleton, Pa.: Heads of families. | 44 | 1 | 272 | 308 | 6 |  |
| Other wage-earners | 44 | 49 | 271 | 265 | 6 | 9 |
| Total. | 88 | 50 | 271 | 266 | 12 | 9 |
| All places: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heads of families. <br> Other wage-earners | $\begin{aligned} & 463 \\ & 534 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 23 \\ 477 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 272 \\ & 267 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 257 \\ & 259 \end{aligned}$ | 44 69 | $\begin{array}{r}5 \\ 87 \\ \hline\end{array}$ |
| Total. | 997 | 500 | 269 | 259 | 113 | 92 |

A brief summary of the facts shown in detail in the foregoing table is as follows: There were 997 male and 500 female wage-earners whose working days were reported; male wage-earners worked an average of 269 days and female wage-earners an average of 259 days; 113 males and 92 females worked less than 200 days each during the past year. Of the 44 male and 5 female heads of families who worked less than 200 days during the past year, there were 11 males and 1 female in Pawtucket and 9 males in Woonsocket, R. I.; 10 males and 2 females in Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and Alabama counties; 6 males in Columbia, S. C.; 2 males and 2 females in Plymouth, and 6 males in Hazleton, Pa .

## FINANCIAL CONDITION OF FAMILIES.

The family finances have already been discussed briefly in connection with the cause assigned for leaving school. In this section it is proposed to consider them more fully under three headings: (a) Resources, (b) rent in relation to resources, and (c) other expenditures in relation to resources.

## RESOURCES.

The financial resources of the family are best measured for the purposes of this study by the per capita income remaining after rent is paid, and the income from children under 16, as well as expenses of sickness and death, deducted. Such a measure is not absolutely accurate, but it is, to say the least, much less inaccurate as a measure of family resources than the total family income would be unless the families should be restricted to those of a uniform type, which for this study was impossible. A finer accuracy might have been attained by using a scale varying according to the age of the members. Even then no two families could be exactly fitted with
the same scale. For the present purpose the method named is doubtless accurate enough.
A study of the financial resources of the selected families is properly prefaced by a comparative summary of income. Grouping them according to locality we have the following:

TABLE 31.-PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME OF CLASSIFIED AMOUNTS.

| Locality. | Per cent of families having per capita weekly income of - |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Under } \\ & \$ 1.50 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 1.50 \text { to } \\ & \$ 1.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\$ 2$ and over. | $\$ 3$ and over. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 19.2 | 12.1 | 68.7 | 43.5 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 17.4 | 10.2 | 72.4 | 45.4 |
| Columbus, Ga | 23.9 | 22.0 | 54.1 | 32.1 |
| Georgia and Alabama co. | 21.6 33.9 | 25.5 13.2 | 52.9 52.9 | 17.6 -17.0 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 36.5 | 17.2 | 46.3 | -16.9 |
| Hazelton, Pa. | 29.3 | 24.1 | 46.6 | 20.8 |
| Total | 24.6 | 15.5 | 59.9 | 31.4 |

Turning from per capita income to family earnings, it was found that in every place the average of the weekly earnings of all the families in a locality group was higher at the time of the visit than the average for the preceding year. This difference was very marked, as the following table shows:

TAble 32.-DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS PER LOCALITY GROUP FOR YEAR PRECEDING VISIT AND AT DATE OF VISIT.

| Locality. | Average weekly earnings- |  | Difference. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | For year preceding visit. | At date of visit. | Amount. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | \$25. 27 | \$31.28 | \$6. 01 | 23.8 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 26.89 | 31.29 | 4. 40 | 16. 4 |
| Columbus, Ga ${ }_{\text {Georgia and }}$ Alabama | 21.73 | 24.41 | 2.68 | 12.3 |
| Georgia and Alabama co Columbla, S. | 16.15 21.31 | 25.26 24.86 | 9.11 3.55 | 56.4 16.7 |
| Plymouth, Pa . | 17.90 | 21.84 | 3.94 | 22.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 19.58 | 23.31 | 3.73 | 19.1 |
| Total. | 22.53 | 27.24 | 4.71 | 20.9 |

The following table gives in considerable detail the average earnings and incomes of the families studied. It will be seen that there was not in general much difference between the average net earnings and the average net income, but racial and local customs show their effect here. The difference was greatest in the Georgia and Alabama counties, where it is quite a common thing for members of the family to pay board, retaining the rest of their wages for their own use. In Plymouth and in Woonsocket this custom is much rarer. In both these places the family is a strongly socialized group, and consequently the earnings and income approach one another closely.

[^19]Table 33.-AVERAGE EARNINGS AND AVERAGE INCOMES OF FAMILIES DURING THE YEAR, CALCULATED BY SPECIFIED METHODS, BY LOCALITY.

| Methods of calculation. | Pawtucket, R.I. | Woonsocket, R.I. | Columbus, Ga. | Geurgia and Alabama counties. | Columbia, S. C | Plymouth, Pa . | Hazle- <br> ton, Pa. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of families | 99 | 167 | 63 | 52 | 53 | 82 | 58 | 574 |
| Average year's earnings of families, incliding net incorne from outside boarders and lodgers and net income from all other sources.... | \$1,314 | \$1,398 | \$1,130 | \$1,032 | \$1,108 | \$931 | \$1,018 | \$1,189 |
| A verage year's income of families, including net income from all boarders and lodgers and net income from all other sources................ | 1,170 | 1,336 | 1,058 | 81,032 840 | 1,016 | 889 | \$1,018 910 | 1,095 |
| Average year's income of farnilies having wage-earners under 14, minus income from children under 14 and minus rent or taxes and sickness and death expenses. |  | 1,336 980 | 1,00 700 | 624 | 1,010 634 | 747 | 352 | 1,005 748 |
| Average year's income of families having wage-earners under 16 , minus income from all children under 16 and minus rent or taxes and sickness and death expenses. $\qquad$ | 984 | 1,081 | 707 | 600 | 620 | 618 | 636 | 826 |
| A verage year's per capita income of families having wage-earners under 14 , and minus income from all children under 14 and minus rent or taxes and sickness and death expenses.. |  | 1,081 123 | 117 | 102 | 101 | 111 | 116 | 102 |
| Average year's per capita income of families having wage-earners under 16 , minus income from all children under 16 and minus rent or taxes and sickness and death expenses.. | 174 | 154 | 120 | 111 | 114 | 97 | 104 | 133 |

Table 34 shows the earnings of the heads of families by locality. It will be noticed that not only were there very few families having female heads but that very few of these female heads were working for wages and that their earnings, when they were so working, were generally small, both absolutely and in proportion to the family income. Relatively their earnings were of most importance in the Georgia and Alabama counties and of least importance in Plymouth.

Table 34.-EARNINGS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES DURING PAST YEAK.

|  | Pawtucket, R. I. | Woonsocket, R. I. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Colum- } \\ & \text { bus, } \\ & \text { Ga. } \end{aligned}$ | Georgia and Alabama counties. | Columbia, S. C. | Plymouth, Pa . | Hazleton, Pa . | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of families. $\qquad$ male heads of family. | 99 | 167 | 63 | 52 | - 53 | 82 | 58 | 574 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Totai number. | 82 | 151 | 44 | 44 | 40 | 72 | 48 | 481 |
| Number earning wage | 81 | 143 | 41 | 43 | 38 | 70 | 47 | 463 |
| Lowest earnings per head | \$60 | 8115 | \$130 | \$74 | \$102 | 8254 | \$215 | \$60 |
| Highest earnings per head............. | \$1,898 | \$2,565 | \$2,600 | \$1, 500 | \$1,480 | \$2,000 | \$1. 200 | \$2,600 |
| A verage earnings per head. Average earnings per family having male head.. | \$621 | \$572 | \$826 | \$445 | \$523 | \$617 | \$551 | \$593 |
|  | \$1, 277 | \$1,375 | \$1,225 | \$1,048 | \$1,057 | \$940 | \$1,004 | \$1,186 |
| female heads of family. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total number.. | 17 | 16 | 19 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 93 |
| Number earning wages. | 3 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 6 | , | 4 | 32 |
| Lowest earnings per head. | \$149 | $\$ 77$ | \$26 | \$263 | \$52 | \$52 | \$24 | \$26 |
| Highest earnings per head. | \$314 | \$628 | \$728 | \$517 | \$468 | \$81 | \$156 | \$728 |
| Average earnings per head.... | \$278 | \$408 | \$295 | \$376 | \$163 | \$65 | \$123 | \$250 |
| Average earnings per family having female head. | \$1,055 | \$1,025 | \$679 | \$744 | \$772 | \$640 | \$798 | \$834 |

Turning from the heads of families to other members, we find a curious variation in the earnings, as shown in Table 35. In general, male workers 16 or over earned more than the same class of female workers, but in Columbia the position is reversed, the females earning a little more. In Columbia the girls under 16 also earned as much as the boys under 16, while elsewhere their earnings ranged lower. No explanation for this curious difference was found.

Table 35.-AVERAGE EARNINGS PER PERSON OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF MEMBERS OF FAMILIES, AVERAGE AMOUNT PAID TO FAMILY, AND PER CENT OF FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SUCH MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR, BY LOCALITY.
(The averages and percentages shown in this table apply, in each case, only to the number of families reporting the specified classes of members.]

| Clas-es of members. | Pawtucket, R. I. (99 families). |  |  | Woonsocket, R.I. (167 families). |  |  | Columbus, Ga . (63 families). |  |  | Georgia and Alabama counties ( 52 families). |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A F -erage earnings. | A V -erage paid to ily. | Per- cent age of fam- in in- come | Av-erage earnings. |  | Per-centage of ily income | A $\mathrm{V}-$ er- age earn ings | Av- <br> er- <br> age <br> amt. <br> paid <br> to <br> fam- <br> ily. <br> il | Per-centage family income | Av-erage earnings. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Av- } \\ & \text { er- } \\ & \text { age } \\ & \text { amt. } \\ & \text { paid } \\ & \text { to } \\ & \text { fam- } \\ & \text { ily. } \end{aligned}$ | Per- cent- age of fam- ing in- come. |
| Male heads. | \$621 | \$621 | 55.3 | \$572 | $\$ 572$ | 41.6 | \$826 | 6 \$826 | 66.1 | $\$ 445$ | \$445 | 51.8 |
| Female heads. | 278 | 278 | 5.9 | 408 | 408 | 18.0 | 295 | 5295 | 20.5 | 376 | 376 | 35.7 |
| Other males 16 and over (not boarders and lodgers)... | 339 | 305 | 33.9 | 385 | 368 | 39.0 | 375 | 5343 | 34.4 | 318 | 268 | 30.0 |
| Other females 16 and over (not boarders and lodgers).. | 326 | 312 | 38.7 | 312 | 307 | 34.8 | 250 | 0233 | 30.1 | 254 | 246 | 37.4 |
| Boarders and lodgers (members of families)... | 535 | 171 | 20.3 | 398 | 132 | 18.6 | 44 | 787 | 14.0 | 375 | 74 | 26.6 |
| Boys under 16........... | 142 | 129 | 12.0 | 143 | 138 | 10.8 | 160 | - 148 | 17.5 | 120 | 115 | 14.5 |
| Girls under 16 | 115 | 109 | 10.9 | 127 | 124 | 9.9 | 115 | 5112 | 17.1 | 119 | 115 | 17.8 |
| Children 14 and | 130 | 120 | 11.5 | 134 | 130 | 10.7 | 17 | 7163 | 17.0 | 150 | 143 | 18.7 |
| Children under |  |  |  | 6 | , | . 6 | 105 | 5102 | 13.6 | 87 | 85 | 12.0 |
| Classes of members. | Columbia, S. C. (53 families). |  |  |  | Plymouth, Pa. (82 families). |  |  |  | Hazleton, Pa. (58 families). |  |  |  |
|  | Ave age earn ings. |  | ver- <br> ge <br> nt. <br> d to <br> aily. | Per-centage of family income. | Aver age earnings. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ver- } \\ & \text { ge } \\ & \text { nt. } \\ & \text { d to } \\ & \text { aily. } \end{aligned}$ | Per-centage of family income. | Average earnings. | Ave ag amd paid famil |  | Per-centage of family ncome. |
| Male heads. | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 523 \\ 163 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 523 \\ 163 \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 53.5 \\ & 11.6 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 617 \\ 65 \end{array}$ | $\$ 617$65 |  | 65.13.6 | \$561 | \$561 |  | 59.86.7 |
| Female heads.......... |  |  |  | 123 |  |  |  |  | 23 |  |
| Other males 16 and over (not boarders and lodgers)..... | 286 | 269 |  |  | 28.6 | 371 | 322 |  | 44.1 | 337 | 281 |  | 33.6 |
| Other females 16 and over <br> (not boarders and lodgers) | 296 | 288 |  | 38.7 | 115 | 110 |  |  | 13.9 | 208 | 185 |  | 27.2 |
| Boarders and lodgers (members of families) |  |  | 60 | 11.8 | 476 |  | 108 | 9.5 | 448 |  | 14 |  |  |
| Boys under 16. | 148 |  | 142 | 19.8 | 145 |  | 139 | 17.2 | 153 |  | 145 | 17.1 |  |
| Girls under 16 | 148 |  | $\begin{aligned} & 146 \\ & 182 \end{aligned}$ | 20.6 | 97 |  | 94 | 12.8 | 97 |  | 95 | 13.3 |  |
| Children 14 and 15 |  |  | 22.0 | 133 |  | 128 | 15.7 | 137 |  | 30 | 16.3 |  |  |
| Children under 14. | 108 | 104 |  | 18.9 | 103 |  | 98 | 11.2 | 142 |  | 142 | 15.6 |  |

The percentage of family income contributed by father or other male head was largest in Columbus ( 66.1 per cent) and smallest in Woonsocket ( 41.6 per cent). The percentage contributed by the mother or other female head was largest in Georgia and Alabama counties ( 35.7 per cent) and smallest in Plymouth ( 3.6 per cent). The proportion contributed by children of 14 and 15 ranged from 22 per
cent in Columbia to 10.7 per cent in Woonsocket. ${ }^{a}$ The proportion contributed by children under 14 ranged from 18.9 per cent in Columbia to nothing in Pawtucket, Hazleton having next to the highest ( 15.6 per cent) and Woonsocket next to the lowest ( 0.6 per cent).

The income of the family from boarders and lodgers (members of families) ranges from $\$ 60$ in Columbia to $\$ 171$ in Pawtucket, while the earnings of such members range from $\$ 372$ in Columbia to $\$ 535$ in Pawtucket. A few families (95 out of 574) had outside boarders and lodgers, but the custom was not sufficiently general to furnish a ground for averages.

Gardens and domestic animals were a source of income to 19 and 31 families, respectively. But except in the case of one family in Columbia that made a profit of $\$ 350$ out of a plat of 6 acres, the gain was insignificant. Rents as a source of income were found in 54 families, the average income therefrom ranging from $\$ 55$ in Columbia to $\$ 256$ in Woonsocket. Miscellaneous sources of income not already specified figured in the finances of 48 families, the amounts received ranging from $\$ 43$ in Georgia and Alabama counties to $\$ 295$ in Pawtucket. The facts as to these several sources of income are presented in the following table:

TABLE 36.-INCOME FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN BOARDERS AND LODGERS.

| Sources of income. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Paw- } \\ \text { tucket, } \\ \text { R.I. } \end{gathered}$ | Woonsocket, R.I. | Colum- bus, | $\begin{gathered} \text { Geor- } \\ \text { gia and } \\ \text { Ala- } \\ \text { bama } \\ \text { coun- } \\ \text { ties. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Colum- } \\ \text { bia, } \\ \text { S. C. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Ply- } \\ \text { mouth, } \\ \text { Pa. } \end{gathered}$ | Hazle- <br> ton, <br> Pa . |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of families. | 99 | 167 | 63 | 52 | 53 | 82 | 58 |
| Garden: | \$70 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Families having garden. |  |  | 1 | 2 | ${ }^{\text {a }} 2$ | 3 | 10 |
| A verage family income from garden |  |  | \$5 | \$68 | \$200 | \$21 | \$19 |
| Domestic animals: <br> Families having domestic animals |  | 2 |  | 9 | 5 |  |  |
| Average family income from domestic |  |  | 6 |  |  | 7 | 2 |
| Rents: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Families receiving rent | 11$\$ 153$ | 18 | 6 | 5 | \$55 | \$142 | 7$\$ 105$ |
| A verage family income from rents |  | \$256 | \$76 | \$127 |  |  |  |
| Miscellaneous: |  |  | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \\ \$ 165 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5 \\ \$ 43 \end{array}$ |  |  |  |
| Families having miscellaneous income... Average miscellaneous income.............. | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \\ \$ 295 \end{array}$ | 8 $\$ 157$ |  |  | 4 $\$ 100$ | 4 $\$ 121$ | 5 $\$ 292$ |

a Including 1 with 6 acres, $\$ 350$.

## LOSSES FROM SICKNESS AND DEATH.

Losses from sickness and death often made the difference between ability and inability to keep children longer at school. The average loss of wages for the past year due to sickness, when calculated for the total number of families, shows but little variation from place

[^20]to place, ranging from $\$ 31$ in Plymouth to $\$ 42$ in Hazleton. The facts are shown for each city in the table following:

Table 37.-LOSS OF WAGES DUE TO SICKNESS AND EXPENSES OF SICKNESS AND DEATH DURING PAST YEAR.


Turning now from earnings to income, ${ }^{a}$ Table 33 (page 82) shows that the average year's income of families having wage-earners under 16, after deduction of rent, expenses for sickness and death, and income from children under 16 , nowhere fell below $\$ 600$, and ranged from $\$ 600$ in Georgia and Alabama counties to $\$ 1,081$ in Woonsocket. In no place was the average per capita yearly income less than $\$ 97$, ranging from this figure in Plymouth to $\$ 174$ in Pawtucket. The average per capita weekly income nowhere fell below $\$ 1.87$, ranging from this figure in Plymouth to $\$ 3.35$ in Pawtucket.

## rent in relation to resources.

Rent is apt to be at once the most important and the most inflexible single item in the wage-earner's budget. Occasionally one meets a skilled evader who is housed at his landlord's expense, but ordinarily rent must be paid, even though clothes go unbought and food be cut down to a minimum. Its importance entitles it to some special consideration. Table 38, immediately following, gives the facts concerning this item:

[^21]Table 38.-FAMILIES RENTING AND OWNING HOMES, AVERAGE YEARLY EARN RENT OF EARNINGS, BY RACE OF
[This and the following tables concerning rent are based on a total of 567 families, as

| Locality and race of father. | Families renting homes. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Aver-agenumberof per-sonsoccu-pyingrooms. | A verage yearly earnings profits per family. | Number of rooms per- |  | Rent per month per- |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent of } \\ & \text { rent of } \\ & \text { earn-- } \\ & \text { ings. } \\ & \text { etc. } \end{aligned}$ |
|  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fam- } \\ & \text { ily. } \end{aligned}$ | Person. | Family. | Per- son. | Room. |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: <br> American $\qquad$ <br> Other English-speaking .. <br> French Canadian $\qquad$ <br> All races $\qquad$ <br> Lowest $\qquad$ <br> Highest $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 31 | 7.2 | 1,234 | 5.9 | 1.0 | \$13.85 | \$2.03 | \$2.14 | 14.5 10.7 |
|  | 19 | 8.1 | 1,377 | 5.8 | . 7 | 11.11 | 1.37 | 1.91 | 9.6 |
|  | 8 | 7.0 | 898 | 4.4 | . 6 | 9.00 | 1.29 | 2.06 | 12.0 |
|  | 75 | 7.4 | 1,215 | 5.9 | . 8 | 11.49 | 1. 59 | 1.99 | 11.4 |
|  |  |  |  | 3.0 | . 30 | 5.00 | . 71 | 1.00 | 4.4 |
|  |  |  |  | 19.0 | 2.33 | 50.00 | 4.50 | 3.29 | 39.7 |
| Woonsocket: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American. | 7 | 6.6 | 1,187 | 6.3 | 1.0 | 10. 40 | 1.59 | 1.76 | 10.5 |
| Other English-speaking | 19 | 5.9 | 1,078 | 6.0 | 1.0 | 9. 42 | 1.60 | 1.57 | 10.5 |
| French Canadian. | 103 | 8.1 | 1,391 | 5.8 | . 7 | 8.54 | 1.05 | 1. 47 | 7.4 |
| Other races. | 6 | 6.5 | , 944 | 5.2 | . 8 | 7.90 | 1.22 | 1.52 | 10.0 |
| All races. | 135 | 7.7 | 1,316 | 5. 8 | . 8 | 8.73 | 1.14 | c 1.50 | 8.0 |
| Lowest |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{r} 3.0 \\ 11.0 \end{array}$ | .36 3.00 | 4.00 16.00 | $\begin{array}{r} .36 \\ 5.00 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} .80 \\ 2.67 \end{array}$ | 1.6 27.7 |
| Columbus, Ga.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All races. | 43 | 7.0 | 1,073 | 4.4 | . 6 | 11.57 | 1.65 |  | 14.5 |
| Lowest |  |  |  | 2.0 | . 29 | 4.00 | . 61 | 1.30 | 4.5 |
| Highest |  |  |  | 7.0 | 1.5 | 35.00 | 5. 00 | 5.00 | 56.6 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties: <br> All races. | 32 | 6.3 | 999 | 4.6 | . 7 | 6.61 | 1.00 | d 1.36 | 7.6 |
| Lowest |  |  |  | 3.0 | . 43 | 2.35 | . 34 | . 57 | 2.4 |
| Highest................... |  |  |  | 10.0 | 1.75 | 14.25 | 2.50 | 2.85 | 22.7 |
| Columbia, S. C.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All races. | 49 | 7.0 | 1,046 | 4.8 |  | 6. 94 | . 99 | e 1.43 |  |
| Lowest |  |  |  | 2.0 9.0 | .40 1.50 | 1.00 40.00 | .20 4.00 | $\begin{array}{r} .25 \\ 5.00 \end{array}$ | 1.6 39.2 |
| Plymouth, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American. | 13 | 6.2 | 877 | 6.0 | 1.0 | 9.30 | 1.51 | 1.55 | 12.7 |
| Other English-speaking. | 15 | 5.7 | 918 | 6.3 | 1.1 | 10.67 | 1. 88 | 1.70 | 12.4 |
| Slavic .................. | 21 | 7.6 | 877 | 5.0 | . 7 | 8.47 | 1.11 | 1.68 | 13.1 |
| Other races. | 2 | 7.0 | 811 | 5.0 | . 7 | 6.80 | . 98 | 1.36 | 10.1 |
| All races. | 51 | 6.6 | 887 | 5.6 | . 8 | 9.27 | 1.39 | 1.64 | 15.0 |
| Lowest |  |  |  | 2.0 | . 3 | 3.00 | . 33 | . 60 | 5.1 |
| Highest |  |  |  | 9.0 | 2.0 | 25. 00 | 5. 00 | 3.25 | 37.9 |
| Hazleton, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American ............... |  | 5.9 | 1,128 | 5.9 | 1.0 | 11.23 | 1.89 | 1.89 | 13.8 |
| Other English-speaking. | 5 | 7.2 | 1,313 | 6.0 | . 8 | 9.90 | 1.38 | 1.65 | 11.3 |
| German | 18 | 6.1 | 707 | 4.7 | . 8 | 7.98 | 1.31 | f 1.71 | 14.8 |
| Other races | 7 | 8.4 | 911 | 5. 0 | . 6 | 8.57 | 1.02 | 1.71 | 14.2 |
| All races. | 45 | 6.5 | 947 | 5.3 | . 8 | 9.37 | 1.44 | 1.78 | 14.0 |
| Lowest |  |  |  | 3.0 | . 4 | 4.00 | . 60 | 1.00 | 6.4 |
| Highest. |  |  |  | 9.0 | 2.0 | 17.00 | 4.00 | 3.20 | 35.1 |

a Without deductions of any kind.
$b$ Not including 1 family which boards.
c Average rent per month per room in company houses, $\$ 1.37$; lowest, $\$ 1.07$; highest, $\$ 1.67$.

INGS, NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED, AMOUNT OF RENT, AND PER CENT OF FATHER, FOR EACH LOCALITY.
in 7 families the arrangements were so irregular that it seemed best to omit them.)

| Families owning homes. |  |  |  |  | Total families. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number. | A verage number of persons occupying rooms. | A verage yearly earnings and profits per family. | Number of rooms per- |  | Number. | Average number of persons occupying rooms | Average yearly earnings and profits per family.a | Number of rooms per- |  |
|  |  |  | Family. | Person. |  |  |  | Family. | Person. |
|  | 5.5 | \$1,355 | 7.3 | 1.3 | 23 | 6.8 | \$1,212 | 7.0 | 1.1 |
| 9 | 7.2 | 1,926 | 6.6 | . 9 | 40 | 7.2 | 1,402 | 6.1 | . 8 |
| 3 | 7.0 | 1,572 | 7.7 | 1.1 | 22 | 8.0 | 1,404 | 6.1 | . 8 |
| 5 | 6.2 | 1,547 | 6.0 | 1.0 | 13 | 6.7 | 1,089 | 5.0 | . 8 |
| 23 | 6.5 | 1,648 | 6.8 | 1.0 | 98 | 7.2 | 1,314 302 | 6.1 | . 8 |
|  |  |  | 10.0 |  |  |  | 3,241 | 19.0 | 2.33 |
| 28619 | 5.5 | 1,793 | 9.5 | 1.7 | 9 | 6.4 | 1,300 | 7.0 | 1.2 |
|  | 9.1 | 1,704 | 7.6 | . 8 | 27 | 6.8 | 1,264 | 6.5 | . 9 |
|  | 8.3 | 1,786 | 7.1 | . 9 | 122 | 8.1 | 1,439 | 6.0 | . 7 |
|  | 13.0 | 3,539 | 7.0 | . 5 | 7 | 7.4 | 1,316 | 5.5 | . 8 |
| 30 | 8.5 | 1,823 | 7.4 | . 9 | 165 | 7.8 | 1,398 | 6.1 | . 8 |
|  |  |  | 4.0 10.0 | 2.0 |  |  | 3,539 | 11.0 | $\begin{array}{r}.36 \\ \hline\end{array}$ |
| 20 | 5.9 | 1,252 | 5.4 | . 9 | 63 | 6.7 | 1,130 | 4.7 |  |
|  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 3.0 \\ & 8.0 \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{.57}{2.0}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{r} 306 \\ 3,202 \end{array}$ | 2.0 8.0 | 2.09 |
| 17 | 7.1 | 1,171 |  | . 6 | 49 | 6.6 | 1,032 | 4.5 |  |
|  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 2.0 \\ & 8.0 \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{.33}{1.0}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | 7.3 | 1,774 | 5.5 | . 8 | 53 | 7.0 | 1,108 |  | . 7 |
|  |  |  | 5.0 | . 5 |  |  | 128 | 2.0 | . 4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4,747 |  |  |
| 9714 | 6.3 | 1,127 | 6.0 | . 9 | 22 | 6.2 | 979 | 6.0 | 1.0 |
|  | 5.0 | 1,194 | 7.4 | 1.5 | 22 | 5.5 | 987 | 6.7 | 1.2 |
|  | 7.9 | 859 | 5.8 | . 7 | 35 | 7.7 | 870 | 5.3 | .7 |
|  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 7.0 | 811 | 5.0 | . 7 |
| 30 | 6.7 | 1,079 | 6.2 | 9 | 81 | 6.6 |  | 5.8 | . 8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2.0 11.0 | 38.0 28.0 |
| ( |  |  |  |  | 15 | 5.9 | 1,128 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
|  | 7.8 |  | 7.0 |  | 10 | 7.5 | 1,488 | 6.5 | . 9 |
|  | 6.5 | 1,102 | 6.2 | 1.0 | 24 | 6.2 | -806 | 5.1 | . 9 |
|  | 6.5 | 760 | 5.0 | . 8 | 9 | 8.0 | 877 | 5.0 | . 6 |
| 13 | 7.0 | 1,265 | 6.3 |  | 58 | 6.6 | 1,018 | 5.5 | . 8 |
|  |  |  | 4.0 9.0 | 1.75 |  |  |  | 3.0 9.0 | .5 4.0 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

${ }^{d}$ Average rent per month per room in company houses, $\$ 1.15$; lowest, $\$ 0.57$; highest, $\$ 2$.
e Average rent per month per room in company houses, $\$ 0.53$; lowest, $\mathbf{3 0 . 2 5}$; highest, $\$ 1$.
1 Average rent per month per room in company houses, $\$ 1.50$; lowest, $\$ 1.20$; highest, $\$ 1.69$.

Not all the families studied had to meet the expense of rent, as over 24 per cent owned their homes. The number and per cent of owners was as follows:

Table 39.-NUMBER AND PER CEN'T OF FAMILIES OWNING HOMES.


This probably represents very fairly the proportion of home owners among the general class under consideration. The report of the Rhode Island bureau of statistics for 1907 gives the proportion of owners as 27.18 per cent for Pawtucket and 20.87 per cent for Woonsocket, which is a closer agreement than might have been expected in view of the selection of the families included in this study. Some interesting features appear in the distribution of owners by race, as shown in the following table:

Table 40.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES OWNING HOMES, BY RACE.

| Jocality. | American. |  | Other Englishspeaking. |  | French Canadian. |  | Slavic. |  | German. |  | Other races. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Per | Num ber. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber. | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | Nu- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Num- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 6 | 26. 0 | 9 | 22.5 | a | 13.6 |  |  |  |  | 5 | 38.5 | 23 | 23.5 |
| Woonsocket, R. | 2 | 22.2 | 8 | 29.6 | 19 | 15.5 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 14.3 | 30 | 18.2 |
| Columbus, Ga.... | 20 | 31.7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 20 | 31.7 |
| Georgia and Alab counties. | 17 | 34.7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 17 | 34.7 |
| Columbia, S. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 7.5 |
| Plymouth, $\mathbf{P}$ |  | 40.9 |  |  |  |  | 14 | 40.0 |  |  |  |  | 30 | 37.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa |  |  |  | $50.0$ |  |  |  |  | 6 | 25.0 | 2 | 22.2 | 13 | 22.4 |
| Total | 58 | 32.0 | 29 | 29.3 | 22 | 15.3 | 14 | 40.0 | 6 | 25.0 | 8 | 25.8 | 137 | 24.2 |

It will be noticed that the Slavs show the greatest tendency to acquire property. The English-speaking groups come next, while the French Canadians show an unexpectedly small proportion, standing, indeed, at the bottom of the list. Possibly this may be explained by the fact that they sometimes own property, or are planning to buy property in Canada, in which case they naturally a ppear only as renting in the United States.

A comparison between the resources of the owners and renters may be of interest. The average yearly per capita earnings of families owning, families renting, and all families are as follows: RENTING HOMES.

| Locality. | Average yearly per capita earnings of families. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Owning homes. | Renting homes. | Total. |
| Columbia, S. C. | \$295 | \$221 | \$232 |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 260 | 189 | 205 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 225 | 180 173 | 189 185 |
| Hazleton, Pa . | 181 | 154 | 160 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties. | 165 | 167 | 166 |
| Plymouth, Pa .............. | 152 | 135 | 142 |
| Granby (suberb of Columbia, S. C) |  | 168 | 168 |
| Total. | 203 | 173 | 181 |

The average earnings of families owning homes are larger than of families renting in every place except Georgia and Alabama counties, where they are $\$ 2$ smaller.

Returning to the question of rent, Table 38 (p.86) presents, by race and locality, the number who rent, the amount per month paid for rent, and the percentage which rent forms of the family earnings.

It will be observed that the per cent of rent of family earnings varies widely, ranging from 7.6 per cent in Georgia and Alabama counties to 15 per cent in Plymouth, Pa. The variations are curious enough to deserve notice. They run as follows:

TAble 42.-AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT PER FAMILY AND PER CENT OF RENT OF FAMILY EARNINGS.

| Locality. | A verage monthly rent per family. | Per cent of rent of family earnings. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | \$11.49 | 11.4 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 8.73 | 8.0 |
| Columbus, Ga................ | 11.57 6.61 | 14.5 7.6 |
| Columbia, S. C. . | 6.94 | 8.0 |
| Plymouth, Pa | 9. 27 | 15.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa . | 9.37 | 14.0 |

Woonsocket, with a large foreign population, and Columbia, with practically no foreigners, show precisely the same percentage, while Columbus, which also has no foreign population, shows next to the highest rate.

A local difference appears among the Americans. In the two Rhode Island cities their percentage of rent of earnings is larger than for any other group (except the other English-speaking in Woonsocket who have exactly the same proportion), and considerably above the average for the locality, but in Plymouth and Hazleton the situation is exactly reversed, the Americans in each place paying a smaller proportion for rent than the predominant foreign race, and falling
below the average for the whole local group. No explanation could be found for this condition. It will be noticed, however, that the Americans, as compared with other races, show a marked distaste for crowding, the number of rooms per person being everywhere larger for them than for the community as a whole, except of course in the three places where they practically made up the whole population.

The degree and incidence of overcrowding among families is shown in detail by Table 43, immediately following. The aversion of the Americans to overcrowding appears quite strongly here. Not only is it less common among them than among the other races (the only instance in which any other race shows a smaller proportion of crowding being in Woonsocket, where the Irish lead), but where it exists among them it is, throughout the northern localities, invariably correlated with so small an income that the crowding is evidently a necessity. Among the other races crowding does not necessarily imply such need. Among the native-born whites of the South there seems something of the same tendency to crowd in spite of a fairly good income.

TABLE 43.-NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH MORE THAN $1 \frac{1}{2}$ PERSONS PER ROOM, BY PER CAPITA YEARLY EARNINGS AND RACE.

| Locality and race of father. | Total number of families. | Families having per capita earnings and profits during year ol- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Totalfami-liesover-crowd-ed. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { der } \\ & \$ 50 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 50 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 74 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 75 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 100 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 149 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 150 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 199 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 200 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 249 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 250 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 299 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 300 \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { over. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| PAWTUCKET, R. I. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American. | 23 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 4.3 |
| Irish. | 17 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  | 1 | 2 |  | 7 | 41.2 |
| French-Canadian | 22 |  |  | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  | 2 | 7 | 31.8 |
| Polish.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 100.0 |
| Italian. | 4 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  | 3 | 75.0 |
| Hebrew | 2 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 50.0 |
| Total. | a 99 |  | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 20 | 20.2 |
| American. | 9 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 11.1 |
| Irish... | 21 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 9.5 |
| French-Canadian | 124 |  | 3 | 5 | 16 | 6 | 9 |  | 1 | 40 | 32.3 |
| Italian. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 50.0 |
| Hebrew | 2 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 100.0 |
| English. | 6 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 16.7 |
| Total | a 167 |  | 5 | 5 | 18 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 47 | 28.1 |
| American. | 58 |  | 1 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 4 |  |  | 25 | 43.1 |
| English.. | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 100.0 |
| German.. | 2 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | , | 50.0 |
| Total. | a 63 |  | 1 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 4 |  |  | 27 | 42.9 |
| GEORGIA $\operatorname{AND}$ ALABAMA COUNTIES. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American. | 51 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 2 |  | 1 | 23 | 45.1 |
| Total. | a 52 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 2 |  | 1 | 23 | 44.2 |

a Including all families of all races.

TABLE 43.-NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH MORE THAN 1 PERSONS PER ROOM, BY PER CAPITA YEARLY EARNINGS AND RACE--Concluded.

a Including all famillies of all races.
We have seen what is the average percentage of earnings paid for rent, but a clearer idea of the situation for the individual family is gained by grouping them according to the percentage of earnings each pays. Arranging them in this manner we have the following table, showing the per cent of families paying a specified per cent of earnings for rent:

TABLE 44.-PER CENT OF FAMILIES PAYING A SPECIFIED PER CENT OF EARNINGS FOR RENT.

| Per cent of rent of earnings and profits. | Per cent of families. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Under 5 per cent. | 12.1 |
| 5 per cent and under 10 per cent. | 34.2 |
| 10 per cent and under 15 per cent. | 29.4 |
| 15 per cent and under 20 per cent. | 12.4 |
| 20 per cent and under 25 per cent. | 5.1 |
| 25 per cent and under 30 per cent. | 4.1 |
| 30 per cent and under 40 per cent. | 2.5 |
| 40 per cent and under 50 per cent |  |
|  |  |
| Total. | 100.0 |

It will be noticed that 88.1 per cent of the families pay less than 20 per cent of their earnings for rent; practically three-fourths (75.7 per cent) pay less than 15 per cent, while nearly half ( 46.3 per cent) pay less than 10 per cent. This shows in the majority of cases a surprisingly small proportion of the earnings going for rent, a situation perhaps due to the inclusion of the smaller mill communities, in which rents are naturally low.

Even this does not tell the whole story, though, since the table does not show the sums on which these per cents are calculated. This is shown by the following:

TAble 45.-PER CENT OF EARNINGS PAID FOR RENT, BY CLASSIFIED PER CAPITA EARNINGS.

|  | Per capita earnings and profits during year. | Average per cent of earnings paid for rent. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Under \$50. |  | 18.1 |
| \$50 to \$74.. |  | 20.8 |
| \$75 to \$99. |  | 15.0 |
| \$100 to \$149. |  | 13.5 |
| \$150 to \$199.. |  | 10.5 |
| \$200 to \$249.. |  | 9.9 |
| \$250 to \$299. |  | 9.9 |
| \$300 to \$399.. |  | 8.3 |
| \$400 to \$499.. |  | 14.5 |
| \$500 and over |  | 12.5 |
| Total. |  | 12.1 |

It will be seen that in general the larger the earnings the smaller the proportion paid for rent. The four families in the group having per capita earnings under $\$ 50$ show a high percentage paid for rent, owing to one family which pays 30 per cent. The next group shows a still higher percentage, but there is no great variation in the per cents paid by the 19 families in this group. From that point as the income rises the percentage given to rent falls until we reach those having per capita earnings of between $\$ 400$ and $\$ 500$. At this point the orderly decrease suddenly alters, but the numbers concerned here, as in the case of the first group, are too small for the variation to have any significance.

The matter of rent might, of course, be considered in many relations, but perhaps for the purpose of this study it may be summarized by the statements that something over three-fourths of the families considered occupied rented houses; that as between owners and renters, the former show the larger per capita earnings, which, of course, simply means that in general those who buy belong to the better-off class of workers; that among those who rent the great majority pay less than 15 per cent of their annual earnings for rent, and that, in general, as the earnings rise the proportion devoted to rent falls.

## EXPENDITURES OTHER THAN RENT.

Two kinds of other expenditures are considered here-insurance, as showing the thrift of the families, and expenditures for instruction and for children's allowances, as showing their ability to spare money for more than bare subsistence, if they think it worth while.

Insurance was rather generally carried, being apparently a favorite form of saving. Of the 574 families 427 , or 74.4 per cent, carried insurance of some sort, mostly life insurance or a combination of life with sickness and accident insurance. The per cent of families insured was highest in Georgia and Alabama counties ( 84.6 per cent) and lowest in Columbus ( 66.7 per cent). Nearly one-fifth ( 19.7 per cent or 113 families) carried fire insurance. The tendency to insure was very marked among families having the smallest incomes.

Practically one-fifth of the families studied (117 or 20.4 per cent) had incurred expenses for instruction at various times during the past year, ranging from $\$ 1$ (the lowest, in Columbia) to $\$ 520$ (the highest, in Pawtucket). The French Canadians were the heaviest spenders for such purposes, averaging $\$ 107$ in Pawtucket and $\$ 86$ in Woonsocket (average based on families having such expenditures). In Plymouth the "Other English-speaking" spent the most along this line, and in Hazleton the Americans. The largest percentage of families incurring these expenses was found in Pawtucket ( 29.3 per cent), and the smallest in Hazleton ( 10.3 per cent). The following table shows the data relating to this subject:

TABLE 46.-EXPENSES FOR INSTRUCTION FOR PAST YEAR.

| Locality. | Totalnumber of families. | Families having expense for instruction. |  | Amount of expense for instruction. |  | Average expense per family of - |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Number. | Per cent. | Lowest. | Highest. | Families having such expense. | Total number of fami- lies. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 99 | 29 | 29.3 | \$3 | \$520 | \$61 | \$18 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 167 | 41 | 24.6 | 2 | 405 | 70 | 17 |
| Columbus, Ga..... | 63 | 12 | 19.0 | 5 | 100 | 28 |  |
| Georgia and Alabama | 52 | 11 | 21.1 | 3 <br> 1 | 100 60 | 27 15 |  |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 82 | 12 | 14.6 | 2 | 104 | 33 | 4 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 58 | 6 | 10.3 | 6 | 91 | 28 |  |
| Total. | 574 | 117 | 20.4 | 1 | 520 | 51 | 10 |

The subjects of instruction were chiefly music, art, business subjects, and other branches, music being by far the most frequent. Twenty-three families were found in which the per capita weekly income, all deductions having been made, was less than $\$ 2$, but who were yet paying out money for piano lessons, painting lessons, and lessons in electrical engineering, and advanced mathematics.

Sometimes the cost of instruction was nearly equal to the amount brought in by the children under 16, and in a few cases it was even greater. Twenty-nine families were found in which during the preceding year more than one-half of the income from children under 16 had been spent for outside instruction.

The willingness of parents to make sacrifices to give their children instruction which they feel is worth while is strikingly illustrated by the fact that in Phoenix, Ala., which possesses a graded public-school system, two private schools are maintained by the mill population. Both these schools charge 25 cents a week per pupil, and each seems to receive all the pupils it can take.

## CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES.

The inquiry about allowances for spending money was designed to throw light on two points: (1) The willingness of the family to spend money for luxuries or pleasures; (2) the part which the desire for such an allowance might play in leading a child to wish to go to work. Table 47, immediately following, shows for each place the number and percentage of boys and girls who received no allowance, who received specified allowances weekly, who had irregular arrangements as to allowances, and for whom no report was made:

## TAble 47.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED AMOUNTS OF SPENDING MONEY WEEKLY.

NUMBER.


TABLE 47.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED AMOUNTS OF SPENDING MONEY WEEKLY-Concluded.

PER CENT. $a$

a Percentages based on total reported.
It will be observed that in very nearly half the cases reported ( 47.7 per cent) the children received no allowances. On the face of it this does not look as though a desire for spending money exercised a very general influence over the children of this group. (It will be remembered that in the study of principal reasons for going to work only eight cases were found in which this was the predominant reason. See page 46.)

As between boys and girls the difference is marked. Taking the group for whom reports were received as a whole, a larger percentage of girls than of boys had no allowances ( 53 per cent of the girls to 43.7 per cent of the boys). Also, when they had allowances the general tendency was for girls to receive less than boys. Thus 30.2 per cent of the girls, as against 37.9 per cent of the boys, received 25 cents or over weekly, 14.1 per cent of the girls as against 21.5 per cent of the boys had 50 cents and over, and only 3.7 per cent of the girls had $\$ 1$ or more, as against 7.1 per cent of boys having such an allowance. This is of interest in its bearing on the assertion so frequently met that girls go to work that they may have money to spend for dresses, ribbons, etc. Here we have more than half of the girls receiving no allowance at all and more than half of the remainder who had any definite allowance receiving less than 50 cents a week. Obviously the amount of finery most of these
girls could secure would be so severely limited as not to form a very potent argument for going to work.

The local variations in this matter are rather unexpected. There is a general opinion that women and girls have more independence, both financial and otherwise, among native-born Americans than among those of foreign stock. Columbia, with the highest, and Georgia and Alabama counties, with next to the highest percentage of girls receiving allowances, support this theory very well, but Columbus, where the population is equally of native stock, goes to the other extreme and shows the smallest percentage of girls receiving allowances of any place studied. Here very nearly three-fourths of the girls ( 73.1 per cent) had no allowance whatever, while in the same place only a little over two-fifths of the boys ( 44 per cent) had no allowance. The greatest difference in favor of the girls was found in Georgia and Alabama counties, where 62 per cent of the girls to 55.2 per cent of the boys had allowances.

Considering the boys only as being the larger group, it appears from the following table that there is not much relation between the wages earned and the giving or withholding of an allowance:

TAble 48.-NUMBER OF BOYS RECEIVING NO ALLOWANCE AND THOSE RECEIVING A WEEKLY ALLOWANCE OF 50 CENTS AND OVER, BY WEEKLY EARNINGS.

| Weekly earnings. | Boys receiving no allowance. | Boys receiving an allowance and over weekly. | Weekly earnings. | Boys receiving no allowance. | Boys receiving an allowance and over weekly. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 3 |  | \$5 to \$5.99. |  |  |
| Undersi.. | 1 | 1 | \$6 to 86.99. | 20 | 15 |
| \$1 to \$1.49... |  |  | \$7 to \$7.99. | 7 |  |
| \$2 to \$2.49. | 11 | 1 | \$9 to \$9.99. | ${ }_{1}$ |  |
| \$2.50 to \$2.99. |  |  | \$10 and over |  |  |
|  | 17 | ${ }_{3}$ | Not reported.... | 1 | ...... |
| \$4 to \$4.49 ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | 14 | 5 10 | Total. | 152 | 75 |
| \$4.50 to \$4.99. | 15 |  |  |  |  |

It will be noticed that some of those earning the highest wages had no allowances. In 32 cases children earning $\$ 6$ or more a week received no allowance. On the other hand, in 21 cases in which the wages were less than $\$ 4.50$ a week, running down to under $\$ 1$, allowances of 50 cents or more were given.

A closer relation exists between the per capita incomes of the families and the giving or withholding of an allowance. It will be remembered that in the discussion of cost of living a weekly per capita income of $\$ 2$ after all deductions were made was fixed upon as the income which would ordinarily enable a family to keep children under 16 in school without hardship. Taking this as our dividing line, then, we find that among the families having this income or less

61 boys did not receive allowances, as against 13 who had 50 cents or more a week, while among the families having more than this income 79 boys received nothing, as against 50 having 50 cents or over a week.

Racial tendencies appear to have a considerable weight in this matter. Grouping the children of all localities and both sexes by race of father, we have the following:

Table 49.-ALLOWANCES OF CHILDREN, BY RACE.

| Race. | Having allowance. | A verage weekly allowance. | No allowance. |  | Irregular. | Not reported. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Number. | Per cent. |  |  |  |
| American. | 126 | \$0.56 | 104 | 40.3 | 24 | 4 | 258 |
| English. | 16 | . 44 | 17 | 51.5 |  |  | 33 |
| Irish.... | 14 | . 41 | 29 | 60. 4 | 5 | .......... | 48 |
| Scotch. | 6 | . 26 | 2 | 22.2 | 1 | ......... | 9 |
| Welsh. | 10 | . 71 | 5 | 33.3 |  |  | 15 |
| French-Canadian | 71 | . 36 | 79 | 51.3 | 2 | 2 | 154 |
| Slavic... | 18 | . 26 | 29 | 61.7 |  |  | 47 |
| German. | 18 | . 38 | 16 | 44.4 | 2 |  | 36 |
| Other.. | 8 | . 23 | 13 | 59.1 | 1 |  | 22 |
| Total. | 287 | . 46 | 294 | 47.3 | 35 | 6 | 622 |

Unfortunately, the numbers concerned in the four non-American English-speaking groups are too small to permit valid comparisons, but taking the others it will be seen that the Slavic group shows the largest proportion having no allowances. In view of the well-known thrift of the French-Canadians, it is somewhat surprising to find that very nearly half of their children had allowances, but it will be observed that the average of these allowances was small. Excluding the non-American English-speaking groups the Americans show the largest proportion of those receiving allowances and the largest average allowance. As they constitute by far the largest race group among the schedule children, it is evident that their customs in this matter affect the general situation materially.

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions, since it by no means follows that because a child has no allowance he has no spending money. As shown above, 35 , or 5.6 per cent, of the children had "irregular" arrangements, receiving spending money in uncertain sums at variable intervals, while others who theoretically received nothing were, nevertheless, reported by teachers and others to have had pocket money, which may have been given them under the name of lunch money or some similar title. On the whole, the results of the inquiry into this point are rather negative. There seems little reason to believe that the hope of having money of their own influences many children to leave school, nor do the families concerned seem to supply their children at all generally with extravagant allowances. More than this we can hardly say.

## ATTITUDE OF PARENTS IN REGARD TO SENDING CHILDREN TO SCHOOL LONGER.

The two following tables show what parents said of their ability and willingness to send the children to school longer, and also illustrate their discrimination between ability and willingness. Taking all the places together, of the 612 children reported on, the parents of 242 , or 39.5 per cent, were able and willing, 23 , or 3.8 per cent, were able but unwilling, 250 , or 40.8 per cent, were unable but willing, and 97 , or 15.9 per cent, were unable and unwilling to send their children to school longer.

The willingness or unwillingness of parents to continue their children in school, correlated with their professed ability or inability to do so, is shown as follows:
TABLE 50.-CHILDREN CLASSIFIED BY ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS OF PARENTS TO SEND THEM TO SCHOOL LONGER.


The following table shows the number and percentage of children whose parents said they were both able and willing to send them to school longer:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS SAID THEY WERE ABLE AND WILLING TO SEND THEM TO SCHOOL LONGER.

| Locality. | Total reporting. | Children whose parents said they were able and willing to send children to school longer. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Number. | Per cent. |
| Columbia, S. C. | 59 | 33 | 55.9 |
| Hazleton, Pa... | 61 | 33 | 54.1 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 84 | 41 | 48.8 |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 103 | 42 | 40.8 |
| Columbus, Ga.. | 77 | 31 | 40.3 |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | 169 | 46 | 27.2 |
| Georgia and Alabama countles. | 59 | 16 | 27.1 |
| Total. | 612 | 242 | 39.5 |

This shows about two-fifths of the children leaving school of their own choice. In view of the frequent assumption that children, particularly young children, found at work are there because they wish to be, it seems worth while to notice the age of those thus leaving. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket the question does not arise; whatever the child's sentiments the law requires attendance until he is 14 , and so far as this investigation discloses the law seems generally enforced. These two places, therefore, may be ignored. The 154 children from other places who apparently left school of their own choice form about two-fifths- 41.8 per cent-of all the children from these places.

Looking first at the ages of this group of 154 children, we find they range as follows:

TABLE 51.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL OF THEIR OWN CHOICE, BY AGE.

|  | Age. | Number. | Per cent. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Under 12 years. |  | 22 | 14.3 |
| 12 years...... |  | 19 | 12.3 |
| 13 years |  | 38 | 24.7 |
| 14 and 15 years. |  | 75 | 48.7 |
| Total |  | 154 | 100.0 |

The preponderance of the older children shows very strikingly in this table, very nearly three-fourths being from 13 to 15 years old. Apparently the desire to leave school among the children whose parents are both able and willing to send them longer coincides very closely with the restless age.

This seems still more markedly the case if we analyze the causes leading the younger children to leave school. The entire group of children studied contained 54 children under 12 who had left school to work, of whom the 22 under consideration form practically twofifths. These fall into two groups, 14 in Columbia, and 8 equally divided between Columbus and Plymouth. The group of 8 included 2 children of 10 years and 5 of 11 who were tired of school or disliked it so strongly that the parents did not care to enforce attendance. In the eighth case a child of 10 began work during vacation, became interested, and did not return to school when the fall term began. (This child had returned to school at the time the investigation was made.)

Among the 14 Columbia children who left school under 12 the situation was rather different. In four cases (children aged 7, 8, 9, and 11) the parents seemed to mean that they were "able and willing" to let the children attend school a part of the day, working the rest, an arrangement in force at the time of the visit of inquiry. In two other cases (children aged 8 and 10) the parents, while theoretically able and willing to keep them in school, put them to work to increase the family income until a certain end should be achieved, after which they were allowed to return to school for a part of each day. One child of 7 was taken out because his parents were not willing to let him be vaccinated, as the school regulations required, and one of 10 was obliged to enter the mills against the child's and the parents' wishes on account of company pressure. In these eight cases the children can not be said to have left of their own volition, but in the remaining six, involving one child of 6 , one of 10 , and four of 11 , the children left by their own preference. In two cases they had trouble with their teachers, in two they actively disliked school, one boy had been kept out of school at work so much that he found himself embarrassingly older and larger than the others in his grade, and one "got out of the way of going" during the illness of his mother when there was no one to get him ready and sea that he started.

It will be noticed that in this community where young workers were most numerous and began work at the earliest ages, comparatively few of those working under 12 had any choice in the matter, and only two left on account of a real dislike for school. The weariness of the school routine, the lack of interest and the restlessness which caused so much of the dissatisfaction with school seem to develop, or at least to become effective, in the adolescent period.
A question naturally arises as to the ground of unwillingness in the case of those parents who said they were able but unwilling to send children to school longer. : The following table gives the data rolating to these cases:

Table 52.-REASONS FOR UNWILLINGNESS OF PARENTS WHO WERE ABLE BUT UNWILLING TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO SCHOOL LONGER.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Sex. | Age. | Grade last attended. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Kind } \\ \text { of } \\ \text { school. } \end{gathered}$ | Race of father. | Father's occupation. | Per capita weekly income. | Reasons for parents' unwillingness. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M. | 16 | 8 | Parochial. | Irish... | Hostler, bottling works. | ${ }^{\text {b }}$ \$3. 15 | Child cared too much for play while in school. |

## WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| M. | 14 | 3 | Public .. | Fr.Can. | Laborer, cot- | \$3.08 | "Old enough to work." (Boy wanted |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | ton-mill. |  | "to go to school very much.) |
| M. | 15 | 6 | do | do. | Carpenter. | 3.29 | "Old enough to work." If he wants |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | more education he can get it at night school. |
| M. | 15 | 3 | do | .do... | Butcher | 5.06 | "At 14 a boy ought to work. He is two old for school." |
| M. | 14 | 3 | ..do | do... | Peddler | 4.21 | Thought studying cause of child's |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | headaches. Too hard for him, |
| F. | 14 | 6 |  |  | Tobacco de | 6.36 | Needed in father's store. Father did not see use of too much schooling. |
| F. | 16 | 7 | Convent | Irish.. | Letter carrier b | b. 2.10 | Child wanted to help, and custodian |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | has no objection "if she gets something to do that won't kill her." |
| F. | 14 | (c) | Public .. | Fr. Can. | Carpenter.... | 3.98 | want child to help swell the savings before they go back to Canada. |

COLUMBUS, GA.

| M. | 14 | 5 | Parochial. | Amer .. | Drayman..... | $\$ 4.27$ | Mother thought 14 time for a boy to <br> begin work. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| M. | 8 | 2 | County . | Amer .. | Grocer and barber. | \$1.88 | Poor school; learned bad manners; etc.; was suspended; can not afford to send him to city school. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M. | 15 | 7 | Public .. | do. | Overseer, cot-ton-mill. | 2.60 | These boys (brothers) were restless in school and parents thought work |
| M. | 14 | 5 | do | do. | ton-mili. | 2.60 | good for them for a while. Will probably return later. |
| M. | 13 | 2 | County | .do.... | Watch man, cotton-mill. | 1.10 | Poor school; incompetent teachers; can not afford to live in city. |
| F. | 14 | 5 | Public. |  | Clerk, d ry | 2.06 | Poor school; incompetent teachers; no discipline in schoolroom. |
| F. | 14 | 1 | County | .do.... | Carder, cot-ton-mill. $d$ | . 48 | "Teacher whipped child so." Could only have sent her 4 months longer. |
| F. | 13 | 4 | Public . | do. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ton-mill.d } \\ & \text { Order man, } \\ & \text { cotton mill.' } \end{aligned}$ | 1.98 | only have sent her 4 months longer. <br> Child has weak eyes, is nervous. Mother thought mill work less strain. |

COLUMBIA, S. C.


PLYMOUTH, PA.

| M. | 14 | 8 | Public .. | Amer .. | Miner.......... | $\$ 3.25$ <br> M. | 14 |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |

[^22]TABLE 52.-REASONS FOR UNWILLINGNESS OF PARENTS WHO WERE ABLE BUT
UNWILLING TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO SCIOOL LONGER-Concluded.
HAZLETON, PA.

| Sex. | Age. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Kind } \\ & \text { of } \\ & \text { school. } \end{aligned}$ | Race of father. | Father's occupation. | Per capita weekly income | Reasons for parents' unwillingness. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M. | 13 | 6 | Public .. | Ger | Teamster | \$2. 83 | Father wanted boy's help. Will send |
| M. | 15 | 6 | .do..... | Ital. | Plumber, wa- | 2.35 | to school-next year. |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | a barber. (His own and parents' ambition.) |
| F. | 15 | 8 | ...do.... | Pokish.. | Undertaker. | (a) | Parents of opinion that schools are not necessary for girls. Wanted her to help at home. |

a Family well to do; other information uncertain.
It will be noticed that in 5 cases the unwillingness was ascribed to the character of the school or teacher, in 2 cases the child's health was alleged as a cause, and in 3 the child withdrew because of an opportunity which both he and his parents were anxious to seize for learning a trade or getting into a particular kind of work. In the other 13 cases the reasons assigned indicate either complete indifference on the parents' part or a desire for the child's earnings.

Taking all places and all children together, we find that the parents of 39.5 per cent of the children said that they were able and willing to send them longer to school, the proportion ranging from 27.1 per cent in Georgia and Alabama counties to 55.9 in Columbia.

A larger percentage of the boys' parents ( 47.7 per cent) than of the girls' parents ( 37.6 per cent) said they were able to send them to school longer. This merely reflects the popular attitude toward the work of girls. It is not yet looked upon as being so much a matter of course as the work of boys, and consequently we should expect to find fewer leaving school to work when their wages were not actually needed.

Table 53 immediately following shows the length of time longer the parents said they could have kept the children in school, correlated with the weekly per capita incomes. It is not surprising to find that nearly one-fifth (52) of those who thought they could have sent the children longer were very indefinite as to how much longer they would have been able to do so, but it is rather unexpected to see that an even larger proportion ( 57 or 21.5 per cent) felt that the children might have gone at least three, and in nineteen cases five years longer. The largest group is very naturally composed of those who could have kept the children in school one year longer or less. Twenty of the children, 10 boys and 10 girls, could have gone to high school; 11 other boys and 1 girl could have gone to college, most of these being in Pawtucket and Woonsocket.

Table 53.-LENGTH OF TIME LONGER PARENTS SAID THEY COULD HAVE SENT CHILDREN TO SCHOOL, BY PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME.

| Per capita weekly income, after deducting rent, sickness, an d death expenses, and earnings of children under 16. | Num-families. | Number of children report ed. | Children whose parents were- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Able to send them to school. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Unable to send them to school. |  |
|  |  |  | Under 1 year. | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ \text { year. } \end{gathered}$ | $\underset{\text { years. }}{2}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ |  | In-definitetime. | Total. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Number. | Percent. |  |  |
| Under \$0.50. | 28 | 31 | 3 | 3 |  |  |  | 3 | 9 | 29.0 | 22 | 71.0 |
| \$0.50 to \$0.99. | 48 | 51 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 7 | 13.7 | 44 | 86.3 |
| \$1.00 to \$1.49. | 65 | 71 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 3 |  | 4 | 18 | 25.4 | 53 | 74.6 |
| \$1.50 to \$1.99. | 89 | 94 | 1 | 14 | 10 | 4. | 3 | , | 40 | 42.6 | 54 | 57.4 |
| \$2.00 to \$2.49. | 92 | 97 | 3 | 8 | 15 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 43 | 44.3 | 54 | 55.7 |
| \$2.50 to \$2.93 | $a 71$ | 74 |  | 13 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 34 | 45.9 | 40 | 54.1 |
| \$3.00 to \$3.49 | 42 | 42 | 1 | 8 | 7 |  | 1 | 5 | 22 | 52.4 | 20 | 47.6 |
| \$3.50 to \$3.99. | 37 | 38 |  | 6 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 18 | 47.4 | 20 | 52.6 |
| \$4.00 to \$1.49. | 33 | 32 |  | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 19 | 59.4 | 13 | 40.6 |
| \$4.50 to \$1.93. | 27 | 28 | 2 | 4 | 7 | , |  | 3 | 19 | 67.9 | 9 | 32.1 |
| 85.00 to $\$ 5.99$ | 20 | 20 |  | 2 | 8 |  | 1. | 3 | 14 | 70.0 |  | 30.0 |
| $\$ 6.00$ to $\$ 7.99$. | 15 | 15 |  | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 |  | 12 | 80.0 | 3 | 20.0 |
| \$8.00 to \$9.99. | + |  |  | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 3 | 75.0 | 1 | 25.0 |
| \$10.00 and over | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 100.0 |  |  |
| Tofal reported | a 573 | $599$ | 12 | 77 | 65 1 | 38 | 19 | 49 3 | $\begin{array}{r} 260 \\ 5 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 43.4 \\ & 38.4 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 339 \\ 8 \end{array}$ | 56.6 61.6 |
| Total. |  | 612 | 12 | 78 | 66 | 38 | 19 | 52 | 265 | 43.3 | 347 | 56.7 |

a Not including one family in which the parents were unwilling to express any opinion as to their ability to keep the child in school longer.

The fact that the parents felt themselves able to send the children to school longer would seem to imply a certain degree of well-being, just as their declared inability would seem to indicate poverty; but when we compare the parental statements with the family incomes, we find some interesting discrepancies. It will be seen that some parents considered themselves able to send their children to school longer, although the per capita weekly income, with all deductions, was under 50 cents, and there were parents who said they were unable to send children longer to school, where the per capita weekly income was all the way from $\$ 2$ to $\$ 9.99$.

In the case of 72 children, in families whose per capita weekly income, after all deductions, was $\$ 3$ and over, the parents said they were unable to send the children to school longer, while in the case of 34 , in families whose per capita weekly income was less than $\$ 1.50$, the parents said that they were able to send them longer, some one year, some two years, some three years, and some for an indefinite length of time.

It is by no means to be assumed that the apparent discrepancy between the large incomes and the declaration of inability to keep their children in school is due to lack of veracity on the part of the parents, or a desire to conceal the facts. The very frankness which
made it possible to ascertain the income precludes such a supposition in most cases. The majority of them doubtless sincerely felt "unable"-partly, perhaps, on account of poor management of expenditure, but chiefly, in all probability, for the same reason that leads most people to say they "can not afford" an expenditure which seems less worth while than some other. These parents simply did not value further schooling as highly as they did the acquisition of property, the purchase of luxuries for the home, the music or other lessons, and the greater sense of independence and security arising from the possession of a financial reserve. They were thrifty and intelligent people, many of them, with their own plans for the future.

If we assume that families having a per capita weekly income of $\$ 2$ and over after all deductions are made are able to send their children to school longer, we find that 343 , or 59.9 per cent, of the 573 families whose finances were computed in this way would have been able to keep their children in school longer.

In the separate places the percentages stand as follows:
Table 54.-PER CENT OF FAMILIES ABLE AND WILLING TO SEND CHILDREN TO SCHOOL LONGER AND PER CENT HAVING PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME OF $\$ 2$ AND OVER.

| Locality. | Per cent of families having weekly per come of $\$ 2$ and over, ductions. | Per cent of families who said they were- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Able to send children to schoor longer. | Both able and willing to send children to school longer. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 68.7 | 42.0 | 40.8 |
| Woonsocket, R. | 72.4 | 31.5 <br> 41 | 27.2 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties | 54.1 52.9 | 41.3 40.4 | 40.3 |
| Columbia, S. C........ | 52.9 | +40.3 | ${ }_{55.9}^{27.1}$ |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 46.3 | 51.2 | 48.8 |
| Hazleton, Pa . | 46.6 | ${ }_{57.6}$ |  |
| Total. | 59.9 | 43.4 | 39.5 |

It is of considerable interest at this point to compare the findings of the investigation of the Massachusetts commission on industrial and technical education.

A large majority of parents could and would afford industrial training for their children. (Based on attitude of 3,157 families.)

Seventy-six per cent of these families could give their children industrial training. (Based on the family income per person being more than $\$ 2$ per week exclusive of rent, and on apparent conditions.)

Sixty-six per cent of the children could have continued in school. (Based on statement of parents.)

Fifty-five per cent of the families declared they would send their children to trade schools. ${ }^{a}$

Our arbitrary classification of the families [in Lowell, Mass.] places almost half in the good grade-an estimate which is borne out by the fact that one-third of the children graduated from the grammar grade, and 3 had some high school training. For some reason the proportion of families who apparently could afford continued training for the children is but 62 per cent-less than among the cotton operatives; but this percentage advances to 73 in Holyoke and 80 in North Adams. ${ }^{\text {b }}$

Where the Massachusetts investigation shows 76 per cent, the present investigation shows practically 60 per cent of the families able to give children schooling to the age of 16 . Woonsocket, with 72 per cent, comes the nearest to the average for Massachusetts.

The fact that the figures for all the localities visited in this investigation are lower than the average for Massachusetts may be accounted for in any one of three ways, or any combination of the three: (1) These localities may be less generally prosperous than the Massachusetts communities; (2) the selection of families is undoubtedly of a lower grade, since no children who had so much as graduated from the grammar grades were included (the case of Lowell, quoted above, is doubtless exceptional); (3) the income in the Massachusetts investigation may have been based on the weekly rate of wages, whereas the income used in this comparison is the average for the year, which might make a difference of anything between 10 per cent and 50 per cent, as shown in the Table 32 (p. 81), where for all places together the average weekly earnings of the family at the time of the visit are shown to be 20 per cent higher than the average weekly earnings for the whole of the year preceding the visit.

Where the Massachusetts investigation shows 66 per cent the present investigation shows 43 per cent of the parents who said they were able to send children to school longer. Columbia, with 59 per cent, comes the nearest to the average for Massachusetts.

These percentages show, on the whole, even more of a discrepancy than the preceding. The first two explanations suggested above for the preceding list would, if true, apply here also. But the fact that Woonsocket, which heads the list of families with $\$ 2$ income, or more, is at the foot of the list of parents who said they were able to continue their children in school; that Pawtucket, which is next to the head in the first list, is not much above the foot in the second list; that Hazleton, which is next to the foot in the first list, is next to the head in the second list; and that at the very head of the second list

[^23]stands Columbia, S. C., goes to show that what the parents say of their ability to send the children to school longer depends more upon their mental attitude than upon the size of their income.
As throwing a side light upon the trustworthiness of the statements of parents that they were able and willing to send children to school longer, a count was made of those children who did actually remain in school when they might legally have gone to work. The number found is, of course, not as large as it would have been had not boys and girls leaving school at the age of 16 or over been rigidly excluded from the list of those investigated.

The following table shows the number and per cent of children who left school under the legal age; of those who left as soon as they had reached the legal age to begin work; and of those who remained in school after the law would have permitted them to go to work:

Table 55.-NUMBER AND.PER CENT OF CHILDREN WHO LEFT SCHOOL UNDER LEGAL AGE, UPON REACHING LEGAL AGE, AND AFTER REACHING LEGAL AGE FOR BEGINNING WORK.

| Time of leaving school. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga. |  | Georgia and Alabama counties. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Percent. | Number. | Per cent. | Num- ber. | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| I. Left school under legal age: Under 1 year. | 9 | 8.7 | 12 | 6.8 | 9 | 11.7 |  |  |
| 1 year and under 2 years | 1 | 1.0 | 1 | . 6 | 5 | 6.5 | 1 | 1.7 |
| 2 years and under 3 years ............ |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1.3 |  |  |
| 3 years and over. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . |  |  |  |  |  | 3.9 | 2 | 3.3 |
| Total | 10 | 9.7 | 13 | 7.4 | 18 | 23.4 | 3 | 5.0 |
| II. Left school upon reaching legal age. . | 24 | 23.3 | 40 | 22.9 | 2 | 2.6 | 2 | 3.3 |
| III. Remained in school after reaching legal age: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 1 year......................... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 year and under 2 years. <br> 2 years and under 3 years | $(a)^{17}$ | 16.5 | (a) ${ }^{26}$ | 14.8 | 16 16 | 20.7 20.8 | 23 12 | 18.3 20.3 |
| 2 years and under 3 years <br> 3 years and over. |  |  |  |  | 11 | 20.8 14.3 | 12 9 | 20.0 15.0 |
| Total reported. | 69 | 67.0 | 120 | 68.6 | 56 | 72.7 | 55 | 91.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 69 | 67.0 | 120 | 68.6 | 57 | 74.0 | 55 | -91.7 |
| IV. Never went to school. |  |  | 2 | 1.1 |  |  |  |  |
| Grand total | 103 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 77 | 100.0 | 60 | 100.0 |

[^24]TABLE 55.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN WHO LEFT SCHOOL UNDER Legal age, upon reaching legal age, and after reaching legal age FOR BEGINNING WORK-Concluded.

| Time of leaving school. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Columbia, } \\ & \text { S. C. } \end{aligned}$ |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  |  |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Percent. | School age. |  | Home age. |  | Number. | Percent. | Number. | $\begin{array}{\|l} \text { Per- } \\ \text { cent. } \end{array}$ |
|  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber- } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | jum- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| I. Left school under legal age: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 1 year........... | 7 | 11.3 | 16 | 19.1 | 26 | 31.0 | 11 | 18.0 | 74 | 11.9 |
| 1 year and under 2 years | 5 | 8.1 | 17 | 20.2 | 17 | 20.2 | 2 | 3.3 | 32 | 5.1 |
| 2 years and under 3 years | 2 | 3.2 | 15 | 17.8 | 6 | 7.1 |  |  | 9 | 1.5 |
| 3 years and over...... |  | 11.3 | 10 | 11.9 | 3 | -3.6 |  |  | 15 | 2.4 |
| Total. | 21 | 33.9 | 58 | 69.0 | 52 | 61.9 | 13 | 21.3 | 130 | 20.9 |
| II. Left school upon reaching legal age. . | 1 | 1.6 | 1 | 1.2 | 2 | 2.4 | 4 | 6.6 | 75 | 12.1 |
| III. Remained in school after reaching legal age: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 1 year......................... | 10 | 16.1 | 16 |  |  | 25.0 | 33 | 54.1 | 234 | 37.6 |
| 1 year and under 2 years | 14 | 22.6 | 9 | 10.7 | 8 | 9.5 | 11 | 18.0 | 115 | 18.5 |
| 2 years and under 3 years | 11 | 17.7 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 39 | 6.3 |
| 3 years and over......... | 5 | 8.1 |  |  | 1 | 1.2 |  |  | 26 | 4.2 |
| Total reported. | 40 | 64.5 | 25 | 29.8 | 30 | 35.7 | 44 | 72.1 | 414 | 66.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 40 | 64.5 | 25 | 29.8 | 30 | 35.7 | 44 | 72.1 | 415 | 66.7 |
| IV. Never went to school. |  |  | . |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | . 3 |
| Grand total | 62 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 | 61 | 100.0 | 622 | 100.0 |

It was found that 415 , or 66.7 per cent, of the children remained at school longer than required, the percentage ranging from 35.7 per cent in Plymouth to 91.7 per cent in Georgia and Alabama counties.

In every other place but Plymouth more than half, and in Columbus and Hazleton more than 70 per cent, of the children remained in school after the law would have allowed them to go to work. Many of those in the southern places had already been at work and had returned to school.

These figures include those who stayed in school even a week longer than necessary (nothing less than a week was counted), and they were supplemented, therefore, by another count showing the length of time longer. In all, 180, or 29 per cent, remained one year or more longer and 65 , or 10.5 per cent, remained two years or more longer. In the three southern places together more than half were in school one year or more, and in Columbus and in Georgia and Alabama counties more than one-third were in school two years or more beyond the age when the law would have permitted them to work. This is partly due to the southern custom of alternating school and work and partly to the fact that the legal age for beginning work is only 12 years, whereas in Thode Island and Pennsylvania it is 14 . In the nature of the case, none of the children in the northern localities
could have stayed in school two years beyond the legal age, for they would then have been 16 and would not have been included in the investigation at all.

Those who left school as soon as the law allowed (i. e., within a week) numbered 75 , or 12.1 per cent, the percentage varying from 1.6 per cent in Columbia to 23.3 in Pawtucket.

Those who left school before the law would permit the work regulated by child-labor law are studied more in detail in the chapter on legal conditions.

## SCHOOL SYSTEMS AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN.

Each of the localities had a regular city system of graded schools except the Georgia and Alabama counties, which had partially graded schools supported by the State. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket there were 9 grades below the high school, besides kindergartens. In Columbus and Columbia there were 7 grades below the high school and in Plymouth and Hazleton 8 grades. Columbus also had kindergartens. Pawtucket and Woonsocket each had quite an extensive night-school system, and Columbia had 1 night school for mill operatives. Pawtucket, Columbia, and Hazleton had beginnings of manual training in the grades, and there was a good evening drawing school in Pawtucket where mechanical drawing was taught, so as to fit the pupils for industrial positions. In Woonsocket there was a special building for manual training, to which the children of the three upper grades went every week, the boys for sloyd, the girls for cooking and sewing. There were also evening classes in these three subjects for working boys and girls. In Columbus industrial training is a marked feature in the school system. Besides the manual training and craft work, sewing and cooking, characteristic of progressive schools to-day, there are two special schools known as the "Primary Industrial School" and the "Secondary Industrial School." The Primary Industrial School carries pupils through grade 4. The Secondary Industrial School admits pupils after completion of grade 6, and gives a three years' course. In the tabulations the first year of the Secondary Industrial School has been considered as grade 7, the second year as grade 8, the third as grade 9. All the pupils above grade 7 in Columbus are from the Secondary Industrial School.

The academic work in Pawtucket and Woonsocket follows old conservative lines, though in Pawtucket an effort is being made to introduce modern features, especially along industrial lines. In Plymouth and Hazleton the methods are a little rigid, while in Columbus and Columbia the schools are decidedly modern and progressive. The three Georgia and Alabama county schools are typical southern country schools.
fn Pawtucket and Woonsocket, particularly in the latter place, the problem of the foreign non-English-speaking child exists. In every other place over 90 per cent of the children included in this study were born in the United States, while in Pawtucket those born in the United States constituted only 78.6 per cent, and in Woonsocket only 61.5 per cent of the group. Those who had fathers borzi in the United States constituted 31.1 per cent in Pawtucket and 15.7 in Woonsocket. Even in Plymouth, where only 33.3 per cent of the children had fathers born in the United States, 92.8 per cent of the children were born here; of the 6 children not born in the United States, 3 were born in England. In Hazleton, where only 60.7 per cent of the children had fathers born in the United States, there was only 1 child not born in the United States.

Nearly all the foreign-born children in Woonsocket ( 34.5 per cent of all the children included in this study) are French Canadians. Some of these and some of the others who were born here of FrenchCanadian parentage ( 73 per cent in all were of French Canadian parentage) spoke no English, though it was the language of the school. Every one of these children, however, could read and write his own language, if not English, and some were found who could "read and write" English though they could not speak it. Another hindrance to these children is the common practice of going back and forth between the public and parochial schools. A child might have been in grade 7 in the French school and yet be in grade 2 in the public school. These items may throw light upon the following statement in regard to the attitude of children and of parents toward the schools.

## ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS TOWARD SCHOOL.

In the effort to ascertain at the home what was the attitude of the child toward school, the questions were asked in a very general way, so that there was the utmost freedom and consequent variety in the answers. The questions were as to how he liked school, how he got along in his studies, and in other ways; if he was ever truant, or had ever been suspended, etc. Naturally this led to free discussion of the subject and the information obtained was given in such a variety of ways that classification was a matter of some difficulty. Table 56 shows the results as nearly as they could be tabulated for 617 children concerning whom this information was obtained. Often it was difficult for either child or parent to say clearly why the child had disliked school, but in this table are given what seemed to be the real objections, as nearly as these could be gained from careful inquiry.

Table 56.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN TOWARD SCHOOL.


It will be noticed that the division between the satisfied and the dissatisfied is very nearly even, 51.1 per cent satisfied to 48.9 per cent dissatisfied. The proportions vary widely, however, from place to place, standing as follows:

PER CENT OF CHILDREN SATISFIED AND NOT SATISFIED WITH SCHOOL.


The leading cause of dissatisfaction, taking all places together, seemed a dislike of the general manner of life in school, which was responsible for the dissatisfaction of 19 per cent of the children. This was also the leading cause in each place, except in Georgia and Alabama schools, where dissatisfaction with the teacher predominated.

In comparing the different localities it must be remembered that Pawtucket and Woonsocket are the only places in which any considerable number of the children came from other than the public schools of the community. In Pawtucket, however, only 60 of the 103 children whose attitude is reported came from the public schools there, 30 having come from parochial schools, 11 from public schools in other places, and 2 from other schools. In Woonsocket only 104 were from the public schools, 57 from parochial schools, and 12 from other schools. Seventeen in Pawtucket and 22 in Woonsocket had left school before coming to these citirs. On comparing the public school children of Pawtucket and Woonsocket with all children studied some difference in the attitude toward school and teacher became apparent, the percentages of those satisfied standing as follows:Pawtucket, R. I.:
Per cent satisfied.
All children studied.................................................................... 47.6
Public school children. ............................................................... 35.0
Woonsocket, R. I.:
All children studied . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 50.3
Public school children. .............................................................. 49.1

Assuming that the children studied in the other cities were all from the public schools it will be seen that Columbus has the smallest and Pawtucket the largest proportion of public school children dissatisfied with school or teacher. The excellent industrial schools of Columbus might be credited with the good showing that city makes were it not that Columbia, with none, shows nearly as small a pro-
portion of dissatisfaction. One might expect to find dissatisfaction correlated with compulsory attendance to a somewhat advanced age, and the high proportion in Pawtucket, Plymouth, and Woonsocket, all places in which 14 is the legal age for leaving school, would bear out this theory. But in Plymouth at the time of this investigation the 14 -year limit was not enforced at all generally, and the Georgia and Alabama district, in which compulsory attendance could hardly be said to exist, shows more dissatisfaction than either Pawtucket or Woonsocket. No general theory appears to fit the case; all that can be said is that in every place visited the schools failed to attract and hold a proportion of the children studied, varying from practically one-third to over one-half.
More girls were satisfied than boys, $\left({ }^{( }\right)$the percentage for all places standing as follows: Boys satisfied, 47.7 per cent; girls satisfied, 55.4 per cent. Boys dissatisfied, 52.3 per cent; girls dissatisfied, 44.6 per cent:

In two respects only were more girls dissatisfied than boys, namely: Dissatisfied with teacher: Boys, 6.3 per cent; girls, 6.7 per cent. ${ }^{b}$ Restless and nervous in school: Boys, 2.9 per cent; girls, 3.4 per cent.

Hazleton was the only place in which the boys were more generally satisfied than the girls, 61.1 per cent of the boys, as against 36 per cent of the girls, liking school. The three respects in which a larger proportion of the girls in this city were dissatisfied are: Dissatisfied with general manner of school life: Boys, 13.9 per cent; girls, 40 per cent. Failed to progress: Boys, none; girls, 8 per cent. Too big for class: Boys, 2.8 per cent; girls, 8 per cent.

Nothing is known which would account for this exception in Hazleton.

The predominating foreign races in Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Plymouth had a larger percentage of children satisfied with school and teacher than the English-speaking people, while in Hazleton the English-speaking people had a larger percentage satisfied than the German, which is the predominating foreign race there. Table 57 shows the attitude of the children, by race of father:

[^25]TAble 57.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN TOWARD SCHOOL, BY RACE OF FATHER.

| Locality and race. | Attitude toward school. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber } \\ & \text { re- } \\ & \text { port- } \\ & \text { ed. } \end{aligned}$ | Percentofchil-drensatis-fedwithschoolandteach-er. | Per cent of children not satisfied with school and teacher. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total. |
|  |  |  | Indifent. | Dissatisfied with manner of life in school. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dis- } \\ & \text { satis- } \\ & \text { fied } \\ & \text { with } \\ & \text { teach- } \\ & \text { er. } \end{aligned}$ | Disliked study | Failed to progress. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Too } \\ \text { big } \\ \text { for } \\ \text { class. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rest- } \\ & \text { less } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { nerv- } \\ & \text { ous } \\ & \text { in } \\ & \text { school. } \end{aligned}$ | Total. |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American. | 23 | 21.7 | 4.4 | 13.0 | 30.4 | 4.4 | 8.7 | 13.0 | 4.4 | 78. 3 | 23 |
| Other English speaking.. | 41 | 41.5 | 14.6 | 14.6 | 9.8 | 7.3 | 4,9 |  | 7.3 | 58.5 | 41 |
| French Canadian. | 24 | 62.5 | 8.4 | 8.3 |  | 8.3 |  |  | 12.5 | 37.5 | 24 |
| Other races | 15 | 80.0 |  | 13.3 |  | 6.7 |  |  |  |  | 15 |
| Total | 103 | 47.6 | 8.7 | 12.6 | 10.7 | 6.8 | 3.9 | 2.9 | 6.8 | 52.4 | 103 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.: American | 9 | 33.4 |  | 11.1 |  |  | 22.2 | 11.1 | 22.2 | 66.6 |  |
| Other English speaking. | 28 | 35.7 | 32.1 | 25.0 |  |  | 3.6 |  | 3.6 | 64.3 | 28 |
| French Canadian. | 128 | 53.9 | 11.7 | 19.5 |  | 8.6 | . 8 | 2.4 | 3.1 | 46.1 | 130 |
| Other races .... | 8 | 62.5 |  | 12.5 | 25.0 |  |  |  |  | 37.5 | 8 |
| Total | 173 | 50.3 | 13.8 | 19.7 | 1.2 | 6.4 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 4.0 | 49.7 | 175 |
| Plymouth, Pa.: American. | 23 | 34.8 | 8.7 | 21.8 | 13.0 | 13.0 |  |  | 8.7 |  |  |
| Other English speaking. | 23 | 26.1 | 13.0 | 26.1 | 21.8 | 8.7 | 4.3 |  |  | 73.9 | 23 |
| Slavic.... | 35 | 54.3 | 8.6 | 25.7 |  | 5.7 |  | 5.7 |  | 45.7 | 36 |
| Other races | 2 |  |  | 100.0 |  |  |  |  |  | 100.0 | 2 |
| Total | 83 | 39.8 | 9.6 | 26.5 | 9.6 | 8.5 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 60.2 | 84 |
| Hazleton, Pa.: |  |  |  |  | 6.7 |  | 13.3 |  |  |  |  |
| Other English speaking.. | 10 | 50.0 | 20.0 | 10.0 |  | 20.0 |  |  |  | 50.0 | 10 |
| German.................. | 20 | 46.2 | 3.8 | 30.8 | 7.7 |  |  | 11.5 |  | 53. 8 | 20 |
| Other races | 10 | 60.0 | 10.0 | 30.0 |  |  |  |  |  | 40.0 | 10 |
| Total | 61 | 50.8 | 6.6 | 24.6 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 3.3 | 1.9 |  | 49.2 | 61 |

In Pawtucket and Woonsocket the American and in Plymouth the "Other English-speaking" element appear to have had the largest percentage of children not satisfied. In Pawtucket 30.4 per cent of the American children were dissatisfied with their teacher, while no French Canadian children, either in Pawtucket or Woonsocket, were dissatisfied with their teacher. The French Canadians, however, had a larger percentage of those who disliked to study than any other race group in Pawtucket and Woonsocket, while in Plymouth and Hazleton the American and "Other English-speaking" races, respectively, had the lead under this head.

Among those who fail to progress, the Americans show the largest percentage in every place but Plymouth, where the lead belongs to "Other English-speaking." The largest percentage of those who felt that they were too big for the class is found in Pawtucket and

Woonsocket among the Americans. As for those who were nervous and restless in school, the French Canadians show the largest percentage in Pawtucket and the Americans in Woonsocket.

On the whole, it may be said that the Americans and other Englishspeaking were less satisfied with the schools than the foreigners, except in Hazleton. Our Anglo-Saxon conceit might lead us to attribute the uncritical attitude of the foreigners to their inferior intelligence but for the somewhat disconcerting fact that it is among the Americans and "Other English-speaking" that the largest percentage of failure to progress is found.

A heavy responsibility is often placed upon the parents for the attitude of the children toward school. Table 58 permits a comparison of the attitude of parents and children toward school.

## Table 58.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS TOWARD SCHOOL.

## PAWTUCKET, R.I.

| Attitude of children toward school. | Attitude of parents toward school. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Ap- } \\ \text { proved. } \end{gathered}$ | Disapproved. | Ignorant or indif- | Total reported. |  |
|  |  |  |  | Number. | Per cent. |
| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 44 | 2 | 3 | 49 | 47.6 |
| II. Not satisfied with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent..................................... | 6 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 8.7 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school | 8 | 4 | 1 | 13 | 12.6 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher. | 5 | 6 |  | 11 | 10.7 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 6 | 1 |  | 7 | 6.8 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 4 |  |  | 4 | 3.9 |
| 6. Too big for class... | 3 |  |  | 3 | 2.9 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school | 7 |  |  | 7 | 6.8 |
| Total not satisfied. | 39 | 12 | 3 | 54 | 52.4 |
| Total reported.................................. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number.. } \\ \text { per cent.. }\end{array}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{r} 83 \\ 80.6 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 14 \\ 13.6 \end{array}$ | 5. ${ }_{8}^{8}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 103 \\ 100.0 \end{array}$ | 100.0 |

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 71 | 3 | 11 | a 87 | 50.3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. Not satisfied with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent........................... | 12 | 3 | 9 | 24 | 13.8 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school | 23 | 1 | 10 | 34 | 19.7 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher. | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 1.2 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 9 |  | 2 | 11 | 6.4 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2.3 |
| 6. Too big for class. | 4 |  |  | 4 | 2.3 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school | 6 |  | 1 | 7 | 4.0 |
| Total not satisfied. | 57 | 5 | 24 | 86 | 49.7 |
| Total reported rumber. per cent. | $\begin{array}{r} 128 \\ 74.8 \end{array}$ | 8 4.7 | 35 20.5 | $\begin{array}{r} a 173 \\ 100.0 \end{array}$ | 100.0 |

TABLE 58.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS TOWARD SCHOOL-Continued.

## COLUMBUS, GA.

| Attitude of children toward school. | Attitude of parents toward school. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Approved. | Disapproved. | Ignorant or indifferent: | Total reported. |  |
|  |  |  |  | Number. | Per cent. |
| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 49 | ......... | 2 | 51 | 67.1 |
| II. Not satisfled with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent........ | 7 |  |  | 7 | 9.2 |
| 2. Dissatisfled with general manner of life in school ......... | 13 |  | ........ | 13 | 17.1 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher....................................... | 1 | -....... |  | 1 | 1.3 |
| 4. Disliked to study..... | 2 |  | ....... | 2 | 2.7 |
| 5. Failed to progress. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1.3 |
| 6. Too big for class. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school. | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1.3 |
| Total not satisfied. | 25 |  |  | 25 | 32.9 |
| Total reported....................................... $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number.. }\end{array}\right.$ | 74 |  | 2 | 76 | 100.0 |
|  | 97.4 |  | 2.6 | 100.0 |  |

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 18 | 5 |  | 024 | 40.7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. Not satisfied with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent......... | 3 | 4 |  | 7 | 11.9 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school | 3 | 7 |  | 10 | 17.0 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher.. | 2 | 10 |  | 12 | 20.2 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 2 | 1 |  | 3 | 5.1 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 1 | ... |  | 1 | 1.7 |
| 6. Too big for class.. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school. | 2 |  |  | 2 | 3.4 |
| Total not satisfle | 13 | 22 | ......... | 35 | 59.3 |
| Total reported. ....................................... $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number. } \\ \text { per cent. }\end{array}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{r} 31 \\ 53.4 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 27 \\ 46.6 \end{array}$ | ............ | $\begin{array}{r} a 59 \\ 100.0 \end{array}$ | 100.0 |

COLUMBIA, S. C.

| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 35 | 4 | 1 | 40 | 64.5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. Not satisfled with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent. |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1.6 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school. | 7 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 16.1 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher............................ | 2 | 1 |  | 3 | 4.9 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 4 |  | . | 4 | 6.5 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | 3.2 |
| 6. Too big for class.............. | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 3.2 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total not satisfled. | 15 | 4 | 3 | 22 | 35.5 |
| Total reported..................... . . . . . . . . . . $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number. } \\ \text { per cent. }\end{array}\right.$ | 50 80.6 | 8 12.9 | 6.5 | $\begin{array}{r} 62 \\ 100.0 \end{array}$ | 100.0 |

a Including 1 parent, attitude not reported.

TABLE 58.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS TOWARD SCHOOL-Concluded. PLYMOUTH, PA.

| Attitude of children toward school. | Attitude of parents toward school. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{array}{\|c} \text { Ap- } \\ \text { proved. } \end{array}$ | Disapproved. | Ignorant or indifferent. | Total reported. |  |
|  |  |  |  | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ |
| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 26 | ........ | 7 | 33 | 39.8 |
| II. Not satisfied with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent...................................... | 7 |  | 1 | 8 | 9.6 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school ......... | 18 |  | 4 | 22 | 26.5 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher. | 8 |  |  | 8 | 9.6 |
| 4. Disliked to study.. | 7 |  |  | 7 | 8.5 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1.2 |
| 6. Too big for class... | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 2.4 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in schoo | - 2 |  |  | 2 | 2.4 |
| Total not satisfied. | 44 |  | 6 | 50 | 60.2 |
| Total reported. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number. } \\ \text { per cent. . }\end{array}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{r} 70 \\ 84.3 \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{r} 13 \\ 15.7 \end{array}$ | 83 100.0 | 100.0 |

## HAZLETON, PA.

| I. Satisfied with school and teacher. | 25 | 1 | 5 | 31 | 50.8 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. Not satisfied with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent. | 2 |  | 2 | 4 | 6.6 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school | 12 |  | 3 | 15 | 24.6 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher. | 1 | 2 |  | 3 | 4.9 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 3 |  |  | 3 | 4.9 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 2 |  |  | 2 | 3.3 |
| 6. Too big for class. | 3 |  |  | 3 | 4.9 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total not satisfied. | 23 | 2 | 5 | 30 | 49.2 |
| Total reported.................................. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number. } \\ \text { per cent. . }\end{array}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{r} 48 \\ 78.7 \end{array}$ | 3 4.9 | 10 16.4 | $\begin{array}{r} 61 \\ 100.0 \end{array}$ | 100.0 |

ALL LOCALITIES.

| I. Satisfled with school and teacher. | 268 | 15 | 29 | a 315 | 51.1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. Not satisfled with school and teacher: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Indifferent... | 37 | 8 | 15 | 60 | 9.7 |
| 2. Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school | 84 | 14 | 19 | 117 | 18.9 |
| 3. Dissatisfied with teacher. | 20 | 19 | 1 | 40 | 6.5 |
| 4. Disliked to study. | 33 | 2 | 2 | 37 | 6.0 |
| 5. Failed to progress. | 12 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 2.4 |
| 6. Too big for class. | 12 |  | 2 | 14 | 2.3 |
| 7. Restless and nervous in school | 18 |  | 1 | 19 | 3.1 |
| Total not satisfied. | 216 | 45 | 41 | 302 | 48.9 |
| Total reported.................................. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { number. } \\ \text { per cent. }\end{array}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{r} 484 \\ 78.8 \end{array}$ | 60 9.8 | 70 11.4 | $\begin{aligned} & a 617 \\ & 100.0 \end{aligned}$ | 100.0 |

oIncluding 3 parents, attitude not reported.

A study of the table shows that in every place more of the children than of the parents were dissatisfied with the schools-a great many more. Only a few of the parents appeared ignorant or indifferent, and a smaller percentage of these were found in the South than in the North. In Georgia and Alabama, where there was the greatest amount of dissatisfaction with the schools on the part of both parents and children, no parents appeared to be ignorant or indifferent in the matter. The largest percentage of ignorant or indifferent parents (20.5) was found in Woonsocket, the next in Hazleton (16.4) and Plymouth (15.7). In Plymouth, where 60.2 per cent of the children were dissatisfied with the school and hated it with a more bitter hatred than was found elsewhere, no parents were found who disapproved of the schools. Columbus was the only other place where there were no disapproving parents, and there 67.1 per cent of the children were satisfied with the school. The per cent of parents satisfied with the school and teacher was 78.8, ranging from 53.4 in Georgia and Alabama counties to 97.4 per cent in Columbus. That these differences were based upon an intelligent appreciation of educational values appears the more probable the more familiar one becomes with the various school systems.

TABLE 59.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PARENTS WHO APPROVED AND OF CHILDREN WHO WERE SATISFIED AND WHO WERE NOT SATISFIED WITII SCHOOLS, AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PARENTS WHO APPROVED OF SCHOOLS, BUT WHOSE CHILDREN WERE NOT SATISFIED.

| Locality. | Approving parents. |  | Satisfied chlldren. |  | Children not satisfled. |  | Parents of children not satisfied who approved of schools. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\text { cent. }}{\substack{\mathrm{P} \\ \text { cent. }}}$ | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Per cent. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 83 | 80.6 | 49 | 47.6 | 54 | 52.4 | 39 | 72.2 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 128 | 74.8 | 87 | 50.3 | 86 | 49.8 | 57 | 66.3 |
| Columbus, Ga........................ | 74 | 97.4 | 51 | 67.1 | 25 | 32.9 | 25 | 100.0 |
| Georgia and Alabama countics....... | 31 | 53.4 | 24 | 40.7 | 35 | 59.3 | 13 | 37.1 |
| Columbia, S. C. . | 50 | 80.6 | 40 | 64.5 | 22 | 35.5 | 15 | 68.2 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 70 | 84.3 | 33 | 39.8 | 50 | 60.2 | 44 | 88.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa.......................... | 48 | 78.7 | 31 | 50.8 | 30 | 49.2 | 23 | 76.7 |
| Total. | 484 | 78.8 | 315 | 51.1 | 302 | 48.9 | 216 | 71.5 |

It is obvious that among the schedule children, at least, the parents can not be held responsible to any great degree for the children's dissatisfaction with the schools.

It was much easier to find out that a child was dissatisfied at school than it was to find out the reason for the dissatisfaction, though usually both parents and children were quite frank in their expressions. Many times they did not know themselves. Sometimes what they said conflicted with what the teacher said, as well as with the later industrial experience of the child, as notably in the following very interesting case of a Pawtucket boy who left school at 14 from grade 4 after eighty-one months' schooling:

The boy hated anything connected with study, school, or teachers. The parents never inquired why this was so, and could not give a reason. He had nothing against his teachers except as they represented the school. The parents believe in education, had no fault to find with the school, and were able and willing to send him another year. But each morning he had to be urged and driven to school. Otherwise was one of the best boys imaginable, helping his mother to take care of the little ones, and bringing in coal and wood, etc. He would coax her to let him stay away from school and offer to do the washing, wheel the babies all day around their dooryard, and do any work or anything she wanted him to do, if he could stay away from the books. His parents were anxious for him to stand as well in school as his elder brothers and sisters, but they saw it was no use; he simply could not learn; even his alphabet, they said, was incomprehensible. He got along with figures a little better. When he was old enough to get his working papers his father and mother discussed the situation and very reluctantly consented to allow him to go to work. Three months previous to his birthday (in April) he began a systematic visiting of the machine rooms in different mills and found a position that suited him, in the same industry, but not in the same mill, followed by his father (paper mill), which he promptly took one week after leaving school. What he had learned in the three months of observation and visiting about among the machinists enabled him to take an unusually advanced position, causing considerable surprise to his parents, who had begun to think him hopelessly dull. He has advanced in knowledge of machinery so much within the past eight months that his employer has offered to have him taught the machinist's trade at his own expense, and he will probably go to his trade in the spring. In the meantime he has begun to see the application of figures in mechanics and studies at his arithmetic whenever he can. He is entirely changed, his mother says, alert and quick where he used to be dull, and much happier, always up early and ready to go to work, and "does not work with his eye on the clock" when he gets there.

This is an extreme case, but it is not exceptional. Witness the following instances, chosen from many, of remarkably bright children who did not wish to stay in school:

No. 1. Teacher said he was bright and did everything well. His father said he did well in his studies and in other ways; was at the head of his class for two years; speaks, reads, andi writes both French and English well. His teacher wanted him to stay. Left school
because he had lost interest there and wanted a change, and enjoyed the prospect of earning money. Left at 14 from grade 5. Parents liked school and wanted boy to go longer, but felt it was no use to force him.

No. \&. "Very bright boy, but indifferent and careless, almost sullen in school," said his teacher. He now, at the age of 15 , earns $\$ 16.50$ a week as a telegraph operator. His employer says, "Boy of very exceptional ability, bright, ambitious, and of excellent character." Left school at 15 from second year of secondary industrial school.

No. 3. "Splendid disposition, most intelligent boy I ever taught, well read, and adapted for a profession," said his teacher. But his stepmother said he did not like to study. He is now a doffer in a cotton mill. Left school at 13 from grade 4.

No. 4. "Very bright boy, a wonder, could do anything," said his teacher; above the average in scholarship, but below in deportment, mischievous; best fitted for professional work in any line he might choose. He hated school, and is now a slate picker. A Slovak boy.

Such cases as the above are a problem for the schools. What was the matter? Something surely was wrong when children of this stamp cared so little for school.

Some obvious causes of dissatisfaction present themselves. The child's capacity may have much to do with it; a pupil who is dull and backward is not likely to be fond of school. Age may be another reason; if from any cause a child falls behind those of his own age and is obliged to rank with children much younger than himself, dissatisfaction may naturally be expected. The character of the teaching given may count. And if all other conditions are favorable, health and the hygienic conditions of the schoolroom may have much to do with the attitude toward school attendance.

In an effort to find how far the first of these causes was effective, a careful canvass was made of the teachers and their estimate of the capacity of each child sought. Their opinion was asked as to four points: General capacity, scholarship, deportment, and age as compared with others in the same grade. Estimates, of course, must be taken as representing opinions, not actual facts, but these estimates were given after careful consideration by persons well qualified to judge, and it is believed that they present a pretty fair picture of actual conditions. Combining these estimates, we have Table 60, showing the child's attitude toward school correlated with the teacher's opinion of the child.

Table 60.-ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN TOWARD SCHOOL

| Teachers' estimates of children. | Attitude of children toward school. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Satisfied with school and teacher. |  | Not satisfied with school and teacher. |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | Indifferent. |  | Dissatisfied with general manner of life in school. |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | Num- | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. |
| General capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bright....... | 177 | 107 | 60.5 | 12 | 6.8 | 29 | 16.4 |
| Average. | 207 149 | 110 | 53.1 32.9 | 16 21 | 6.8 14 | 38 | 18.4 |
| Total reported. | 533 | 266 | 49.9 | 49 | 9.2 | 103 | 19.3 |
| Not reported. | 84 | 49 | 58.3 | 11 | 13.1 | 14 | 16.7 |
| Total. | 617 | 315 | 51.1 | 60 | 9.7 | 117 | 18.9 |
| Scholars ip: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average. Average.... | 114 228 | $\begin{array}{r}74 \\ 125 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | 64.9 54.8 | 9 15 | 7.9 6.6 | ${ }_{38}^{17}$ | 14.9 16.7 |
| Below average | 188 | 66 | 54.1 35 | 25 | 6.6 13.3 | 46 | 14.5 |
| Total reported Not reported. | $\begin{array}{r} 530 \\ 87 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 265 \\ 50 \end{array}$ | $50.0$ | $\begin{aligned} & 49 \\ & 11 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9.2 \\ 12.6 \end{array}$ | 101 16 | $\begin{aligned} & 19.1 \\ & 18.4 \end{aligned}$ |
| Total. | 617 | 315 | 51.1 | 60 | 9.7 | 117 | 18.9 |
| Deportment: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average | 211 | 120 | 56.9 | 15 | 7.1 | 31 | 14.7 |
| Average average | 222 92 | 107 35 | 48.2 38.0 | 27 7 | 12.1 7.6 | 45 24 | 20.3 26.1 |
| Total reported | 525 | 262 | 49.9 | 49 | 9.3 | 100 | 19.0 |
| Not reported. | 92 | 53 | 57.6 | 11 | 12.0 | 17 | 18.4 |
| Total. | 617 | 315 | 51.1 | 60 | 9.7 | 117 | 18.9 |
| Age: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Average............ | 128 | 70 | 54.7 | 11 | 8.6 | 19 | 14.9 |
| Younger than average. | 23 | 14 | 60.9 |  |  | 4 | 17.4 |
| Total reported. | 518 | 258 | 49.8 |  | 9.3 | 99 | 19.1 |
| Not reported. | 99 | 57 | 57.6 | 12 | 12.1 | 18 | 18.2 |
| Total. | 617 | 315 | 51.1 | 60 | 9.7 | 117 | 18.9 |

From the above table it appears that taking all places together 39.5 per cent of the bright pupils are not satisfied, as against 46.9 per cent of the average, and 67.1 per cent of the dull. ${ }^{a}$ Evidently there is a relation between dullness and dissatisfaction with the schools, but the noteworthy thing is that even among the bright pupils so large a percentage were not satisfied. The classifications under scholarship and deportment show much the same results, the differences not being sufficient to require comment. Among those

[^26]AND TEACHERS' ESTIMATES OF CHILDREN.

| Attitude of children toward school. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not satisfied with school and teacher. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dissatisfied with teacher. |  | Disliked to study. |  | Failed to progress. |  | Too big for class. |  | Restless and nervous in school. |  | Total. |  |
| Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | Number. | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } a \end{gathered}$ |
| 9 14 13 | 5.1 6.8 8.7 | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & 14 \\ & 10 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5.6 \\ & 6.8 \\ & 6.7 \end{aligned}$ | 3 4 7 | 1.7 1.9 4.7 | 3 5 5 | $\begin{aligned} & 1.7 \\ & 2.4 \\ & 3.3 \end{aligned}$ | 4 6 8 | $\begin{aligned} & 2.2 \\ & 2.9 \\ & 5.4 \end{aligned}$ | 70 97 100 | $\begin{aligned} & 39.5 \\ & 46.9 \\ & 67.1 \end{aligned}$ |
| 36 4 | 6.8 4.6 | 34 3 | 6.4 3.4 | 14 1 | 2.6 1.2 | 13 1 | 2.4 | 18 1 | 3.4 | 267 35 | 50.1 41.7 |
| 40 | 6.5 | 37 | 6.0 | 15 | 2.4 | 14 | 2.3 | 19 | 3.1 | 302 | 48.9 |
| $\begin{array}{r} 4 \\ 14 \\ 18 \end{array}$ | 3.5 6.1 9.6 | $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 15 \\ 13 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5.3 \\ & 6.6 \\ & 6.9 \end{aligned}$ | 1 6 7 | .9 2.6 3.7 | 1 7 5 | .9 3.1 2.7 | 2 8 8 | $\begin{aligned} & 1.8 \\ & 3.5 \\ & 4.2 \end{aligned}$ | 40 103 122 | 35.1 45.2 64.9 |
| 36 4 | 6.8 4.6 | 34 3 | 6.4 3.4 | 14 1 | 2.6 1.2 | 13 1 | 2.5 1.2 | 18 1 | 3.4 1.2 | 265 37 | $\begin{array}{r} 50.0 \\ 42.6 \end{array}$ |
| 40 | 6.5 | 37 | 6.0 | 15 | 2.4 | 14 | 2.3 | 19 | 3.1 | 302 | 48.9 |
| 5 18 12 | $\begin{array}{r} 2.4 \\ 8.1 \\ 13.0 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 15 \\ 11 \\ 8 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 7.1 \\ & 5.0 \\ & 8.7 \end{aligned}$ | 10 4 | 4.7 1.8 | 6 4 3 | 2.8 1.8 3.3 | 9 6 3 | $\begin{aligned} & 4.3 \\ & 2.7 \\ & 3.3 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 91 \\ 115 \\ 57 \\ 57 \end{array}$ | 43.1 51.8 62.0 |
| 35 5 | 6.7 5.4 | $\begin{array}{r} 34 \\ 3 \end{array}$ | 6.5 3.3 | 14 1 | 2.7 1.1 | 13 1 | 2.5 1.1 | 18 1 | 3.4 1.1 | $\begin{array}{r} 263 \\ 39 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 50.1 \\ 42.4 \end{array}$ |
| 40 | 6.5 | 37 | 6.0 | 15 | 2.4 | 14 | 2.3 | 19 | 3.1 | 302 | 48.9 |
| 27 9 | 7.4 | $\begin{array}{r} 22 \\ 7 \\ 3 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6.0 \\ 5.5 \\ 13.0 \end{array}$ | 9 3 2 | 2.4 2.3 8.7 | 8 5 | 2.2 3.9 | 14 4 | 3.8 3.1 | $\begin{array}{r} 193 \\ 58 \\ 9 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 52.6 \\ & 45.3 \\ & 39.1 \end{aligned}$ |
| 36 4 | $\begin{aligned} & 6.9 \\ & 4.0 \end{aligned}$ | 32 5 | $\begin{aligned} & 6.2 \\ & 5.1 \end{aligned}$ | 14 1 | 2.7 1.0 | 13 1 | 2.5 1.0 | 18 1 | $\begin{aligned} & 3.5 \\ & 1.0 \end{aligned}$ | 260 42 | $\begin{aligned} & 50.2 \\ & 42.4 \end{aligned}$ |
| 40 | 6.4 | 37 | 6.0 | 15 | 2.4 | 14 | 2.3 | 19 | 3.1 | 302 | - 48.9 |

a Based on total number reported.
who are above the average age of their companions, dissatisfaction is not so general as might be expected. The table seems, indeed; to indicate that age does not count for as much as size in causing dissatisfaction. The overgrown child, even though he be of the same age as his companions, is more prone to be discontented than the child who does not conspicuously differ from his classmates: even though he may really be older than they.
To say that a child is dissatisfied in school because he is dull does not tell the whole story. The question must be carried a step further back. Why is he dull? Is he intellectually defective, or has the school failed to rouse the intelligence he possesses? Again and again
among the children who had gone to work cases like the following were found:

No. 1. An Italian boy, 14 years old, left school from third grade, a sewer in print work. Teacher's estimate-dull, below average in scholarship, incapable of high skill. Employer's estimate-bright, capable of high skill; highest probable position attainable, foreman at $\$ 20$ to \$30 a week.

No. 2. An American boy, left grade 5 at 12 years old; is puller-off in glass factory. Teacher's estimate-dull, below average in scholarship and deportment; incapable of acquiring high skill. Employer's estimate-bright, capable of acquiring high skill; good character, "elegant boy." Initial wage, $\$ 3.60$; present wage, $\$ 6$. Highest position will probably be glass blower in six years at $\$ 60$ a week.

No. 3. A Welsh girl, 15 years old at leaving grade 7, works in squib factory. Teacher's estimate-dull, below average in scholarship. Employer's estimate-bright, a good, reliable girl; may become a skillful squib maker, earning from $\$ 10$ to $\$ 15$ a week.

In an effort to gain some light on the question of dullness the employer's estimate of the mental capacity of the children was secured in 180 cases and compared with the teacher's. ${ }^{a}$ The results are shown in the following table:

TABLE 61.-TEACHERS' AND EMPLOYERS' ESTIMATES OF GENERAL CAPACITY OF CHILDREN.


It will be seen that the employers considered nearly half of these children bright, while the teachers put only a trifle over one-fourth of them in this group, and that the employers classed only 14 as dull, against 47 whom the teachers so describe. Of course too much weight must not be laid on mere estimates, but the fact that so many of these children who were looked upon as dull and unintelligent in the schoolroom became eager, alert, and interested when they entered the industrial world seems to show that the school was at least partly in fault. And this inference is strengthened by the fact, already commented upon, that so large a proportion of the bright scholars were dissatisfied.

[^27]As an offset to this it must be remembered that the teachers have a better opportunity than the employers to judge of the child's mental capacity. When the teacher says a child is dull and the employer says he is bright, it may be that the teacher has failed to understand and interest the child, or it may be that she is judging him by a different standard from that required in his work, which may be almost purely physical.

Would the introduction of manual, industrial, or trade training have increased the school's hold upon the child? It was difficult to tell. The answers to the question usually had to be obtained from parents, who could only give their opinion as to what the child's attitude would have been in the case supposed. Considerableinterest was expressed in the subject, especially in the possibilities of trade training. Of the two main reasons mentioned for the child's interest in such matters, viz, first, "He prefers to work with his hands rather than with his head," and, second, "He desires to learn a trade or some manual occupation," the second was given more than twice as often as the first.

Reports on this point were received for 583 children. Combining them we have the following results:

TAble 62.-CHILDREN WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE DESIROUS OF STAYING IN SCHOOL IF MANUAL OR INDUSTRIAL TRAINING HAD BEEN GIVEN.

| Attitude of children toward school. | Number reported. | Yes. |  | Perhaps. |  | No. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Number. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |
| BOYS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfied with school and teacher.... Not satisfied with school and teacher. | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 177 \end{aligned}$ | 42 47 | $\begin{array}{r} 28.0 \\ 26.6 \end{array}$ | 14 20 | 9.3 11.3 | 94 110 | 62.7 62.1 |
| Total. | 327 | 89 | 27.2 | 34 | 10.4 | 204 | 62.4 |
| girls. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfled with school and teacher.... Not satisfied with school and teacher | 143 | 25 29 | 17.5 25.7 | 9 13 | 6.3 11.5 | 109 | 76.2 62.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfied with school and teacher. <br> Not satisfied with school and teacher | 293 | 67 | 22.9 | 23 | 7.8 | 203 |  |
|  | 290 | 76 | 26.2 | 33 | 11.4 | 181 | 62.4 |
| Total.................................... | 583 | 143 | 24.5 | 56 | 9.6 | 384 | 65.9 |

One would naturally expect to find manual or industrial training appealing more strongly to boys than to girls, but this seems to show an unexpected similarity in their attitudes, a trifle over one-fifth of the girls and one-fourth of the boys being sure they would have preferred to stay could such training have been secured. The boys and girls show, however, one curious and rather inexplicable difference. As between the satisfied and dissatisfied boys there is very
little difference, but a slightly larger proportion of the former would have been desirous of staying. Among the girls, on the other hand, a much larger proportion of the dissatisfied than of the satisfied would have desired to stay if such training had been given. Just what this indicates it is hard to say, but in itself it is striking.

One evidence of interest in school was shown in Columbus and Hazleton when 57.2 and 55.7 per cent, respectively, of the children remained in school till the end of the term. The average for the other places is 35.8 per cent.

Truancy and refusal to attend school were found in 30 or 40 cases, though only 17 children ( 16 boys and 1 girl) were classed as habitual truants, of whom 10 were in Plymouth. Eight of these last were put to work on account of their truancy, and 1 other in Columbia. In Woonsocket no cases of truancy were reported.

Many of the truants were bright and above the average in scholarship, according to the teacher's estimate. Sometimes they hated school, sometimes they had had a "falling out" with the teacher, sometimes they had come under the influence of bad companions. In almost every case there was an absence of parental control.

## AMOUNT OF SCHOOLING OF CHILDREN.

This topic may be considered under two aspects: (a) Ability to read or write English or some other language, and (b) grade and number of months of school attendance, as related to age and to each other.

## LITERACY OF CHILDREN.

First as to literacy. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Only 16 of the children were unable to read in any language. When the question concerned the English language, the results were quite different, there being 29 , of whom 3 were found in Pawtucket and 26 in Woonsocket, who could neither speak, read, nor write English. Seventy-one children were deficient in one or all of these particulars.

Table 63.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE, BY SEX.

| Locality. | Unable to read any language. . |  |  | Unable to speak, read, or write English. |  |  | Deficient in one of the particulars mentioned in preceding columns. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 1 |  | 1 | ${ }_{8}^{2}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 18 \end{gathered}$ | 3 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Columbus, Ga.............. | 2 | 1 | 3 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Georgia and Alabama coun- ties. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C . |  |  | 5 |  |  |  | 6 | 3 |  |
| Plymouth, Pa | 2 | 1 | 3 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |  |
| zieton, |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. | 13 | 3 | 16 | 10 | 19 | 29 | 35 | 36 | 71 |

In addition to these, 63 other children were found who were said to be able to read and write English "very little."

The extraordinary thing about these cases is the number of children who were born in the United States, attended school here for years, and yet can not speak, read, or write English. A good illustration of this was afforded by a Woonsocket girl. She was 14 years old, appeared fairly intelligent, and had attended school eight years, the first six in a French school (where the teaching, however, was supposed to be in English half the day) and the last two in a public school. Yet she could not speak English and understood it so imperfectly that it was necessary to make use of an interpreter when talking to her.

Nearly all these cases were found in Woonsocket, where there is a large foreign population and where evidently a child may grow up almost untouched by Americanizing influences. A few typical cases follow:

No. 1. Boy, 15, born in United States of French Canadian parentage; last attended parochial school; fifth grade; 70 months' schooling; can not read and write English.

No. 2. Boy, 14, born in United States of French Canadian parentage; last attended public school; third grade; 60 months' schooling; can not read or write English.

No. 3. Boy, 16, born in United States of French Canadian parentage; last attended parochial school; third grade; 45 months' schooling; can not read, write, or speak English.

No. 4. Girl, 14, born in United States of Lithuanian parentage; lived here always; last attended public school; second grade; 40 months' schooling; can not read or write English.

In the consideration of grade and number of months of school attendance, as related to age and to each other, there are three comparisons that should be made: (1) Between grade and age of children; (2) between number of months of school attendance and age of children; (3) between grade and number of months of school attendance of children.

By a study of these different measures of the amount of schooling enjoyed, and of their interrelations, some remarkable facts are brought to light, especially when the different localities are compared with each other. The threefold comparison seems necessary because of local differences in regard to age at entering and leaving school, and individual differences in the amount accomplished in a given time. In the southern localities especially it is not unusual for older boys and girls to enter the first grade. Cases were found in which boys of 16 and even 18 , seizing the first opportunity they had had of getting any schooling, had entered primary grades with children not yet in their teens. More often, however, when a child was decidedly above the age of his classmates, it was found to be a case of retarda-
tion, i. e., a child who had been in school long enough to be in a higher grade, but had failed to make his promotions and fallen behind his own class. Plainly, neither age nor grade reached tells the whole story; we must know the age, the grade, and how long the child has been in school before we can know how he compares with others of the same age and grade.

## SCHOOL GRADE AND AGE OF CHILDREN.

The importance of the relation of age and grade is becoming increasingly evident, as more attention is paid to the two classes of backward and delinquent children. The actual and average age at leaving school and the actual and average grade completed by the schedule children are shown in the following table:

TABLE 64.-AGF AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE.
[In obtaining the average grade the ordinary procedure was followed, and from the result thus obtained
0.2 was subtracted, representing the portion of the grade not completed at the time of securing the data.
In calculating the average age a similar method was followed, except that instead of subtracting 0.2 from
the result 0.5 was added to it, since children said to be 13 years old, for instance, included those who
were all the way from 13 upp to 14 . II 13 years old, then, is interpreted to mean 13.5, taking the middle-
point between the extremes represented, and so with all the other ages, the corrected result will be truer.
This explanation applies to all tables where average age and average grade are used unless otherwise
specified. "Special" grades and ungraded classes were omitted in the calculation of average grades.]
PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| sex and age at leav. ing school. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { gra- } \\ & \text { ded. } \end{aligned}$ | Grade last attended- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { To- } \\ \text { tal } \\ \text { re- } \\ \text { port- } \\ \text { ed. } \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { To- } \\ & \text { tal. } \end{aligned}$ | A ver age grade com-pleted. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Spe- } \\ & \text { cial. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. <br> Girls. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 3.8 |
| 13 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 2 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  | 11 |  | 11 | 5.8 |
| Girls. |  |  |  | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 |  |  |  | 10 |  | 10 | 4.8 |
| 14 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys |  | 3 | 2 |  | 3 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 34 | 1 | 35 | 5.1 |
| Girls. |  | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 31 | ..... | 31 | 5.4 |
| 15 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. Girls. |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 4 | 3 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 | ….. | 12 | 6.0 6.8 |
| Total: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. Girls. | 2 | 1 | $\begin{array}{r}3 \\ 2 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | 3 3 | 7 6 | 6 5 | 10 | 14 11 | 7 2 | 3 1 | 2 3 | $\begin{aligned} & 58 \\ & 44 \end{aligned}$ | 1 | 59 44 | 5.4 5.3 |
| Average age in each grade: <br> Boys. | 13.5 |  | 14.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 | 14.3 |  | 14.6 | 14.8 | 14.8 | 14.5 | 14.5 | 14.5 |  |  |
| Girls................ | 13.5 | 14.5 | 14.5 | 14.2 | 13.8 | 14.3 | 14.4 | 14.3 | 15.0 | 14.5 | 14.8 | 14.3 | 14.5 | $14.3$ | ..... |
| BOYS AND GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| 13 years. | 2 |  |  |  | 6 |  |  | 5 | 1 |  |  | 21 |  | 21 | 5.3 |
| 14 years. |  |  |  | 5 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 16 | 4 |  | 4 | 65 | 1 | 66 | 5.2 |
| 15 years. |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 | 4 |  | 1 | 1 | 15 |  | 15 | 6.1 |
| Total | 2 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 13 | 11 | 17 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 102 | 1 | 103 | 5.3 |
| Average age in each grade. | 13.5 | 14.7 | 14.7 | 14.3 | 140 | 14.3 | 14.4 | 14.5 | 14.8 | 14.8 | 14.7 | 14.4 | 14.5 | 14.4 | ...... |

Table 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Continued.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.


COLUMBUS, GA.
[This table includes five boys and one girl who were from Secondary Industrial School.]

| Sex and age at leaving school. | Grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | Total. | Average grade completed. |
| 7 years: Boys... Girls | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 0.8 |
| 8 years: Bors. Girls. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 years: Boys. Girls. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2.8 |
| 10 years: <br> Boys. <br> Girls. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 2 | 2.8 2.3 |
| 11 years: <br> Boys. | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2.3 2.9 |
| Girls. <br> 12 years: | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 9 3 | 2.9 |
| $\begin{aligned} & 12 \text { years: } \\ & \text { Boys.............. } \\ & \text { Girls.............. } \end{aligned}$ | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{r}8 \\ -\quad 5 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | 3.9 2.8 |
| 13 years: <br> Boys. <br> Girls |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  <br> 8 <br> 8 <br> 8 | 2.8 4.8 3.1 |

Table 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Continued.

COLUMBUS, GA.-Concluded.


GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

a Including three from Secondary Industrial School.
b Including two from Secondary Industrial School
c Including one from Secondary Industrial School.

Table 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Continued.

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES-Concluded.


COLUMBIA, S. C.

$49450^{\circ}$-S. Doc. $645,61-2$, vol $7-9$

Table 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Continued.

COLUMBIA, S. C.-Concluded.

| Sex and age at leaving school. | Grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | Total. | Average grade completed. |
| BOYS AND GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 years.......... | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0.8 |
| 7 years............... | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | . 8 |
| 8 years............... | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | . 8 |
| 9 years... | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | . 8 |
| 10 years. | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 5 | 2.2 |
| 11 years. | , | 4 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 2.2 |
| 12 years... |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 10 | 4.0 |
| 13 years... | 3 |  | 1 | 6 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 14 | 3.4 |
| 14 years. |  |  | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 11 | 3.4 |
| 15 years. | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 5 | 3.6 |
| Total. | 19 | 8 | 6 | 15 | 8 | 4 | 2 |  | 62 | 2.9 |
| A verage age in each grade. | 10.9 | 11.9 | 12.3 | 13.4 | 13.1 | 14.8 | 13.5 |  | 12.4 |  |

PLYMOUTH, PA. (HOME STATEMENT). $a$

a See prefatory note, Table 5 p. 35.

Table 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Continued.

PLYMOUTH, PA. (SCHOOL RECORD). a

| Sex and age at leaving school. | Grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | Total. | A verage grade completed. |
| 8 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1.8 |
| §years: Boys. |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 2.1 |
| 10 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. |  | 2 | 3 1 | 1 | 3 1 | 1 |  |  | 10 3 | 3.6 3.0 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. |  |  | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 |  | 1 | 14 | 4.2 |
| Girls. |  | 1 | 3 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 6 | 3.3 |
| 13 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 4 |  | 1 |  | 8 | 5.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. |  | 1 |  | 3 | 1 | , | 2 |  | 8 | 4.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Girls. |  | 4 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 33 | 4.6 |
| A verage age in each grade: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. . |  | 11.3 | 11.3 | 13.1 | 13.0 | 13.5 | 14.5 | 14.0 | 12.7 |  |
|  |  | 12.3 | 11.9 | 12.6 | 12.8 | 13.9 | 14.8 | 15.5 | 13.2 |  |
| BOYS AND GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 years.. |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |
| 9 years... |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 2.1 |
| 10 years.. |  |  | 5 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 6 | 3.0 |
| 11 years.. |  | 2 | 4 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  | 13 | 3.7 |
| 12 years... |  | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 |  | 1 | 20 | 4.0 |
| 13 years... |  | 1 |  | 4 | 6 | 6 | 1 |  | 18 | 4.9 |
| 14 years. |  | 2 |  | 3 | 1 | 5 | 5 |  | 16 | 5.2 |
| 15 years.. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 6.8 |
| Total. |  | 9 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 8 | 4 | 84 | 4.4 |
| Average age in each grade. |  | 11.7 | 11.5 | 12.9 | 12.9 | 13.7 | 14.6 | 14.8 | 12.9 |  |

HAZLETON, PA.


TABLE 64.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL, GRADE LAST ATTENDED, AVERAGE AGE FOR EACH GRADE, AND AVERAGE GRADE COMPLETED FOR EACH AGE-Concluded.
hazLeton, PA.-Concluded.

| Sex and age at leaving school. | Grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | Total. | A verage grade completed. |
| Average age in each grade: Boys Girls. |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 14.0 \\ & 13.5 \end{aligned}$ | 14.5 | $\begin{aligned} & 14.0 \\ & 14.5 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 14.4 \\ & 14.5 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 14.4 \\ & 14.8 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 14.5 \\ & 15.0 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 14.3 \\ & 14.4 \end{aligned}$ | .......... |
| 12 years... <br> 13 years... <br> 14 years... <br> 15 years... |  |  | 1 4 1 1 | 2 | 3 7 1 | 1 5 16 5 | 3 5 3 | 2 1 | 2 15 15 33 11 | 4.3 5.0 5.0 5.9 5.9 |
| Total. |  |  | 7 | 2 | 11 | 27 | 11 | 3 | 61 | 5.5 |
| A verage age in each grade. |  |  | 13.8 | 14.5 | 14.3 | 14.4 | 14.5 | 14.8 | 14.3 | .. |

The difference in age is strikingly shown in this table, but the comparison as to grades is not satisfactory, as they are not of the same value in all places. If preparation for first-class colleges in four years after graduation from grammar school is assumed as a test, then 7 grades in Columbus and Columbia are equivalent to 8 grades in Plymouth and Hazleton, and 9 grades in Pawtucket and Woonsocket. Reducing the statement of average grade to terms of the seven-year course and taking the average age by sex and locality, we obtain the following figures, which show considerably less difference between the localities.

TABLE 65.-AVERAGE AGE AND AVERAGE (EQUALIZED) GRADE AT WHICH SCHEDULE CHILDREN LEFT SCHOOL. $a$

| Locality. | Boys. |  |  | Girls. |  |  | Total. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Average age. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Av- } \\ & \text { erage } \\ & \text { grade. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Av- } \\ & \text { erage } \\ & \text { age. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Av- } \\ \text { erage } \\ \text { grade. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Av- } \\ \text { erage } \\ \text { age. } \end{gathered}$ | Average grade. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 59 | 14.5 | 4.1 | 44 | 14.3 | 4.1 | 103 | 14.4 | 4.1 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 75 | 14.5 | 3.8 | 98 | 14.4 | 3.5 | 173 | 14.4 | 3.6 |
| Columbus, Ga.............. | 51 39 | 13.1 13.5 18. | 4. ${ }^{4}$ | 26 21 | 13.2 14.0 | 3.7 <br> 3.4 <br> 1 | 77 60 | $\begin{array}{r}13.1 \\ 13.7 \\ \hline 1\end{array}$ | 4.0 |
| Columbia, S. C.............. | 41 | 13.0 | 2.9 | 21 | 11.2 | 2.9 | 62 | 12.4 | 2.9 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 51 | 13.2 | 3.9 | 33 | 13.9 | 4.2 | 84 | 13.5 | 4.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa....... | 36 | 14.3 | 5.0 | 25 | 14.4 | 4.9 | 61 | 14.3 | 5.0 |

[^28]From Table 64 it will be observed that the average age of the children leaving school in Pawtucket and Woonsocket was about the same in all the grades, being slightly over 14, the legal age for beginning work. In all the other places there was more variation among the grades in the matter of average age of the children leaving. In Columbus, Columbia, and Plymouth (according to school record), the age in each grade was nearer the normal.

Columbus is the only place where the average age steadily advanced with the grade, from 10.7 years in grade 1 to 14.8 years in grade 7 and 15.2 in grade 8 . Columbia advances with only two drops from 10.9 in grade 1 to 14.8 in grade 5 and 13.5 in grade 7. Plymouth (school record) advanced with only one drop from 11.7 in grade 2 to 14.8 in grade 8.

As between boys and girls, in Pawtucket and Woonsocket the boys were a little older usually, and in Columbia nearly 2 years older, while in all the other places the girls were a little older.

The uniformity of age for the different grades in Pawtucket and Woonsocket was due to the legal restriction against children leaving school before the age of 14 . This investigation did not deal with those who had reached 16 or over, and those leaving at 15 were too few to affect the result seriously, one way or the other.

In Columbus and its environs a child might, under certain conditions, legally go to work at 10, and in Columbia still younger, hence in these places naturally children were found leaving school long before they are 14 .

The most remarkable conditions appear in Plymouth, where even according to the home statement 35 boys left school to go to work before they were 14, which was the legal age for beginning work. According to the school record, 31 were under 13 and 17 under 12 years old. These conditions are studied more carefully in relation to the administration of the school and child labor laws in the chapter on Legal Conditions. (Chapter IV).

The large percentage of children leaving school from the lower grades is very striking.

Taking the fifth grade as a dividing line, we find that not far from one-half left school before reaching even this moderate standard.

The proportions for the various places are as follows:
TABLE 66.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL BELOW THE FIFTH GRADE.

| Locality. | Boys. |  | Girls. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 17 | 28.8 | 12 | 27.2 | 29 | 28.2 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 30 | 40.0 | 43 | 43.9 | 73 | 42.2 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 26 | 51.0 | 19 | 73.0 | 45 | 58.5 |
| Georgia and Alabama c | 30 | 76.9 | 16 | 76.2 | 46 | 76.6 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 33 25 | 80.5 49.0 | 15 16 | 71.4 48.5 | 48 | 77.4 48.8 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 25 6 | 49.0 16.7 | 16 3 | 48.5 12.0 | 41 9 | 48.8 14.8 |
| Total. | 167 | 47.4 | 124 | 46.3 | 291 | 46.9 |

More than three-fourths of the whole group left school before reaching the seventh grade. From place to place the grade below which this proportion (three-fourths) left varies as follows:

TABLE 67.-GRADE BELOW WHICH THREE-FOURTHS OF THE CHILDREN LEFT SCHOOL.


Table 64 (page 126) also shows the distribution of the children by ages and grades. It must be remembered that in Pawtucket and Woonsocket these figures include children who had never attended school in those cities, but who had moved in from other places and obtained employment there. The most striking feature in this respect is the high age at which children are found leaving low grades. The following summary shows the number of children leaving school at 14 and over from specified grades:

TABLE 68.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL AT 14 YEARS AND OVER FROM FIRST TO FIFTH GRADES.

| Locality. |
| :--- | :--- |

In other words, 168 children, or 27.1 per cent of those studied, left school at 14 and over, not one of them having gone beyond the fifth grade, and a considerable proportion of them not having obtained even that modicum of instruction. The gravity of this fact is obvious in view of the increasing weight attached to the matter of retardation.

The average age has already been discussed, but the age at which the largest number leave is a matter of some interest. The following summary gives the prevailing age for each place and the number leaving at or over that age:

Table 69.-PREVAILING AGE OF LEAVING SCHOOL, AND NUMBER LEAVING AT THAT AGE OR OLDER.

| Locality. | Prevalling age. | Number leaving- |  | Total. | Total number of children. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | At prevailing age. | Above prevailing age. |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 14 | 66 | 15 | 81 | 103 |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | 14 | 114 | 24 | 138 | 173 |
| Columbus, Ga ....... | 14 | 18 | 10 | 28 | 77 |
| Columbia, S. C................ | 13 | 14 | 16 | 45 30 | 62 |
| Plymouth, Pa. (home statemen | 13 | 33 | 29 | 62 | 84 |
| Plymouth, Pa . (school record). | 12 | 20 | 41 | 61 | 84 |
| Hazleton, Pa.................. | 14 | 33 | 11 | 44 | 61 |
| Total. | 14 | a 297 | ${ }_{6} 131$ | a 428 | * 620 |

a Including for Plymouth only the number reported in the home statement.
More than half of the whole number were 14 and over, but the proportion varied considerably from place to place. In Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Hazleton, considerably more than half were 14 and over. More than half were under 14 in Columbus, Georgia and Alabama counties, Columbia, and Plymouth. More than half were under 13 in Columbia and Plymouth (school record). More than one-fourth were under 12 in Columbus, Columbia, and Plymouth, and more than one-third were under 12 in Columbia. The children under 12 were found only in the southern localities and in Plymouth. Only 81 ( 13.1 per cent) were 15 years old, the proportion of these ranging from 8.1 per cent in Columbia to 18 per cent in Hazleton.

Unquestionably the matter of language enters as an element of delay in accomplishing the school work in a given time. Woonsocket is the only place where there was a sufficient number of foreign children of one race to afford ground for a comparison. The French Canadians were the leading foreign group there. The table following shows their grades as compared with those who were not French Canadian children.

TAble 70.-AVERAGE SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED BY FRENCH CANADIAN CHILDREN AND BY OTHER CHILDREN, WOONSOCKET.

| Sex and age at leaving scnool. | French Canadian children. |  | Other children. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Average grade completed. | Number. | A verage grade completed. |
| 12 years: |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 1 | 3. 80 |  |  |
| Girls. | 1 | 2.80 | ...... | . |
| 13 years: Boys. | 4 | 3. 30 |  | 6.0 |
| Girls.. | 20 | 4. 00 | 4 | 4.5 |
| 14 years: |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. | 42 | 4. 00 | 11 | 5. 3 |
| Girls. | 49 | 4. 50 | 12 | 6.0 |
| 15 years: |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. | 3 | 5. 50 | 9 | 7.9 |
|  | 8 | 4. 70 | 4 | 4.6 |
| Total: |  | - |  |  |
| Boys. | 50 | 4.90 |  | 6.4 |
| Girls. | 78 | 4.00 | 20 | 5. 4 |
| Boys and girls: |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years.. | 2 | 3. 30 |  |  |
| 13 years. | 24 | 3. 90 | 9 | 5.4 |
| 14 years. | 91 | 4.30 | 23 | 5. 6 |
| 15 years. | 11 | 4.90 | 13 | 6.8 |
| Total. | 128 | 4.20 | 45 | 6.0 |

It is obvious from these figures that the French Canadian children are considerably handicapped by their lack of English for their teachers declare that they do not lack in general capacity.

A further indication of the effect of a foreign language is given in the following figures, showing the race distribution of the children studied among the three lowest and two highest grades in Woonsocket.

TAble 71.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF SPECIFIED RACES IN LOWEST AND HIGHEST GRADES.


The testimony of teachers in numerous individual instances, as well as the fact that foreign pupils who had reached relatively high grades in their own schools were frequently found in grades 1,2 , or 3 in the public schools, are additional proofs that the lack of English is a serious handicap to progress.

Table 72 presents some interesting facts as to the age of the children included in this study compared with the average age of their classmates. Reports on this question were secured from 598 children.

TAbLE 72.-AGE OF SCHEDULE CHILDREN AT LEAVING SCHOOL COMPARED WITH AGE OF OTHER CHILDREN IN SAME GRADES (HOME STATEMENT).


For Plymouth, Pa., in addition to the home statement of the average age of schedule children in the grades in which they were when they left school, the school record is also presented in the following table:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS WHO, ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL RECORD, WERE YOUNGER, OF SAME AGE, AND OLDER THAN THE AVERAGE AGE IN THE GRADE, PLYMOUTH, PA.

| Sex, etc. | Younger than average age in the grade. | Average age in the grade. | Older than average age in the grade. | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys: |  |  |  |  |
| Number | 8 | 16 | 27 | 51 |
| Per cent. | 15.7 | 31.4 | 52.9 | 100 |
| Girls: |  |  |  |  |
| Number | 2 | 7 | 24 | 33 |
| Per cent. | 6.1 | 21.2 | 72.7 | 100 |
| Boys and girls: |  |  |  |  |
| Number... | $a 10$ | 23 | ${ }^{\text {b }} 51$ | 84 |
| Per cent. | a 11.9 | 27.3 | b 60.7 | 100 |

[^29] years and over older than average age.

According to Table 72, 24 of the children studied, or 4.2 per cent, were below the average age of classmates; 71, or 12.5 per cent, were at the average age of classmates, while 473 , or 83.3 per cent, were older than the average age of classmates. ${ }^{a}$

The proportion of those older than their classmates, already sufficiently striking, becomes still more so in view of the fact that many of them were two, three, four, and even five years above the average age. Taking the whole group, 59 per cent were two years or more older than their classmates; 33.8 per cent were three years or more above the average; and 50 children, or 8.8 per cent, were five years or more above the average age of their classmates.

Woonsocket shows the largest proportion of children older than their classmates ( 89.5 per cent), closely followed by Pawtucket and Hazleton, each with 88.5 per cent. The Primary Industrial School in Columbus shows the lowest percentage (57.2). It must be explained that this is a special school for the children of mill operatives, and the average age of its classes is greater than in the regular city schools. Except for the Primary Industrial School the differences between one place and another are not as marked as might be expected.

## MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND AGE.

That the retardation shown in the preceding tables was not due to lack of school attendance is shown by Table 73, which gives the classified average months of school attendance for the children by age and grade.

[^30]TAble 73.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL AND CLASSIFIED MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Age at leaving school. | Number of children who attended school each specified number of months. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total reported. |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Not } \\ \text { re- } \\ \text { port- } \\ \text { ed. } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{array}{\|l} \text { Un- } \\ \text { der } \\ 10 . \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ \text { to } \\ 19 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 20 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 29 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 39 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 40 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 49 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 59 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 60 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 69 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 70 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 79 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 80 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 89 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 90 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 100 \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | A F -erage mos. tendance. |  |  |
| Under 8 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 years......... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 years... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 years..... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 years...... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 80.0 |  | 1 |
| 13 years. |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 7 |  | 21 | 74.0 |  | 21 |
| 14 years.. |  |  |  |  | $i^{\circ}$ | 1 | 6 | 11 | 29 | 16 | 1 | 66 | 78.8 |  | 66 |
| 15 years.......... |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 86.7 |  | 15 |
| Total. |  | 1 |  | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 19 | 38 | 27 | 5 | 103 | 79.0 |  | 103 |

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| Under 8 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | .... |  | ..... | ..... |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 years.... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 years.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 years. |  |  |  |  |  | .... |  |  | . |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years. |  |  | . | . | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 40.0 | 1 | 2 |
| 13 years. |  |  | .... |  | 1 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 6 | 1 |  | 30 | 68.1 | 3 | 33 |
| 14 years. | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 11 | 37 | 31 | 20 | 1 | 110 | 73.8 | 4 | 114 |
| 15 years........... |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 3 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 21 | 77.3 | 3 | 24 |
| Total....... | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 22 | 53 | 44 | 25 | 2 | 162 | 73.0 | 11 | ${ }^{4} 173$ |

COLUMBUS, GA.

| Under 8 years.... | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 12.0 |  | 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 \% years............ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 years. |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 35.5 |  | 2 |
| 10 years. | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 30.0 |  | 4 |
| 11 years. | 1 |  | 1 | 3 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 33.8 | 4 | 12 |
| 12 years. |  |  | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 13 | 39.9 |  | 13 |
| 13 years. |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 14 | 43.9 | 2 | 16 |
| 14 years. |  |  | , |  | 6 | 1 | 6 | 2 |  |  |  | 16 | 53.6 | 2 | 18 |
| 15 years.. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 |  | 5 | 1 |  |  | 9 | 64.3 | 1 | 10 |
| Total. | 3 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 25 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 2 |  |  | 68 | 44.9 | 9 | 77 |

GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| Under 8 years. |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 15.0 |  | , |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 years............ |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 15.0 |  | 1 |
| 9 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 years.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 years. |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 30.0 |  | 1 |
| 12 years. | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 12 | 23.5 |  | 12 |
| 13 years. |  | 2 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 16 | 31.4 | 3 | 19 |
| 14 years. | 3 | 2 | 4 |  | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 14 | 26.9 | 3 | 17 |
| 15 years. |  | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 35.3 | 1 | 9 |
| Total. | 5 | 11 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 7 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 53 | 28.4 | 7 | 60 |

c Not including 2 who never went to school.

Table 73.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL AND CLASSIFIED MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE-Continued.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

| Age at leaving school. | Number of children who attended school each specified number of months. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total reported. |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Not } \\ \text { re- } \\ \text { port- } \\ \text { ed. } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { der } \\ & 10 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 19 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 20 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 29 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 39 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 40 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 49 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 59 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 60 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 69 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 70 \\ \text { to } \\ 79 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 80 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 89 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 90 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 100 \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ | Num. ber. | Av- er- age mos. at- tend- ance. |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 years... | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | . |  |  |  | 1 | 17.0 12.0 | $\stackrel{2}{1}$ | 5 2 |
| 9 years. | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 18.0 |  | 2 |
| 10 years. |  |  | 4 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 24.8 |  | 5 |
| 11 years. | 1 | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 6 | 26.8 | 2 | 8 |
| 12 years. |  | 2 |  | 2 | 3 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 34.5 | 2 | 10 |
| 13 years. | 2 |  | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | , |  |  |  |  | 14 | 35.7 |  | 14 |
| 14 years. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 11 | 33.3 |  | 11 |
| 15 years. |  |  | , |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 5 | 37.4 |  | 5 |
| Total. | 6 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 1 | .... |  |  | 55 | 31.1 | 7 | 62 |

PLYMOUTH, PA. (HOME STATEMENT OF AGES.)


PLYMOUTH, PA. (TEACHERS' STATEMENT OF AGES.)


## HAZLETON, PA.



TABLE 73.-AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL AND CLASSIFIED MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE-Concluded.

ALL LOCALITIES.

| Age at leaving school. | Number of children who attended school each specified number of months. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total reported. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Not } \\ & \text { re- } \\ & \text { port- } \\ & \text { ed. } \end{aligned}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { der } \\ & 10 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 19 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 20 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 29 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 39 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 40 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 49 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 59 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 60 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 69 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 70 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 79 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 80 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 89 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 90 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 100 \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Av- } \\ & \text { er- } \\ & \text { age } \\ & \text { mos. } \\ & \text { at- } \\ & \text { tend- } \\ & \text { ance. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| Under 8 years. | 2 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 15.0 |  |  |
| 8 years....... | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 13.5 | 1 | 3 |
| 9 years.. | 1 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 26.8 |  | 4 |
| 10 years. |  |  | 6 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 12 | 27.8 |  | 12 |
| 11 years. |  | 2 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 21 | 33.8 | 6 | 27 |
| 12 years. | , | 6 | 4 | 8 | 20 | 8 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 50 | 36.5 | 3 | 53 |
| 13 years. | 2 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 28 | 33 | 19 | 17 | 11 | 8 |  | 143 | 52.9 | 8 | 151 |
| 14 years. |  | 4 | 8 | 4 | 22 | 27 | 46 | 53 | 61 | 36 |  | 269 | 66.1 | 12 | 281 |
| 15 years. |  | 1 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 18 | 12 | 9 | 5 | 76 | 67.1 | 5 | 81 |
| Total. | 16 | 21 | 36 | 37 | 84 | 79 | 77 | 88 | 85 | 53 | 7 | 583 | 57.5 | 37 | 620 |

The average number of months of school attendance for Pawtucket and Woonsocket combined was 75.3; for Columbus, Georgia and Alabama counties, and Columbia, 35.6; Plymouth and Hazleton, 51.5; and for all localities, 57.5 . This indicates a much longer period of school attendance in the two New England cities than anywhere else. This is partially, but only partially, explained by the greater average age at leaving school there, which was from a year to a year and a half higher than in any of the other localities studied except Hazleton.

A comparison between children of the same age will be fairer, so taking only those who are 14, we get the following:

AVERAGE MONTHS SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 14-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN.


This still shows a decided balance in favor of the children of the northern localities. The comparison is not entirely decisive, however, as in the southern localities children enter and leave school far more freely than in the northern places. The chances are that the child who leaves the Woonsocket schools at 14 has had all the day schooling he will ever get, while in Columbus or Georgia and Alabama counties he may enter and leave and enter and leave again until he is 18 or 20.

## MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND GRADE.

Table 74, giving the grade and months of school attendance, shows a very great difference between Pawtucket and Woonsocket on the one hand and all the other places on the other.

Table 74.-GRADE LAST ATTENDED AND MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.
PAWTUCKET, R. I.


WOONSOCKET, R. I.


COLUMBUS, GA.

| Ungraded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Special.... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 1. | 2 |  | 3 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 | 19.5 |  | 6 |
| Grade 2. |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 28.8 | 3 | 7 |
| Grade 3. |  |  | 3 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 18 | 39.0 | 2 | 20 |
| Grade 4. | 1 |  |  | 1 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 10 | 39.8 | 2 | 12 |
| Grade 5. |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  | 12 | 54.3 |  | 12 |
| Grade 6.. |  |  |  |  | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  | 8 | 56.0 | 1 | 9 |
| Grade 7.. |  |  |  |  | 2 |  | 2 | 2 | 1 |  |  | 7 | 62.1 | 1 | 8 |
| Above grammar school. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 2 |  |  |  | 3 | 63.3 |  | 3 |
| Total. | 3 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 25 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 2 |  |  | 68 | 44.9 | 9 | 77 |

TABLE 74.-GRADE LAST ATTENDED AND MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE-Con.
GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| Grade last attended. | Number of children who attended school each specified number of months. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total reported. |  | $\begin{array}{\|c} \text { Not } \\ \text { re- } \\ \text { port- } \\ \text { ed. } \end{array}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { der } \\ & 10 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 19 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 20 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 29 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 39 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 40 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 49 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 59 . \end{aligned}$ | 60 to 69. | $\begin{aligned} & 70 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 79 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 80 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 89 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 90 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 100 \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Ar- } \\ \text { er- } \\ \text { age } \\ \text { mos. } \\ \text { at- } \\ \text { tend- } \\ \text { ance. } \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Ungraded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Special. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 11.9 |  |  |
| Grade 2 . |  | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 | 26.8 | 2 | 8 |
| Grade 3. |  | 3 | 1 |  | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 8 | 31.3 |  | 8 |
| Grade 4. |  |  | 5 | 1 | 4 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 12 | 34.4 | 2 | 14 |
| Grade 5. |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 32.8 |  |  |
| Grade 6. |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 42.0 |  | 4 |
| Grade 7. |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 4 | 44.0 | i | 5 |
| Grade 8 |  |  |  | $i^{-}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 38.0 |  | 1 |
| Grade 9. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. | 5 | 11 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 7 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 53 | 28.4 | 7 | 60 |

COLUMBIA, S. C.


PLYMOUTH, PA.


HAZLETON, PA.


It seems to take a child nearly twice as many months to go through the first four grades in Pawtucket and Woonsocket as it does in the three southern places, and nearly 50 per cent longer than in Plymouth. Moreover, we have in both the New England cities the truly astonishing spectacle of children who after 60,70 , or even more months of schooling are leaving school from the first, second, and third grades. These figures, of course, relate only to those children who left school to go to work.

There are two causes affecting this situation-the custom, especially prevalent in Woonsocket, of going from the parochial to the public schools or vice versa, and the necessary inclusion among the schedule children in both cities of those who have had most of their schooling elsewhere.

In regard to the first cause there seems no doubt that the average grade is lowered by the custom. The parochial and public schools have different courses, different standards, and different methods of teaching, and in making the transit a child inevitably loses ground. Moreover, in both Pawtucket and Woonsocket the parochial schools attended by the children were mainly French-Canadian schools. Legally the teaching in these schools must be in English for at least half of each day, but in many cases in spite of this requirement the child obtained no practical knowledge of English, and on entering the public schools found the difficulty of an unfamiliar language added to his other hindrances. It seems not unusual for the parochial scholars to come into the public schools at about 13 years of age, and as 14 is the legal age for leaving, they have but little time to reach the grades in which one would normally expect to find them. There is no question that there is a distinct loss of time to the children here.

The second cause, working chiefly among the children of foreign birth, accounts for the combination of long school attendance with low grade. In both Pawtucket and Woonsocket are foreign children. especially French-Canadians, who have reached fairly high grades in their home schools, but who do not understand English. If such children come to Rhode Island before they are 14 they are obliged to attend school until they reach that age, but as they do not understand the language they can not enter the grades for which they are fitted. They are apt to be put in the first or second grade to learn the language. Not infrequently they reach working age within a year or less after entering the public schools, and in such cases they will appear on the schedules as having had 70,80 , or 90 months schooling, and also as having left from the first or second grade. Both statements are literally true, but the combination hides the truth.

Thus, Table 74 shows five children leaving the first grade in Pawtucket after an average attendance of 72.8 months. Of these, one
was a feeble-minded boy, incapable of learning, who had been in school 75 months when the school authorities refused to permit him to stay longer. Three were French-Canadian boys who had had respectively, 76,55 , and 55 months' schooling in their own country, but, coming to Rhode Island, were placed in the first grade to learn the language, and left it after nine months or less of teaching here. The fifth was a girl who had attended school something over 70 months in Canada, was nearly ready to graduate there, but coming to Pawtucket was ranked in the first grade on account of ignorance of English. This explains the curious situation shown in Pawtucket, where the average number of months of school attendance for those in the first grade is greater than for those in the third, and only 20 months less than for those in the ninth. Evidently it is impossible to draw any valid conclusions from a comparison between groups in which such disturbing conditions exist and those in which they are lacking. The tables give the facts for the different places, but they do not permit comparisons.
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v) $+1-1+1$ mil (1) E x $\qquad$
$=1+2+2+2$ $2 \rightarrow+2$


## 

ala $=2+2$ $\cdots$

## CHAPTER III.

## INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN.

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## CHAPTER III.

## INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN.

The experience of the industrial world, though not yet encountered by the children themselves, must, of course, through their knowledge of the experience of friends and companions, have had an important influence upon the child's leaving school. We can not answer satisfactorily the question why so many of the children were anxious to work, why so many of them preferred work to school, without studying the conditions experienced at work as well as the conditions experienced at school. The industrial experience of the children, considered as types, may be representative of causes underlying their eagerness to go to work, while these same experiences, considered chronologically, may be studied in their relation to antecedent facts to discover how far the industrial experience is the result of educational or other previous experience.

## AGE AT BEGINNING WORK.

As already mentioned, the age at beginning work has quite a different significance in the North from what it has in the South. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket, and to a less extent in Plymouth and Hazleton, the age at leaving school and the age at beginning work are one and the same thing, though even here there are some exceptions. In the South, however, the custom of alternating school and work is so prevalent that the average age at beginning work among the children there is nearly two years younger than the average age at leaving school. The following summary shows these variations for the different localities for the 617 children for whom these facts were obtained:

Table 75.-AVERAGE AGE AT BEGINNING WORK AND AVERAGE AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL COMPARED.


The following table shows the distribution of the children for each locality according to their age at beginning work and their age at the time of the investigation. The most striking feature of this table is the early age at which children are seen beginning work in the southern mill communities.

Table 76.-AGE OF CHILDREN AT BEGINNING WORK AND AGE AT TIME OF INV ESTIGATION.
[Of the 9 children who never worked for wages, 8 are included here since they had worked, though at home or for relatives. The ninth, a girl of 14, had worked three or four days in a mill, gave it up, and
had not worked at anything thereafter.]

PAWTUCKET AND WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| Age at beginning work. | Children of each specified age at time of the investigation. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\stackrel{7}{\text { years. }}$ | $\stackrel{8}{8} \text { years. }$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\underset{\text { years. }}{12}$ | $\stackrel{13}{\text { years. }}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \text { years. } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| 12 years. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |
| 13 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 11 | 4 |  | 15 |
| 14 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 146 | 61 | 1 | 208 |
| 15 years.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 26 | 19 | 45 |
| 16 years... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 4 |
| Total. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 158 | 93 | 24 | 276 |

COLUMBIA, S. C.


COLUMBUS, GA., AND ENVIRONS.


PLYMOUTH AND HAZLETON, PA.


For all places together 34 children ( 5.5 per cent of schedule children for whom these facts were obtained) began work before they were 10 years old. Eleven of these children had not yet reached 10 years at the time of the visit.

In something over two-thirds of the cases ( 67.2 per cent) work was obtained within less than a month of the child's leaving school, but in 47 cases there was an interval of six months or over, and in the case of 84 , three months or over. A slightly larger proportion of the boys than of the girls go to work at once on leaving school, but the difference is not marked, and is probably fully explained by the tendency to keep a girl at home a little while to help with the housework, even when the intention is that she shall become a wage-earner.

## INDUSTRIAL GROUP ENTERED BY CHILDREN.

The children entered such a large variety of occupations that the attempt to classify their pursuits proved a matter of difficulty. A classification according to the degree of skill required was at first considered, but the variety of occupations in each industry requiring different degrees of skill was so great as to make the task almost hopeless. It was then decided to classify according to the average wages earned in each industry-except in the case of professional and independent occupations which were put in a group by themselves without regard to earnings-depending upon such statistics as could be obtained on this point. ${ }^{a}$

On this basis, the occupations or industries were classified into four groups:

Group A. Professional and independent occupations.
Group B. Industries whose average wage is $\$ 15$ per week and upward.

Group C. Industries whose average weekly wage is $\$ 10$, but under $\$ 15$.

Group D. Industries whose average weekly wage is under $\$ 10$.
Table 77 shows for each locality the number and per cent of children entering each of these groups.

[^31]TABLE 77.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN WHO ENTERED EACH INDUSTRY GROUP.

| Industry groups. | Pawtucket and Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga., Georgia and Alabama counties, and Columbia, S. C. |  | Plymouth and Hazleton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Boys: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Group A. <br> Group B |  |  | 1 | 0.8 |  |  | 11 | 0.3 |
| Group C | 8 | 5.9 |  | 7.6 | 7 | 6.9 8.0 | ${ }_{25}^{11}$ | 7.1 |
| Group D | 122 | 90.4 | 120 | 91.6 | 74 | 85.1 | 316 | 89.5 |
| Total. | 135 | 100.0 | 131 | 100.0 | 87 | 100.0 | 353 | 100.0 |
| Girls, Group D..... | 143 | 100.0 | 68 | 100.0 | 58 | 100.0 | 269 | 100.0 |

It will be seen from this that practically 90 per cent of the boys and all of the girls entered industries whose average weekly wage for all employees is under $\$ 10$; that 7 per cent of the boys entered industries whose average wage is between $\$ 10$ and $\$ 15$; and that 3 per cent entered industries whose average wage is $\$ 15$ or over.

In the Massachusetts investigation previously referred to it was found that " 33 per cent of the children of this State who begin work between 14 and 16 are employed in unskilled industries, and 65 per cent in low-grade industries; thus a little less than 2 per cent are in high-grade industries. "a

It appears, therefore, that the proportion of schedule children entering the highest group (outside of independent and professional occupations) is nearly the same as that obtained in the Massachusetts investigation, but the proportion entering the lowest industry group is very much larger.

According to these figures the industrial prospects of the children studied are not very bright. The one boy who is shown as entering Group A was one whose father set him up as an independent grocer because he was tired of going to school. His experience was so unique that it is worth while to describe it in some detail:

In 1905 Cecil (then 11) was tired of school and his father decided that.it was best not to force him to go to school. So he fitted up a little cabin next door as a store, stocked it with groceries and candy, and gave it to Cecil to manage. He stayed out of school one year and a half, in which time he had paid off the mortgage on his store and increased the stock. All the shelves and boxes in the store he has made himself. September, 1906, he returned to school, but tended the store before and after school. He did not pass his examinations in June, 1907, and decided not to go back, but in October, 1907, he decided to go to the Secondary Industrial School, which he likes very much. Cecil says he takes in about $\$ 100$ a month, and

[^32]makes 40 per cent profit, but he uses the profit in increasing his stock, fixing up the store, etc. He can do as he will with it. His teacher of last year said that he was a well-mannered, bright boy, and she could not understand why he failed to pass the examination. His teacher at the Secondary Industrial school said that he was very sensitive, hard to manage, had no self-confidence, but great ability, and was doing excellent work in mechanical drawing. His ambition is to be a machinist. The weekly per capita income of the family (after deducting rent, expenses for sickness and death, and earnings of children under 16) is $\$ 7.11$.

## HOURS OF WORK OF CHILDREN.

The hours as here recorded are based on the home statements. Statements from the employers were, however, also obtained in many cases, and any conflicts noted. These were in general slight, and not infrequently the hours given by the employers were longer than those given at the homes.

## HOURS OF WORK PER DAY.

To determine the actual daily working hours, the time of beginning and ending work and the time assigned for luncheon must all be taken into consideration. The following table shows the daily working hours in the latest reported employment, by locality and for all places:

Table 78.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN WORKING SPECIFIED HOURS PER DAY.

| Hours per day. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga. |  | Georgia and Alabama counties. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Less than 7 hours. | , | 1.0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 hours.. | 1 | 1.0 |  | 0.6 | 1 | 1.3 |  |  |
| 8 hours.. |  | 1.0 | 6 | 3.4 | 3 | 3.9 | 1 | 1.7 |
| 9 hours. | 4 | 3.9 | 24 | 13.7 | 8 | 10.4 | 3 | 5.0 |
| 10 hours. | 84 | 81.5 | 119 | 68.0 | 12 | 15.6 | 7 | 11.7 |
| 11 hours. | 1 | 1.0 | 2 | 1.1 | 20 | 26.0 | 39 | 65.0 |
| 12 hours and Irregular... | 11 | 10.6 | 23 | 13.2 | 5 28 | 6.5 36.3 | 10 | 16.6 |
| Total. | 103 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 77 | 100.0 | 60 | 100.0 |
| Hours per day. | Columbia, S. C. |  | Plymouth, Pa . |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Less than 7 hours. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0.2 |
| 7 hours.. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 5 |
| 8 hours. | 1 | 1.6 | 4 | 4.8 | 2 | 3.3 | 18 | 2.9 |
| 9 hours. | 4 | 6.5 | 33 | 39.3 | 7 | 11.5 | 83 | 13.3 |
| 10 hours.. | 27 | 43.5 | 29 | 34.5 | 33 | 54.1 | 311 | 50.0 |
| 11 hours.. | 6 | 9.7 | 1 | 1.2 | 3 | 4.9 | 72 | 11.6 |
| 12 hours and ove | 5 | 8.1 |  |  | 3 | 4.9 | 13 | 2.1 |
| Irregular.. | 19 | 30.6 | 17 | 20.2 | 13 | 21.3 | 121 | 19.4 |
| Total. | 62 | 100.0 | 84 | 100.0 | 61 | 100.0 | 622 | 100.0 |

It will be noticed that the short day is very little in evidence, not quite 4 per cent of the children being found among those who work eight hours or less. The ten-hour day is the most common, exactly half the children having these hours, but 11.6 per cent work eleven hours daily and 13 children, or 2.1 per cent of the whole group, work twelve hours or more a day. These long hours are found mainly in the southern communities.

The eleven-hour day was the most frequent among the Georgia and Alabama children (all but one of whom worked in Georgia, chiefly in Columbus). The ten-hour day was most frequent everywhere else except among the children who lived in Columbus proper, where irregular hours were most frequent, and in Plymouth, Pa., where the nine-hour day was most frequent. The day of twelve hours or more was found in Columbus, Columbia, and Hazleton mostly in stores (especially groceries) and messenger service.

The most frequent time for beginning the day's work in Pawtucket and Woonsocket was 6.30 a. m.; in Columbus, Georgia and Alabama counties, and Columbia, 6 a. m.; in Plymouth and Hazleton, 7 a. m.

The most common length of time for lunch in Pawtucket and Woonsocket was one hour; in Columbus and Georgia and Alabama counties half an hour; in Columbia, one hour; in Plymouth and Hazleton, one hour (but in Plymouth the number having three-quarters of an hour for lunch is the same as the number having an hour).

The half-hour nooning in Columbus and Georgia and Alabama counties has given rise to the custom of "dinner toting" on the part of the children. The mill hands do not have time to go home for lunch, and doubtless many of them could not go home even if they had an hour, and prefer to have the lunch hour shortened in order to get home earlier at night. The result is that just before the lunch hour strikes, hundreds of children gather outside the mill gates with their dinner baskets on their arms or in little wagons ready to "tote" them in to the workers the moment the gates open. In one day 386 white children were counted coming to three mills. In the baskets are warm dinners, meats and vegetables, in heavy dishes, neatly put up, with sometimes a fringe of white napkins peeping out. A little child 8 or 9 years old will often be seen carrying 3 dinner baskets on his arms, including perhaps one or two for people outside his own family, who pay each $12 \frac{1}{2}$ cents a week to have their dinners "toted." The children must wait until the dinners are eaten, and take the baskets home. Meantime, while they are waiting, they are often invited to the pleasant public library, which is very near a group of large mills, to hear a "story" told by one of the librarians, or somebody whom she has asked to do it.

All this takes up so much of the children's time that they are unable to attend the regular public schools in Columbus. The Primary Industrial School, already mentioned, was founded to meet this need, and holds its sessions at hours that do not interfere with the "dinner toting." In the Georgia and Alabama schools, however, the "dinner toters" are excused earlier than the others; but in this way they miss part of the session. Some of the children were taken out of school to "tote dinners," since the families did not live where they could send the children to the Primary Industrial School.

One mother said that though they say they have one-half an hour for dinner they never do, as the bell doesn't ring till nearly five minutes past and rings to begin at twenty-five minutes past, so they do not have time to eat their dinners properly-just swallow them or else do not eat them at all.

In Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Hazleton, Columbus, and Georgia and Alabama counties the most common time of ending the day's work was 6 p. m.; in Columbia, 5.48 p. m.; in Plymouth, 5.30 p. m.

## late hours at night.

In Pawtucket no children worked later than 7 o'clock p. m. and in Woonsocket only two, one of whom stopped work between 8 and 9 , while the other worked until 11 o'clock or later (working in a bakery from 4 to $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$.).

In Columbus 3 children worked until 11 p.m. or later; one stopped at $10 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., three at 8 and three at 7.

In Georgia and Alabama counties no children worked as late as 7.
In Columbia three children stopped work at $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., three at 8 , two at 9 , one at 10 , and three at $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. or later. One of these three is an usher in a theater, whose day ended regularly at 11 ; two are telegraph messengers, one of whom stopped on alternate nights at 7 and at 12 , and the other alternately at $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and $1 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. In addition to these, two boys, one 14 and one 15 at date of visit, worked all night from $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. to $7 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. as call boys for the railroad.

In Plymouth no children worked as late as 7 except one who stopped work between 9 and 10 .

In Hazleton one child stopped work at 7, two between 8 and 9, and two between 9 and 10 .

## HOURS OF WORK PER WEEK.

The hours of work per week depend, of course, not only on the regular daily hours, but on the "short day" usually worked on Saturday. Table 79 shows the weekly hours by sex and locality.

TAble 79.-NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS PER WEEK.
[This table does not agree with Table 78, since the number of hours per week may be diminished by a short Saturday, or increased by Sunday work.]

| Hours. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  | Columbus, Ga. |  |  | Georgia and Alabama counties. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Under 48. | 2 |  | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 |  | 2 |  |  |  |
| 48 and under 54 | 3 |  | 3 | 4 | 15 | 19 | 1 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |
| 54 and under 60 | 44 | 40 | 84 | 55 | 67 | 122 | 8 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| 60 and under 66 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 22 | 26 | 13 | 39 |
| 66 and under 72 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |
| 72 and under 78. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | ..... | 2 |  |  |  |
| 78 and under 84 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 3 |  |  |  |
| Irregular. | 8 | 3 | 11 | 10 | 13 | 23 | 21 | 8 | 29 | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 59 | 44 | 103 | 76 | 99 | 175 | 51 | 26 | 77 | 39 | 21 | 60 |
| Hours. | Columbia, S. C. |  |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  |  | All races. |  |  |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Under 48... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | .... |  | 2 |  |
| 48 and under 54 | 2 |  |  | 4 |  | 4 | 2 |  | 2 | 17 | 19 | 36 |
| 54 and under 60 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 38 |  | 60 | 11 | 19 | 30 | 163 | 159 | 322 |
| 60 and under 66 | 17 | 8 | 25 |  | 2 | 2 | 11 |  | 11 | 73 | 37 | 110 |
| 66 and under 72 | 3 |  | , |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |  | 2 | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| 72 and under 78 | 6 |  | 6 |  |  |  | 3 |  | 3 | 11 |  | 11 |
| 78 and under 84 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 3 |
| Irregular.. | 10 | 9 | 19 | 9 | 8 | 17 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 71 | 51 | 122 |
| Total | 41 | 21 | 62 | 51 | 33 | 84 | 36 | 25 | 61 | 353 | 269 | 622 |

It will be noticed that the most general weekly hours were between 54 and 60 , more than half of the whole group having these hours, but in the three southern localities between 60 and 66 hours per week were more common than the shorter limit. No girls were found anywhere working as long as 72 hours a week, and only one (in Plymouth) worked as much as 66 hours weekly. Some of the longest hours found were among the children who were working for their own relatives, especially in cases where the fathers had grocery or other stores, and the children were expected to help in them. In some of these cases, although the hours were nominally long, the children were allowed much freedom; in others they were strictly on duty for 72,80 , or 84 hours a week.

## NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS ON'SATURDAY.

The most frequent length of time to work on Saturday in each locality was as follows:

|  | Hours |  | Hours |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R. I |  | Columbia, S. C |  |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | .. $5 \frac{1}{2}$ | Plymouth, Pa . | 9 |
| Columbus, Ga |  | Hazleton, Pa. | . 6 |
| eorgia an |  |  |  |

A movement was on foot among the mill owners and superintendents of Columbus, at the time of the investigation, to shorten the
week to 60 hours. Singularly enough, as it appears at first thought, this movement did not meet with the approval of the mill operatives. In three, at least, of the home interviews the matter came up and strenuous objection was urged. Doubtless a cut in wages was feared.

## WAGES OF CHILDREN.

Inquiry was made of the employers, as well as in the homes, concerning the wages of the children. Out of 127 cases where information from both sources was obtained there were 60 agreements and 67 disagreements. In the cases of disagreement, the employer's statement was the higher 40 times and the home statement 20 times, the average difference either way being about $\$ 1$. Some of the disagreements doubtless rose from a change in rate of wages between the two visits, some probably from the fact of piecework, the mother giving an estimate of usual earnings, the employer giving perhaps the earnings for the previous week. On the whole, the difference seemed unimportant and the home statement was taken in all cases, as the basis for the discussion of wages. The topic is discussed under two heads: (a) Wages in relation to age; and (b) wages in relation to school grade, general capacity, and scholarship.

Before beginning this discussion, it may be worth while to notice the wages actually received by the children at the time of the visit, regardless of age or experience. Table 80, following, gives these facts for boys and girls, and for all localities:
TAble 80-CHILDREN EARNING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, BY SEX AND LOCALITIES.

| Sex and locality. | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \text { Number } \\ \text { not } \\ \text { earing } \\ \text { at any } \\ \text { time. } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Un- } \\ & \text { der } \\ & \text { si. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c} \mathbf{8 1 0} \\ \text { to } \\ \mathbf{8 1 . 4 9} \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathbf{\$ 1 . 5 0} \\ & \text { to } \\ & \mathbf{s i} .99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{8 2} \\ \text { to } \\ 82.49 . \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 2.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & 82.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 83 \\ \text { to } \\ \text { s3.49. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 3.50 \\ t 0 \\ 13.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \mathbf{\$ 4} \\ \text { to } \\ \mathbf{8 4 . 4 9 .} \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 84.50 \\ 10 \\ \mathbf{1 4 . 9 9} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \mathbf{8 5} \\ \text { to } \\ 85.49 . \end{array}$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \$ 5.50 \\ 10 \\ 85.99 . \end{gathered}\right.$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Columbus, Ga...... | 1 | 1 |  | 3 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 2 | $\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ 3 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 14 \\ 4 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 21 \\ 3 \end{array}$ | 1 |
| Georgla and Alaba- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ma counties. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | ${ }^{6}$ | 3 | 2 | 10 |  |
| Columbia, S. ${ }_{\text {Ply }}$ |  | 3 |  |  | ${ }^{5}$ |  | ${ }_{6}^{6}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 14 \end{array}$ |  | 12 11 11 | ${ }_{3}$ | 1 |
| Hazleton, Pa.- | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 1 | , | 3 | 3 |  |
| Total | 2 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 16 | 9 | 46 | 31 | 32 | 48 | 59 | 12 |
| Girls: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Woonsocket, R. | 4 |  | 1 |  | ${ }^{3}$ | 2 | 8 | 5 | 25 | 14 | 18 |  |
| Columbus, Ga..... |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 6 |  |  |  |  |  |
| ma countles.. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 1 |  |
| Columbla, S. ${ }^{\text {C }}$ |  | 3 | ${ }_{1}^{2}$ |  | 2 | ${ }_{5}^{1}$ | 1 | ${ }_{3}^{3}$ | ${ }_{1}^{2}$ | ${ }_{3}^{3}$ |  |  |
| Plymouth, P |  | 2 | 1 | ${ }_{3}^{6}$ | ${ }_{6}^{6}$ | 5 | 8 | ${ }_{3}^{2}$ | 1 | 1 | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. | 7 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 18 | 10 | 35 | 17 | 37 | 34 | 40 | 11 |
| Total: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 9 \end{aligned}$ | 8 |  |  |  |
| Columbus, Ga. | 2 | 1 |  | 4 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 4 | 4 | ${ }_{5}$ | 11 |  |
| Georgia and Alab |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Columbia, S. |  | 6 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 5 | ${ }_{3}$ | 15 |  | 1 |
| ${ }_{\text {Plymouth, }}^{\text {Hazleton, }}$ P |  | ${ }_{2}$ | 1 | 6 | 7 | 9 <br> 3 | 13 | 16 | 7 | 12 | 3 | 1 |
| Hazleton, P | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 19 | 6 |  |  |  |  |
| Grand total. | 9 | 10 | 7 | 15 | 34 | 19 | 81 | 48 | 69 | 82 | 99 | 23 |

Table 80.-CHILDREN EARNING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, BY SEX AND LOCALITIES-Concluded.

| Sex and locality. | $\begin{gathered} \$ 6 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 6.49 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 6.50 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 6.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 7 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 7.49 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 7.50 \\ & \text { to } \\ & \$ 7.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 8 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 8.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 9 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 9.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 10 \\ \text { to } \\ \$ 10.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 15 \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { over. } \end{aligned}$ | Number reported. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Not } \\ & \text { re- } \\ & \text { port- } \\ & \text { ed. } \end{aligned}$ | To- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I . . . | 9 |  |  | 2 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 59 |  | 59 |  |
| Woonsocket, R. I... | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 76 50 |  | 76 51 | 4.85 4.56 |
| Columbus, Ga......- |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 50 | 1 | $51$ | 4. 56 |
| ma counties. | 7 |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |  |  | 38 | 1 | 39 | 4.96 |
| Columbia, S. C. | ¢ |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |  | 41 |  | 41 | 3.94 |
| Plymouth, Pa. |  | 2 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |  | 51 |  | 51 | 4. 22 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 3 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 36 |  | 36 | 3. 74 |
| Total | 46 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 351 | 2 | 353 | 4.61 |
| Girls: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, $\mathrm{K} . \mathrm{I}$ | 7 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 44 |  | 44 | 4.98 |
| Woonsocket, R. I... | 9 | 2 | 3 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  | 99 |  | 99 | 4. 57 |
| Columbus, Ga....... |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  | 26 |  | 26 | 4. 40 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 21 |  | 21 | 5. 03 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 21 |  | 21 | 3. 31 |
| Plymouth, Pa |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 33 |  | 33 | 2. 59 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 24 | 1 | 25 | 2. 87 |
| rotal. | 23 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |  | 268 | 1 | 269 | 4.15 |
| Total: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 16 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 103 |  | 103 | 5. 29 |
| Woonsocket, R. | 20 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  | 175 |  | 175 | 4. 69 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 76 | 1 | 77 | 4. 48 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties. | 9 |  |  | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |  | 59 | 1 | 60 | 4. 99 |
| Columbia, S. C | 9 |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |  | 62 |  | 62 | 3.73 |
| Plymouth, P |  | 2 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |  | 84 |  | 84 | 3. 58 |
| Hazleton, P | 4 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 60 | 1 | 61 | 3. 34 |
| Grand total. | 69 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 619 | 3 | 622 | 4. 41 |

It will be noticed that nine children have never earned wages, having been employed at home or by relatives. From these negative earnings the wages rise to the one girl in Georgia and Alabama counties who receives $\$ 10$ a week and the one boy in Columbus who receives $\$ 15$ or over weekly. It will be noticed that a larger number fall in the $\$ 5$ to $\$ 5.49$ a week group than in any other; a considerably larger number, however, are on the lower side of this weekly wage than on the higher- 374 below as against 146 above. The Georgia and Alabama counties are the only place in which the girls receive a higher average wage than the boys; in general, their earnings range somewhat lower.

## WAGES IN RELATION TO AGE.

Table 81 shows for each locality and for boys and girls separately the wages received when beginning work, correlated with the age at that time, and latest wages correlated with the age at the time of the investigation.

Table 81.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND AVERAGE FIRST WEEKLY WAGES CORRELATED WITH AGE AT BEGINNING WORK, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND AVERage latest weekly wages correlated with age at date of visit.
[Nine children, 2 boys and 7 girls, who had never received wages, are omitted from this table.]
BOYS.

| Age at beginning work. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga., and Ga. and Ala. counties. |  | Columbia, S. C. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Plymouth, } \\ & \text { Pa. } \end{aligned}$ |  | Hazleton, Pa . |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num. } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Average first wage. | Number. | Average first wage. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Average first wage. | Num | Average first wage. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Average first wage. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Average first wage. |
| 5 years |  |  |  |  | 2 | \$0. 43 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | \$0. 43 |
| 6 years. |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2.50 | 2 | \$1.38 |  |  |  |  | 4 | 1.94 |
| 8 years |  |  |  |  | 6 | 2. 60 | 5 | 1.51 |  |  |  |  | 11 | 2.10 |
| 9 years. |  |  |  |  | 2 | 1.68 | 6 | 2.08 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 1.98 |
| 10 years |  |  |  |  | 14 | 2.47 | 5 | 1.88 | 3 | \$3.48 |  |  | 22 | 2. 47 |
| 11 years |  |  |  |  | 18 | 3.26 | 5 | 3.22 | 4 | 3.22 |  |  | 27 | 3.24 |
| 12 years | 2 | \$1.88 | 1 | \$4.00 | 14 | 3.34 | 5 | 3.22 | 10 | 3. 49 | 1 | \$3.00 | 33 | 3.29 |
| 13 years | 3 | 3. 50 | 5 | 4.56 | 11 | 3.27 | 6 | 3.50 | 17 | 3. 76 | 8 | 3.18 | 50 | 3.60 |
| 14 years | 39 | 4. 63 | 57 | 5. 57 | 13 | 3.87 | 5 | 3. 10 | 13 | 3. 72 | 22 | 3.26 | 149 | 4. 20 |
| 15 years | 14 | 5. 50 | 13 | 4.64 | 6 | 4.17 | 2 | 4.15 | 4 | 3.60 | 3 | 3.33 | 42 | 4.64 |
| 16 years. | 1 | 5. 00 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 6.25 | 3 | 5.63 |
| Total. | 59 | 4.69 | 76 | 4. 56 | 89 | 3.15 | 41 | 2.66 | 51 | 3. 62 | 35 | 3.33 | 351 | 3.74 |
| Age at date of visit. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga., and Ga. and Ala. countles. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Columbla, } \\ & \text { S. C. } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\underset{\text { Pa. }}{\text { Plymouth, }}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Hazleton, } \\ \text { Pa. } \end{gathered}$ |  | Total. |  |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Average latest wage. | Number. | Average wage. | Number. | Average wage. | Number. | Average latest wage | Num- | Average latest wage. | Num ber. | Average latest wage. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | Average latest wage. |
| 8 years. |  |  |  |  | 3 | \$2. 33 | 2 | \$0.88 |  |  |  |  | 5 | \$1.75 |
| 9 years. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3. 00 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3. 00 |
| 10 years |  |  |  |  | 2 | 1.78 | 2 | 1.33 |  |  |  |  |  | 1.55 |
| 11 years. |  |  |  |  | 4 | 3.25 | 2 | 3.25 |  | \$3.86 |  |  | 9 | 3.45 |
| 12 years. |  |  | 1 | \$4.00 | 14 | 4.23 | 4 | 2.50 | 3 | 4.05 |  |  | 22 | 3.84 |
| 13 years. |  |  |  |  | 18 | 4. 41 | 8 | 4. 27 | 11 | 3.91 | 1 | \$3.00 | 38 | 4. 19 |
| 14 years. | 28 | \$5. 45 | 38 | 4.77 | 24 | 5.09 | 8 | 4.68 | 17 | 4.13 | 8 | 3.38 | 123 | 4.80 |
| 15 years | 26 | 5.73 | 31 | 5.07 | 18 | 5.96 | 11 | 4.80 | 12 | 4.22 | 21 | 3.91 | 119 | 5.03 |
| 16 years | 5 | 4.80 | 6 | 4.47 | 5 | 5.13 | 3 | 5. 00 | 5 | 5. 55 | 5 | 3.75 | 29 | 4.39 |
| 17 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3.00 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3.00 |
| Total. | 59 | 5. 52 | 76 | 4.85 | 89 | 4.72 | 41 | 3.94 | 51 | 4. 22 | 35 | 3.74 | 351 | 4.61 |

Table 81.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND AVERAGE FIRST WEEKLY WAGES CORRELATED WITH AGE AT BEGINNING WORK, AND NUMBER OF CIIILDREN AND AVERAGE LATEST WEEKLY WAGES CORRELATED WITH AGE AT DATE OF VISITConciuded.

GIRLS.

| Age at beginning work. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga., and Ga. and Ala. counties. |  | Columbia, S. C. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Plymouth, } \\ & \text { Pa. } \end{aligned}$ |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Num- | A V erage first | Number. |  | Number. | Average first wage. | Number. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ |  | Number. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Average first |
| 5 years |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | \$1.50 |  |  |  |  | 1 | \$1.50 |
| 6 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 8 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 1.40 1.20 |  |  |  |  | 4 | 1. 40 |
| 9 years |  |  |  |  | 1 | \$3.00 | 5 | . 55 |  |  |  |  | 3 | 1.37 |
| 10 years |  |  |  |  | 4 | 3.24 | 5 | 2.03 |  |  |  |  | 9 | 2. 57 |
| 11 years. |  |  |  |  | 10 | 2.40 | 1 | 3.60 | 1 | \$1. 50 |  |  | 12 | 2. 43 |
| 12 years. |  |  | 1 | \$5. 00 | 10 | 2. 49 | 2 | 2.50 | 1 | 1.50 | 1 | 31.00 | 15 | 2. 49 |
| 13 years. | 3 | \$4.02 | 4 | 4.11 | 9 | 3. 47 | 4 | 2.38 | 15 | 2. 39 | 7 | 1.43 | 42 | 2.74 |
| 14 years. | 35 | 4.50 | 75 | 3.78 | 9 | 3. 94 | 1 | 4.00 | 14 | 2.77 | 10 | 2. 65 | 144 | 3. 80 |
| 15 years. 16 years. | 5 | 3.88 | 12 | 4.10 3.00 | 3 | 3.77 |  |  | 2 | 3.85 | 5 | 2.50 2.00 | 27 | 3.71 2.75 |
| Total | 43 | 4.39 | 95 | 3.82 | 46 | 3.11 | 21 | 1.98 | 33 | 2.59 | 24 | 2.14 | 262 | 3.34 |
| Age at date of visit. | Pawtucket, R.I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I |  | Columbus, Ga., and Ga. and Ala. counties. |  | Columbia, S. C. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Plymouth, } \\ & \text { Pa. } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Hazleton, } \\ \text { Pa. } \end{gathered}$ |  | Total. |  |
|  | Num- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Av- } \\ \text { erage } \\ \text { latest } \\ \text { wage. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | Average latest wage. | Number. | Average latest wage. | Num- | A $\nabla$ erage latest wage. | Number. | Average latest wage. | Num- | Average latest wage. | Num- | Average latest wage. |
| 7 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 80. 50 |  |  |  |  | 1 | \$0. 50 |
| 8 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2.00 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2.00 |
| 9 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 1.27 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1.27 |
| 10 years |  |  |  |  | 1 | \$3.25 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3.25 |
| 11 years. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2.20 | 4 | 2.32 |  |  |  |  | 5 | 2. 29 |
| 12 years. |  |  |  |  | 6 | 3.35 | 2 | 5. 25 |  | \$1.50 |  |  | 9 | 3. 57 |
| 13 years |  |  |  |  | 13 | 4. 41 | 3 | 4. 83 | 2 | 1.73 |  |  | 18 | 4.18 |
| 14 years. | 30 | \$5. 03 | 60 | \$4.45 | 14 | 5.37 | 7 | 4.14 | 15 | 2.30 | 5 | \$1.96 | 132 | 4.31 |
| 15 years. | 11 | 4.73 | 24 | 4.84 | 11 | 5. 25 |  |  | 12 | 2. 93 | 12 | 3. 55 | 70 | 4.36 |
| 16 year | 2 | 5. 50 | 11 | 4.66 |  |  |  |  | 3 | 3.57 | 6 | 2.54 | 22 | 4.01 |
| Total. | 43 | 4.98 | 95 | 4.57 | 46 | 4.69 | 21 | 3.31 | 33 | 2.59 | 24 | 2.87 | 262 | 4.15 |

From this it would seem that among the children who begin work very early there is little relation between age and initial earnings. It is true that the two boys who begin at 5 average only 43 cents a week each, but the one girl who begins at the same age receives $\$ 1.50$, which is higher than the average received by the eight girls beginning at 7,8 , and 9 years old. For the children who begin at 10 and over a relation between age and wages becomes apparent, the average initial wage increasing with each year. For the girls a curious drop occurs at 15 , for which no explanation was found.

When we turn to the latest wages, the relation between age and amount received is more apparent. Again, there are some irregularities among those under 10, but after that age, with the exception
of the 11 -year-old girls, who break the continuity of the rise, wages increase steadily up to 16 years, when for boys and girls alike an inexplicable drop occurs.

In comparing the average wages for the different localities it will be noticed that the lowest first wages, for boys and girls alike, were found in Columbia and the highest in Pawtucket. The lowest average latest wages were found for boys in Hazleton, for girls in Plymouth, while for boys and girls alike the highest latest wages were found in Pawtucket.

There was such difference in the ages of the children found at work that in order to compare one place with another fairly the average wage for one age should be chosen. As at the date of the investigation there were more 14-year-old children earning than of any other age group in every place except Hazleton, where more were 15 (since it was a year after they left school that they were visited), this age seemed the proper basis for comparison.

Even then the comparison should include a consideration of the length of time since beginning work. For up to the age of 14 , and for a few years beyond, experience in the industry greatly increases earning power.

The comparison will then stand as follows:
Table 82.-NUMBER OF 14-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN AND AVERAGE LATEST WAGE, BY SEX AND LOCALITY.

| Locality. | Boys. |  |  | Girls. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | A verage latest wage. | A verage length of time since beginning work (months). | Number. | A verage latest wage. | A verage length of time since beginning work (months). |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 28 | \$5.45 | 7 | 30 | \$5. 03 | 7 |
| Woonsocket, IR. I. | 38 | 4. 77 | 8 | 60 | 4.45 | 7 |
| Columbes and environs. | 24 | 5.09 | 35 | 14 | 5.37 | 19 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 8 | 4.68 | 26 | 7 | 4.14 | 17 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 17 | 4.13 | 12 | 15 | 2.30 | 11 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | a 8 | 3.38 | 12 | ${ }^{6} 6$ | 1.96 | 12 |
| Total. | 123 | 4.80 | 15 | 132 | 4.31 | 9.5 |

a The twenty-one 15 -year-olds were earning an average of $\$ 3.91$.
$b$ The twelve 15 -year-olds were earning an average of $\$ 3.55$.
It will be seen that for the boys Pawtucket gives the highest wages, both absolutely and in relation to the length of time worked. For the girls the highest absolute average is found in Columbus and its environs, but in proportion to the time worked Pawtucket leads.

An attempt at a further analysis of the increase of wages received by the children is shown in Table 83, where the children are grouped by age at date of visit, and the average length of time since beginning work is placed side by side with the average weekly increase of wages.

Table 83.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHOSE WAGES WERE INCREASED AND AVERAGE WEEKLY INCREASE IN WAGES, BY AGE AT DATE OF VISIT.


An increase is shown for 156 boys and for 119 girls. It will be seen that there is a general correlation observable between age and increase of wages and between length of experience and increase of wages, but there is so much irregularity, due probably to the smallness of the groups, that it is difficult to say more.

The superiority in amount of increase in Columbus and Columbia in spite of the average age of the children in those places being so much younger than elsewhere is due of course to the fact that they had already had a much longer experience in the industry.

Pawtucket and Woonsocket are the only places where the girls received a larger increase than the boys. It is interesting to note in this connection that in Pawtucket it was said, both in home interviews and in establishment interviews, that within the year or so since the 14 -year age limit had been adopted the wages of boys had increased almost 50 per cent, and the boys were hard to get even at high wages and shorter hours. In a spool factory, for instance, the superintendent said he formerly paid boys $\$ 2.50$ to $\$ 4$, but last year obtained none for less than $\$ 4$ or $\$ 5$, which he accounted for in part by the change in the child-labor law, and in part by general prosperity.

WAGES IN RELATION TO GRADE, GENERAL CAPACITY, AND SCHOLARSHIP.
If the wide variation in the wages of the children is governed by anything more than chance, it would seem as though age, natural capacity, and school training ought all to have some weight. Age has already been compared with wages and shown to have considerable influence. A further comparison is presented in Table 84 between wages and school grade, wages and general capacity as estimated by the teacher, and wages and scholarship. These comparisons are bound to be unsatisfactory owing to the small number considered, the limited range of school grades represented, ${ }^{a}$ the limited range of ages at the upper limit, and the short length of time that many of the children have been working. Nevertheless the facts are presented for what they are worth, with the full admission that these drawbacks exist.

[^33]Table 84.-CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, BY LOCALITIES AND SEX AND GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOL.
[ $O$ wing to the fact that only the total reported is used in this table, it does not agree with Table 81 showing latest weekly wages.]
PAWTUCKET AND WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| Grade at leaving schoor. | Number receiving each classified weekly wage. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total report ed. | Average wages. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Under $\$ 2$. | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 2 \text { to } \\ & \$ 2.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 3 \text { to } \\ & \$ 3.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\$ 4 \text { to }$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 5 \text { to } \\ & \$ 5.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 6 \text { to } \\ \$ 6.99 \text {. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 7 \text { to } \\ \$ 7.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 8 \text { to } \\ & \$ 9.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\$ 10$ <br> and <br> over. |  |  |
| Boys. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ungraded. |  |  |  | 3 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  | 7 | \$4.95 |
| Grade 1. |  |  | 1 |  | 3 | 1 |  |  |  | 5 | 4.80 |
| Grade 2. |  |  |  | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |  |  | 10 | 5.39 |
| Grade 3. |  | 1 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 |  |  |  | 15 | 4. 50 |
| Grade 4. |  | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 1 |  |  | 17 | 5. 07 |
| Grade 5. |  |  | 4 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 16 | 4.95 |
| Grade 6. |  |  |  | 4 | 5 | 4 |  | 1 |  | 14 | 5. 41 |
| Grade 7. | 1 | 1 |  | 4 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 2 |  | 22 | 5. 28 |
| Grade 8. |  |  |  | 3 | 8 | 2 | 2 |  |  | 17 | 5.14 |
| Grade 9. |  |  | 2 |  |  | 1 | 2 | 1 |  | 6 | 5.99 |
| Total. | 1 | 3 | 12 | 29 | 47 | 24 | 9 | 4 |  | 129 | 5. 12 |
| Capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bright. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 33 | 5. 13 |
| Dull.... | 1 | 2 | $5$ | $\begin{aligned} & 8 \\ & 9 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 14 \\ & 16 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | $\begin{aligned} & 3 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | 2 |  | $\begin{aligned} & 39 \\ & 41 \end{aligned}$ | 4. 79 |
| Total. | 1 | 2 | 11 | 24 | 45 | 21 | 6 | 3 | ..... | 113 | 5. 07 |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average. <br> Average |  |  | 2 | $\stackrel{11}{2}^{1}$ | 7 20 | 3 9 |  |  |  | 14 49 | 4. 91 |
| Below average. | 1 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 4.97 |
| Total. | 1 | 2 | 11 | 24 | 44 | 21 | 6 | 3 | ..... | 112 | 4.89 |
| Ungraded... |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 1. |  |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  | 8 | 5. 60 |
| Grade 2. |  | 2 | 2 | 7 |  | . 1 |  |  |  | 12 | 3. 83 |
| Grade 3. |  |  | 1 | 5 | 2 | 4 |  |  |  | 12 | 4.92 |
| Grade 4. |  | 2 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 |  | 27 | 4.99 |
| Grade 5. |  |  | 4 | 6 | 2 |  |  | - 1 |  | 13 | 4.34 |
| Grade 6. | 1 |  | 1 | 8 | 7 | 2 |  |  |  | 19 | 4. 57 |
| Grade 7. |  | 1 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 1 |  |  | 22 | 4.80 |
| Grade 8. |  |  |  | 5 | 3 |  | 1 |  |  | 9 | 3.66 |
| Grade 9. |  |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 4.33 |
| Total. | 1 | 5 | 14 | 51 | 32 | 19 | 4 | 2 |  | 128 | 4.69 |
| Capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bright. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 40 | 5.11 |
| Average |  |  |  | 16 | 8 | 2 | 3 |  |  | 34 | 4. 60 |
| Dull.. | 1 | 2 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 1 |  |  |  | 26 | 4.00 |
| Total. | 1 | 3 | 15 | 37 | 26 | 13 | 4 | 1 |  | 100 | 4.65 |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| A bove average. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  |  | 5.15 |
| Aelow average. | 1 | 1 | 6 | 19 9 | 8 | 2 | 3 |  |  | 41 28 | 4. 68 4.15 |
| Total. | 1 | 3 | 14 | 36 | 26 | 13 | 4 | 1 |  | 98 | 4. 67 |

COLUMBUS, GA., AND GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.


TABLE 84.-CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, BY LOCALITIES AND SEX AND GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOLContinued.

COLUMBUS, GA., AND GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES-Concluded.

| Grade at leaving school. | Number receiving each classified weekly wage. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total report ed. | A verage wages. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Under $\$ 2$. | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 2 \text { to } \\ & \$ 2.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \$ 3 \text { to } \\ \$ 3.99 . \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 4 \text { to } \\ & \$ 4.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 5 \text { to } \\ & \$ 5.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 6 \text { to } \\ & \$ 6.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 7 \text { to } \\ & \$ 7.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 8 \text { to } \\ & \$ 9.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 10 \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { over. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| Boys-concluded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bright. |  | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | - 1 |  | 1 | 13 | \$5.95 |
| Dull... | 3 | 2 | 4 |  |  | 3 |  |  |  | 12 | 3.25 |
| Total | 3 | 4 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 40 | 4.55 |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average.. <br> Average |  | 1 | 4 2 | 3 2 | 2 | 2 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 5.73 |
| Below average. | 3 | 2 | 6 |  | 1 | 3 |  |  | 1 | 17 | 3.82 |
| Total. | 3 | 4 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 40 | 4.54 |
| Grade 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 3.35 |
| Grade 2. |  |  |  | 1 | ${ }^{2}$ |  |  |  |  | 3 | 4.75 |
| Grade 3. | 1 | 1 | 2 |  | 4 |  | 1 |  |  | 9 | 4.24 |
| Grade 4. |  |  | 3 |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  | 5 | 4.65 |
| Grade 5. |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 4.00 |
| Grade 6. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 5.00 |
| Grade 7 |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 3 | 4.83 |
| Total. | 1 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 9 |  | 1 | 2 |  | 25 | 4.40 |
| Capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |
| A verage | 1 |  | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 5 | 3.50 |
| Dull... |  | 2 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 3.13 |
| Total. | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 5 |  | 1 | 2 |  | 19 | 4.42 |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average.. A verage |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 6 | 5.63 3.42 |
| Below average. |  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  | 1 |  | 7 | 4.24 |
| Total. | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 5 |  | 1 | 2 |  | 19 | 4.42 |

## COLUMBIA, S. C.



TABLE 84.-CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATIGN, BY LOCALITIES AND SEX AND GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOLContinued.

COLUMBIA, S. C.-Concluded.

| Grade at leaving school. | Number receiving each classified weekly wage. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total report ed. | A verage wages. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \$2. | Under \$2.99. | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 3 \text { to } \\ & \$ 3.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 4 \text { to } \\ & \$ 4.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 5 \text { to } \\ & \$ 5.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 6 \text { to } \\ & \$ 6.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 7 \text { to } \\ & \$ 7.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 8 \text { to } \\ & \$ 9.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \$10 } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { over. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| GIRLS. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 1. | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 7 | \$1.97 |
| Grade 2. | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 3.58 |
| Grade 3 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 2. 87 |
| Grade 4 |  |  |  | 1 |  | 2 |  |  |  | 3 | 5. 50 |
| Grade 5 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | ..... | 1 |  |  |  | 4 | 4.00 |
| Grade 6 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 4.00 |
| Grade 7 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3.50 |
| Total. | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 |  | 4 |  |  |  | 21 | 3.31 |
| Capacity: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bright. |  | 3 | 3 |  |  | 2 |  |  |  | 11 |  |
| Average Dull. | 4 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 7 3 | 2.34 4.83 |
| Total. | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 |  | 4 |  |  |  | 21 | 3.31 |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average <br> A verage |  | 3 | 3 1 | 1 |  | 3 1 |  |  |  | 11 | 3. 95 2.44 |
| Below average. | 1 |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 3.00 |
| Total. | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 |  | 4 |  |  |  | 21 | 3.31 |

PLYMOUTH, PA.


Table 84.-CHILDREN RECEIVING CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, BY LOCALITIES AND SEX AND GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOLConcluded.

PLYMOUTH, PA.-Concluded.

| Grade at leaving school. | Number receiving each classified weekly wage. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Total reported. | Average wages. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Under $\$ 2$. | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 2 \text { to } \\ & \$ 2.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 3 \text { to } \\ & \$ 3.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 4 \text { to } \\ & \$ 4.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 5 \text { to } \\ & \$ 5.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 6 \text { to } \\ & \$ 6.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 7 \text { to } \\ & \$ 7.99 . \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 8 \text { to } \\ & \$ 9.99 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 10 \\ & \text { and } \end{aligned}$ over. |  |  |
| aIrls-concluded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Scholarship: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Above average. |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | \$1. 99 |
| A verage...... | 4 | 8 | 6 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 20 | 2. 2.55 |
| Below average | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 9 | 2.94 |
| Total. | 9 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 33 | 2.59 |

HAZLETON, PA.


Taking up first the question of wages and grade, we find rather inconclusive results. Among the boys especially there seems to be a tendency for those leaving from the lowest grades in each place to get higher wages than those leaving from the next grade (in some cases, the next two grades) above them. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket,
at least, some part of the anomaly may be explained by the fact that in many cases the children leaving from low grades are really far in advance of their apparent standing. Often they are foreigners who in the schools of their own country have made good progress, but who, reaching this country a short time before they are of working age, enter our schools as the law compels them to do, but owing to their ignorance of our language are placed in the first or second grade. Naturally as soon as they have reached the requisite age they leave and are recorded as going to work from the low grade in which they have been placed. Of course this hampers seriously the attempt to draw any conclusions from the correlation between grade reached and wages earned.

Altogether, as the table stands, no definite conclusions can be reached. A slight relation appears to exist between school grade reached and wages received, but it is by no means certain that this is not due either to mere advance in age or to advance in experience, or to pure accident.

The kind of work into which most of these children go can be done and done well, many of the employers declare, by entirely uneducated people. The president of a hosiery mill cited the case of one man who rose to a point where only the fact that he could not read, write, and figure kept him out of a $\$ 5,000$ position. Many of the employers said that educated operatives could do better work, but it seems probable that in the case of these children school grade had less to do with their success than natural capacity.

Turning to the next point, the relation between wages and capacity, it is evident that if capacity is an important factor in the earning power of children, and if the teachers' estimates are to be trusted, the "bright" children should in every place earn more than the "average," and the "average" more than the "dull." The standard order of magnitude for average earnings would be: Bright, average, dull. A glance at the table will show that only once (in Columbus) is this order followed for both boys and girls; elsewhere we meet every variety of arrangement. Taking all the places together we find that out of a possible 10 times-

Bright is first 5 times, middle 4 times, last 1 time.
Average is first 3 times, middle 4 times, last 3 times.
Dull is first 2 times, middle 2 times, last 6 times.
The maximum wages earned by the three classes of children show some slight correlation:

| Bright boys earn up to.......... | $\$ 16.50$ | Bright girls earn up to.......... | $\$ 9.50$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| Average boys earn up to........ | 10.00 | Average girls earn up to......... | 7.00 |
| Dull boys earn up to........... | 7.00 | Dull girls earn up to........... | 6.00 |

But bright boys and girls were also found earning $\$ 3, \$ 2$, or even less than $\$ 2$ a week.

Altogether it can not be said that much relation was found between the earning power of these children and their natural capacity as estimated by their teachers.

The comparison between earning power and scholarship is also unsatisfactory. Arranging the scholarship groups in the order of their average wages for each place, we find that out of a possible 10 times-

Those above average are first 5 times, middle 3 times, last 2 times.
Those with average are first 3 times, middle 2 times, last 5 times.
Thoso below average are first 2 times, middle 5 times, last 3 times.
It is evident that scholarship has even less to do with wages than capacity.

## INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN.

In this section it is the aim to answer the following questions:
(1) What were the specific industries and occupations entered?
(2) How much shifting from one industry to another, and from one establishment to another, has there been in the short industrial experience of these children?
(3) From what and to what specific industries have the shifts occurred?
(4) To what extent have the children shifted into a higher-grade industry than the one they first entered?
(5) To what extent have the children bettered themselves financially by shifting?
(6) What reasons influenced the children in choosing their first employment? In making a change ?

Before beginning the discussion a few words as to unemployment among the schedule children may be in place. At the date of the visit 98 , or 15.7 per cent, of the children were unemployed. Nearly half of these children (44) were in school at the time of the visit. Ordinarily the child seemed to be unemployed through its own or its parents' choice. The testimony was pretty general that there was a strong and steady demand for young workers, and that no child of ordinary ability need remain unoccupied if he chose to work.

## INDUSTRIES ENTERED COMPARED WITH INDUSTRIES NOW FOLLOWED.

Table 85 presents, by sex and locality, a list of the specific industries entered by the children, with the number entering each industry and the number still in it. The latest industry of those who shifted is also shown in connection with each industry entered, so that there is a chance to see what is the prevailing drift, if any exists. The range of wages found among the children studied is also shown in connection with each industry.

## Table 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.


TABLE 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED-Continued. WOONSOCKET, R. 1.

| First industry of boys. |  |  | Latest industry of boys. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. |
| Cotton. | 26 | \$3.00-\$7.50 | $\left(\begin{array}{l}\text { Cotton.................... } \\ \text { Woolen . . . } \\ \text { Cloth finishing.......... } \\ \text { Wringer factory.......... } \\ \text { Store............... } \\ \text { Woolen and worsted.... } \\ \text { Cotton................. }\end{array}\right.$ | 20 3 1 1 1 13 1 | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 3.00-\$ 7.50 \\ 3.00-6.38 \\ 4.00-5.00 \\ 4.00-6.60 \\ 3.00-6.00 \\ 3.00-6.38 \\ 3.00-7.50 \end{array}$ |
| Woolen and worsted...... | 15 | 3.00-6.38 | Silk....................... | 1 | $\begin{cases}3.00 ; & \text { learning } \\ \text { to weave } \\ \text { received no } \\ \text { pay yet. }\end{cases}$ |
| Cloth finishing. | 3 | 4.00-5.00 | Cloth finishing. <br> Worsted | 2 1 | $4.00-5.00$ $3.00-6.38$ |
| Silk. | 1 | 3.00 | Woolen.. | 1 | 3.00-6.38 |
| Knitting | 1 | 5.00 | Knitting. | 1 | 5. 5.00 |
| Machine shop............. | 7 | 3.30-6.00 | Machine shop............. | 7 | 3.30-6.00 |
| Rubber shoes.............. | 6 | 4.50-7.50 | Rubber shoes. <br> (Wringer factory | 6 | 4.50- 7.50 $4.00-6.60$ |
| Wringer factory | 5 | 4.00-6.60 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Worsted . ................ } \\ \text { Butcher shop.......... }\end{array}\right.$ | 1 | $3.00-6.38$ 2.00 |
|  |  |  | \|Bakery.................... | 1 | 3.00- 5.00 |
| Bakery | 3 | 3.00-5.00 | Rubber shoes | 1 <br> 1 | $\begin{aligned} & 4.50-7.50 \\ & 4.00-6.00 \end{aligned}$ |
| Miscellaneous factories (box, paper tube, jewelry, nickel plate, and pad). | 5 | 4.00-6.00 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Miscellaneous factories... } \\ \text { Wringer factory.......... } \\ \text { Telegraph messenger.... }\end{array}\right.$ | 3 1 | $4.00-6.00$ $4.00-6.60$ 3.50 |
| Grocery store... | 1 | 4.00-6.00 | Grocery store. | 1 | 4.00-6.00 |
| Dry goods st | 1 | 3.00 | Bobbin shop | 1 | 4.00 |
| News store. | 1 | 5.50 | News store. | 1 | 5. 50 |
| Greenhouse <br> Total |  | 3.00 | Greenhouse | 1 | 3.00 |
|  | 76 |  |  | 76 |  |
| First industry of girls. |  |  | Latest industry of girls. |  |  |
| Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages. |
| Cotton................... | 26 | \$2.00-\$9.00 | Cotton. <br> Cot ........ | 19 5 5 | \$2.00-89.00 |
|  |  |  | Cloth finishing. <br> Handkerchief | 5 | $1.00-7.00$ |
|  |  |  | Paper tube. | 1 | 3.60-4.90 |
|  | 23 | 3.00-6.00 | W Woolen. . | 20 | 3.00-6.00 |
| Woolen.................... |  |  | Cotton.................. | 2 | 2.00- 9.00 |
| Cloth finishing........... | 13 |  | Housework at home...... | 12 | No wage. $1.00-7.00$ |
|  |  | 1.00-7.00 | Overall factory............. | 1 | 3.00-4.00 |
|  |  |  | Handkerchief factory..... | 6 | $2.00-6.50$ |
|  |  | 2.00-6.50 | Woolen | 2 | $3.00-6.00$ |
| Handkerchief factory ..... | 12 |  | Cotton. | 1 | 2.00- 9.00 |
|  |  |  | Rubber | 1 | 3.00- 4.50 $2.50-5.00$ |
|  |  |  | Candy. | 1 | 2.50- 3.50 |
|  |  | 2.50-3.00 | Paper box | 2 | 2.50-3.00 |
| Paper box................. | 6 |  | Woolen.................... | 2 | 3.00-6.00 |
|  |  |  | Rubber.................. | 1 | $\begin{aligned} & 2.50-5.00 \\ & 2.00-6.50 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | 3 | 2.50-5.00 | Rubber.................. | 2 | $2.50-5.00$ |
| Paper-tube factory. | 2 | $3.60-4.90$ | \{ Grocery (mother's)....... | 1 | No wage. |
| Silk....................... | 1 |  | Paper-tube factory ................... | 1 | 3.60-4.90 |
| Knitting |  | $3.00-4.50$ | Knitting | 1 | 3.00-4.50 |
| Overall | 1 | $3.00-4.00$ | Cotton. | 1 | 2.00-9.00 |
| Wringer factory . .......... | 12 | 4.00-5.00 | Wringer factory............ | 1 | 4.00 |
| Stores (1 grocery and 1 cigar). |  |  | Stores (1 grocery and 1 cigar). | 2 | a 5.00 |
| Millinery and dressmaking. | 3 | No wage. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Millinery and dressmak- } \\ \text { ing. }\end{array}\right.$ | 2 | No wage. |
|  |  |  | Knitting. | 1 | 31.00-4.50 |
| Domestic service. | 2 | \$1 and found. | (Domestic service <br> Cotton | 1 | $\$ 1$ and found. |
| Housework at home...... | 3 | No wage. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Housework at home...... } \\ \text { Cotton....................... }\end{array}\right.$ | 1 | No wage. $2.00-9.00$ |
| Total............... | 99 |  |  | 99 |  |

TABLE 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED-Continued.
COLUMIBUS, GA.


GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.

| First industry of boys. |  |  | Latest industry of boys. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. |
|  |  |  | Cotton. | 26 | \$3.00-\$9.50 |
| Cotton. | 29 | \$3.00-\$9.50 | Foundry.................. | 1 | 2.40- 5.00 |
|  |  |  | Carpenter's helper......... | 1 | No wage. $3.60$ |
| Knitting. | 4 | 2.80-4.50 | Knitting |  | 2.80-4.50 |
| Grocery | 3 | No wage-3.00 |  | 2 | No wage- 3.00 |
| Candy store | 1 | . 25 | Foundry ${ }^{\text {Telegraph }}$ messenger............ | 1 | 2.40-5.00 |
| Planing mill | , | 3.50-4.50 | Planing mill.............. | 1 | 3.50-4.50 |
| Foundry. | 1 | 2.40-5.00 | Foundry .................... | , | 2.40-5.00 |
| Total. | 39 |  |  | 39 |  |

Table 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED-Continued.
GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES-Concluded.


COLUMBIA, S. C.

| First industry of boys. |  |  | Latest industry of boys. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. | Ind ustry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. |
| Cotton. | 21 | \$1.08-\$7.50 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Cotton..................... } \\ \text { Railroad. }\end{array}\right.$ | 19. | \$1: $08-\$ 7.50$ $4.37-7.50$ |
| Knitting. | 1 | 2.60 | Telegraph messenger..... | 1 | 2.00- 3.00 $1.08-7.50$ |
|  |  |  | Grocery. | 2 | $1.25-3.00$ |
| Grocery. | 4 | 1.25-3.00 | Cotton.. | 1 | 1.08-7.50 |
|  |  |  | Messenger................. | 1 | $2.00-3.00$ |
| Dry goods store........... | 2 | 3.00-6.25 | Dry goods store \{ Grocery | 1 | 3.00-6.25 <br> 1.25-3.00 |
| Shoe store. | 2 | 2.50-3.00 | \{Railroad.... | 1 | 4.37-7.50 |
|  |  |  | Dray company ........... | 1 | 4.37- 3.00 |
| Book store. | 2 | 2.00-3.00 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Railroad. }{ }^{\text {The }} \text { Theater...................... }\end{array}\right.$ | 1 | 4.37-7.50 |
| Drug store.. | 1 | 3.75 | Drug store | 1 | 3.75 |
| Miscellaneous factories: Glass |  | 4.80-6.00 | Press cloth factory |  | 3.60-4. 50 |
| Basket. | 1 | $4.80-6.60$ | Fruit stand................ | 1 | $3.60-4.50$ 2.25 |
| Press cloth. | 1 | 3.60-4.50 | Glass.. | 1 | 4.80-6.00 |
| Miscellaneous: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Construction company | 1 | 3.00 3.00 | Cotton. | 1 | $1.08-7.50$ $4.80-6.00$ |
| Telegraph messenger.. | 1 | 2.00-3.00 | Telegraph messenger | 1 | 2.00-3.00 |
| Livery stable.......... | 2 | . $50-4.50$ | Livery stahle...... | 2 | ${ }^{\text {2 }}$. $50-4.50$ |
| Total.......... | 41 |  |  | 41 |  |
| First industry of girls. |  |  | Latest industry of girls. |  |  |
| Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages. |
| Cotton <br> Stores. <br> Book bindery <br> Total. | 15 | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 4.50-\$ 6.00 \\ 2.00-4.00 \\ 2.50-3.50 \end{array}$ | Cotton <br> stores. <br> Book bindery | 15 | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 4.50-\$ 6.00 \\ 2.00-4.00 \\ 2.50-3.50 \end{array}$ |
|  | 5 |  |  | 5 |  |
|  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |
|  | 21 |  |  | 21 |  |

TABLE 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED-Continued.
PLYMOUTH, PA.

| First industry of boys. |  |  | Latest industry of boys. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. |
| Mining. | 33 | \$1.00-\$8.14 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Mining......... } \\ \text { Sawnill. } \\ \text { Knitting....... } \\ \text { Machine....... } \\ \text { Saloon........ }\end{array}\right.$ | 29 1 1 1 1 | $\begin{array}{r} \$ 1.00-\$ 8.14 \\ 4.50-5.40 \\ 2.00-6.70 \\ 4.00 \\ \text { No wage. } \end{array}$ |
| Knitting.. | 10 | 2.00-6.70 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Knitting } \\ \text { Mining. }\end{array}\right.$ | 7 3 | 2.00-6.70 $1.00-8.14$ |
|  | 4 | 2.50-4.00 | Silk.. | 1 | 2.50-4.00 |
| Sawmill | 1 | 4.50-5.40 | Sawmill | 3 1 | $1.00-8.14$ $4.50-5.40$ |
| Shoe factory | 1 | 3.50 | Shoe fartory | 1 | 3.59 |
| Grocery. | 1 | 2.50 | Grocery. | 1 | 2. 50 |
| Plumber | , | 3.00-4.50 | Plumber | 1 | 3.00-4.50 |
| Total. | 51 |  |  | 51 |  |

First industry of girls.

| Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of girls. | Range of wages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Knitting (hosiery). | 21 | \$0.28-\$5.00 |  | 15 3 2 1 3 | $\$ 0.28-\$ 5.00$ <br> 1.50-3. 65 <br> 1.25-1.50 |
| Silk. | 5 | 1.50-3.65 | Silk | 3 2 | $1.50-3.65$ $.28-5.00$ |
| Squib factory. | 3 | 4.00- 5.40 | Squib factory | 3 | 4.00-5.40 |
| Box factory (paper) | 1 | .75-3.20 | Box factory | 1 | .75-3.20 |
| Confectionery store | 1 | No wage. | Confectionery sto | , | No wage. |
| Domestic work. | 2 | 1.50 and meals. | Domestic work. | 2 | 1.50 and meals. |
| Tot | 33 |  |  | 33 |  |

HAZLETON, PA.

| First industry of boys. |  |  | Latest industry of boys. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. | Industry. | Number of boys. | Range of wages. |
|  |  |  | Mining | ${ }_{2}$ | \$3.00-88.80 |
| Mining. | 5 | \$3.00-88.80 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Railroad } . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ~\end{array}\right.$ | 1 | 2.34-4.190 |
|  |  |  | Watching cows............ | 1 | $2.34-4.19$ 4.00 |
| Si | 4 | 1.25-3.00 | Silk. | ${ }_{2}^{2}$ | 1.25-3.00 |
|  |  |  | Shirt factory | 2 | 3. $50-8.80$ 2.80 |
| Shirt factory.. | 3 | 2.50-3.00 | Pretzel bakery | 1 | 1.25-1.50 |
| Office boy. | 4 | 2.34-4.19 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Office boy. } \\ \text { Grocery }\end{array}\right.$ | 3 1 1 | 2.34- 3. 29-5. 5. |
| Grocery ...... | 2 | 3.49-5.00 | Grocery. | 2 | 3. $49-5.00$ |
| Miscellaneous: Cigar store | 1 |  | Cigar store | 1 |  |
| Dry goods store | 1 | 2.25 | Bakery. | 1 | 3.00-4.00 |
| Theater...... |  | 5. 00 | Blacksmith | 1 | 3.50 |
| City water carrier.. Stone crusher..... |  | 3.84 4.50 | Railroad. | 1 | 4. 80 4.50 |
| Temperance drinks | 1 | 4.00 | Temperance drinks com- | 1 | 4.00 |
| Foundry ${ }^{\text {comp... }}$ |  |  | pany. | 1 | . 00 |
| Box factory. |  | 3.00-3.50 | Box factory. | 1 | 3.00-3.50 |
| Coffin factory |  | 2.50 | Pretzel bakery | 1 | 1. $25-1.50$ |
| Laundry.. |  | 3.00 | Upholsterer.. | 1 | 3. 00 |
| Teamster... | 1 1 | 6.25 2.00 | Teamster...... | 1 1 | 6.25 2.50 |
| Teamster's helper..... |  | No wage. | Teamster's helper. | 1 | No wage. |
| Barber.............. | 1 | 2.00 | ${ }^{\text {Barber... }}$ | 1 | 2.00 |
| Baren. | 1 | 3.00-4.00 | Baker... | 1 | 3.00-4.00 |
| Tinsmith. | 1 | 3.00 | Tinsmith | 1 | 3. 00 |
| Florist. | 1 | 3.50 | Mining. ..... | 1 | 3.00-8.80 |
| Total. | 36 |  |  | 36 |  |

TABLE 85.-INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CHILDREN STUDIED-Concluded.
HAZLETON, PA.-Concluded.

a Not reported.
Four girls, one each in Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Columbus, and Hazleton, never did anything but housework at home.

The textile industries, as would be expected, received a larger number of the children than any other one industry, except in the case of Plymouth boys and Hazleton girls and boys. A majority of the whole number entered the textile industries in the case of Pawtucket girls, Woonsocket boys and girls, Columbus girls, Georgia and Alabama boys and girls, Columbia boys and girls, and Plymouth girls. The boys in Plymouth entered the mining industry for the most part, going into the breakers to pick slate. In Hazleton the industries were much diversified, 13.9 per cent of the boys going into the mining industry, no other industry having as large a per cent, and 68 per cent of the girls being divided nearly equally between the shirt factory and the textile mills.

Taking all places together, a great number of industries were represented. The 353 boys entered 107 different industries, while 265 girls (omitting the four who had done only housework at home) entered 47 industries. A larger proportion of the children entered the textile trades than any other, 55.6 per cent of the whole group having been first employed in them. The movement in and out of these occupations is rather curious. Taking all places together we have the following figures for the textile trades:

TABLE 86.-CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

| Sex. | Entered textile trades as first industry. | Remained in textile trades. | Came in textile trades from other trades. | Enrolled <br> in textile trades at time of visit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys. | 164 | 142 | 19 | 161 |
| Girls. | 182 | 174 | 17 | 191 |
| Total. | 346 | 316 | 36 | 352 |

It will be noticed that only 30 of those beginning in these trades had left them, and that their places were more than taken by 36 who came in from other kinds of work. A somewhat similar situation is found among the Plymouth and Hazleton boys, where 38 began work in mines, 31 remained, and 9 came in from other trades, so that at the time of the investigation the industry enrolled two more children than had begun in it, but no other occupation shows this state of affairs.

The above summary also shows that the girls were more apt than the boys to begin in the textile trades and having entered them were disposed to stay there; 67.6 per cent of the girls, as against 46.4 of the boys made their entrance upon the industrial world via these trades, and 71 per cent of the girls and 45.6 per cent of the boys were found in them at the time of the investigation. This difference is partly explicable by the relative wages to be gained in the textile and nontextile industries. The following tables give first the initial wages for the two groups and secondly the latest wages of the 14 and 15 year old children in the two:

TABLE 87.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN TEXTILE AND NONTEXTILE ESTABLISHMENTS AND AVERAGE FIRST WAGES, BY SEX AND LOCALITY.
[Children who were not receiving wages, or whose wages could not be ascertained, are omitted.]

| Locality. | Boys. |  |  |  | Girls. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Textile. |  | Nontextile. |  | Textile. |  | Nontextile. |  |
|  | Number. | Average first wages. | Number. | Average first wages. | Number. | Average first wages. | Number. | Average first wages. |
| Pawtucket, R. I..... | 25 | \$5. 08 | 34 | \$4. 41 | 31 | \$4.38 | 12 | \$4.78 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.... | 46 | 4. 57 | 30 | 4. 55 | 63 | 3. 98 | 32 | 3. 50 |
| Columbus, Ga....... | 19 | 2.81 | 29 | 2.85 | 17 | 3.01 | 8 | 3.69 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties. | 33 | 3.48 | 6 | 2.52 | 21 | 2.96 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C....... | 23 | 2. 59 | 18 | 2.76 | 15 | 1. 65 | 6 | 2.83 |
| Plymouth, Pa........ | 14 | 3. 34 | 37 | 3.73 | 26 | 1.71 | 7 | 2.95 |
| Hazleton, Pa.......... | 4 | 2.19 | 31 | 3.47 | 8 | 2.88 | 15 | 1.75 |

rable 88.-NUMBER OF 14 AND 15 YEAR OLD CHILDREN IN TEXTILE AND NONTEXTILE ESTABLISHMENTS AND AVERAGE LATEST WAGES, BY SEX AND LOCALITY.
[Children who were not receiving wages, or whose wages could not be ascertained, are omitted.]

| Locality. | Boys. |  |  |  | Girls. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Textile. |  | Nontextile. |  | Textile, |  | Nontextile. |  |
|  | Number. | A verage latest wages. | Number. | Average latest wages. | Number. | A verage latest wages. | Number. | Average latest wages. |
| Pawtucket, R. I..... | 34 | \$5. 82 | 20 | \$5.17 | 32 | \$5.06 | 9 | \$4.59 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.... | 41 | 4.92 | 27 | 4.92 | 63 | 4.63 | 22 | 4.01 |
| Columbus, Ga........ | 5 | 5.70 | 18 | 5.25 | 8 | 5.90 | 7 | 3.93 |
| Georgia and Alabama countics. | 14 | 6.16 | 5 | 4.02 | 10 | 5.80 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C....... | 10 | 4.73 | 9 | 4.77 | 2 | 5.25 | 5 | 3. 70 |
| Plymouth, Pa......... | 6 | 3. 58 | 23 | 4.32 | 22 | 2.36 | 5 | 3. 53 |
| Hazleton, Pa.......... | 3 | 3.30 | 26 | 3.81 | 8 | 3.51 | 9 | 2.52 |

These tables show that in the matter of first wages there is very little difference between the textile and nontextile industries in the matter of initial wages for either boys or girls; but it also appears that the average wage a girl may hope to gain in the textile industries by the time she is 14 or 15 is on the whole considerably better than she can gain elsewhere, and that for boys this advantage in the textile trades is much less marked, if it exists at all. Of course, it must be borne in mind that the girls under discussion, who leave school usually at or before 14, with no special training and often behind the grade children of their age are expected to reach, furnish no ground for general statements concerning the work and wages of girls versus boys. Also, it must be remembered that the places studied were, for the most part, distinctly mill communities, in which there would naturally be more demand for girls in the textile industries than in the industrial world as a whole. Nevertheless, making all allowance for these conditions, the situation in regard to wages seems to explain very fully why the girls went into the textile trades more generally and kept in them more steadily than the boys.

## NUMBER AND KIND OF OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES.

A distinction is to be made between a change of position and a change of employers. If a child employed in one occupation changes or is transferred to another, he is described as having had two positions even though he remains in the same industry and the same establishment. If a child leaves a position for any other reason than idleness enforced by mill or factory, or temporary illness, even though he later returns to the same position, he is credited with two positions. For instance, in the southern communities it was not uncom-
mon for a child to leave work to attend school for a longer or shorter period; in such a case, even though he later went back to the identical work he had given up, he was classed as having had two positions. If, however, a child were kept out of work by a temporary illness, but returned to the same place as soon as he recovered, he was classed as having had only one position.

Different textile industries are considered as separate industries; for instance, a cotton mill and a knitting mill are not considered as belonging to the same industry. But webbing is classed with cotton and woolen and worsted are classed together.

Table 89, showing the changes of employers, and Table 90, showing changes from one industry to another, need to be considered together.

TAble 89.-NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS OF CHILDREN STUDIED.

| Locality. | Chil- <br> dren <br> work- <br> ing for <br> wages <br> at any <br> time. | Children unemployed at date of visit. |  | Changes of employers. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Total report-number of emers. | Per cent of children who have been with- |  |  |  | Average number of positions. |  |
|  |  | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { One } \\ \text { em- } \\ \text { ployer. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Two } \\ \text { employ- } \\ \text { ers. } \end{gathered}$ | Three employers. | Four or more em-ployers. |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 43 | 7 | 11.9 | ${ }_{43}^{59}$ | 47.4 65.1 | 39.0 27.9 | 7.1 | 8.5 | 1.9 | 7.7 6.0 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.: | 76 | 13 | 17.1 | 76 |  | 23.7 | 2.6 |  |  |  |
| Girls. | 95 | 12 | 12.6 | 94 | 68.1 | 29.8 | 2.1 |  | . 5 | 7.9 |
| Columbus, Ga.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 50 | 13 | 26.0 | 50 | 56.0 | 24.0 | 16.0 | 4.0 | 2.3 | 16.6 |
| Girls. | 25 | 8 | 32.0 | 24 | 75.0 | 20.8 |  | 4.2 | 1.5 | 12.3 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. | 39 | 4 | 10.3 | 39 | 76.9 | 7.7 | 5.1 | 10.3 | 2.6 | 31.5 |
| Girls. | 21 | 4 | 19.0 | 21 | 61.9 | 28.5 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 2.0 | 15.5 |
| umbia, S. C.: <br> Boys. | 41 | 9 | 22.0 | 41 | 56.1 | 22.0 | 14.6 | 7.3 | 2.5 | 31.9 |
| Girls. | 21 | 3 | 14.3 | 21 | 90.5 | 9.5 |  |  | 1.9 | 18.0 |
| Plymouth, Pa.: Boys.. | 51 | 10 | 19.6 | 51 | 72.6 | 17.6 | 9.8 |  | 1.5 | 11.8 |
| Girls. | 33 | 6 | 18.2 | 33 | 72.7 | 24.3 | 3.0 |  | 1.5 | 11.9 |
| Hazleton, Pa .: Boys...... | 35 | 5 | 14.3 | 35 | 54.3 | 34.3 | 11.4 |  | 1.7 | 11.0 |
| Girls | 24 | 2 | 8.3 | 24 | 66.7 | 29.2 | 4.1 |  | 1.4 | 12.1 |
| Total: Boys. | 351 | 61 | 17.4 | 351 | 62.1 | 24.5 | 8.6 | 4.8 | 2.0 | 13.7 |
| Girls | 262 | 37 | 14.1 | 260 | 70.0 | 26.2 | 3.1 | . 7 | 1.5 | 10.2 |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 102 | 9 | 8.8 | 102 | 54.9 | 34.3 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 1.7 | 7.0 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 171 | 25 | 14.6 | 170 | 68.8 | 27.1 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 7.8 |
| Columbus, Ga... | 75 | 21 | 28.0 | 74 | 62.2 | 23.0 | 10.8 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 15.2 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties. | 60 | 8 | 13.3 | 60 | 71.7 | 15.0 | 5.0 | 8.3 | 2.4 | 25.9 |
| Columbia, S. C | 62 | 12 | 19.4 | 62 | 67.8 | 17.7 | 9.7 | 4.8 | 2.3 | 27.2 |
| Plymouth, Pa | 84 | 16 | 19.0 | 84 | 72.6 | 20.2 | 7.2 |  | 1.5 | 11.8 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 59 | 7 | 11.9 | 59 | 59.3 | 32.2 | 8.5 |  | 1.6 | 11.4 |
| Total. | 613 | 98 | 16.0 | 611 | 65.5 | 25.2 | 6.2 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 12.2 |

TAble 90.-CHANGES OF EMPLOYMENT IN RELATION TO WAGES.

| Locality. | Children working for wages at any time. | Children changing employers. | Total changes of em-ployers. | Changes to different industry. |  | Changes to different establishment in the same in dustry. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Per cent of total changes. | Per cent accompanied by Increase of wages. | Per cent of total changes. | Per cent accomranied by increase of wages. |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. | 59 | 31 | 48 | 93.7 | 64.4 | 6.3 |  |
| Giris. | 43 | 15 | 18 | 77.8 | 78.6 | 22.2 | 75.0 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.: Boys........ | 76 | 23 | 37 | 62.2 | 43.5 | 37.8 | 35.7 |
| Girls. | 95 | 31 | 35 | 82.9 | 69.0 | 17.1 | 100.0 |
| Columbus, Ga.: |  |  |  |  |  | 17.1 | 100.0 |
| Boys.. | 50 | 22 | 40 | 82.5 | 45.5 | 17.5 | 28.6 |
| Girls........................ | 25 | 7 | 9 | 77.8 | 28.6 | 22.2 | 50.0 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties: Boys. | 39 | 8 | 26 | 61.5 | 62.8 | 38.5 | 60.0 |
| Girls. | 21 | 8 | 11 | 63.6 | 85.7 | 36.4 | 75.0 |
| Columbia, S. C.: Boys....... | 41 | 18 | 31 | 90.3 | 50.0 | 9.7 | 66.7 |
| Girls. | 21 |  | 2 |  |  | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Plymouth, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys.. | 51 | 14 | 19 | 68.4 | 46.2 | 31.6 | 66.7 |
| Girls. | 33 | 9 | 10 | 90.0 | 66.7 | 10.0 |  |
| Hazleton, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 35 | 16 | 23 | 100.0 | 43.5 |  |  |
| Girls | 24 | 8 | 9 | 77.8 | 71.4 | 22.2 | 50.0 |
| Total: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys. | 351 | 133 | 224 | 80.8 | 51.9 | 19.2 | 44.2 |
|  | 262 | 80 | 94 | 77.7 | 68.5 | 22.3 | 80.0 |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 102 |  | 66 | 89.4 |  |  |  |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | 171 | 54 | 72 | 72.2 | 57.7 | 27.8 | 55.4 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 75 | 29 | 49 | a 81.6 | 642.5 | c 18.4 | d 33.3 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties.. | 60 | 17 | 37 | a 62.2 | b 69.6 | c 37.8 | d 64.3 |
| Columbia, S. C.................. | 62 | 20 | 33 | 84.8 | 50.0 | 15.2 | 80.0 |
| Plymouth, P'a. | 84 | 23 | 29 | 75.9 | 54.5 | 24.1 | 66.7 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 59 | 24 | 32 | 93.8 | 50.0 | 6.2 | 50.0 |
| Total. | 613 | 213 | 318 | 79.9 | 56.7 | 20.1 | 55.6 |

a Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and Alabama countles combined, 73.3.
${ }^{b}$ Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and Alabama counties combined, 52.4.
c Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and Alabama counties combined, 26.7.
d Columbus, Ga., and Georgia and Alabama counties combined, 52.2.
From Table 89 it appears that more than half of the children (62.1 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls) had never changed employers, a trifle over one-fourth had had two employers, and 9.3 per cent had had more than two. The average number of positions held by the boys varied from 1.5 in Woonsocket and in Plymouth to 2.6 in Georgia and Alabama, while for girls the variation was from 1.4 in Woonsocket and Hazleton to 2 in Georgia and Alabama counties. The largest per cent of children with one employer is 72.6 per cent in Plymouth, the next is 71.7 per cent in Georgia and Alabama-although the highest average number of positions was held in Georgia and Alabama (explained by alternation of school and work).

The smallest per cent of children with one employer is 54.9 in Pawtucket, though the average length of time since beginning work is shortest there also.

Two hundred and thirteen children made 318 changes of employer. Of these 318 changes 254 , or 79.9 per cent, were to a different industry (from 62.2 in Georgia and Alabama to 93.8 in Hazleton), and 64, or 20.1 per cent, were to a different establishment in the same industry. More than half of these changes- 56.7 per cent of those to a different industry and 55.6 per cent of those to a different establish-ment-were accompanied by an increase of wages.

There is a certain tacit business maxim that if you change your position without bettering yourself you are "unstable," but if you better yourself in changing you are enterprising and progressive. According to this standard more than half of the children who changed either industry or establishment were enterprising and progressive. One of the employers himself, the superintendent of a bobbin shop, admitting that the children often did well to change, said of his own establishment:

Only the men came into it who were unable or too lazy to do anything else. The work is purely mechanical and easy, but they would rather work half as much here as in a mill and earn half as much. Very few young boys are employed, and if these are the right sort they seldom stay. There is no reason why they should, as the industry offers nothing. The employees are largely Polish, and as soon as they learn the language a bit and the ways of the country they leave for something better. It is no great disadvantage to the employer either to be thus constantly changing help, as no time is required for them to learn. They are simply shown once for all.

This point seemed of sufficient importance to deserve further consideration, so Table 91 was constructed, to show whether or not the children remaining steadily with the same employer had as good a chance of receiving an increase of wages as those who changed. Theoretically the child who sticks to his job should have a better opportunity for getting on than he who changes from employer to employer and even from industry to industry. But has he?

Table 91.-COMPARISON OF FIRST AND PRESENT WAGES OF SCHEDULE CHILDREN.

a Not including 1 whose number of employers was not given, but who was raised in wages.
In the foregoing table we have a comparison between the proportion of children who have remained with a single employer and the proportion who have received increased wages. The results are rather surprising. In Pawtucket, for instance, 47.4 per cent of the boys have remained with one employer, while 52.6 per cent have changed at least once. If the chances of advancement are equal, the boys with one employer and the boys with two or more should appear in these same relative proportions among the boys who have had an increase of wages, but so far is this from being the case that the boys, with one employer furnish only 20 per cent of those whose wages have been raised. In other words, the group containing over two-fifths of the schedule boys of Pawtucket fur-
nishes only one-fifth of those whose position has been improved financially. The disparity is not so great in all places, but in no single instance, as far as the experiences of these children are concerned, did those who remained with the same employer have as good a chance of securing increased wages as those who changed. No satisfactory explanation of this fact could be secured. The element of time seems to play a certain part here, as the percentage of those remaining with one employer who receive an increase of wages comes nearest the proportionate figure among the boys of Columbia and of Georgia and Alabama, the two groups for whom the average length of time since beginning work is much greater than elsewhere; but even here the due proportion is not attained. The desirability of maintaining satisfaction among the workers may also furnish a partial explanation of the anomaly. A bright industrious boy may soon become worth more to his first employer than the wages he first receives, but if his wages are raised it may cause jealousy and charges of favoritism among his fellows who have been working as long or longer than he. If, however, he goes to a new employer, the difficulty does not arise, since he comes in from the start as a better-grade worker, drawing correspondingly better wages. On the other hand, a change of employers does not always mean improved conditions, as shown by the fact that more than four-fifths of the small number whose last wages were less than their first had had more than one employer.

A further question naturally arises. In changing from one occupation to another, did the children generally make a fundamental improvement in their position? Did they change to a higher-grade industry than the one they had entered? The following table shows the facts in regard to this:

TABLE 92.-RELATION OF PRESENT INDUSTRY GROUP TO THE ONE FIRST ENTERED, FOR CHILDREN IN ALL LOCALI'TIES COMBINED.

| Industry group entered. | Industry group now in. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A. | B. | c. | D. | Total. |
| Boys: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Group A.. | 1 | 7 |  |  |  |
| Group C.. |  |  | 23 | 2 | 25 |
| Group D.. |  | 6 | 20 | 290 |  |
| Total. | 1 | 13 | 45 | 294 | 353 |
| Girls, Group D. |  |  |  | 269 | 269 |

PER CENT OF CHILDREN IN SAME INDUSTRY GROUP AS AND IN A HIGHER AND IN A LOWER INDUSTRY GROUP THAN THE ONE FIRST ENTERED.

|  | Pawtucket and Woonsocket, K. I. |  | Columbus, Ga., Georgia and Alabama counties. and Columbia, S. C. |  | Plymouth and Hazleton, Pa. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. |
| Per cent in same industry group as the one entered | 9433 | 100 | 89.39.9.8 | 100 | 88.5 | 100 |
| Per cent in higher industry group than the one entered. |  |  |  |  | 10.3 |  |
| Per cent in lower industry group than the one entered |  |  |  |  | 1.2 |  |

It will be remembered that all the industries followed by the children were divided into four groups, according to the range of wiges in each. This table shows that among the girls there was absolutely no passing from one group to another; in the lowest group they began and in the lowest group they stayed, apparently with little prospect of ever going higher. Among the boys there was a slight movement, the proportion of those rising to a higher group exceeding the proportion of those sinking to a lower, but the numbers concerned are too small to have much indicative value.

## REASONS FOR CHOOSING PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT.

The first place of employment was with nearly two-thirds of the children the only place held so far, 398 out of the 611 children reporting on this point having had only one employer. The reasons for choosing the first place of employment, therefore, are of greater consequence than the reasons for choosing the last place. Out of the 622 children, 550 exercised no more choice than is implied in the following reasons:
Worked for parents or relatives, or at home ..... a 29
Took first place offered ..... 313
Went where friends or relatives worked ..... 192
Took something near home ..... 16
Total (88.7 per cent) ..... 550
For the 72 children remaining the reasons were as follows:
Wanted to learn trade or skilled occupation ..... 27
Attracted by high wages ..... 11
Attracted by desirable work ..... 31
Set up in grocery business by father ..... 1
Total (11.3 per cent) ..... 70
Reason not reported ..... 2

It will be noticed that very nearly nine-tenths of the chiddren exercised practically no discrimination, drifting into whatever came handiest with little consideration of their fitness for the work, the chances of advancement, etc.

One or two typical cases will show the incidental way in which these children enter an industry-they can not be said to choose one.

Boy met with an accident, was laid up for weeks, and his treatment involved a heavy doctor's bill. His mother was badly worried over this bill, a fact of which the boy was well aware. One day after he was able to be about, but before he had returned to school, he saw a sign of "Boy wanted" in a window. He applied for the position, got it and went to work as telegraph messenger. The people in the office are interested in him, but say that though he is a bright boy there is no chance for him to become anything but a messenger there.

Girl of 14, in grade 7, was large and stout, and other children teased her about her size. Left to take a place because she thought she might get thin working in a factory.

Boy, 14, quick and bright, in grade 9, wanted to be an electrician. Saw no chance of accomplishing this, so hearing of a good paying position in a rubber factory, secured it and has held it since.

Turning to those who exercised some choice, the relative weight of the different reasons assigned is interesting. Those "attracted by desirable work" represent the children who had an inclination for some kind of work strong enough to make them seek it, ${ }^{a}$ and to their number may well be added the one whose father set him up in business for himself. A desire to learn a trade, then, accounts for more than one-third ( 38.6 per cent), taste or inclination for 45.7 per cent, while the immediate prospect of high wages influenced but 15.7 per cent.

Of the 213 children who had changed their employers once or oftener, reports were secured from 204 as to the reasons governing the choice of the last place held. Arranging these in two groups according to whether or not any particular choice was exercised in the matter we have the following reasons for choosing latest place of employment:
To help in parent's or relative's business or at home ..... 8
Took first place offered. ..... 83
Went where friends or relatives worked. ..... 21
Took something near home. ..... 7
Yielded to company pressure ..... 11
Total (63.7 per cent) ..... 130

[^34]For the 74 children who exercised their own choice the reasons were as follows:
Wanted to learn trade or skilled occupation.................................................. 16
Attracted by higher wages........................................................................... 32
Attracted by desirable work. .................................................................... 26
Total ( 36.3 per cent)................................................................... 74
As might have been expected, the element of deliberate choice plays proportionately a much larger part in the selection of the latest occupation than of the first. The comparative weight of the reasons assigned, however, varies considerably. The desire to learn a trade has fallen from 38.6 per cent to 21.6 per cent, taste or inclination accounts for 35.1 per cent, as against 45.7 per cent, while higher wages shows 43.2 per cent, against 15.7 per cent in the earlier choice.

The really striking feature, however, is the large proportion shown who change their work as thoughtlessly as they entered it in the first place. It is true that, as shown by earlier tables, a child who changes his employer has a better chance of securing higher wages than one who remains in the same place, but many of the changes have no such justifying reason behind them. A few typical cases may be cited as showing the casual manner in which some of the children drift about:

Pawtucket.-Boy, 14 years; French parentage, born in United States; grade 5; capacity bright; scholarship above average.

1. Putting nuts on bolts, bolt shop, $\$ 5$; left because work was too dirty.
2. Machine operator, toy factory, $\$ 5$; left because could get better pay.
3. Helper, tap and die, $\$ 7$; left because boss died and new boss wanted to put a friend of his in boy's place.
4. Boss doffer, cotton mill, $\$ 6$; left to be where his sisters were, thought he would have better show there.
5. General helper, woolen mill, \$5.75.

Woonsocket.-Boy, 15 years; French parentage, born in Canada, ten years in United States; grade 5, in Connecticut schools.

1. Weaver, cotton, $\$ 3$, Massachusetts; left because moved from town.
2. Weaver, cotton, $\$ 7$; left because moved again.
3. Weaver, cotton, $\$ 4.50$; left because pay was too small.
4. Roper, worsted, $\$ 3.50$; left because work too hard and pay too small.
5. Roper, worsted, $\$ 3.50,6.30 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. to 5.30 a. m.; truant officer made him leave because he was working under age at night.
6. Spinner, woolen, $\$ 5.60$; left to get more pay.
7. Roper, worsted, $\$ 4.50$; manager of woolen mills asked him to return.
8. Spinner, woolen, $\$ 3.60$; left because too ill to work.

Plymouth.-Boy, worked as breaker boy, $\$ 3.90$; left to go to school; breaker boy again, $\$ 4.50$; left to get better wages as coal washer, $\$ 5.70$; then worked as setter-on in stocking mill, but did not like the work and left to work in machine shop, $\$ 4$.

## OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN A TIRADE.

There was a pretty general agreement that it was difficult for a boy to secure a chance to learn a trade. The school superintendents of the cities visited were practically unanimous in declaring that such opportunities were few. One of the employers in Pawtucket, the manager of a finishing mill, said in regard to the skilled trades represented in his works, such as engraving and printing, that there was little opportunity for a boy with no influence to learn them there. The unions allow only one or two apprentices to a shop in each trade; and these chances are usually taken by the sons of the foremen or other men already in the union. As it takes about seven or nine years to learn the engraver's trade, and several years to learn printing, there are but few openings. He thought more boys would be glad to learn the trade if they could.

One of the agents thus reports concerning interviews in Plymouth homes:

In talking to the mothers about trying to get the boys into a place where they would have a chance to learn a trade they all laughed at my ignorance and said that it was impossible to get a boy into the one machine shop in the town or into a plumber's or any place else offering a chance to learn a trade, as such places were very few and there were always friends or relatives of the employer ready to step in when a vacancy occurred. Although Wilkes-Barre offered more opportunity in this line Plymouth children had no chance at all, for residents of Wilkes-Barre always had the preference.

In the few cases among children studied in which positions had been chosen because they offered a chance to learn a trade special inquiry was made as to how these openings were secured. In 16 cases it was found that children had relatives already in the trade they entered; in 13 cases they secured their chances through the influence of relatives not in the trade; in 10 instances through friends; and in 4 instances by their own efforts.

There is nothing in any of the cases considered to show that the children with neither friends nor relatives in a trade could not have secured a foothold in it had they tried. But there is much to indicate that unless they had some such connection with a trade or industry its opportunities and advantages were alike apt to remain unknown to them. Nothing served to suggest to a child the desirability of learning a trade or entering an industry in which he would have a chance of rising, so he took the first thing which came to hand. Apparently among the children studied it was not so much influence as information which was needed.

The experiences of some of the elder children in the families visited throw additional light on the opportunities open to ambitious boys:

Pautucket.-Oldest brother, 17 years old, is learning the toolmaker's trade. He has to serve as apprentice for three years. The first year
he gets $\$ 3.60$, the second $\$ 4.80$, and the third $\$ 6$ per week. After that he can earn up to $\$ 3$ or $\$ 4$ per day, according to his skill. Has always liked mechanical work, so went in to learn even if he had low pay at first.

Pawtucket.-Sister, 21 years old, went in jeweler's shop as "spare hand" doing errands and odd jobs until, through observation, "constant watching of the bracelet makers," she was considered competent to be put on as a bracelet maker. Had no trade, but picked up knowledge of the work. Now makes $\$ 18$ a week.

Pawtucket.-The two oldest children learned their "trade" (weaving) by having a member of their family in the place where they went to work. Their mother was a skilled weaver and taught them both, which was a great advantage to them.

The same is true of William, who went into the weaving room where his brother and sister are, through their influence, and will, if he stays, be taught weaving, and loom fixing by them. These positions could not be obtained except by some such influence.

Woonsocket.-The operator in a small telegraph office said perhaps she would teach the one messenger boy something about telegraphy if he wanted to learn. He has nothing to do most of the time, and this boy reads a good deal. The boys never stay long, as there is absolutely no opening for them, and the pay is small, about $\$ 3.10$.

These examples, selected at random, serve as illustrations of what has come to be recognized as the prevailing accidental or incidental method of acquiring an industrial vocation in this country. This investigation but emphasizes the lack of opportunities for industrial training which has been indicated by every study yet made of the actual needs of the great body of working children-a need which is already recognized and provided for abroad, and which in our own country is pressing insistently for attention.

## ambitions of children and of their parents for them.

Since the children themselves who go to work at an early age have so large a share in the decisions affecting themselves, and since their ambitions and tastes, as well as their attitude toward school (which depends to a great extent upon their ambitions and tastes) must powerfully affect many of these decisions, it becomes a matter of importance to study what is going on within their minds. We want to know what interests them, what arouses their ambitions, what opportunities they have to realize wholesome aspirations, and what they do with their leisure. At the time when a boy's education ceases and he enters the world of wage-earners it is decidedly important that he should have some ambition and that this should be so related to his capacity and environment as to be capable of realization. If he is, as a ru'. , without ambition, something is wrong with the training he has received; if his ambition is, as a rule, one that can not be realized, something is wrong either with the training which leads him to form it or with the environment which prevents him from attaining it. What, then, is the actual situation as to the ambitions which these

It was found, as might have been expected, that in a large number of cases, neither children nor parents had any definite ambition. To both it seemed the natural thing for the child to go to work as soon as the law allowed, and as for what was to come after that time would show. Some, however, were found who took a more purposeful view of the situation. The parents of 155 boys and of 116 girls had definite ambitions ${ }^{a}$ for their children, while 185 of the boys and 120 of the girls had definite ambitions for themselves. Naturally these ambitions covered a wide field, ranging on the part of the parents from a miner to a priest, and on the part of the boys from being a jockey to entering a profession. Among the girls the desired careers ranged from domestic service to the stage and the convent.

While no specific occupation, trade, or profession could be said to be a prevailing or even a general object of ambition, there was, however, a strong tendency in the direction of skilled manual trades, among which, for the boys, that of machinist is most often mentioned (31 times in all) and that of carpenter next (mentioned 16 times). For girls, dressmaking and millinery lead, followed by clerical work.

It is interesting to trace certain connections between the leading ambitions and the environment of the children. For example, in Pawtucket the occupation of draftsman, considering both parents and children, seemed to be the most attractive; and with that one naturally connects the fact that drawing in the public schools of Pawtucket is uncommonly well conducted and that there is, besides, and has been for years, an excellent evening drawing school which prepares pupils to become draftsmen.

In Columbus there are iron works in which a boy may start at 14 and learn the machinist's trade, and the machinist's trade among boys and their parents in Columbus and environs enjoys a higher degree of popularity than any other trade in any other locality.

Columbia is a great railroad center and a large proportion of the children lived near railroad tracks and switches. As a result 8 out of the 27 boys having definite ambitions wanted to be engineers or "something on the train."

In the mining town of Plymouth 4 boys wanted to be miners, but only one of the parents wanted his boy to be a miner.

It is rather a noteworthy fact that out of the 155 parents having definite ambitions for their sons but 23 , or 14.8 per cent, wished them to follow the father's occupation, the great majority preferring that they should enter some occupation the parents considered better.

[^35]In view of the independent fashion in which the children seemed to select their own occupation and drift about according to their own plans or lack of plans, it is rather surprising to see how closely the parents' attitude in this matter is approached by the children's. Out of 185 boys having definite ambitions for themselves, $24,{ }^{\text {a }}$ or 13 per cent, wished to follow their father's occupations, while the remainder desired a different pursuit. Among the parents it by no means followed that because a man had a good trade himself he wished his son to follow it; he seemed quite as likely to want the boy to take up something else. Thus a steamfitter wanted his son to be a draftsman, a miner planned to make his boy an electrician, a photographer wished his son to become a machinist, and so on. With the girls, of course, the question could hardly arise, unless we regard it as having been negatively answered by the four mothers who, when asked their ambition for their daughters, expressed an earnest hope that they might never marry.

A much more important question is to what extent the work the children are now actually doing is in the line of their ambition and that of their parents for them. Almost precisely one-fourth (39) of the parents having definite ambitions for their sons were satisfied with the openings presented by the work in which the boys were already engaged. They (the boys) were in establishments where they had a chance to work up and learn the trade or get into the occupation the parents desired for them, but in the remaining three-fourths of the cases there was no such opportunity. From the boys' standpoint the situation is a little, but only a little, better; 56, or 30.4 per cent, of the boys having definite ambitions for themselves were ambitious along the line of the work they were already in, and therefore had the hope of realizing their aims. This means that in more than two-thirds of the cases where the boys are intelligent enough to have a definition ambition, the work they are doing is in no way related to that ambition and affords no possible opportunity of furthering it. Sometimes the contrast between the work and the ambition would be grotesque if it were not pitiful. Thus a German of 15 , who wants to be a wood turner, is working as a cleaner in a cotton mill; a would-be plumber of 15 is an errand boy in a worsted mill; a weaver of 14 "hates the mill and wants to be a farmer;" and a 15 -year old door tender in a mine, working in solitude and darkness at as uninteresting and purely mechanical a task as the mind of man can conceive, longs to be an electrician. Among the girls there is even less connection between occupation and ambition. In 17 of the 120 cases in which girls had definite ambitions, their work gave them the openings needed for gratifying it, but in 103 cases ( 85.8

[^36]per cent) the work offered no possible chance for furthering the ambition.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the waste involved in this wide gulf between work and ambition. More is involved than merely waste of time, though that is bad enough. Ambition if balked at the critical age is likely to be dulled, if not altogether destroyed, and no one who thinks at all can fail to recognize the vital importance of ambition and interest as factors in industrial productivity.

It is sufficiently apparent that the attitude of the children studied displays as a whole an unfortunate lack of purposeful planning. It is not only that they drift into and out of one occupation after another as chance or convenience dictates, but in a large number of cases they have not even a clear idea of what they would like to be if opportunity permitted. Barely half of the boys and less than half of the girls had given the matter sufficient thought to have a definite ambition.

A question naturally arises as to whether any connection can be traced between the children's school life and their ambition or lack of it. To test this, they were divided into two groups, according to whether or not they had completed at least half of the elementary course. In the four northern places, all having nine grades, the dividing line falls between the fourth and fifth grade, but in the southern, having but seven, between the third and fourth. Making this division, the results for all places stand thus:

Table 93.-AMBITIONS OF CHILDREN WHO HAD AND WHO HAD NOT COMPLETED ONE-HALF ELEMENTARY COURSE, BY SEX.


[^37]It is at once evident that a considerably larger proportion of those above the dividing line have definite ambitions than of those below it, while those having indefinite ambitions are relatively rare in the upper grades. The difference is proportionately more marked among the girls than the boys. As stated before there was no noticeable difference between the capacity of the children in the
lower and higher grades, so the more definite ambitions can not be assigned to that cause. Increased age doubtless has something to do with it, but it will be remembered that the connection between age and grade was not very close. Moreover, the largest relative proportion of boys having definite ambitions is found in the cities of Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Hazleton, where the age difference in the grades is least. There seems ground for claiming, then, that the schools have had considerable effect in giving the pupils a definite aim in life.

How many of these children are striving to realize their ambitions by the use they make of their leisure time? Very few; two or three in a place may be found who are working intelligently toward the accomplishment of their ideals, but they are the exceptions. An inquiry into ways of spending leisure brought forth a wide variety of responses, ranging from the pitifully overworked little people whose one desire was to get to bed, through the many who spend it in the natural varieties of home work and play and outside amusements, up to the few who studied or worked for a definite purpose. Reports on the matter were obtained from 351 boys and 269 girls. Among the boys 12.8 per cent and among the girls 18.6 per cent appear to have no pleasures at all. The following reports present some of these cases:

Girl, aged 15. "Is too beat out for to be amused when she gets home after her day," so helps at home. Washes on Saturday and does the ironing nights "to keep her busy." Has grown weaker and paler since she began work. Her ambition is "to get to bed as fast as she can, and hopes she will die soon." (Girl works in laundry.)

Boy, aged 10. Goes to bed as soon as he gets something to eat. Child said he did not know how to play : just sat still and whittled a stick.

Boy, aged 11. Just sleeps. Is very tired every night when he comes home from work and goes right to bed. (Boy is nipper in a coal mine.)

Naturally, with children as exhausted as these, opportunities, industrial or otherwise, for evening instruction would be of no possible use. But these cases were exceptional. Among the others, 54 boys and 21 girls were attending evening schools, and in addition 30 boys and 53 girls were taking either general studies or music at home. Reading, playing, helping about the house, going out to picture shows and theaters, hanging about the streets, etc., made up the list of evening occupations.

In Pawtucket and Woonsocket evening schools were maintained; in Columbus such schools had been discontınued the year in which the investigation was made, and in Columbia there was a night school in the Granby mill village. Apart from these there were no night schools.

In every family visited the question was put whether the child would go to an evening trade school, if one were started, and what it would wish to learn? One hundred and sixty-seven boys. (47.3 per cent) and 108 girls ( 40.2 per cent) were found who would.

Of the boys who said they would go, 71 did not know what trade they would wish to learn. The others grouped themselves as follows:
Carpenter ..... 30
Machinist ..... 22
Draftsman ..... 9
Electrician ..... 9
Scattering. ..... 26

Evidently a school which would teach carpentry and the machinist's trade, with draftsmanship and practical electrical work, would meet the demands of nearly half the boys who say they would attend an evening trade school. What it would do in the way of attracting other boys, showing them the possibility of industrial advancement and rousing their desire to get into something better than the unskilled occupations they are so largely following can only be conjectured. But such a school does not seem beyond the limits of possibility for any prosperous community of 25,000 or over.

Of the 108 girls who said they would go, 24 did not know what trade they would wish to learn. The inclinations of the rest were assorted as follows:


## EFFECT OF WORK ON HEALTH AND MORALS OF CHILDREN.

Unfortunately no satisfactory investigation could be made on these points, each of which would have required considerable research by specially qualified investigators in order to reach reliable conclusions. However, the parents were questioned on each particular and the results are given for what they are worth. It must be remembered, however, that the children had hardly been at work long enough for the effects of their occupation, if any there were, to have become apparent.

In regard to health the parents in general had not observed any particular effect. In 560 cases they thought that the health of the children had remained unchanged, in 35 that it had improved, and in 27 that it had grown worse. In 10 cases, in which children were reported to have improved, they had been just recovering from an illness or operation at the time they went to work, so that there would probably have been an improvement in their health, no matter what they had done. This leaves 25 cases in which the parents thought the child's health had improved since he had gone to work, as against 27 in which the child was in worse health than when he
began. Eight of the latter were suffering from accidental circumstances not connected with their work or from prevalent children's diseases.

So far as the moral effects of working are concerned, the reports were very similar to those about the health. The majority of the children, according to the home statement, were good and well behaved, had always been so, and remained so after going to work. In 114 cases the parents had seen a change, in 16 instances for the worse, in 98 on the whole for the better. The good effects as described by the parents were shown by the children developing a greater sense of responsibility and more manliness, becoming steadier, and being more manageable. Whether these results were due to their work, or were part of the change which might naturally be expected at the age which most of these children had reached, the parents were not prepared to say. The children displaying them were found in all sorts and varieties of occupations, from picking slate to selling shoes, while the length of time during which they had been at work ranged from less than a week to nearly a year.

## COMPARISON BETWEEN CHILDREN STUDIED AND OTHER WAGEEARNING MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES.

Inquiries concerning the other members of the families studied were made with a double purpose; first, to see whether the group of children studied were beginning their industrial life under more or less favorable conditions than their relatives had done, and, secondly, to see what chance of rising in life the children might have, judging by the experience of their elders. This inquiry had two weak points. It was usually necessary to obtain the required information from one member of the family whose recollections concerning details of school attendance, age at beginning work, kind of work first undertaken, and so on for people who went to work ten, twenty, or more years ago might naturally be somewhat uncertain. Moreover, there was no method of verifying the statements thus made. It was impossible to consult school records concerning these other members, visit school-teachers, and interview employers, as was done in the case of the children studied, so that the recollections of the mother, sister, or other relative interviewed had to stand unsupported.

For the workers under 25, however, it was felt that the chances of error were less, while, at the same time, they afforded material for a more valid comparison with the schedule children. To compare the conditions under which a child of 14 goes to work to-day with those under which his father began, forty or fifty years ago, may give an interesting measure of the world's progress, but shows little about present-day tendencies. But a comparison between the conditions under which this child is beginning and those under which
his brother began ten years ago may give a clear indication of the forces at work and the direction in which we are moving now. Accordingly, the comparison is in the main between the children and the other wage-earners of the children's families who had not at the time of this inquiry reached 25 years of age.

The most important difference shown by this comparison was the variation in age at beginning work. It will be remembered that only those children who left school before reaching 16 were taken for schedules. In order to make the two groups comparable, the other wage-earners under 25 in these same families who remained in school till or after reaching 16 were omitted from consideration. Those who had left home were also omitted, since it was too uncertain whether full information was obtained about these. This left a group of something over 800 wage-earners, all under 25 , in the families of the schedule children who might fairly be compared with them.

Table 94 shows the age at beginning work of these other wageearners as compared with the age at which the schedule children began.
Table 94.-AGE AT BEGINNING WORK OF SCHEDULE CHILDREN AND OTHER WAGEEARNERS COMPARED.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Age at beginning work. | Males. |  |  |  | Females. |  |  |  | Total. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Other wageearners under 25. |  | Schedule boys. |  | Other wageearners under 25 |  | Schedule girls. |  | Other wageearners under 25. |  | Schedule children. |  |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | Num- | $\begin{array}{\|c} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Num- } \\ \text { ber. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Number. | Per cent. |
| 10 years. |  |  |  | .... | 1 | 1.4 |  |  | 1 | 0.6 |  |  |
| 11 years. | 2 | 2.3 |  |  | 2 | 2.8 |  |  | 4 | 2.5 |  |  |
| 12 years. | 10 | 11.4 | 2 | 3.4 | 8 | 11.1 |  |  | 18 | 11.2 | 2 | 1.9 |
| 13 years. | 20 | 22.7 |  | 5.1 | 18 | 25.0 | 3 | 6.8 | 38 | 23.8 | 6 | 5.9 |
| Total under 14 years | 32 | 36.4 | 5 | 8.5 | 29 | 40.3 | 3 | 6.8 | 61 | 38.1 | 8 | 7.8 |
| 14 years.................... | 32 | 36.4 | 39 | 66.1 | 19 | 26.4 | 35 | 79.6 | 51 | 31.9 | 74 | 71.8 |
| 15 years. | 21 | 23.8 | 14 | 23.7 | 18 | 25.0 | 6 | 13.6 | 39 | 24.4 | 20 | 19.4 |
| 16 years | , | 3.4 | 1 | 1.7 | 6 | 8.3 |  |  | 9 | 5.6 | , | 1.0 |
| Total, all ages. | 88 | 100.0 | 59 | 100.0 | 72 | 100.0 | 44 | 100.0 | 160 | 100.0 | 103 | 100.0 |

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| 8 years. | 1 | 0.6 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0.3 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 years. | 5 | 3.1 |  |  | 1 | 0.6 |  |  | 6 | 1.8 |  |  |
| 11 years. | 5 | 3.1 |  |  | 7 | 4.2 |  |  | 12 | 3.7 |  |  |
| 12 years. | 31 | 19.3 |  | 1.4 | 28 | 16.9 | 1 | 1.0 | 59 | 18.0 | 2 | 1.2 |
| 13 years. | 40 | 24.8 | 5 | 6.5 | 43 | 25.9 | 5 | 5.1 | 83 | 25.4 | 10 | 5.7 |
| Total under 14 years.. | 82 | 50.9 | 6 | 7.9 | 79 | 47.6 | 6 | 6.1 | 161 | 49.2 | 12 | 6.9 |
| 14 years.. | 50 | 31.1 | 57 | 75.0 | 56 | 33.7 | 76 | 77.6 | 106 | 32.5 | 133 | 76.5 |
| 15 years. | 28 | 17.4 | 13 | 17.1 | 27 | 16.3 | 13 | 13.3 | 55 | 16.8 | 26 | 14.9 |
| 16 years. | 1 | . 6 |  |  | 3 | 1.8 | 3 | 3.0 | 4 | 1.2 | 3 | 1.7 |
| Over 16 years. |  |  |  |  | 1 | . 6 |  |  | 1 | . 3 |  |  |
| Total, all ages. | 161 | 100.0 | 76 | 100.0 | 166 | 100.0 | $a 98$ | 100.0 | 327 | 100.0 | 174 | 100.0 |
| Not reported... |  |  |  |  | 3 |  |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |

Table 94.-AGE AT BEGINNING WORK OF SCHEDULE CHILDREN AND OTHER WAGEEARNERS COMPARED-Concluded.

COLUMBUS, GA., AND GEORGIA AND ALABAMA COUNTIES.


COLUMBIA, S. C.

| Under 6 years. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 4.8 |  |  | 1 | 1.6 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 years.. | 1 | 2.1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1.1 |  |  |
| 7 years. | 2 | 4.1 | 2 | 4.9 |  |  | 4 | 19.0 | 2 | 2.2 | 6 | 9.7 |
| 8 years. | 6 | 12.5 | 5 | 12.2 | 1 | 2.3 | 1 | 4.8 | 7 | 7.6 | 6 | 9.7 |
| 9 years. | 7 | 14.6 | 6 | 14.6 | 3 | 6.8 | 2 | 9.5 | 10 | 10.9 | 8 | 12.9 |
| 10 years. | 7 | 14.6 | 5 | 12.2 | 6 | 13.6 | 5 | 23.8 | 13 | 14.1 | 10 | 16.1 |
| 11 years. | 4 | 8.4 | 5 | 12.2 | 10 | 22.7 | 1 | 4.8 | 14 | 15.2 | 6 | 9.7 |
| 12 years. | 6 | 12.5 | 5 | 12.2 | 8 | 18.2 | 2 | 9.5 | 14 | 15.2 | 7 | 11.3 |
| 13 years. | 3 | 6.2 | 6 | 14.6 | 4 | 9.1 | 4 | 19.0 | 7 | 7.6 | 10 | 16.1 |
| Total under 14 years. . | 36 | 75.0 | 34 | 82.9 | 32 | 72.7 | 20 | 95.2 | 68 | 73.9 | 54 | 87.1 |
| 14 years. | 6 | 12.5 | 5 | 12.2 | 3 | 6.8 | 1 | 4.8 | 9 | 9.8 | 6 | 9.7 |
| 15 years. | 4 | 8.4 | , | 4.9 | 5 | 11.4 |  |  | 9 | 9.8 | 2 | 3.2 |
| 16 years. | 2 | 4.1 |  |  | 4 | 9.1 |  |  |  | 6.5 |  |  |
| Total, all ages | 48 | 100.0 | 41 | 100.0 | 44 | 100.0 | 21 | 100.0 | 92 | 100.0 | 62 | 100.0 |

PLYMOUTH AND HAZLETON, PA.

| 10 years. | 3 | 4.2 | 3 | 3.4 | 1 | 1.8 |  |  | 4 | 3.2 | 3 | 2.1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11 years. | 7 | 10.1 | 4 | 4.6 | 4 | 7.0 | 1 | 1.7 | 11 | 8.7 | 5 | 3.4 |
| 12 years. | 8 | 11.7 | 12 | 13.8 | 6 | 10.5 | 2 | 3. 5 | 14 | 11.1 | 14 | 9.7 |
| 13 years | 8 | 11.7 | 25 | 28.8 | 13 | 22.8 | 23 | 39.7 | 21 | 16.7 | 48 | 33.1 |
| Total under 14 years. . | 26 | 37.7 | 44 | 50.6 | 24 | 42.1 | 26 | 44.9 | 50 | 39.7 | 70 | 48.3 |
| 14 years. | 26 | 37.7 | 35 | 40.2 | 21 | 36.8 | 24 | 41.4 | 47 | 37.3 | 59 | 40.6 |
| 15 years. | 17 | 24.6 | 7 | 8.0 | 10 | 17.6 | 7 | 12.0 | 27 | 21.4 | 14 | 9.7 |
| 16 years. |  |  | 1 | 1.2 | 2 | 3.5 | 1 | 1.7 | 2 | 1.6 | 2 | 1.4 |
| Total, all ages. | 69 | 100.0 | 87 | 100.0 | 57 | 100.0 | 58 | 100.0 | 126 | 100.0 | 145 | 100.0 |

It will be noticed that there are two distinct tendencies visible; on the whole, the schedule children are going to work later in Rhode Island and earlier in the other communities than the other members of their families who began work within the last ten or fifteen years. In Pawtucket the percentage of "Other wage-earners" beginning work before reaching 14 is 38.1 , against 7.8 of the schedule children, or
nearly two-fifths as against less than two twenty-fifths. In Woonsocket the difference is even more marked, 49.2 per cent of the other wage-earners and only 6.9 per cent of the schedule children having begun work before 14. Most of this earlier work by other wageearners was entirely legal. Until within two years of the time this investigation was begun it was legal for a child to begin working in Rhode Island at 12, and it will be noticed that only 24 of these other workers began under that age. Most of these cases occurred among the French Canadians, who in their own country had been violating no law in letting their children go to work as early as they could find something for them to do. It is quite evident that either the law of 1905 or the public sentiment which demanded the law and which has since amended and strengthened it has had a marked effect in raising the age at beginning work.

The other communities all show a change in the other direction. In each and every one we find a larger proportion of schedule children than of other wage-earners beginning work under 14. There is a considerable difference, however, between the two Pennsylvania communities and the Georgia and South Carolina places. In Plymouth and Hazleton no children in either group began work under 10, and had we fixed upon any earlier age than 14 as the dividing line we should have found a larger proportion of other wage-earners than of schedule children beginning work below it. For instance, only 15.2 per cent of the schedule children began work under 13, as against 23 per cent of the other wage-earners. Fourteen is the legal age for beginning work in Pennsylvania, as in Rhode Island, but apparently the law was much less effectively enforced in the Keystone State than in the more northern community. A succeeding chapter, dealing with the child-labor laws of the different places studied, may show some reasons for this state of affairs.

In the two southern communities, on the other hand, children of both groups are found at work below 10 and even below 8 years of age, and at whatever age under 14 we might fix our dividing line we should still find a larger proportion of the schedule children than of the other wage-earners beginning work below it. As far as these families are concerned, there seems a marked tendency to set their children to work at increasingly early ages. The reason seems rather clearly indicated by the schedules. The older brothers and sisters perhaps grow up in the country or some small town where opportunities for employing children are few. Consequently they begin work late. Then the family moves to some mill town where there is a brisk demand for small help. Naturally the children are sent into the mill, and as the parents begin to realize that even the very little
ones can help, the age they consider proper for beginning work steadily falls. This tendency on their part meets with no outside check either from public opinion or the law, and the table shows its results for the children.

As far as age at beginning work is concerned, evidently the schedule children in Rhode Island are faring better and in the other communities worse than the group of other wage-earners. Educationally, it is more difficult to say how they compare. A comparison of grades reached is hindered by the many cases in which the person interviewed could not remember this detail for wage-earners who had left school perhaps ten or even fifteen years before. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Apart from this there is the further difficulty of making valid comparisons between the grades of different schools. How shall we compare the Polish boy who finished the sixth year in the schools of his own country with the Scotch lad who had gone through the sixth standard before leaving home, or either with the child who attended an ungraded country school for six years? ${ }^{b}$

For these reasons no comparisons by grade seemed possible. Table 95 , giving the number of months of school attendance, gives a certain measure of comparison.

TABLE 95.-MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN STUDIED AND OF OTHER WAGE-EARNERS COMPARED.

| School attendance. | Pawtucket and Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  |  | Plymouth and Hazleton, Pa. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Other wage-earners under 25. |  | Schedule children. |  | Other wage-earners under 25. |  | Schedule children. |  |
|  | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Num- } \\ & \text { ber. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent. | $\underset{\text { Ner. }}{\substack{\text { Num- }}}$ | Per cent. |
| Under 10 months.. | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.7 |
| 10 and under 20 mond under 30 months. | 2 | .$_{9}$ | 1 | ${ }^{4}$ | 2 | 1.7 | , |  |
| 30 and under 40 months. | 19 | 4.2 | 3 | 1.1 | 13 | 10.8 | 12 | 1.4 |
| 40 and under 50 months. | 25 | 5.5 | 5 | 1.9 | 24 | 20.0 | 35 | 24.6 |
| 50 and under 70 months. | 123 | 27.0 | 41 | 15.5 | 64 | 53.3 | 82 | 57.8 |
| 70 and under 90 months. | 213 | 46.8 | 154 | 58.1 | 11 | 9.2 | 9 | 6.3 |
| 90 months and over. | 68 | 15.0 | 59 | 22.2 |  |  | 1 | . 7 |
|  | 455 | 100.0 | 265 | 100.0 | 120 | 100.0 | 142 | 100.0 |
| Never attended......... |  |  | 11 |  | ${ }_{2}^{4}$ |  | 3 |  |
| Total. | 490 |  | 278 |  | 126 |  | 145 |  |

[^38]TABLE 95.-MONTHS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN STUDIED AND OF OTHER WAGE-EARNERS COMPARED-Concluded.

| School attendance. | Columbus, Ga., and environs. |  |  |  | Columbia, S. C. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Other } \\ & \text { wage-earners } \\ & \text { under } 25 \text {. } \end{aligned}$ |  | Schedule children. |  | Other wage-earners under 25. |  | Schedule children. |  |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Num- | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Under 10 months...... | 13 | 11.5 | 8 | 6.6 | 15 | 17.7 | 6 | 10.9 |
| 10 and under 20 months. | 13 | 11.5 | 12 | 9.9 | 14 | 16.4 | 8 | 14.5 |
| 20 and under 30 months. | 17 | 15.0 | 21 | 17.4 | 17 | 20.0 | 12 | 21.8 |
| 30 and under 40 months. | 13 | 11.5 | 13 | 10.8 | 7 | 8.2 | 9 | 16.4 |
| 40 and under 50 months. | 16 | 14.2 | 35 | 28.9 | 15 | 17.7 | 9 | 16.4 |
| 50 and under 70 months. | 31 | 27.4 | 23 | 19.0 | 12 | 14.1 | 10 | 18.2 |
| 70 and under 90 months. | 9 | 8.0 | 9 | 7.4 | 4 | 4.7 | 1 | 1.8 |
| 90 months and over. | 1 | . 9 |  |  | 1 | 1.2 |  |  |
|  | 113 | 100.0 | 121 | 100.0 | 85 | 100.0 |  | 100.0 |
| Unknown or not reported. Never attended | $1$ |  | 16 |  | 5 2 |  | 7 |  |
| Total. | 123 |  | 137 |  | - 92 |  | 62 |  |

It will be noticed that the other wage-earners are more uniformly distributed among the different periods of attendance than are the schedule children. There are more of them who have never been to school, more who have attended only for very brief periods, andexcept in Rhode Island-more who have attended seventy months or over. There is a greater tendency on the part of the schedule children to mass themselves at certain attendance periods, a tendency which is especially marked in the two Northern States. If we take some moderate standard, such as forty or even fifty months of attendance, we shall find that in general a larger proportion of the schedule children than of the other wage-earners have reached it. It must be remembered that the fact of being at work does not necessarily imply the end of school attendance. Many of the schedule children, especially in the southern communities, will alternate between school and work until they are 18 or 20 , by which time a comparison between their amount of school attendance and that of the other group might show quite different results. Even apart from this consideration, however, the tables seem to show that a larger proportion of the schedule children than of the other group have received a moderate amount of schooling and that to this degree they are beginning the world under more favorable auspices. ${ }^{a}$

[^39]Turning to the kind of industry entered, we find very little difference between the two groups. It will be remembered that for the sake of classifying the schedule children, industries were divided into four groups, according to the wage possibilities they presentedexcept Group A, which included all professional and independent pursuits. Using the same classification ${ }^{a}$ we have the following:

PER CENT OF SCHEDULE CHILDREN AND OTHER WAGE-EARNERS UNDER 25 IN EACH OCCUPATION GROUP.


The differences between the schedule children and the other wageearners are too slight to be indicative either way; the overwhelming majority of both began in the lowest grade.

In order to see how generally the wage-earning members of these families had risen or were rising industrially, a study was made of the occupations of all wage-earners compared with those in which they began.

TABLE 96.-RELATION OF PRESENT INDUSTRY GROUP TO THE ONE FIRST ENTERED, FOR ALL WAGE-EARNERS.


The results as shown in Table 96 are interesting, but whether they can be called encouraging or not is questionable. Very few in any group have fallen back to a lower industry grade than that in which they began. Some of the schedule boys had already, in the brief interval between their leaving school and the making of this investigation, risen to a higher grade, while among the older male wageearners a proportion varying in the different places from about onefifth to one-half had thus risen. This does not indicate that the position of the remainder was no better than when they began. Within the industry they might have risen to a better paid occupation, but they had not succeeded in reaching an industry group offering higher wage possibilities than that in which they commenced. Among the female wage-earners very little movement of any kind is discernible. None of the schedule girls had entered a higher industry group, and very few in the group of other children under 25 . For the two older groups, the "Heads of families," and the "Other wage-earners," no conclusions are possible, because the tendency of women to withdraw from the industrial world at marriage serves to mask the desired facts. There is no means of knowing what proportion those who are are now wage-earners form of those who began as wageearners, and consequently, we can not say exactly what the percentages in the different groups mean. Looking at the whole body of wage-earners we see that the large majority are just where they began. It is to be remembered, however, that those who have risen highest would not be likely to appear among the schedule families, as they are probably not putting their children to work under 16.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LEGAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT and SCH00L ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN.



## CHAPTER IV.

## LEGAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN.

The subject of this chapter is considered under three main heads, namely: (1) The laws affecting the employment and school attendance of children and their administration; (2) cases of violation of law occurring among the children studied; (3) cases of child labor found among these children illustrative of conditions which, judged by the standard of the existing local law, appear to be contrary to its spirit, but which nevertheless are not illegal. All of the discussion upon this subject relates, it should be understood, to the period of the investigation, 1907 and 1908.

## THE LAWS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION.

THE LAWS AS THEY STOOD.
In studying the laws regulating child labor and school attendance, as they stood at the time the children under consideration left school and during the subsequent period up to the date of the visit, three aspects will be considered: Provisions contained in the laws; provisions not contained in the laws; inconsistencies and varying interpretations. The first aspect needs no explanation.

In looking at the laws from the second aspect, only those omissions are noted which, in view of the experience of these children, appeared especially inconsistent, and which have for that reason been made the basis of the selection of the cases described in the discussion of inconsistencies under the laws (p. 227), namely, the cases which are contrary to the spirit of the law, though not illegal.

Under the third topic certain apparent conflicts have been found between the child-labor and school-attendance laws, and certain other cases of apparent conflict and evident confusion within the limits of a single law. These inconsistencies are not treated at any length, except when they have given rise to varying interpretations of the laws on the part of the officers intrusted with their enforcement and when some prevalent interpretations have deprived the children included in this investigation of considerable protection which they would otherwise have had.

It will be convenient to take up in order the four States visited and discuss under these three aspects such portions of their child-labor and school-attendance laws as concern this investigation.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Child labor in Rhode Island is regulated by two laws. The most recent, known as the factory inspection law, was passed March 9, 1905, and constitutes chapter 1215 of the Public Laws of Rhode Island. The other, dealing with the subject of school attendance, constituting chapter 1009 of the same series, was passed April 4, 1902.

The factory laws, as they stood at the time of the investigation, contained four important provisions, which may be briefly stated as follows:
(a) From and after January 1, 1907, the legal age for beginning work should be 14 .
(b) No minor between 14 and 16 might be employed, or permitted or suffered to work, in any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment until he had presented a certificate granted under the direction of the local school committee. Before this certificate could be issued, proof of age must be presented in the shape of a duly attested copy of a birth certificate, baptismal certificate, or passport.
(c) Hours of labor for minors under 16 in manufacturing and mechanical establishments were not to exceed fifty-eight a week.
(d) No child under 16 should be employed or permitted or suffered to work after 8 p. m., except in "mercantile establishments on Saturday and on the four days preceding Christmas in each year." a

This factory-inspection law applied to any " person, firm, or corporation" doing business within the State and employing one or more children under 16 (but persons employing children in agriculture or domestic service are excepted), and its enforcement is intrusted to the factory" inspectors.

The school-attendance law in force at the time of this investigation had not been amended since 1902; it was stated somewhat vaguely, and there was some difference of opinion as to whether or not it harmonized with the factory law of 1905, and especially as to whether the truant officers still possessed the right to inspect factories to see whether children were at work there who should be in school. As a matter of fact, however, in the places studied the factory-inspection law was accepted as paramount, and no cases were found in which children were evading its provisions, sheltering themselves behind the ambiguities of the other law.

In regard to the provisions or omissions of the foregoing laws as they existed at the time of the investigation the following points, necessary to be considered in connection with the subsequent tabulation of facts, should be noted:
(a) The limitation of working hours per week to 58 applied to manufacturing and mechanical establishments only.

[^40](b) There was no requirement of ability to speak, read, or write English, and, indeed, no literacy requirement whatever.

The new law of 1910 contains provisions repealing the permission granted mercantile establishments to employ children after 8 on Saturdays and during the holidays, and making the ability to read and write English a prerequisite to the granting of certificates to children under 16.

As mentioned before, there are several possible inconsistencies between the factory law of 1905 and the school attendance law of 1902, but as no cases were found of children failing to obtain their due meed of schooling on account of these inconsistencies, it is not worth while to go into a discussion of them.

## georgia.

The child-labor law was passed in 1906, constituting act No. 399 of the Acts of 1906. The most important provisions of this and other labor laws affecting children may be stated briefly as follows:
(a) Age.-After passage of act in 1906 no child under 10 might be employed or allowed-to labor in or about any factory or manufacturing establishment. After January 1, 1907, no child under 12 might be so employed unless he were an orphan, or unless his earnings were required by a widowed mother or an aged or disabled father. No proof of age is required, but only an affidavit of parent or guardian.
(b) Hours.-In cotton and woolen mills, eleven hours; in all other manufacturing establishments or machine shops, from sunrise to sunset for all persons under 21.
(c) Night work.-After January 1, 1908, no child under 14 might work in or about a factory or manufacturing establishment after 7 p. m. or before 6 a. m.
(d) Literacy.-The section dealing with this subject is so complicated that it seems best to give it in full:

Section 4. On and after January 1, 1908, no child, except as heretofore provided, under fourteen years of age shall be employed or allowed to labor in or about any factory or manufacturing establishment within this State, unless he or she can write his or her name and simple sentences, and shall have attended school for twelve weeks of the preceding year, six weeks of which school attendance shall be consecutive; and no such child as aforesaid between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years shall be so employed unless such child shall have attended school for twelve weeks of the preceding year, six weeks of which school attendance shall be consecutive; and at the end of each year, until such child shall have passed the public school age, an affidavit certifying to such attendance, as is required by this section, shall be furnished to the employer by the parent or guardian or person sustaining parental relation to such child. The provisions of this section shall apply only to children entering such employment at the age of fourteen years or less.

There is no general school attendance law. The only legal provision for school attendance is the one just quoted.

In regard to the foregoing laws, the following points, necessary to be considered in connection with the subsequent tabulation, are noted:
(a) The limitation of working hours to 11 hours per day or 66 hours per week does not apply to any establishment save cotton and woolen mills.
(b) The age limit (12 years) for children is not applied to any establishments other than factory or manufacturing.
(c) The age limit of 12 years is not applicable even in factories and manufacturing establishments in all cases. (See sec. 2 of act 399.)
(d) There is no limitation of night work except for children under 14 in factories or manufacturing establishments (the prohibited hours in that case being $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. to $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$.).
(e) The legal provision in regard to ability to read and write is not applicable except to children working in factories and manufacturing establishments, and according to the usual interpretation of the law is not applicable to children 14 or over.

Some differences of opinion exist as to the precise age at which a father can be considered so "aged" as to render necessary the earnings of a child under 12, but the principal difficulties of interpretation center about section 4, quoted above. In a written opinion upon this law, one Georgia lawyer observes:

It is very probable that section 4 of the act, so far as it applies to education, will be changed by the next legislature, for the provisions of section 4 which deal with this subject are obscure, conflicting, and so vague as not to admit of intelligent interpretation.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
The South Carolina law was passed in 1903. It went into effect progressively, but it had already been in full operation nearly two years before the beginning of the period covered by this investigation. Its provisions apply only to "factories, mines, and textile manufacturing establishments."
(a) Age.-There is no minimum age of going to work for dependent orphans, nor for children of widowed mothers or disabled fathers, if the parent makes affidavit that he or she can not support the children and that the latter are dependent on their own labor for support.

For other children, 12 is the legal age for beginning work, except that any child, no matter how young, may lawfully be employed during June, July, and August if its parent or guardian makes affidavit that it can read and write and has attended school at least four months during the preceding year. Parents' or guardian's
(b) Hours.-Ten hours a day or sixty hours a week are the legal limits for work in cotton and woolen mills; elsewhere there is no limitation.
(c) Night work.-No child under 12 may be employed later than 8 p. m., except in case of some accident or delay; such child may not be employed after $9 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. under any circumstances.

There is no general school-attendance law, although the superintendent in Columbia said that "in 1878 a law for compulsory school attendance was passed for Columbia, but was not enforced, as practically there were no public schools until 1883."

Regarding these laws the following points, necessary to be considered in connection with the subsequent tabulation of the children included in this investigation, are noted:
(a) The limitation of working hours to 10 per day or 60 per week does not apply to any establishment save cotton and woolen mills.
(b) The age limit ( 12 years) for children is not applied to any establishment other than factories, mines, and textile establishments.
(c) Even in these establishments the age limit of 12 years may be disregarded under certain circumstances. Moreover, as the prohibition merely states that except in specified cases children under 12 may not be "employed," they sometimes go into the mill as helpers without appearing on the pay roll. Had the words "or permitted or suffered to labor" followed "employed" (as is the case in the Rhode Island and Georgia laws), this custom could not have arisen.
(d) There is no limitation of night work except for children under 12 in factories, mines, or textile manufactories (the prohibited hours in that case being $8 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. to $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$.).
(e) The legal provision in regard to ability to read and write is not applicable except to children who work in textile establishments during June, July, and August, and being in the nature of an exemption would not be used except for children under 12.

The only variation in interpretation of the South Carolina law that was met with was in regard to the legality of children working as helpers. Some considered such a practice as a plain evasion of the law. In the tabulations, however, it has not been counted as an illegality.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

The situation in Pennsylvania at the time of the investigation was extremely complicated. In 1905 two acts dealing with the employment of children had been passed-No. 222, treating of the work of children in mines, and No. 226, regulating their employment in all other occupations except farm labor and domestic service. The most important sections of the mine law-the sections treating of proof of age, educational qualifications, etc.-were declared unconstitutional
almost as soon as the law went into effect, and this decision was later held to apply to the more general law as well. The provisions in the acts may be briefly summarized as follows:
(a) Age. -The two acts referred to forbade the employment of children under 14. As the law stood at the time of the investigation the affidavit of the parent or guardian was sufficient proof of age. A school attendance law existed which in May, 1907-a date falling within the period under consideration-raised the age for compulsory attendance from 13 to 14 years.
(b) Hours.-In all places save where domestic, coal mining, or farm labor is employed, hours for minors under 16 were limited to not more than 12 in any one day or more than 60 a week.
(c) Night work.-No minor under 16 was to be employed after 9 p. m., but so many exceptions were made to this law that it became practically inoperative.

The points regarding the Pennsylvania laws at the time of this investigation, necessary to be considered in connection with the subsequent tabulation of the children included in this investigation, are as follows:
(a) The number of working hours is not limited to 12 hours per day or 60 hours a week in coal breakers, or in any establishment where children work without pay.
(b) A boy under 16 is not forbidden to act as bartender in a liquor saloon.

The action of the courts in declaring portions of the law unconstitutional had produced great confusion. The abrogation of the new laws brought old laws again into play. But the new and old provisions were sometimes inconsistent, sometimes apparently contradictory, and sometimes so vaguely worded that it was impossible to know just what they meant. The principal fact emerging from the chaos was that in the general confusion the interests of the children suffered. "Under these decisions the children have now no effective statutory protection," declares an editorial writer, and pages of discussion would not present the situation more clearly than does this summary. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

It will be noticed that all the States visited made some provisions concerning a minimum age, night work, and hours of labor, but the enforceability of these provisions varies widely in the different States. This variation affects seriously the number of illegalities which a study of the children reveals in different places. In Georgia and in Rhode Island if a child under the minimum age was found working in a factory, it was a clear case of violation of law, but in Pennsylvania and South Carolina there was no illegality unless the child

[^41]was drawing wages, i. e., if he were helping some one else who received the pay for the work done by both, there was no breach of law. In three of the States if a child under a specified age was found working at midnight in certain occupations, it was a case of illegal employment; in the fourth, it might or might not be, according to a variety of circumstances almost impossible for an inspector or an investigator to determine. And so on, through the whole list of prohibitions.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS.

Before turning to a discussion of specific cases it seems desirable to give a brief account of the general attitude toward the laws and the method of enforcing them in the places visited. As the investigation was not state wide, the discussion of these points must be confined to the cities visited.

## PAWTUCKET AND WOONSOCKET.

In both these cities there is general outward approval of the compulsory school attendance law, which prevents children from going to work until 14. This attitude does not prevent repeated attempts at evading the law, of which the most frequent are efforts on the part of parents to pass forged birth certificates misrepresenting their children's ages. Another device sometimes used consists in trying to get a child to work on the strength of a certificate granted to an older brother or sister, and much cleverness is sometimes shown in adapting the child to the certificate. Such evasions on the part of some of those affected are not surprising, and do not reflect any general disapproval of the law's conditions. The attitude of the general public is shown by the fact that since this investigation was undertaken the Rhode Island law, already the strictest and the most enforceable of the four studied, has been strengthened by the addition of a literacy clause and the withdrawal of the provisions allowing night work in mercantile establishments on Saturday and during the holidays.

In both Pawtucket and Woonsocket the execution of the factory law is intrusted to the factory inspectors, but the truant officers enforce the school attendance laws and issue the certificates the children must have before they can be legally employed. For the matters with which this investigation is concerned the truant officer is evidently the important official.

Pawtucket has one truant officer, appointed by the school board, at a salary of $\$ 800$. Woonsocket has two, at $\$ 900$ and $\$ 600$ a year. Cases of truancy or irregular attendance are reported from the schools to these officers. In both cities the course of procedure is much the $49450^{\circ}$-S. Doc. 645, 61-2, vol 7-14
same. Parents are first interviewed and warned, and if the truancy-or irregular attendance-continues the matter is taken into court. The truant officer may bring suit, at his discretion, against the parent or guardian for not sending the child, or against the child for not attending. The parent may be put on probation or fined $\$ 20$. The child may be put on probation or sent to the reform school for two years or for minority. As a matter of fact it would be an unheard of thing for a child to be sent to the reform school until repeated efforts had been made to keep him in school by less drastic measures.

In each city a school census is taken annually. These seem to be neither more nor less reliable than such censuses usually are.

The Rhode Island law requires proof of age before an employment certificate is granted and in both cities the truant officers construe this strictly.

The following table shows the numbers of employment certificates issued in Pawtucket and Woonsocket upon specified kinds of proof of age:

TABLE 97.-TRUANT OFFICER'S RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES ISSUED DURING YEAR 1907.

PAWTUCKET.


WOONSOCKET.

| Birth certificate $\boldsymbol{a}_{\text {. }}$ | 314 | 330 | 644 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Baptismal certifica | 1 |  | 1 |
| Passport... | 2 | ......... | 2 |
| Bible record | 1 |  | 1 |
| Not reported. | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total. | 320 | 331 | b 651 |

[^42]
## COLUMBUS AND ENVIRONS.

As there is no compulsory school attendance law in Georgia, and no factory inspector to enforce the labor law, the effectiveness of the provisions in behalf of working children depends very largely on the attitude of the employer. Under these circumstances it was reassuring to find that around Columbus, at least, the mill owners were very generally in favor of observing the law. In the North Highlands school it seemed the general opinion of the teachers that the law was
making considerable difference in school attendance. To the question of who enforced the law the answer was prompt: "Why, the superintendents of the mills-though of course there are some who evade it."

The attitude of the employers is shown by the agreement entered into by the ten mills forming the Columbus Mill Association. In accordance with this agreement such placards as the following were conspicuously posted in the different mills:

## NOTICE.

## GEORGIA CHILD-LABOR LAW.

First. No child under 12 years of age shall be allowed to work in these mills under any circumstances.

Second. No child under 14 years of age will be allowed to work in these mills between the hours of $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$.

Third. No child under 14 years of age shall be employed in these mills unless the parent, guardian, or person standing in parental relation thereto, furnishes an affidavit that the child can read and write his or her name, and has attended school for 12 weeks in previous year, 6 of which were consecutive.

It will be seen that this is an improvement on the state law, as it does not permit any exceptions to the minimum limit of 12 years. ${ }^{a}$

A school official said that at first the Georgia Industrial Association bitterly opposed the law, but now is reconciled, and that the Columbus employers are well disposed toward it. The general community, with the exception of the Georgia club women, were not, he thought, much interested, because they had seen no abuses, but on the whole were favorably disposed, and the attitude of the working people was rather favorable.

As the observance of the law is mainly a voluntary matter on the part of the employers, there is little to be said as to its administration. The county ordinary is the official charged with making out the certificates necessary before a child not yet 12 may be put to work under the legal exceptions. The parent's affidavit is the only proof required either for age or for circumstances of disability or widowhood on the part of the parent which warrant the granting of the certificate.

There is no compulsory school attendance law, but a school census is taken every five years. The registration of births, which might

[^43]furnish a valuable means of checking statements as to age, is very imperfectly kept up. A city official said of this:

The birth records have been kept for twelve or fourteen years, although inaccurately, owing to the failure of doctors to report the same. There is an ordinance requiring it, however. Colored midwives do better than the white doctors. About one-eighth of white and one-fourth of colored births are reported.

## COLUMBIA.

The teachers in one of the mill schools say, in regard to the children working in the mill, that "the law is absolutely a dead letter here, and until they have an inspector to enforce it, there is no need of any law at all, for it is broken every day and all the time. Many children leave the school every year to work in the mill under 12 years of age, whose father and mother are living and ablebodied. These children, however, never appear on the company pay roll. They go in to help the older members of the family, and are paid by them."

A school official, when asked if the child-labor law had had any observable effect on school attendance, replied, "Some in Granby school. But has not increased attendance more than 50 (pupils-not per cent) in whole system. The effect has been more noticeable this year than any other-for the manager of Granby mill went through the mill and put certain children out." He said that the attitude of the employers and of the working people was favorable to the law; that the mill officials and the newspapers had been chiefly influential in getting the present law passed; that now the employers wanted compulsory education, which was opposed chiefly by people who do not know what they are talking about, and politicians who say it is interfering with parents' rights.

The child-labor law is left to execute itself, there being no factory inspector nor other officer to enforce it; and, as has been said, there is no school-attendance law.

There never has been any school census taken in Columbia. But the superintendent estimates that about 40 per cent of the population of school age do not attend school. There is no registration of births.

## PLYMOUTH AND HAZLETON.

In these two places, geographically so close together, a curious difference of attitude toward the school law was found. In Plymouth it was pretty generally agreed that the law was disliked, and that a good many certificates were secured by false swearing for children too young to be legally employed. A school official of Plymouth summarized the situation. He said:

The working people neither like nor respect the law. The employers do not like it, but try to live up to it. They insist, for their own
protection, on the children bringing affidavits, though they know they are not reliable. The general community is indifferent.

The most remarkable thing about this attitude was the freedom with which mothers revealed that their children were working under age on a false affidavit. "He's three years older in the factoryyou'll understand that," volunteered one mother confidingly, and the substance, if not the form, of her frank statement was received from many others. One American grandmother waxed indignant over the idea that anyone had a right to say how long she should keep her boy in school; but for the most part the matter was not argued; the law existed, and the false affidavit was the natural way of meeting the resultant situation.

In Hazleton the situation was widely different. According to the school superintendent there the working people and the general community were favorably disposed to the law, and the employers in general were satisfied, though naturally the factories wanted to be free from restrictions. It is to be noted that this superintendent was earnestly in favor of enforcing the law to its fullest extent, and his influence doubtless had much to do with the attitude of the town in general.

The Pennsylvania laws concerning child labor were in a state of confusion which would inevitably render their execution difficult, and this difficulty was greatly increased by the number of persons to whom the enforcement of the law, or of parts of it, were intrusted. As far as it related to mines, the mine inspector was supposed to execute the law, the factory inspectors were charged with its enforcement in factories and mercantile establishments, and the school authorities were to some extent responsible for seeing that children were in school up to the legal age. Under the law of 1905 the school authorities had been wholly responsible for this, the issuance of the certificates under which a child might legally go to work being assigned to them. When portions of this law were declared unconstitutional, an earlier law came into play which, it was believed, permitted a child to go to work upon the presentation of an affidavit that he was of legal age, made by his parent or guardian before any official authorized to administer an oath. There was much doubt as to the correct interpretation of the law, and for some time the school authorities continued to issue certificates; but at the time this investigation was made they were not doing so in Plymouth and Hazleton.

As to the enforcement of the mine and factory law, it seemed mainly negative. It was matter of common report that children under legal age were freely going to work on false affidavits. In Plymouth a school official declared the law "ineffective and outrageously evaded." In Hazleton the superintendent did not consider matters so bad, thought but few false certificates were presented, and that the law
had materially increased school attendance. It is noticeable that a larger percentage of cases of illegal employment were found among the children of Plymouth than in any other place studied, and Hazleton formed a close second; and this, too, although in both places the home statement of the child's age was accepted.*

In regard to the enforcement of the school-attendance law the situation seemed almost equally unsatisfactory. There was no truant or attendance officer in Plymouth; Hazleton had one attendance officer at a salary of $\$ 360$ a year, who gave about three-fifths of his time to the work. In both places a school census is taken, but it is not considered reliable. Births are recorded, but in both places it was said that transcripts of birth records as proof of age for children desirous of going to work were never called for; as, indeed, why should they be when the parent's affidavit is sufficient?

## ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT AMONG CHILDREN INVESTIGATED.

After all, the real test of the enforcement of the laws is found in this section, where the violations of law that actually occurred among the children investigated are counted and classified.

In making the count it was necessary to decide not only between conflicting statements as to the child's age, but also between conflicting interpretations of the law.

When there were conflicting statements as to age, the home statement has usually been made the basis of tabulation, conflicts being noted. In eight cases in Rhode Island, however, in which there was a conflict between the mother's statement and the record at the office where cerṭificates were issued, the latter was accepted as being more reliable.

When there were conflicting interpretations of the law, designated as the "general interpretation" and the "strict interpretation," as occurred in Georgia, the general interpretation has been followed, and any additional cases that would be counted as illegal according to the strict interpretation of the law have simply been mentioned in notes.

[^44]Thus it should be clearly understood at the start that the count of illegalities herein discussed is an understatement rather than an overstatement of the facts.

The only State where the existence of two interpretations of the law affecting the employment conditions of children has been recognized in this report is Georgia. There, as was indicated in detail in a previous division, some ambiguity exists, arising chiefly from the wording of the last clause of section 4 . The "strict interpretation" of the law requires every child who goes to work before he is 14 to attend school twelve weeks each year until he reaches his eighteenth birthday, and to file an affidavit yearly certifying to such attendance. The "general interpretation" of the law makes the test of ability to read and write and the school attendance requirement applicable only to children under 14 years of age.

In Pennsylvania the force of the clauses that have been declared unconstitutional has so entirely broken down-even though the supreme court has not yet passed upon them-that they have not been regarded in the following tabulation as a part of the law.

## AMOUNT OF ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT.

Table 98 shows the number and per cent of the children studied in each locality who were ever illegally employed. In this table alone are given three counts of such cases, designated as (1) minimum number and per cent of children illegally employed, (2) maximum number and per cent illegally employed according to strict interpretation of law, (3) number and per cent of children illegally employed according to home statement of age and general interpretation of law. In all other tables the last count is used. The conflicts in Columbus, Ga., and in Georgia and Alabama counties, are all due to the varying interpretations of the law, while in the other places, most of them are due to conflicts concerning the age of the children.

To these three counts is added, for convenience of comparison, a column which belongs in the next section, namely, a count of the children employed under conditions which are contrary to the spirit of the law though not illegal. The sum of the last two counts, i. e., the total number employed under conditions which either are illegal or contrary to the spirit of the law, is really a fairer basis of comparison between one locality and another than can be found elsewhere in the table. For where there is little law there can be little violation of law, but the abuses which the laws in other States were designed to prevent may exist just the same.

TAble 98.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH ARE ILLEGAI, OR UNDER CONDITIONS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL, BY SEX AND LOCALITY.

| Locality. | Total number of children. | Number of children about Whom were con-flicting statements as to gality. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Minimum } \\ & \text { number } \\ & \text { and per } \\ & \text { cent of } \\ & \text { children } \\ & \text { illegally } \\ & \text { employed } \\ & \text { (no con- } \\ & \text { flicts). } \end{aligned}$ |  | Maximum number and per cent of children illegally employed, according to strict interpretation of law. |  | Number and per cent of children illegally employed, according to home statements and general interpretation of law.a |  | Number and per cent of children employed, under conditions contrary to the spirit of the law. |  | Number and per cent of children employed, under conditions illegal or contrary to the spirit of the law. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Number. | Per cent. | Num ber. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | Num ber. | Per cent. | Number. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |
| Boys. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 59 | 2 | 11 | 18.6 | 13 | 22.0 | 13 | 22.0 | 9 | 15.3 | 22 | 37.3 |
| Woonsocket, R. I......... | 76 | 5 | 23 | 30.3 | 28 | 36.8 | 28 | 36.8 | 22 | 28.9 | 50 | 65.7 |
| Total | 135 | 7 | 34 | 25.2 | 41 | 30.4 | 41 | 30.4 | 31 | 23.0 | 72 | 53.4 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 51 | ${ }^{6} 4$ | 9 | 17.6 | 13 | 25.5 | 9 | 17.6 | 18 | 35.3 | 27 | 52.9 |
| Georgia and Alabama counties | 39 | c 9 | 20 | 51.3 | 29 | 74.4 | 20 | 51.3 | 4 | 10.3 | 24 | 61.6 |
| Total | 90 | 13 | 29 | 32.2 | 42 | 46.7 | 29 | 32.2 | 22 | 24.4 | 51 | 56.6 |
| Columbia, S. C | 41 | 1 | 1 | 2.4 | 2 | 4.9 | 2 | 4.9 | 22 | 53.7 | 24 | 58.6 |
| Plymouth, Pa Hazleton, Pa . | $\begin{aligned} & 51 \\ & 36 \end{aligned}$ | 14 2 | $\begin{aligned} & 28 \\ & 23 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 54.9 \\ & 63.9 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 42 \\ & 25 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 82.4 \\ 69.4 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 37 \\ & 25 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 72.5 \\ 69.4 \end{array}$ | 2 | $\begin{aligned} & 3.9 \\ & 2.8 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 39 \\ & \end{aligned}$ | 76.4 72.2 |
| Total. | 87 | 16 | 51 | 58.6 | 67 | 77.1 | 62 | 71.3 | 3 | 3.4 | 65 | 74.7 |
| Grand total | 353 | 37 | 115 | 32.6 | 152 | 43.1 | 134 | 38.0 | 78 | 22.1 | 212 | 60.1 |
| Pawtucket, R. I. Woonsocket, R. I | $\begin{aligned} & 44 \\ & 99 \end{aligned}$ | 2 | $\begin{aligned} & .6 \\ & 19 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 13.6 \\ & 19.2 \end{aligned}$ | 8 28 | $\begin{aligned} & 18.2 \\ & 28.3 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 7 \\ 26 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 15.9 \\ & 26.3 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 29 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 4.5 \\ 29.3 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \\ 55 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 20.4 \\ 55.6 \end{array}$ |
| Total. | 143 | 11 | 25 | 17.5 | 36 | 25.2 | 33 | 23.1 | 31 | 21.7 | 64 | 44.8 |
| Columbus, Ga | 26 | ${ }^{\text {d }} 6$ | 4 | 15.4 | 10 | 38.5 | 4 | 15. 4 | 4 | 15.4 | 8 | 30.8 |
| counties.... | 21 | e 7 | 7 | 33.3 | 14 | 66.7 | 7 | 33.3 |  |  | 7 | 33.3 |
| Total | 47 | 13 | 11 | 23.4 | 24 | 51.1 | 11 | 23.4 | 4 | 8.5 | 15 | 31.9 |
| Columbia, S. | 21 |  | 2 | 9.5 | 2 | 9.5 | 2 | 9.5 | 11 | 52.4 | 13 | 61.9 |
| Plymouth, Pa Hazleton, Pa. | $\begin{aligned} & 33 \\ & 25 \end{aligned}$ | 8 | 14 | 42.4 24.0 | 22 | 66.7 28.0 | 17 | $\begin{aligned} & 51.5 \\ & 24.0 \end{aligned}$ | 1 | 3.0 | 18 | 54.5 24.0 |
| Total. | 58 | 9 | 20 | 34.5 | 29 | 50.0 | 23 | 39.7 | 1 | 1.7 | 24 | 41.4 |
| Grand total | 269 | 33 | 58 | 21.6 | 91 | 33.8 | 69 | 25.7 | 47 | 17.5 | 116 | 43.2 |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 103 | 4 | 17 | 16.5 | 21 | 20.4 | 20 | 19.4 | 11 | 10.7 | 31 | 30.1 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 175 | 14 | 42 | 24.0 | 56 | 32.0 | 54 | 30.9 | 51 | 29.1 | 105 | 60.0 |
| Total. | 278 | 18 | 59 | 21.2 | 77 | 27.7 | 74 | 26.6 | 62 | 22.3 | 136 | 48.9 |
| Columbus, Ga | 77 | 10 | 13 | 16.9 | 23 | 29.9 | 13 | 16.9 | 22 | 28.6 | 35 | 45.5 |
| counties. | 60 | 16 | 27 | 45.0 | 43 | 71.7 | 27 | 45.0 | 4 | 6.7 | 31 | 51.7 |
| Total | 137 | 26 | 40 | 29.2 | 66 | 48.2 | 40 | 29.2 | 26 | 19.0 | 66 | 48.2 |
| Columbia, S | 62 | 1 | 3 | 4.8 | 4 | 6.5 | 4 | 6.5 | 33 | 53.2 | 37 | 59.7 |
| Plymouth, P | 84 | 22 | 42 | 50.0 | 64 | 76.2 | 54 | 64.3 | 3 | 3.6 | 57 | 67.9 |
| Hazleton, Pa | 61 | 3 | 29 | 47.5 | 32 | 52.5 | 31 | 50.8 | 1 | 1.6 | 32 | 52.4 |
| Total. | 145 | 25 | 71 | 49.0 | 96 | 66.2 | 85 | 58.6 | 4 | 2.8 | 89 | 61.4 |
| Grand total | 622 | 70 | 173 | 27.8 | 243 | 39.1 | 203 | 32.6 | 125 | 20.1 | 328 | 52.7 |

[^45]Table 98 shows that 203 , or 32.6 per cent, of the children had been at some time illegally employed, the proportion ranging from 6.5 per cent in Columbia to 64.3 per cent in Plymouth. In general, there is a considerably larger percentage of illegalities among boys than girls, but in Columbia this is reversed, the percentage among the girls being nearly double that among the boys.

If we compare the number and per cent working under conditions which are either illegal or contrary to the spirit of the law while not illegal, the local differences are much less pronounced. More than half the children ( 328 , or 52.7 per cent) are found under this heading. Pawtucket makes the best showing here, with only 30.1 per cent, while Plymouth, with 67.9 per cent, still makes the worst. Columbia has sunk from the first to the fifth place and Woonsocket from fourth to sixth.

## NATURE OF ILLEGALITY, DURATION OF ILLEGAL CONDITIONS, AND CASES IN WHICH ILLEGALITY WAS TERMINATED BY OFFICIAL OR OTHER DIRECT ACTION.

Table 99 gives in detail the number of children who had at any time been illegally employed, the nature of the illegality, and the action, if any direct action was taken, by which it was terminated. It will be observed that there is a decided discrepancy between the number of children and of illegalities, and even between the number of children and of employments in which illegalities occurred. Cases like the following explain these apparent disagreements:

A girl worked in a woolen mill for three weeks before she was of legal age. On reaching the legal age she went into another mill and worked for seven weeks without obtaining and filing the certificate demanded by law. During these seven weeks she also worked later at night than the time limit set by law. This makes three illegalities and two employments in which illegalities occurred for one child.

TAble 99.-CHILDREN WHO HAD AT ANY TIME BEEN ILLEGALLY EMPLOYED, NATURE OF ILLEGALITY, AND ACTION BY WHICH ILLEGALITY WAS TERMINATED.

a Those who had worked under more than one of the specified illegal conditions.

Table 99 brings out some interesting points concerning illegal employment. ${ }^{a}$ The illegalities found among the whole group of children were distributed, as to nature, as follows:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ILLEGALITIES OF EACH SPECIFIED NATURE.

| Vature of illegality. | Illegalities. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. |
| Working under legal age.. | 84 | 29.9 |
| No legal papers filed, though of legal age | 102 | 36.3 |
| Working over legal number of hours per week | 72 | 25.6 |
| Working after legal hours at night. | 15 | 5.3 |
| Total. | 281 | 100.0 |

Comparisons between the different places are hardly possible, as legal requirements varied so widely; but in general it may be said that in Plymouth going to work under legal age was the principal illegality, while in the Rhode Island and Georgia places and in Hazleton failure to file the required legal papers took the lead. In South Carolina there was so little law and consequently so few violations that any distinction between principal and secondary offenses is unnecessary.

When we turn to the question of how these illegalities were hindered or terminated, we find a rather curious situation. Naturally, illegalities in a given group of children tend to decrease. Those who begin too young reach the legal age; those who are required to work too long hours or at night tend to seek easier places, so that, by chance adjustments and deliberate choice on the part of the children, and by mere lapse of time, the number of illegalities is steadily reduced. But we wish to consider now only those cases in which an illegality is interfered with because it is an illegality by someone having authority to correct it. Looking at the table for this information, we find that out of 281 illegalities only 16 are known to have been thus terminated, concerning 2 no report was made, and the other 263 , or 93.6 per cent, were left to correct themselves or go uncorrected. The showing is not exactly encouraging. It will be noticed, however, that of the 203 children who had ever been illegally employed only 102 were working under illegal conditions at the time of the investigation.

[^46]The willingness to send children to work under age and to take false oaths in order to do it was so marked in Plymouth, and to a less degree in Hazleton, that the query naturally arose whether or not this was a racial matter. To answer this the following table was constructed, showing the racial incidence of certain specified forms of illegality for the four places in which the foreign element was sufficiently large to be considered.

TABLE 100.-SPECIFIED ILLEGALITIES AMONG CHILDREN ACCORDING TO RACE OF FATHER.

a Two children began working without filing legal papers, but afterwards, while still under age, filed
false papers; hence the apparent discrepancy.
In addition to the children tabulated above, 4 boys in Plymouth, 1 other English-speaking, and 3 Slavic, worked in coal mines under 16, the legal age for such work, as did also 1 other English-speaking boy in Hazleton.

The leading foreign race for Pawtucket and Woonsocket was French Canadian; for Plymouth, Slavic; and for Hazleton, German. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket illegally early employment and the false certificate were practically unknown among the children investigated. In Plymouth the Slavic children lead in the matter of too early employment, 29 , or 80.6 per cent, being under legal age, while 24 , or 66.7 per cent, worked under false affidavits, which is the chief illegality in this city. The Americans also show a large proportion under these
two headings- 60.9 per cent being under age and 43.5 per cent working under false affidavits. In Hazleton.the German and "Other" races are the only ones that worked under a false affidavit, the latter showing 14.3 per cent and the former 11.5 per cent. Considering that more than two-fifths of the children of American parentage in Plymouth were working on false certificates, as against a little over three-fifths of the Slavic children, and that over one-fifth of the "other English-speaking" were also working on such certificates, it hardly seems as though the willingness to offer false affidavits can be deemed a racial peculiarity. The law of Pennsylvania, as it then stood, with its lack of any demand for proof and its acceptance of the bare affidavit of an interested party, offered a direct incentive to perjury. The most recent immigrants to any community are usually those among whom poverty is most felt and who might naturally have the least appreciation of the principles underlying child-labor laws. It is not surprising, therefore, that the largest proportion of illegalities of this kind was found among them.

The following table summarizes for each of the localities studied the number and per cent of children illegally working under age and also shows the aggregate amount of work (measured by its duration in weeks) performed by such children:

TABLE 101.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN ILLEGALLY EMPLOYED UNDER AGE AND AMOUNT OF WORK PERFORMED BY SUCH CHILDREN, BY LOCALITIES.

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Paw- } \\ & \text { tucket, } \\ & \text { R. I. } \end{aligned}$ | Woonsocket, R. I. | Columbus, Ga.,and envlrons. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Colum- } \\ \text { bia, } \\ \text { S. C. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Plym- } \\ \text { outh, Pa. } \end{gathered}$ | Hazleton, Pa . | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total number of children. | 103 | 175 | 137 | 62 | 84 | 61 | 622 |
| Number of chlldren illegally working under | 1 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 49 | 10 | 74 |
| Per cent of children illegally working under age | 1.0 | 4.0 | 2.9 | 4.8 | 58.3 | 16.4 | 11.9 |
| Aggregate amount of illegal work performed by children under age (weeks). | 6.0 | 35.2 | 72.8 | 61.8 | 1,607.3 | 292.0 | 2,075.1 |

The table shows a large percentage of children illegally working under age in the Pennsylvania cities as compared with the other localities studied. Thus, in Plymouth 49, or 58.3 per cent, out of 84 children studied, and in Hazleton 10, or 16.4 per cent, out of 61 were illegally working under age, while in the other localities the proportion varied from only 1 per cent in Pawtucket to 4.8 per cent in Columbia. It should be stated, however, that the schedule period in the Pennsylvania cities was about 6 months longer than in the other cities.

In considering these figures the varying legal requirements of the different States must be borne in mind. Thus no comparison is possible between the children illegally at work in Plymouth and

Hazleton and those in Columbia, since every one of the children who were working below the legal age in Pennsylvania might have been legally working in South Carolina. Not all might have been legally hired, but the youngest might have gone into a factory to work as a helper. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, however, set the same legal age for beginning work, so they may fairly be compared.

## AGE AT BEGINNING WORK UNDER CERTAIN ILLEGAL CONDITIONS.

The age at which a child begins illegal employment is as important a consideration as the nature and duration of the illegality. If, for example, the legal age for beginning work is 14 , it makes a decided difference whether a child beginning too early is 9 years old or 13 years and 11 months old. Table 102 shows the age of the children at the time they were first employed under the various illegal conditions described. Except for the figures under the one heading, "Number of children who had at any time been illegally employed," this table shows the number of illegalities rather than of children. Under this heading the child is classed according to his age at his first illegal employment; under the other headings he is classed under each age at which he entered upon a new kind of illegal employment. Thus in Columbus and environs one child at 7 years began work and was employed more than the legal number of hours per week. By the time this investigation was made the legal age for beginning work was 12; he had reached this age and was working only the legal number of hours, but had not filed the papers the law required. He therefore appears under this second heading as 12 years old. This double or even triple appearance of the same child under different kinds of illegality and at different ages explains the lack of agreement between the number of the illegalities and the number of the children.

Table 102.-AGE OF CHILDREN AT DATE OF BEGINNING ILLEGAL WORK, BY NATURE of ILLEGALITY.

| Nature of illegality. | Children of each age at beginning of illegal work. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 13. | 14. | 15. | Total. | 12. | 13. | 14. | 15. | 16. | To- |
| Total number of children. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 175 |
| Working under legal age (14 years)....... | 1 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 6 | 23 | 6 |  | 29 |
| Working over legal number of hours per week |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Working atter legal hours at night |  | 9 | 1 | 10 |  |  | ${ }_{13}^{16}$ | 3 | 1 | ${ }_{14}^{20}$ |
| Number of children who had at any time been illegally employed. | 1 | 15 | 4 | 20 | 1 | 6 | 36 | 10 | 1 | 54 |

Table 102.-AGE OF CHILDREN AT DATE OF BEGINNING ILLEGAL WORK, BY NATURE OF ILLEGALITY-Concluded.

a Legal number of hours per week in Columbus and environs, 66; in Columbia, 60.
It will be noticed that in Rhode Island there was very little work by children under legal age. The only one who began work as early as 12 did so by using a false birth certificate. The superintendent of schools discovered the forgery and within three days of his leaving the child was sent back to school. The Woonsocket girl of 16 entered on this table was violating a law which applied to all women as well as to children under 16. In both cities children 14 years of age comprised the largest number illegally employed. In other words, most of these children were illegally employed from the time they first began working. Twelve of the Pawtucket and 27 of the Woonsocket children were still working illegally at the time of the agent's visit.

The question of working under the legal age hardly appears in the three southern localities, where the age limit is low and exemptions or evasions make it easy for a child to work at any age without any violation of law. A failure to file the required affidavits of age and schooling is the principal illegality here, followed, though at a considerable distance, by working more than the legal number of hours
per week. Twenty-four children in Columbus and its environs were still at the time of the agent's visit working illegally, and in 22 of these cases the illegality was this omission to file papers, though of legal age. In Columbia 3 children were still working illegally, a failure to file legal papers accounting for 2 of them.

In Plymouth working under the legal age was the principal offense, so naturally we find the great majority of the children beginning early, only 5 out of the 54 concerned commencing work as late as 14 . In Hazleton the premature work was not so much in evidence, so naturally the false certificate drops into relative insignificance. The conditions in Hazleton, both as to the nature of the illegalities and the age at which they began show a marked likeness to those in Woonsocket and Pawtucket. In Plymouth and in Hazleton alike 18 children were still working illegally at the date of the agent's visit. In all these places the reduction in the number of children was due almost wholly either to the mere action of time or to accidental circumstances. Judging by the experience of these children, if a child is once illegally employed there is very little likelihood of any official interference.

## INDUSTRIES IN WHICH ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT OCCURRED.

With a view to seeing whether illegal employment was a rather general condition or whether it was peculiar to a few industries, a summary was made of the kinds of establishments in which illegalities were found, and the proportion of the total number of illegalities for which each was accountable.

TABLE 103.-ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT AT TIME OF VISIT AND TOTAL ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT.

| Kinds of Industry. | Percentage of all ille$\underset{(a)}{\text { galities. }}$ | Percentage of illegallties at time of visit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Textile establishments. | 54.9 | 59.4 |
| Miscellaneous factories..... |  | 11.9 |
| Coal mining.............. | ${ }_{16.6}^{6.6}$ | 9.9 |
| Other industries. | 10.7 | 13.8 |

a Based on total illegalities among children who had at any time been illegally employed.
Textile establishments show a large percentage, but it is not unduly large considering the number of children there employed. Of 622 children, 55.6 per cent had worked first in textile establishments, and 56.6 per cent were in such establishments at the date of the visit. Broadly speaking, the illegalities are rather widely and evenly distributed, and maintain about the same relative standing in the different pursuits. Coal mining and textile establishments both show a slight increase in the number employed ${ }^{a}$ and a slight proportionate decrease of illegalities.

## RELATION OF FINANCIAL NECESSITY TO ILLEGAL WORK.

A special study was made of the financial condition of the families in which the child had gone to work under the legal age, and a comparison made between the average per capita weekly income (where that could be computed) and what the parents said of their ability to keep the child in school. There were so few such cases that they can best be handled without tabulation, except in Plymouth. The income used in this discussion is that remaining after deducting the income from the child who worked illegally under age during the period covered by this investigation, and also the income from any children younger than this child, and sickness and death expenses, and after rent or taxes are paid.

For two reasons the number of children here considered may be less than the number shown as working under age in previous tables:
(1) Some family incomes can not be computed; (2) the period of time is limited to that covered by this investigation; that is, a period beginning at the time the child left school during "schedule period" and ending at date of visit, whereas, in previous tables the child's whole experience has been included.

In Woonsocket 7 such children were found, 5 boys and 2 girls. One French Canadian family with income (as described above) of $\$ 2.35$ said they were able to keep the child, 12 years old, in school; the others who said they were unable, were 1 American family with income of $\$ 0.25,1$ Irish family with income of $\$ 0.66$, and 4 French Canadian families with average incomes of $\$ 3.10$. All these last children were 13 years old.

In Columbus 3 children are considered, all boys, all of American descent. One family with an income of $\$ 4.65$ said they were able to keep the child in school. The other families with incomes of $\$ 1.56$ and $\$ 1.93$ said they were unable; the children in these families were 9 and 11 years of age, respectively.

In Columbia 3 children are considered, 1 boy and 2 girls, all Americans, all 11 years old. The boy's family with an income of $\$ 1.06$ said they were unable to keep him in school; and the girls' families with average income of $\$ 1.69$ said they were able to do so.

In Hazleton 10 children were considered, 7 boys and 3 girls, from "other English-speaking," German, and "other" families. One boy was 12 years old, the other children all 13 . Six out of the 10 families, with average income of $\$ 1.79$, said they were able to keep the children in school, while 4 families, with income of $\$ 2.27$, said they were unable. The large size of this latter average comes from the income of one Slovak family, $\$ 3.25$, though the 2 German families also who said they were unable had a larger income than the 3 German families who said they were able to keep their children in school.

In Plymouth 48 children, 32 boys and 16 girls, are considered, for whom the age and race grouping together with the per capita weekly income are shown in the table following. In this table, as throughout this immediate section, the per capita weekly income is what remains after deducting from the full income rent, expenses of sickness and death, wages of the child who is working illegally, and wages of any younger children who may be at work.

TABLE 104.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN PLYMOUTH WHO BEGAN WORK UNDER LEGAL AGE IN FAMILIES HAVING SPECIFIED PER CAPITA WEEKLY INCOME, BY race of father and age at beginning work.


It will be remembered that a per capita weekly income, after all deductions were made, of $\$ 2$ was looked upon as a kind of dividing line above which a family would not ordinarily suffer hardship by keeping children in school instead of making wage-earners of them prematurely, while with an income between $\$ 1.50$ and $\$ 2$ it would depend largely upon the good management of the family whether or not this could be done. Using this test, it appears that among the Americans who let their children go to work too early, very nearly two-thirds, and among the other English speaking exactly one-half, were above this dividing line of $\$ 2$, while among the Slavic families something less than one-third were thus comparatively affluent. Correspondingly the proportion of families whose incomes fall below $\$ 1.50$ per week is noticeably larger among the Slavs than among the Americans and other English speaking. In fact the two latter
groups make a bad showing in the way of letting their children work too early without the excuse of necessity, but they do not, in Plymouth, let them begin work at the very early age at which some of the children of foreign languages commence. The three who began work at 9 and 10 all worked in coal breakers. The 9 -year old boy left work after 2 months to return to school, and so did one of the 10 -year-olds after 7 months in the breaker. The other worked in a coal breaker for a year, and then took up work inside a mine, where at the time of the visit he was employed, having been there about a month. Taking the group of families as a whole, very nearly half had incomes which should have made it possible to keep their children in school to the proper age without hardship, and exactly half declared themselves able to have continued sending the children had they wished to go. The income distribution of these latter is somewhat striking. Of those whose income was under \$2, 2 American, 1 other Englishspeaking, and 7 Slavic families said they were able to keep their children in school, while of those whose income was over $\$ 2,5$ American, 3 other English-speaking, and 6 Slavic families thought themselves able to do so.

On the whole, it hardly seems as though this illegally early work could be generally ascribed to real need.

## CASES OF EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL.

In choosing a basis for the selection of cases to be treated under this section, the decision was to err, if necessary, on the side of liberality rather than on the side of strictness. If the provisions of an approved "Standard child-labor law" had been taken as the test, nearly all the children studied in every place visited would necessarily have been classed as working under illegal conditions, and the examples of specially flagrant abuses would have been lost in the mass. It would have led, for instance, to classifying a fifteen-year-old boy in Rhode Island who had left school from the seventh grade and was working 56 hours a week with such instances as the following found in South Carolina:
(1) A little girl who left school from the first grade in the spring of 1907 at the age of 7 went to work at once to help her sister, a spooler in a cotton mill. For three months she worked 60 hours a week, and returned to school in September. At present (spring of 1908) she goes into the mill at $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. and works until noon, attends school from 1 to 3 p . m., and works in the mill from 3 p . m. until $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. It is three years since this child, 8 years old at the time of visit, first went to work. This is not a case of illegal labor, because, "although the child is under the age of 12, she is not technically, "employed," i. e., she is not on the mill pay roll, but merely "helps" her sister. The law neglected to add the words "or permitted to work" after the word "employed" in the child-labor law as it now stands.
(2) A little girl who left school from the first grade in the spring of 1907 at the age of 8 went to work at once as a spinner in a cotton mill, and still (spring of 1908) draws her own pay. She worked 60 hours a week for about 4 months, and at present goes into the mill at $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. and works until noon, attends school from 1 to 3 p . m., and works in the mill from $3 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. until $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. She is described by the agent, who saw her on a special holiday afternoon, as a "poor little, listless, pale child, a wretched looking little thing, sitting on the steps resting." She was said by her mother never to have had good health. This is not a case of illegal labor, because her father is disabled by consumption.
(3) A boy left school from the fourth grade in the spring of 1907 at the age of 10 years. From April until September he worked as errand boy in a grocery store $72 \frac{1}{2}$ hours a week. From September, 1907, until February, 1908, he worked as errand boy in a drug store 84 hours a week. From February, 1908, until April, 1908, he worked as messenger for a telegraph company $79 \frac{1}{2}$ hours one week and 91 hours the next, working every other Sunday. For the last week previous to the visit he worked as errand boy in a grocery store $72 \frac{1}{2}$ hours a week. In his first position he worked until $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. on Saturdays, in his second position until $10 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. every day, including Sunday, in his third position until $12 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. three nights a week, and in his present position until $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. Saturdays. This is not a case of illegal labor, because the boy was not employed in a "factory, mine, or textile manufacturing establishment," the only industries in which child labor is regulated.

In order to avoid such a massing together of absolutely noncomparable cases, the law in each place has been taken as presenting a certain standard, and everything at variance with this standard is classed as contrary to the spirit of the law, though not illegal. Thus, if the law fixes 12 as the age for beginning work, we may feel that any provision, exemption, or evasion, even though it be contained in the law itself, which permits a child under 12 to be at work is a falling away from the standard which that State has acknowledged as desirable. Naturally, this standard will vary from place to place, according to the degree of strictness which each State has reached in its regulation of child labor.

## NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN AT WORK UNDER CONDITIONS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL.

In treating this topic a brief résumé will be given of the most important conditions, as found in each State visited, followed by tables and illustrative cases. No undesirable conditions will be discussed unless children were found affected by them.

## PAWTUCKET AND WOONSOCKET, R. I.

In Rhode Island, as has been stated, the law shows (a) the lack of any requirement of ability to read and write English for children going to work before 16 , and (b) the failure to limit the weekly hours of labor, except in manufacturing or mechanical establishments.

In the two cities visited 12 children were found who were working over long hours in unprotected industries and 50 who would have been excluded by a proper literacy test. The following are illustrative cases:
Pawtucket. Boy of 14 worked 67 hours a week as salesman in grocery store, 7 a. m. to 7 p . m., and till 11 p . m. Saturday.

Woonsocket. Boy of 14 worked 74 hours a week as errand boy in dry goods store for 3 months, 7 a . m. to 8 p . m., and Saturday until 10 p . m.

COLUMBUS, GA., AND ENVIRONS.
Here the following features of the law bear upon the subject under discussion:
(a) Failure to limit daily or weekly hours of labor for children, except in cotton and woolen mills.
(b) Failure to make limitation on age for beginning work apply elsewhere than in factories and manufacturing establishments.
(c) Exemption of children under certain conditions of poverty and distress from the age limit ( 12 years) otherwise placed on employment in mills and factories.
(d) Failure to prohibit night work except for children under 14 employed in factories and manufacturing establishments.
(e) Failure to make the literacy provision apply except in the case of children under 14 in factories and manufacturing establishments.

In all, 26 children were found at work in Columbus and its environs under the conditions thus permitted by law. In some cases several of these conditions were combined. Following are illustrative cases:

Conditions a, b, and d, No. 297.-Boy left school May, 1907, aged 10 (born March 18, 1897). Went to work as telegraph messenger. Worked 84 hours a week, from $7 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until 10 p . m. every day. Worked there 2 months. Then became errand boy in a grocery store, working 81 hours a week, from $5 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. till 7.30 p . m. daily. After working here one week left to return to school.

Conditions a and d, No. 316.-Left school (grade 4) May, 1907, aged 13 (born August, 1893). Went to work at once as messenger for telegraph company. Hours $62 \frac{1}{2}$ one week, 66 the next; in this alternate week worked till $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. every night. Worked there 3 months; then as call boy for a railroad worked from 7 p . m. until $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. After 1 month left to become errand boy for a grocery store. Works $81 \frac{1}{2}$ hours a week, his day ending at 8.30 p . m. except on Saturday, when he works until midnight.

Conditions c and d, No. 370.-Boy left school March, 1908, aged 14 (born October, 1893). Went to work at once in cotton mill. Previous to January, 1908, when new law went into effect, boy had worked steadily for 9 years in cotton mills in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. He began to make bands at age of 5, advancing later to become a doffer. At 3 different times he worked on a night shift, but had to give it up each time, as it did not agree with him. He last worked on the night shift when he was 10 years old. He has attended school but 5 weeks in his life and that only because
the mill superintendent would not employ him until he had at least partly fulfilled the conditions of the law which went into effect January 1, 1908. In this 5 weeks the boy says he learned to read and write. Much of the work which he has done was permitted under a legal exception, as his father considers himself too old to work.

Conditions a, b, and e, No. 290.-Boy, aged 8 (born June, 1899), left school June, 1907, from grade 1. Went to work 3 months later as delivery boy for a grocery store. Has been there for 6 months, working 63 hours a week. Can not read or write.

Conditions a, b, and d, No. 291.-Boy left school June, 1907, aged 9 (born August, 1897). Went to work 3 months later as delivery boy for a grocer. Works $66 \frac{1}{2}$ hours a week, beginning at $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. and continuing on Saturday till 9 p. m. Had worked there 6 months at time of inquiry.

Condition c, No. 288.-Boy left school May, 1907, aged 11 (born August, 1895). Went to work a few months later "setting up" in a box factory. In this occupation on dangerous machinery he successively lost the ends of 2 fingers and was out of work 2 months on this account. It is 2 years since he first went to work as sweeper in a cotton mill. His work is not illegal, because his father has deserted and his mother needs his earnings.

Condition c, No. 332.-Left school from second grade, April, 1907, aged 11 (born March 10, 1896). She went to work at once as doffer in a cotton mill. Was employed under a legal exemption, her father being unable to work.

Condition c, No. 348.-Girl left school June, 1907, aged 10 (born June 1, 1897). Went to work at once as spare hand in cotton mill, where she has worked 9 months. Employed under legal exception, as her father had deserted, leaving her mother with 4 children to support. The oldest 14 and 2 younger than this child.

## COLUMBIA, S. C.

In South Carolina the most important omissions of the law as regards this discussion are the following:
(a) Failure to limit daily and weekly hours of labor, except in cotton and woolen mills.
(b) Failure to make limitation on age for beginning work apply elsewhere than in factories, mines, and textile manufacturing establishments.
(c) Exemption of children under certain conditions of povierty and distress from any age limitation for beginning work.
(d) Failure to prohibit night work except for children under 12 in factories, mines, or textile manufactories.
(e) Exemption of children who can read and write and have attended school for four months during current year from any age limitation on beginning work during the three summer months.
(f) Failure to prohibit the work of children below the age limit in cases in which the child "helps" some one else, his own name not appearing on the pay roll.
(g) Failure to require ability to read and write English as a prerequisite to beginning work.

Altogether 33 children in Columbia were working under these conditions, a single child sometimes being affected by two or more such conditions. Illustrative cases are as follows:

Conditions a, b, and d, No. 436.-Boy left school February, 1907, aged 11 (born April, 1895). Went to work at once as telegraph messenger, working 84 hours a week; worked till 10 p . m. every night, including Sunday.

Conditions a and d, No. 429.-Boy left school June, 1907, aged 14 (born June, 1893). Went to work a month later as call boy for a railroad. Works from $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. till 7 a. m., 7 nights in the week. Has worked there 10 months.

Conditions $a$ and d, No. 456.-Left school April, 1907, aged 12 (born September, 1894). Went to work at once as telegraph messenger, working every other night until $1 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$., and on the intervening night until $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. Worked 76 hours a week. Left there after a month, but 1 month before the visit of inquiry returned to this position and was working the same hours as before.

Conditions $a$ and d, No. 422.-Boy left school June, 1907, aged 14 (born November, 1892). Went to work in about 3 months as errand boy in a book store. Worked 61 hours weekly, working till $9 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. Saturdays. Worked there 3 months, then became usher in a theater, where he worked 72 hours a week, being employed until $11 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. every night. Worked there 4 months.

Condition e, No. 466.-Girl left school May, 1907, aged 11 (born April, 1896). Went to work at once as spooler in cotton mill. Was legally employed there during the summer and drew her own pay.

The following are cases of exemption of children on account of certain conditions of poverty from age limitation on beginning work:

No. 423.-Left school May, 1907, aged 9 (born August, 1897). Went to work at once in a cotton mill. Worked full time ( 60 hours a week) during the summer; works as a spinner and draws his own pay, being legally employed under a legal exception (father is disabled by consumption). At present the boy goes into the mill at $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. and works until 12 m . He attends school in the afternoon and works in the mill from 3 p . m. until $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. On Saturday he works from $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until 12 m . (nearly 50 hours a week). It is 3 years since this boy first began to work. He is described as undersized, with pasty looking skin, and dull eyes-a patient, lifeless little fellow.

No. 455.-Boy left school May, 1907, aged 11 (born July, 1895). Went to work as spooler in a cotton mill. Is legally employed under a legal exception (father is dead). Returned to school in the autumn of 1907. At present works from 6 a. m. until 9 a . m., attends school from $9 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until 12 m ., and works in the mill from $1 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. until 5.45 p . m. Also works in the mill on Saturday from 6 a. m. until 12 m . (Nearly 45 hours a week). It is 5 years since this boy first began to work.

No. 477.-Girl left school May, 1907, aged 8 (born June, 1898). Went to work at once as a spinner in a cotton mill, and draws her
own pay. Is legally employed under a legal exception (father is disabled by consumption). Returned to school in the autumn, and at present goes into the mill at 6 a. m., and works until 12 m . Attends school in the afternoon, and works in the mill from $3 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. until $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. On Saturdays she works from $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until 12 m .

The following cases are instances of failure to prohibit work of children below age limit as helpers. Ten of the children studied3 boys and 7 girls-were working prematurely in Columbia by reason of this defect in the law. None of them were on the mill pay rolls.

No. 440.-Boy left school April, 1907, aged 7 (born May, 1899). Went to work next day in a cotton mill, helping his sister, a spinner. Worked 3 weeks; then had to give it up, as it was too hard for him. At present he attends school in the morning but goes into the mill at $1 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and works until $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., and on Saturday from 6 a. m. until 12. Can not read or write.

No. 451.-Boy left school June, 1907, aged 7 (born October 1,1899). Began work 9 months later, helping his sister, a cotton spinner. Had worked 4 weeks at date of visit, 60 hours a week. Can read but not write.

No. 430.-Boy left school April, 1907, aged 9 (born May, 1897). Went to work next week, helping his sister, a cotton spinner. Worked 5 months, 60 hours a week. Went back to school in September, and at time of visit was working in mill from 3 to $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$., and on Saturday from $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until noon. Can not read or write.

No. 480.-Girl left school March, 1907, aged 6 (born January, 1901). Went to work nearly a year later in a cotton mill, filling batteries for her father, a weaver. Works 60 hours a week. At time of visit had been working one month. Can not read or write.

No. 479.-Girl left school May, 1907, aged 8 (born June, 1898). Went to work at once in a cotton mill, helping her sister, a spooler. Went back to school in September. At present she goes into the mill at 6 a. m., works till 9 , and then goes to school until 12 m . Returns to the mill at 1 and works until 5.45 p . m. On Saturday works from $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. until noon. Has been doing this (except when working full time in mill) for two years.

No. 478.-Girl left school June, 1907, aged 7 (born December, 1899). Went to work at once in cotton mill, helping her sister. Went back to school in September. At present goes into the mill at 6 a. m. and works until 12 m . Goes to school in afternoon and works in the mill from 3 to $5.45 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. On Saturdays works in mill from $6 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. to 12 m . It is three years since this child, now 7 years old, began to work in the mills.

## PLYMOUTH AND HAZLETON.

In both these places children suffered not so much from absence of certain provisions in the law as from failure to enforce the safeguards the law nominally secured them. Only two omissions were found under which children were unfavorably affected.
(a) Failure to limit daily and weekly hours of labor in coal breakers and in cases where children work without pay.
(b) Failure to forbid employment of boy under 16 as bartender. ${ }^{a}$

Only four different children were found in Plymouth and Hazleton working under these conditions. One 14 -year-old boy was tending bar in his father's saloon, working 80 hours a week; one girl worked without wages in a relative's store 69 hours a week; and three boys, including the young bartender, had, during the schedule period, worked more than 60 hours a week in a coal breaker.

Table 105 presents in detail the facts concerning this general subject, which may be thus summarized: Forty-eight children were working excessive hours in industries where hours were not limited (chiefly stores, telegraph work, and railroad work); 11 children were at work too young in industries where age was not limited; 25 children were at work too young by legal exceptions or omissions; 30 children were at work too late at night in industries where night work was not limited; 64 children were at work under 16 and unable to read and write English; 125 children in all were working under such conditions as the above.

TABLE 105.-CIIILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE AT WORK DURING PERIOD COVERED
BY INVESTIGATION UNDER CONDITIONS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW,
THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL.

| Conditions contrary to the spirit of the law, though not illegal. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  | Columbus, Ga., and environs. |  |  | Columbia, S. C. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| Total number of children. | 59 | 44 | 103 | 76 | 99 | 175 | 90 | 47 | 137 | 41 | 21 | 62 |
| At work in unprotected industries more hours per week than number prescribed for protected industries. | 4 | 1 | 5 | 7 |  | 7 | 16 | 1 | 17 | 14 | 1 | 15 |
| At work though unable to read and write English.. | 5 | 1 | 6 | 15 | 29 | 44 | 5 |  | 5 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| At work under 12 in unprotected industries...... At work under 12 in protected industries by legal exemption. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 7 | 4 | 7 | 3 3 | 3 | 3 6 |
| At work under 12 in protected industries, but not on pay roll. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| At work between $8 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and 6 a. $m$. in unprotected industries. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 16 | 1 | 17 | 12 | 1 | 10 13 |
| Total children working under conditions contrary to the spirit of the law.. | 9 | 2 | 11 | 22 | 29 | 51 | 22 | 4 | 26 | 22 | 11 | 33 |

[^47]TABLE 105.-CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE AT WORK DURING PERIOD COVERED BYINVESTIGATION UNDER CONDITIONS CONTRARY TO TIE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL-Concluded.


It may be of interest to notice in what occupations these children were employed. In Pennsylvania cases contrary to the spirit of the law are too few to warrant tabulation. There were but four children concerned. One had been employed in a coal breaker, where he had worked an excessive number of hours, being employed $744_{4}^{3}$ hours per week during a rush period lasting a fortnight. He had also been employed at night here. A second had also worked more than 60 hours a week in a coal breaker and later had been employed in his father's saloon as bartender, working 80 hours weekly. Two others had been employed an excessive number of hours in retail stores, one, a girl of 13, being employed 69 hours a week, and the other, a boy of 15 , working 62 hours weekly.

In the other four places so many of these conditions were found that Table 106 is given to show in what industries they occurred.

TABLE 106.-CASES IN WHICH CHILDREN UNDER 16 HAD WORKED UNDER CONDITIONS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, THOUGH NOT ILLEGAL, BY INDUSTRIES.
[Plymouth and Hazleton, having only 4 children employed under the kind of conditions discussed, are omitted as negligible.]

| Conditions contrary to the spirit of the law, though not illegal. | Textile establishments. |  | Miscellaneous factories. |  | Mercantile establishments. |  | Telegraph messenger service. |  | Other industries. |  | Total cases. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cases. | Per cent. | Cases. | Per cent. | Cases. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | Cases. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Per } \\ & \text { cent. } \end{aligned}$ | Cases. | Per cent. |  |
| At work more than number of hours allowed in protected industries. . . . . . . . . |  |  |  |  | 30 | 47.6 | 11 | 44.0 | 8 | 61.6 | 49 |
| At work under 12 in unprotected industries or through legal exemptions or omissions. | 25 | 33.8 |  |  | 8 | 12.7 | 4 | 16.0 |  |  | 37 |
| At work at night later than hours allowed in protected industries. $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  | 21 | 33.3 | 10 | 40.0 | 5 | 38.4 | 36 |
| At work although unable to read or write English..... | 49 | 66.2 | 11 | 100.0 | 4 | 6.4 |  |  |  |  | 64 |
| Tota | 74 | 100.0 | 11 | 100.0 | 63 | 100.0 | 25 | 100.0 | 13 | 100.0 | 186 |

While only 121 children were concerned, so many of them experienced more than one of these conditions that 186 cases of such work are shown. The textile establishments offended most numerously, but on the smallest number of counts, being responsible only for the employment of children under 12 and of children who were either illiterate or deficient in a knowledge of English. Of these two they had 74 cases. The mercantile establishments had fewer cases-63but a wider range, adding to the former two counts the employment of children under 16 at night and for unduly long hours. The telegraph messenger service did not employ illiterates or children ignorant of the language, but offended in the three other respects. Proportionately a somewhat larger number of children employed here were working at night than those in any other industry-two-fifths, as against one-third in the mercantile establishments and five-thirteenths in "other industries." This disproportion is smaller than might have been expected, but it is to be remembered that as a rule the night work in the messenger service means much later employment than in the stores and miscellaneous occupations. In the matter of long hours the "other industries" lead, very nearly two-thirds of their conditions contrary to the spirit of the law coming under this head. On the whole, the mercantile establishments seem to make a worse showing than any of the other industries, although the textile establishments had the largest number of cases.

## INCOME OF FAMILIES OF CHILDREN WORKING UNDER LEGAL EXCEPTION.

The question naturally arises in regard to the children working under legal exception how far such work was really necessary. In order to study this question, the children who worked under legal exception are here treated in the same way as were those who worked under legal age in Plymouth and Hazleton. From a study of per capita weekly income (viz, that remaining after deducting the income from the child who worked under legal exception during the period covered by this investigation, and also the income from any children younger than this child, as well as sickness and death expenses, and cost of rent or taxes), of what the parents say about their ability to keep child in school longer and of the age of the children the following facts have been ascertained:

In Columbus 9 children are considered, all of whose parents said they were unable to keep the children in school, though 2 families had an average income of $\$ 2.89$. The other families had an average income of $\$ 1.57$. The 2 families with the largest average income sent the children to work at 10 , the others at 11.

In Columbia 6 children are considered; the parents of 5 said they were able to keep the children in school longer, and their average income was $\$ 1.08$; while the one who said he was unable had an income of $\$ 1.06$. One family where 2 children, 8 and 9 years old, respectively, brother and sister, went to work had an income of $\$ 0.19$, or rather would have had with the above-described deduction.
In Columbus and Columbia, when the parents say they are able to send their children to school longer they may often mean that they are able to keep on as they have been doing, viz, alternating school and work, either every day by hours or every year by terms. It would seem that, judging from incomes of $\$ 1.80$ or over, possibly 7 out of the 9 Columbus families and 1 of the Columbia families, might have managed without the legal exceptions.

## SCHOOLROOM INQUIRIES.

The schoolroom inquiry has already been described in a general way in the explanation of the methods of the investigation, and while it is not precisely a part of the topic of this chapter it is as closely related to it as to any other, and may not improperly be inserted here as a sort of appendix or side light.

It will be recalled that in Columbus, Georgia and Alabama counties, Columbia, Plymouth, and Hazleton every white schoolroom was visited by one particular agent, and the children questioned as to how many had ever worked in a mill, factory, or breaker. Those who responded-and probably there were some who had so worked who did not reply-were further asked several questions concerning age
at beginning work, etc. There was no way of verifying the children's statements on these latter points, but they seemed to be made carefully and intelligently.

To summarize the results, it may be stated briefly that-

> 257 schoolrooms were visited.
> 10,033 pupils were seen and questioned.
> 600 had worked in mills, factories, and breakers.
> 263 had worked only in vacation.
> The average age at beginning work was:
> 198 reported that their work tired them.
> 262 reported that their work did not tire them.
> 300 reported that they liked work.
> 123 reported that they did not like work.

There are two striking points in these results-the early age at which some of these children began work and the large proportion who liked their work and said that it did not tire them. Some light is thrown on this latter point by an inquiry made in the evening manual-training school in Woonsocket. The pupils here ranged from 14 to 18 years old, and all were working through the day. Out of eighteen boys working in textile establishments, only three were found whose work was continuous throughout the day; the others, as doffers, back boys, piecers, etc., worked intermittently, some of them not being actually employed more than half the day. Out of thirteen who were employed in other than textile establishments, five worked intermittently. Of the ten girls interviewed here, two, both in textile establishments, worked intermittently. Some of these workers had a surprising amount of leisure during the day, as witness the following examples:

> Sweeper-sweeps 15 minutes and rests 30 minutes; weekly wages, $\$ 3.50$.
> Doffer-rests 4 hours a day; weekly wages, $\$ 6.50$.
> Doffer-rests 3 hours a day; weekly wages, $\$ 5.60$.
> Band boy-rests 2 hours a day; weekly wages, $\$ 5.80$.
> Back boy-rests half the time; weekly wages, $\$ 5$.
> Back boy-rests half the time; weekly wages, $\$ 7.30$.
> Office boy-rests 4 hours a day; weekly wages, $\$ 4.50$.

In most of the cases in which young workers had so much leisure, it was practically at their own disposal; sometimes they specified that they were not allowed to read, but this was exceptional. Ordinarily, as long as they were at hand, ready to do the work when required, no question was raised as to how they amused themselves. Such conditions zeem general among children holding such positions, a fact which explains both why some children are not tired by their
day's work and why some of them like work better than school. The children interviewed in the southern schools were much younger than those in the Woonsocket schools, hence they would naturally find this intermittent activity even more attractive. Some of the reasons they assigned for perferring work to school-in the cases where they expressed such a preference-are significant as to this. For example:

Have to stay in at school too much; I played nearly all the time in the mill.-(Boy of 11.)

More time to rest and to play than in school.-(Boy of 10.)
More fun in mill than at school.-(Boy of 13.)
I'm not so pinned down as at school. I like to move around and have more freedom to talk.-(Boy of 15.)

I know I get education here, but I'd rather work; there's more time to play in the mill.-(Girl of 11.)

More chance to play.-(Boys of 10, 11, and 12, and girls of 9 and 12.)

Such answers do not, of course, show that mill work is a desirable thing for children. But they do tend to show how deeply rooted in the child nature is the love of bodily freedom-and of play, which is really the same thing. These conditions of leisure, with the attendant opportunities for play, seem to be rare outside of the mills, being found chiefly among the office boys, while in the mills they are confined to certain occupations. Not all the children had the chance to play; some explained that when not working they had to "sit on a bench and wait."

On the whole, a double impression was left by the school inquiry. First, that among the children who wished to leave school a leading reason was that the work they could do required less effort than their school work; and, secondly, that the intermittent work undertaken by an unknown proportion of them involves a shocking amount of utterly wasted time. When this time is actually spent in play there is perhaps no reason for complaint; play is a thoroughly legitimate and desirable occupation for a child-though there is a certain incongruity in obliging a child to go to work in order that it may have a chance to play. But in the many cases where the time is not so spent, where the children sit waiting to be called on, or hang around, or "just loaf and talk," the abundant leisure has evident and serious drawbacks.

## INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYERS.

The results of the interviews with employers, like the results of the schoolroom inquiry, may be looked upon as a kind of appendix, belonging in fact to the investigation as a whole, but inserted here for convenience. These interviews with employers of the children were naturally divided into two parts. One consisted of inquiries relating to the children as individuals; the other consisted of inquiries to be answered by the persons interviewed, out of their generalexperience as employers of children. These inquiries covered subjectsthat may be broadly described as relating to industrial characteristics,needs, and prospects of working children.
Eighty-three establishments are included in the tabulations, classified as-
Textile establishments. ..... 39
Miscellaneous factories ..... 23
Machine shops. ..... 8
Mercantile establishments ..... 5
Coal mines ..... 5
Telegraph and telephone companies ..... 3
They are also classified by locality:
Rhode Island (covering Pawtucket and Woonsocket). ..... 42
Pennsylvania (covering Plymouth and Hazleton) ..... 20
South (covering Columbus, Ga., and environs, and Columbia, S. C.) ..... 21

Most of the employers, or those representing employers, were frank and friendly, above the average in intelligence, and gave their answers thoughtfully. Generally the questions calling for numerical replies were answered approximately only, but even so they are not devoid of interest and value.

The judgments summarized below relate not to the schedule children alone but to the child employees in general.

1. In the 83 establishments 10.8 per cent of the employees were under 16 years of age, classified as follows:

2. As to mental quality, 63.9 per cent of the employers reported their young employees as "bright;" only 4.8 per cent as "dull."
3. As to moral character, of the children employed, 63.4 per cent of the employers reported it as "good;" 8.5 per cent as "bad." The "South" had the lowest per cent reporting "good" ( 47.6 per cent), while Pennsylvania had the highest per cent reporting "bad" (20 per cent). The mercantile establishments all reported "good;" while of the coal mines only 40 per cent reported "good" and 40 per cent reported "bad."
4. As to stability of children:
71.0 per cent said boys generally stayed longer than 1 year.
56.5 per cent said boys generally stayed 2 years or more.
33.9 per cent said boys generally stayed 3 years or more.
21.0 per cent said boys generally stayed 5 years or more.

Girls were more stable.
45.3 per cent said girls generally stayed 5 years or more.

Textile establishments especially showed a high degree of stability.
5. Very few children are ever dismissed, "small help" being scarce.
6. The usual reasons for leaving the establishments, when the children left of their own accord, were classified under three heads as (1) showing ambition; (2) showing lack of ambition; (3) miscellaneous. In every locality except the South there were a great many more mentions of ambitious than of nonambitious reasons, but in the South it was just the other way.
7. As to the principal defects in the child workers and their remedies, 60.3 per cent of the employers said they lacked chiefly character, while 15.7 per cent said that ability was what they lacked chiefly; 12 per cent said they lacked both, and 12 per cent said they lacked neither. Interest and application were the qualities principally lacking in the opinion of about 80 per cent of the employers (about 95 per cent in the South). Among the remedies suggested "better home training" held the first place, and a long way behind came "more education," "more maturity," and miscellaneous suggestions.
8. As to the most desirable age at which to employ children, very few favored their employment under 14 years of age; only 3 textile mills in the South and 1 in Woonsocket. On the other hand, the machine shops and mercantile establishments were the only ones that showed a larger per cent in favor of employment at 16 or over than in favor of employment at 14 and 15. The per cents are as follows:

PER CENT OF EMPLOYERS FAVORING EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AT SPECIFIED AGES.

| Children. | Per cent of employers favoring employment of children- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Under 14. | 14 and 15. | 16 and over. |
| Boys. | 5.5 | 59.4 |  |
| Girls.. | 4.9 | 65.6 | 29.5 |

9. As to the best additional training for child workers, 32.5 per cent of the employers favored previous experience; of those who considered more schooling advantageous 57.7 per cent favored industrial schools, and 30.8 per cent common schools. Industrial schools were approved especially in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, and among miscellaneous factories; and common schools were approved especially in the South and among mercantile establishments.
10. As to the amount of education needed by the employees in the interests of the work, it is startling to find that 50.6 per cent of
the employers say that no education whatever is needed by the larger number of their employees in order to do the best work. It is still more surprising to find that the largest per cent of employers expressing this view is found in Rhode Island (comparing localities) and in machine shops (comparing industries).

Of the 41 employers who stated that a certain amount of education was essential, only 1 considered 10 years or over necessary; 29 considered the necessary amount as lying between 5 and 10 years, while 11 considered from 1 to 5 years sufficient.

Even for the higher positions (not including clerical and executive) 35.4 per cent of the employers report that no education is needed in the case of males, and 48 per cent so report in the case of females.
11. As to the education needed for the best interests of the child worker, not one employer said that for his own sake he needed no education. Most frequently it was said that he should have "as much as possible."

He should enter the industry at the age of 14 or 15 was the judgment of the majority.
12. In regard to the effect of the work upon his health, the best that could be said by 75.6 per cent of the employers was that it was "not especially bad," or words to that effect, while 5.1 per cent admitted that it was bad.

In regard to the effect of the work upon the mind of the child worker, 44.6 per cent said it was stimulating, while 30.1 per cent said it was deadening, or words to that effect.

In regard to the effect of the work upon the morals of the child worker, the best that could be said by 61.7 per cent of the employers was that it was "not especially bad," while 6.2 per cent admitted that it was "bad." The coal companies and the telegraph companies admit the largest per cent ( 50 and 33.3 , respectively) of bad effects, the only other industry to admit bad effects being the textile (5.3 per cent).
13. In regard to the prospects held out by the various industries in the different localities there are four indications, (1) the wages; (2) the relative number of higher paid employees; (3) the custom of the industry in regard to training its own higher paid workers; (4) what the employers say about the prospects.
(1) The highest maximum wages are offered to male workers in the machine shops, and to female workers in mercantile establishments, taking the industry groups as we have them here.
(2) The relative number of higher paid employees is greatest both for male and for female employees in mercantile establishments.
(3) Nearly three-fourths of all establishments train up all their own higher paid workers, and nearly half of the rest train up some of their higher paid workers.

$$
49450^{\circ} \text {-S. Doc. } 645,61-7, \text { vol } 7-16
$$

(4) Of the employers expressing their opinions:
80.6 per cent thought prospects good in the textile industries.
75.0 per cent thought prospects good in the miscellaneous factories.
75.0 per cent thought prospects good in the machine shops.
100.0 per cent thought prospects good in the mercantile establishments.
100.0 per cent thought prospects good in the coal mines.
100.0 per cent thought prospects good in the telegraph and telephone companies.
81.9 per cent thought prospects good in all establishments.

## CHAPTER V

## retardation, repeating, and blimination.


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$\longrightarrow-\cdots$



## CHAPTER V.

## RETARDATION, REPEATING, AND ELIMINATION.

## INTRODUCTION.

In the study of the children leaving school to go to work, it became evident that there was much retardation among them. Children of a given age were found leaving from grades which they should have reached and passed two or three years earlier. That this was not all due to entering school late appeared from the study of grade and months of school attendance, in which-omitting the problem of the foreign child, which obscured the real situation in Pawtucket and Woonsocket-children were found in grades much too low for the time they had spent in school. Naturally, the question at once suggested itself as to whether these children were peculiar in this respect and, if not, to what extent such retardation prevailed. To gain some light on this matter, a study was made of the schools in the communities visited and statistics collected concerning school enrollment and attendance, enrollment by grade and sex, number leaving each year by grade, age, and sex, number of "repeaters" by grade, age, and sex, etc. These statistics furnish a basis for the study, so far as these communities are concerned, of the two problems with which educators are at present largely concerned-retardation and elimination. The importance of this question will be seen when it is recalled that backwardness in school is in very many cases the real cause of the child's leaving.

As a preliminary to this study, some consideration of the school systems of the different cities seems desirable. Table 107 gives a general résumé of certain conditions in the six cities concerned. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature here is the large proportion of the Rhode Island children-in Pawtucket more than one-fourth, in Woonsocket more than one-third of all children of school census ageattending parochial or other private schools. Elsewhere the comparison can hardly be made, as the school census age extends far beyond the usual period of attendance.

TABLE 107.-POPULATION, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, TEACHERS ETC., OF SPECIFIED CITIES, 1906-7.
[From Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1907, pp. 606-625.]

| City. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Popu- } \\ \text { Cation } \\ \text { 1907 } \\ \text { (Census } \\ \text { Office } \\ \text { esti- } \\ \text { mate). } \end{gathered}$ | School census age (years). | Chil <br> dren of school census age. | Pupils <br> in pri- <br> vate and <br> parochial schools (largely mated). | Public day schools. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Regu- } \\ \text { lear } \\ \text { ters. } \end{gathered}$ | Number of pupils enrolled. | Num- <br> ber of days actu-session. | Aggre- gate number of days attend- ance of all pupils. | A verage daily attend ance. | Seats or sittings for study. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 45,041 | 7-15 | 8,782 | 2,476 | 194 | 7,572 | 186 ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ | 948, 511 | 5,212 | 6,941 |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | 33,792 | 5-15 | 7,958 | 3,014 | 114 | 4,004 | 185 | 526, 434 | 2,862 | 4,338 |
| Columbus, Ga | 17,831 | 6-18 | a 5,325 | 400 | 83 | 3,707 | 177 | 501,618 | 2,834 | 3,541 |
| Columbia, S. C | 25, 138 | 6-21 | 5,700 | 500 | 56 | 3,322 | 173 | 412,137 | 2,382 | 2,800 |
| Plymouth, Pa | 16,664 | 6-21 | 5.000 | 750 | 43 | 2,735 | 160 | 315,520 | 1,972 | 2,550 |
| Hazleton, Pa | 16,008 | 6-21 | b 4,500 | 756 | 69 | 3,075 | 180 | 450,720 | 2,504 | 3,200 |

As the courses of the two systems do not coincide and pupils passing from the parochial to the public schools, or vice versa, are frequently, if not generally, put back a grade or two, the importance of this large private-school enrollment as a factor in retardation is evident.

Another item of interest disclosed by the table is the relation attendance bears to enrollment. In Georgia and South Carolina there is no compulsory school-attendance law, while in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania attendance to the age of 14 is required by law.

In the public schools the percentage of attendance of total enrollment stands as follows:

Per cent.
Pawtucket, R. I. .................................................................................... 68.8
Woonsocket, R. I ............................................................................ 71.5
Columbus, Ga.................................................................................. 76.4
Columbia, S. C................................................................................ 71.7
Plymouth, Pa ........................... ................................................... 72.1
Hazleton, Pa............................................................................. 81.4
The range of variation is limited, covering not quite 13 per cent. The compulsory feature seems to have but little to do with it, both the highest and the lowest percentage of attendance being found where attendance is legally required.

The average number per teacher of children enrolled and attending varies far more widely than the percentage of attendance of enrollment, as shown by the following table:

Table 108.-AVERAGE NUMBER PER TEACHER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN AND ATTENDING PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS OF SPECIFIED CITIES, 1906-7.
[Compiled from school reports.]

| City. |
| :--- |

${ }^{6}$ Not reported.
The table shows that Hazleton which leads in the percentage of attendance of enrollment has next to the largest average number of pupils attending per teacher, while Pawtucket, where the average number per teacher is far more manageable, has the smallest percentage of attendance of enrollment. The differences between the localities may, however, be due as much to the comparative thoroughness of the enrollment as to the irregularity of attendance.

Comparing the schools as to methods and curricula, we find the school year is nearly the same in all the places studied, differing by about two weeks between the longest and shortest terms. (In 1906-7 the Plymouth school year was shortened by accidental circumstances, so that Table 107 shows a greater range than this.) In Rhode Island the course included nine grades, each implying one year's attendance, in Pennsylvania eight, and in Georgia and South Carolina ${ }^{a}$ seven.

In Pawtucket and Woonsocket the curricula and methods were both, according to the superintendents, somewhat rigid, though vigorous efforts were being made to improve them. In Pawtucket drawing was practically the only form of industrial training given. This was taught throughout the grades, and in the evening schools a very good course was given in free-hand and mechanical drawing. An experimental beginning had been made in teaching sewing in a few of the schools.

Woonsocket has an excellent manual training school, work in which is required of pupils in grades 7,8 , and 9 . The same work is given also to working children in evening sessions.

[^48]In Columbus, Ga., manual training is a part of the regular curriculum, being one of the requirements in each grade. Domestic science is also obligatory as part of the education of girls. The primary industrial school, attended mainly by white children of the working classes, is a part of the regular school system. Here bead and raffia work, work in burnt leather, weaving on miniature looms, and similar matters are taught. In addition, the city maintains a secondary industrial school, in which the pupils are taught mechanical and textile arts. These include machine and foundry work, carpentry and pattern making, and a training in all forms of cotton mill and hosiery mill occupations. The machinery, including a complete equipment for cotton and hosiery mills, is operated by electric power generated from the Chattahoochee River. For girls there is work in home economics, domestic science, office work, dressmaking, millinery, and like occupations. In the senior year students are required to work in some industrial establishment in the city a portion of the time, keeping the same hours and being under the same environment and rules as the regular employees of the establishment.

There are no night schools for training in academic branches. It is generally conceded that the introduction of the manual and industrial training has helped to a marked degree in keeping children in school, especially in the primary industrial and in the colored schools, and also in the other schools, particularly among boys.

The Columbia public schools have an excellent and progressive course, including manual training. To meet the needs of the youngest pupils grade 1 has been made a two-years course with half day attendance. At the date of the investigation a night school was maintained, in which 88 pupils from 9 years old up to 22 were enrolled. Prac- tically all these pupils worked in mills in the day time. In 1904-5, as an experiment, a primary school was opened in one of the mill villages-Granby-especially designed for the mill children. Many of these had previously had few or no opportunities, and when a school was thus brought to their doors they flocked to it with an unexpected enthusiasm which almost submerged the new enterprise. However, the school authorities appreciated the importance of the undertaking and increased the equipment to meet the evident desires of the people. The school has prospered and forms an important means of furnishing a training for children who would otherwise have had little or no schooling.

In Plymouth the schools have a conventional and rather rigid course of academic work, with no manual or industrial training of any sort. They have an unusually flexible system of grading, by which a pupil may go forward as rapidly as his capacity permits.

The Hazleton schools have manual training throughout the elementary grades, which is highly appreciated by the pupils. "If we had more of it, scores of the children would stay longer than they do." The grading is elastic, and especially bright pupils may be promoted at any time.

Finally in regard to the pupils' expenses, the schools differ considerably. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket, Plymouth and Hazleton, tuition, text-books, stationery, and other supplies are free. In Columbus and Columbia tuition is free, but for the use of books and stationery fees are charged, ranging from $\$ 1$ per half year in grade 1 ( $\$ 1.10$ in Columbia) up to $\$ 5$ and $\$ 6$ in the higher grades. But at the primary industrial school in Columbus no fees are charged.

## RETARDATION.

Given schools of this character, to what extent are they accomplishing the work for which they are designed, and to what extent are they failing in their purpose by reason of the retardation of their pupils? The theory on which the schools are based is that every child is to have an opportunity to secure at least an elementary education. Theoretically, if a child should enter the first grade at 6 or 7 years and pass through one grade each year, he would complete the elementary course by the time he had reached working age. "Working age" is rather a flexible term. Where the nine-grade school system prevails there is little likelihood of children finishing the whole number of grades under 15 or 16 , but where the seven or eight grade system is established a child entering at 6 , which is considered a normal age, might easily complete the work by 14 . If, however, he enters school later than the normal age, or if entering at that age he fails to complete a grade each year, he has little prospect of completing the course at the proper time. His degree of retardation will depend both on his age at entering and on his success in doing the school work in the time assigned for it. A pupil of 12 in the first grade is retarded, even though he has never before been in school, and a pupil who, failing in his work one year, has to repeat the grade, is retarded, even though he be only of the normal age for that grade.

The superintendents of the six cities studied in the present investigation have kindly furnished statistics, specially collected and compiled for this report, showing the enrollment in each grade by sex, together with the number of repeaters, and in connection with each repeater the age, sex, country of birth, race of father, and cause of repeating. These data, in connection with others from the same cities, throw some light upon this vexing problem. The order of treatment will be as follows: 1, Age of pupils as a measure of retardation; 2, Repeaters as a measure of retardation; 3, Elimination.

## AGE OF PUPILS AS A MEASURE OF RETARDATION.

The age of the pupils in each grade is an easily obtainable measure of the amount of retardation at a given time. It is not wholly satisfactory since it gives no indication of whether the pupil is behind his grade because of late entrance or because of failure to accomplish the school work within a prescribed time. But since in either case retardation exists, the age in each grade gives the simplest measure of its extent.

NUMBER OF OVER-AGE AND UNDER-AGE PUPILS, AND DEGREE OF DEPARTURE FROM NORMAL STANDARD.

This section is based upon a study of the ages of the pupils in the grades of the six cities visited. The data on which it is based were secured in the spring of 1908 for Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Columbus, Plymouth, and Hazleton, and in the fall of 1908 for Columbia. For the first three cities mentioned, and for Columbia, the figures represent the enrollment and for Plymouth and Hazleton the attendance on the day the agents of the Bureau of Labor visited the schools and collected these facts. This variation as to time and as to nature of material renders the actual figures noncomparable, but there is no reason to suppose that it obscures the relation of age and grade, except in the case of Columbia, where the enrollment was secured in the fall instead of in the spring. This difference could not be obviated in the distributive tables, but a correction has been applied in the calculations of average age in each grade. Children are half a year, more or less, younger in the fall than they are in the same grade in the spring; so, for purposes of comparison with other places, half a year was added to the average of the fall ages for Columbia.

In estimating the number of over-age pupils two standards have been used: First, the average age in the first grade, which nowhere falls below 7 years; and, second, the age at which the largest number of first-grade pupils is found-the mode age as it is called. The latter gives 6 years as the standard age in Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Hazleton, and 7 years elsewhere. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

## average age in each grade compared with average age in FIRST GRADE.

The first of these standards of comparison is used in Table 109, immediately following, which shows the actual average age in each grade compared with what it would be if the child entered at the

[^49]average age of the first grade and passed through one grade yearly. The difference between the actual and the normal shows for each grade the average amount of retardation per pupil.

TABLE 109.-ACTUAL AVERAGE AGE IN EACH GRADE COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE AGE IN FIRST GRADE AND NORMAL AGE IN SUCCEEDING GRADES, AND THE AVERAGE RETARDATION PER PUPIL, IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY SEX, $1907-8$.

[^50]PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Grade. | Average age in grade 1 and corresponding normal age in following grades. |  |  | Actual average age in each grade. |  |  | Excess of actual over normal average age. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| 1. | 7.00 | 7.08 | 7.04 | 7.00 | 7.08 | 7.04 |  |  |  |
| 2 | 8.00 | 8.08 | 8.04 | 8.50 | 8.42 | 8.46 | 0.50 | 0.34 | 0.42 |
| 3 | 9.00 | 9.08 | 9.04 | 9.82 | 9.63 | 9.72 | . 82 | . 55 | . 68 |
| 4 | 10.00 | 10.08 | 10.04 | 10.91 | 10.84 | 10.87 | . 91 | . 76 | . 83 |
| 5 | 11.00 | 11.08 | 11.04 | 11.90 | 11.49 | 11.70 | . 90 | . 41 | . 66 |
| 6. | 12.00 | 12.08 | 12.04 | 12.55 | 12.50 | 12. 53 | . 55 | . 42 | . 49 |
| 7 | 13.00 | 13.08 | 13.04 | 13.31 | 13.34 | 13.33 | . 31 | . 26 | . 29 |
| 8 | 14.00 | 14.08 | 14. 04 | 14.15 | 14.01 | 14.08 | . 15 | a. 07 | . 04 |
| 9 | 15.00 | 15.08 | 15. 04 | 15.03 | 15.04 | 15.03 | . 03 | a. 04 | a. 01 |
| Total | 9.89 | 10.06 | 9.97 | 10.50 | 10.49 | 10.49 | . 61 | . 43 | . 52 |

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

| 1 | 7.33 | 7.37 | 7.35 | 7.33 | 7.37 | 7.35 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | 8.33 | 8.37 | 8.35 | 9.20 | 9.19 | 9.19 | 0.87 | 0.82 | 0.84 |
| 3 | 9.33 | 9.37 | 9.35 | 10.75 | 10.57 | 10.67 | 1. 42 | 1.20 | 1.32 |
|  | 10.33 | 10.37 | 10.35 | 11.66 | 11. 65 | 11. 65 | 1.33 | 1.28 | 1.30 |
| 5 | 11.33 | 11.37 | 11.35 | 12.20 | 11.94 | 12.07 | . 87 | . 57 | . 72 |
| 6 | 12.33 | 12.37 | 12.35 | 12. 82 | 12.78 | 12.80 | . 49 | . 41 | . 45 |
| 7. | 13.33 | 13.37 | 13.35 | 13. 60 | 13. 61 | 13. 60 | . 27 | . 24 | . 25 |
| 8 | 14.33 | 14.37 | 14.35 | 14.50 | 14.46 | 14.48 | . 17 | . 09 | . 13 |
| 9 | 15.33 | 15.37 | 15.35 | 14.95 | 14.89 | 14.92 | a. 38 | a. 48 | a. 43 |
| Total | 9.69 | 9.84 | 9.76 | 10.37 | 10.46 | 10.35 | . 68 | . 62 | . 59 |

## COLUMBUS, GA.

| 1. | 7.81 | 7.78 | 7.80 | 7.81 | 7.78 | 7.80 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | 8.81 | 8.78 | 8.80 | 9.32 | 9.19 | 9.26 | 0.51 | 0.41 | 0.46 |
| 3 | 9.81 | 9.78 | 9.80 | 10.45 | 10. 50 | 10.48 | . 64 | . 72 | . 68 |
| 4. | 10.81 | 10.78 | 10.80 | 11.53 | 11.44 | 11.47 | . 72 | . 66 | . 67 |
| 5. | 11.81 | 11.78 | 11.80 | 12.60 | 12.30 | 12. 45 | . 79 | . 52 | . 65 |
| 6. | 12.81 | 12.78 | 12.80 | 13.29 | 13.35 | 13.32 | . 48 | . 57 | . 52 |
| 7 | 13.81 | 13.78 | 13.80 | 14.30 | 14.01 | 14.14 | . 49 | . 23 | . 34 |
| Total | 10.05 | 10.20 | 10.14 | 10.52 | 10.64 | 10.58 | . 47 | . 44 | . 44 |

COLUMBIA, S. C.

a Excess of normal over actual average age.

Table 109.-ACTUAL AVERAGE AGE IN EACH GRADE COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE AGE IN FIRST GRADE AND NORMAL AGE IN SUCCEEDING GRADES, AND THE AVERAGE RETARDATION PER PUPIL, IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY SEX, 1907-8Concluded.

PLYMOUTH, PA.

| Grade. | Average age in grade 1 and corresponding normal age in following grades. |  |  | Actual average age in each grade. |  |  | Excess of actual over normal average age. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. |
| 1 | 7.74 | 7.68 | 7.72 | 7.74 | 7.68 | 7.72 |  |  |  |
| 2 | 8.74 | 8.68 | 8.72 | 9.46 | 9.27 | 9.37 | 0.72 | 0.59 | 0. 65 |
| 3 | 9.74 | 9.68 | 9.72 | 10.60 | 10.28 | 10. 46 | . 86 | . 60 | . 74 |
| 4 | 10.74 | 10.68 | 10.72 | 11.20 | 11.19 | 11. 22 | . 46 | . 51 | . 50 |
| 5 | 11.74 | 11.68 | 11.72 | 12.31 | 11.96 | 12.13 | . 57 | . 28 | . 41 |
| 6 | 12.74 | 12.68 | 12.72 | 13.20 | 12.98 | 13.08 | . 46 | . 30 | . 36 |
| 7 | 13.74 | 13.68 | 13.72 | 14. 41 | 14.42 | 14. 42 | . 67 | . 74 | . 70 |
|  | 14.74 | 14.68 | 14.72 | 14.92 | 15.20 | 15.06 | . 18 | . 52 | . 34 |
| Total | 9. 60 | 9. 63 | 9.62 | 10.07 | 10.09 | 10.08 | . 47 | . 46 | . 46 |

HAZLETON, PA.


This table brings out rather forcibly two points: The greater tendency of boys, as compared with girls, to fall behind their proper grades, and the greater amount of retardation in the lower grades. As to the first, the following points are to be noted:
(1) In the first grade the actual average age of the girls is higher than that of the boys in every place but Columbus and Plymouth. The maximum difference either way is 0.09 of a year in Hazleton.
(2) In all grades together the actual average age of the girls is higher than that of the boys in every place but Pawtucket and Hazleton. The maximum difference either way is 0.14 of a year in Hazleton.
(3) Taking each grade above the first grade separately, the actual average age of the boys is higher in 33 cases out of a possible 42. The maximum difference is 0.50 of a year in fifth grade in Hazleton.
(4) Taking all grades together the difference between the normal and the actual average age is greater in the case of the boys in every place. The maximum difference for boys is 0.86 of a year in Hazleton and for girls 0.62 in Woonsocket. The maximum excess of the difference for boys over that for girls is 0.36 of a year in Hazleton, although the girls started in the first grade 0.09 of a year older than the boys.
(5) Taking each grade above the first separately, the difference between the normal and the actual average age is greater for the boys in 35 cases out of a possible 42 , including in the 35 two or three cases where the actual average age of boys and girls or both was lower than the normal age. The maximum of difference is in the fifth grade in Hazleton, where the difference is for boys 1.18 and for girls 0.59 .

As for the second point, it will be noticed that in general the greatest difference between the actual and the normal average age is found in the third or fourth grades and that as the higher grades are reached the difference tends to diminish, until among the girls in the eighth and ninth grades of Pawtucket and all children in the ninth grade of Woonsocket, the actual average age is less than the normal. This tendency is not uniform. The sixth grade in Columbia, the seventh in Plymouth, and the eighth in Hazleton show an increase which breaks the downward tendency, but, nevertheless, the downward curve is marked. Undoubtedly this is to a large degree due to the dropping out of backward pupils before the higher grades are reached. To what extent this factor is accountable we shall try to show in the section on elimination.

## PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE, AND PER CENT OF PUPILS OF NORMAL AGE AND OF YOUNGER AND OLDER AGES.

Turning from average to actual ages, Table 110 shows the number of pupils in each grade older than normal, younger than normal, and normal. The standard of normal age in the first grade is taken to be the age of the largest number of pupils (both sexes considered together), and for each successive grade one year is added to obtain normal age.

This table shows not only the number of pupils older and younger than normal, but the number of pupils older and younger by a specified number of years.

Table 110.-NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8.
[The mode age for the first grade is taken as a standard, and one year added for each succeeding grade to obtain the normal age for any given grade.]

PAWTUCKET, R. I.

|  | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\stackrel{7}{\mathrm{yrs}}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\underset{\text { yrs. }}{9}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c} 12 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 13 \\ \mathrm{yrs} . \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c\|} \hline 14 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{array}$ | 15 yrs. | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \text { yrs. } \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Grade 1.-Normal age, 6 years: Number. | 118 | 416 | 282 | 102 | 27 |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent........................ | $\underbrace{12.3}$ | 43.3 | 29.4 | 10.6 | 3.0 | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 |  |  |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  | . 6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded. |  |  |  |  |  | 44.4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 2.-Normal age, 7 years: Number |  | 34 | 281 | 235 | 116 | 47 | 22 | 8 | 2 |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent..................... |  | 4.6 | 37.7 | 31.5 | 15.6 | 6.3 | 2.9 | 1.1 | 0.3 |  |  |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. $\qquad$ |  |  | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age i. e., retarded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 3.-Normal age, 8 years: Number. |  |  | 37 | 221 | 205 | 128 | 69 | 32 | 19 | 1 | 1 |  | 713 |
| Per cent....................... |  |  | 5.2 | $\underbrace{31.0}$ | 28.7 | 18.0 | 9.7 | 4.5 | 2.7 | 0.1 | 0.1 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 63.8 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 4.-Normal age, 9 years: Number. |  |  |  | 30 | 182 | 200 | 124 | 94 | 38 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 685 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  | 4.4 | 26.6 | 29.2 | 18.1 | 13.7 | 5.6 | 2.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  | . 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 69.0 |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 5.-Normal age, 10 years: Number. |  |  |  | 1 | 39 | 187 | 182 | 123 | 85 | 27 | 6 |  | 650 |
| Per cent..................... |  |  |  | 0.1 | 6.0 | 28.8 | 28.0 | 18.9 | 13.1 | 4.1 | 1.0 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  |  | 34.9 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 65. |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 6.-Normal age, 11 years: Number |  |  |  |  |  | 14 | 153 | 163 | 102 | 43 | 2 |  | 777 |
| Per cent........................ |  |  |  |  |  | 2.9 | 32.1 | 34.2 | 21.4 | 9.0 | 0.4 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age |  |  |  |  |  | 35. | . 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal agei. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 7.-Normal age, 12 years: Number |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 26 | 127 | 10 C | 78 | 21 |  | 359 |
| Per cent.. |  |  |  |  |  | 0.3 | 7.3 | 35.1 | 29.6 | 21.8 | 5.9 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age |  |  |  |  |  |  | 42.7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 57.3 |  |  |  |
| Grade 8.-Normal age, 13 years: Number. $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 17 | 115 | 78 | 26 | 10 | 246 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6.9 | 46.7 | 31.7 | 10.6 | 4.1 | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 53 | 6 |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 46.4 |  |  |
| Grade 9.-Normal age, 14 years: Number. $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 27 | 103 | 90 | 42 | 265 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1.1 | 10.2 | 38.9 | 34.0 | 15.8 | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 50.2 |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total number at each age.. | 118 | 450 | 600 | 589 | 569 | 585 | 579 | 568 | 496 | 344 |  | 53 | 5,099 |

Table 110.-NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8-Cont'd.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.


TABLE 110.-NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8-Cont'd.

COLUMBUS, GA.

|  | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c} 12 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | 14 | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ \text { yrs. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \text { yrs. } \\ \text { and } \\ \text { over. } \end{gathered}$ | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Grade 1.-Normal age, 7 years: Number |  | 85 | 161 | 79 | 17 |  |  | 3 |  |  | 1 |  | 362 |
| Per cent........................ |  | 23.5 | 44.5 | 21.8 | 4.7 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 0.8 |  |  | 0.3 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  | . 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age - <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 2.-Normal age, 8 years: Number |  |  | 25 | 84 | 88 | 25 | 12 | 7 |  | 1 |  |  | 242 |
| Per cent. |  |  | 10.4 | 34.7 | 36.3 | 10.4 | 4.9 | 2.9 |  | 0.4 |  |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age $\qquad$ |  |  | 45 | . 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> 1. e., retarded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 3.-Normal age, 9 years: Number |  |  | 1 | 12 | 100 | 73 | 41 | 22 | 6 | 2 | 2 |  | 259 |
| Per cent. |  |  | 0.4 | 4.6 | 38.6 | 28.2 | 15.8 | 8.5 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 0.8 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age $\qquad$ |  |  |  | 43.6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> 1. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 4.-Normal age, 10 years: <br> Number. |  |  |  |  | 16 | 72 | 61 |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 222 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  |  | 7.2 | 32.5 | 27.5 | 22.5 | 9.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 |  | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| i. e., retarded. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 60.3 |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 5.-Normal age, 11 years: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Number...................... |  |  |  |  |  | 11 | 67 | 54 | 50 | 12 | 2 |  | 196 |
| Per cent |  |  |  |  |  | 5.6 | 34.2 | 27.6 | 25.5 | 6.1 | 1.0 | ..... | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | . 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grade 6.-Normal age, 12 years: Number |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 11 | 43 | 41 | 23 | 8 | 2 | 129 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  |  |  | 0.8 | 8.5 | 33.3 | 31.8 | 17.8 | 6.2 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 42.6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |  |  |
| Grade 7.-Normal age, 13 years: Number. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 11 | 43 | 50 | 17 | 2 | 123 |
| Per cent. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 9.0 | 35.0 | 40.6 | 13.8 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Per cent at or under normal age. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent over normal age- <br> i. e., retarded |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 56.0 |  |  |
| Total number at each age. |  | 85 | 187 | 175 | 221 | 190 | 200 | 190 | 161 | 89 | 31 | 4 | 1,533 |

Table 110.-NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8-Cont'd.

COLUMBIA, S. C.


Table 110.-NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8-Cont'd.

PLYMOUTH, PA.


Table 110.-NUMber OF PUPILS IN EACH GRADE, BY AGE AND PER CENT OVER NORMAL AGE (OR RETARDED) AND AT OR UNDER NORMAL AGE, 1907-8-Concl'd.
hazleton, pa.


The following are the questions of main interest in connection with this table:
(1) What per cent of pupils are retarded in each place?
(2) What is the numerical relation between the under age, the over age, and the normal age pupils?
(3) How is the retardation distributed through the grades?
(4) What is the numerical relation between the per cent of boys and the per cent of girls retarded?
(5) What is the average amount of retardation (in years) in each place ?

These questions may be answered by the following brief summaries:

## PER CENT OF PUPILS RETARDED.

The number and per cent of pupils retarded as measured by two different standards are shownin the following table. The firststandard assumes any age under 8 in the first grade as normal (the average for the first grade nowhere falls below 7 years) and that any pupil 8 years of age or over in that grade or more than one year older than normal for each succeeding grade is retarded. The second standard takes as normal the age at which the largest number of first-grade pupils is found-the "mode" age, as it is often called-and any pupil more than one year older than this normal for each succeeding grade is considered as retarded.

Table 111.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PUPILS RETARDED.

| Locality. | Standard I.-Any age under 8 in grade 1 considered as normal (one year added for normal age in each succeeding grade). |  | Standard II.-Mode age in grade 1 considered as normal (one year added for normal age in each succeeding grade). |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Pupils retarded. |  | Mode age in grade 1. | Pupils retarded. |  |
|  | Number. | Per cent. |  | Number. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 1,426 | 28.0 |  | 2,967 | 58.2 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 1,181 | a 40.8 | 6 | 1,844 | 63.7 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 790 | 51.5 | 7 | 790 | 51.5 |
| Columbia, S. C | 786 | 50.8 | 7 | 786 | 50.8 |
| Plymouth, Pa . | 872 | 48.7 | 7 | 872 | 48.7 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 963 | 41.3 | 6 | 1,748 | 75.0 |

[^51]Hazleton, which by the first standard stands third in the list, sinks to the very foot of the list when the second is applied.

It is an open question which standard is the fairer. In favor of standard II, the movable standard, it may be said, first, that Pawtucket and Woonsocket admit pupils to school at the age of 5 years, and secondly, that in a nine-grade system, such as is found in Pawtucket and Woonsocket, a pupil must enter at 5 years of age and progress a grade each year, in order to graduate at what is generally considered the normal age for graduation, namely, 14. A pupil of 6 in grade 1 in Pawtucket and Woonsocket is, therefore, practically more retarded than a pupil of 7 in Columbus and Columbia, which have seven-year systems. Standard II is not, however, as strict as this comparison might suggest, for a pupil of 6 is considered of normal age in Pawtucket and Woonsocket equally with a pupil of 7 in Columbus and Columbia.

It will be noticed that whichever standard is used, there is but a small amount of difference between the places, compared with the wide variation found in the country at large. ${ }^{a}$ According to standard I, Pawtucket is the only place showing a marked variation from the others, having a much smaller per cent of retarded pupils than the other five, while by standard II Hazleton is the only place showing a pronounced divergence.

Another noteworthy point, considering the relatively high standing of most of the places in the industrial and educational world, is the large percentage of retarded children. The poorest town from a civic point of view, Plymouth, has the smallest (though not a small) percentage of retarded children, according to standard II. All the places, by either standard (except Pawtucket by standard I), have a higher percentage of retarded pupils than the estimated average for the whole country, viz, 33 per cent. ${ }^{\text {b }}$

Hazleton is a bright, clean, progressive city, largely German (not Pennsylvania Dutch), with an excellent system of schools, and yet the percentage of retarded pupils is 75 . It is strongly to be suspected that here, as well as in the five other places studied, the nature of the population and the industrial conditions have a great deal more to do with the amount of retardation in the schools than anything for which the schools themselves are responsible. By no study of school methods in other cities could Woonsocket, for instance, alter the proportion of French Canadians in her population, or learn how to compensate for the loss of time incident to the racial and religious custom of sending the children to a French parochial school for a year or two to prepare for confirmation.

[^52]PUPILS OVER AGE COMPARED WITH PUPILS UNDER AGE AND OF NORMAL AGE.

Table 112.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PUPILS OVER AGE, UNDER AGE, AND OF NORMAL AGE, ACCORDING TO STANDARD II.

| Locality. | Over age. |  | Under age. |  | Normal age. |  | Total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Percent. | Number. | Per cent. |  |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 2,967 | 58.2 | 347 | 6.8 | 1,785 | 35.0 | 5,099 |
| Woonsocket, R | 1,844 | 63.7 51.5 | 319 | 11.0 | 733 | 25.3 | 2,896 |
| Columbia, S. | 786 | 50.8 | 231 | 114.9 | 531 | 34.1 | 1,033 |
| Plymouth, P | 872 | 48.7. | 324 | 18.1 | 594 | 33.2 | 1,790 |
| Hazleton, Pa | 1,748 | 75.0 | 32 | 1.4 | 550 | 23.6 | 2,330 |
| Total | 9,007 | 59.3 | 1,426 | 9.4 | 4,763 | 31.3 | 15,196 |

It will be seen that while the over age or retarded pupils form in every place the largest group, the under age pupils, those who are really further along than could be expected from their age, are by no means a negligible factor. We find the advanced children numbering 21.9 per cent of the retarded in Columbus, 29.4 per cent in Columbia, and 37.1 per cent, or nearly two-fifths, in Plymouth. On the other hand, in Pawtucket they are 11.7 per cent, and in Hazleton sink far below it, amounting to only 1.8 per cent.

## DISTRIBUTION OF RETARDED AND ADVANCED PUPILS IN THE GRADES.

The grade distribution of both over age and under age children is clearly shown in Table 110, but for convenience of reference these figures are grouped in Table 113 immediately following:

TABLE 113.-PER CENT OF PUPILS UNDER AGE AND OVER AGE IN EACH GRADE ACCORDING TO STANDARD II.

|  | Per cent of pupils in grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  | - |  |  |  |
| Under age | 12.3 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 4.4 | 6.1 | 2.9 | 7.6 | 6.9 | 11.3 |
| Over age | 44.4 | 57.7 | 63.8 | 69.0 | 65.1 | 65.0 | 57.3 | 46.4 | 49.8 |
| Woonsocket, R. I.: <br> Under age | 20.8 | 7.5 | 7.1 | 4.0 | 8.7 | 9.3 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 17.7 |
| Over age. | 46.8 | 65.5 | 74.6 | 76.5 | 69.4 | 68.0 | 69.6 | 69.0 | 42.3 |
| Columbus, Ga.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under age. | 23.5 | 10.4 | 5.0 | 7.2 | 5.6 | 9.3 | 9.0 |  |  |
| Over age... Columbia, S. C.: | 32.0 | 54.9 | 56.4 | 60.3 | 60.2 | 57.4 | 56.0 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C.: | 31.4 | 3.8 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 7.8 | 3.2 |  |  |  |
| Over age... | 32.2 | 55.4 | 57.7 | 60.3 | 58.2 | 79.5 | 45.8 |  |  |
| Plymouth, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under age. | 30.7 | 14.0 | 11.9 | 13.5 | 11.7 | 9.0 | 7.2 | 14.2 |  |
| Over age. | 31.6 | 56.5 | 62.9 | 54.6 | 48.1 | 53.4 | C6. 6 | 49.3 |  |
| Under age. | 3.5 | 1.7 |  |  | 7 |  | 2.5 | . 6 |  |
| Over age. | 52.3 | 72.1 | 80.7 | 82.6 | 81.5 | 81.2 | 82.0 | 84.3 |  |

The following table shows similar facts for Pawtucket and Woonsocket, R. I., and "Hazleton, Pa., using 7 years as normal age for first grade.

PER CENT OF PUPILS UNDER AGE AND OVER AGE IN EACH GRADE, USING 7 YEARS AS NORMAL AGE FOR FIRST GRADE.

| Locality. | Per cent of pupils in grade- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. |
| Pawtucket, R. I.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under age... | 55.6 | 42.3 | 36.2 | 31.0 | 34.9 | 35.1 | 42.7 | 53.6 | 50.2 |
| Over age.......: | 15.0 | 26.2 | 35.1 | 39.9 | 37.1 | 30.8 | 27.6 | 14.6 | 15.8 |
| Under age. | 53.2 | 34.5 | 25.4 | 23.5 | 30.6 | 31.8 | 30.4 | 31.0 | 57.7 |
| Over age. | 26.9 | 40.1 | 52.0 | 57.5 | 50.2 | 44.4 | 35.4 | 30.1 | 18. 8 |
| Hazleton, Pa.: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under age. | 47.7 16.5 | 27.9 39.3 | 19.3 | 17.4 | 18.5 | 18.8 | 18.0 | 15.7 |  |
| Over age. | 16.5 | 39.3 | 44.9 | 52.1 | 52.1 | 46.9 | 43.0 | 51.8 |  |

Considering first the retarded pupils, perhaps the most striking fact is the large proportion found in the upper grades. Of course, the upper grades have so decreased in size that these large percentages mean rather small absolute numbers; nevertheless, as the backward pupils are those one would naturally expect to find dropping out as they grow older, it is surprising to find that they keep up their proportion so well. It will be remembered that standard II, by which Table 110 is made out, takes six years as the normal age in the first grade for Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Hazleton, and seven years elsewhere, while several writers who have recently discussed the subject, take any age under 8 as normal for the first grade. To see how this difference in standard would affect the relative results the second part of the table was made out, using the higher age for the three cities concerned. It will be noticed that while this changes the per cent of retardation in the upper grades, it does not greatly change its proportion as compared with the lower grades.

It will be noticed that the variation of increasing and decreasing retardation in the grades is the same here as that noted in Table 109. Beginning with a large proportion of retarded pupils in the first grade, the percentages increase to the fourth or fifth grade, after which they decline: This curve is not wholly regular. Columbia shows a sudden and inexplicable rise in the sixth grade, with an even more marked decrease in the seventh, while Plymouth shows a wavy line, with its two highest points at the third and the seventh grades. Hazleton and Pawtucket both show an increase of retardation in the final grade, which, though slight, is difficult of explanation.

The distribution of the under-age pupils shows a certain tendency to reverse that of the over-age pupils. Beginning with a fair and in some cases with a large proportion in the lowest grade, they diminish
in the middle grades and increase in the higher. This tendency is, however, considerably less regular even than the curve of the overage pupils. In general, it may be said that in the upper grades the over-age pupils are more and the under-age pupils less numerous than one would expect to find them.

## COMPARATIVE RETARDATION OF BOYS AND GIRLS.

Since this is not a study of the scholastic ability of boys versus girls, it does not seem worth while to give a detailed table of their relative standing, but the following summary shows in a general way the proportion of retardation for each:

TAble 114.-COMPARATIVE RETARDATION OF BOYS AND GIRLS, ACCORDING TO STANDARD II.

| Locality. | - | Per cent of retardation. |  | Excess of retardation (per cent). |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. |  | 59.3 | 57.0 | 4.0 |  |
| Woonsocket, R. I |  | 62.8 | 64.6 |  | 2.8 |
| Columbus, Ga... |  | 53.4 53.4 | 49.8 | 7.2 |  |
| Plymouth, Pa.. |  | 50.8 | 46.5 | 10.3 9.2 |  |
| Hazleton, Pa. |  | 77.2 | 72.7 | 6.1 |  |

It will be remembered that table 109 showed that except in Columbus and Plymouth the girls began their school life later than the boys, so that normally they should show the largest proportion of retardation. Yet, in every place but Woonsocket, the boys show an excess, which varies from 4.0 per cent in Pawtucket to 10.3 per cent in Columbia. The greater amount among girls in Woonsocket calls to mind another exception in that city. In the study of the children it was found than among the French Canadians of Woonsocket appeared a tendency not discovered elsewhere, to regard the education of girls as of less importance than that of boys. They were taken out of school more generally as they reached the legal age, while elsewhere there was a marked tendency to keep the girls in school, even if the boys came out to work. The attitude toward the education of girls, of which this difference was an indication, may account for this exceptional amount of retardation among them.

## AVERAGE RETARDATION PER PUPIL FOR EACH LOCALITY.

The average amount of retardation per pupil, measured in years, was obtained from the aggregate number of years of retardation divided by the total number of pupils enrolled. The summary for the different places visited is as follows:

TABLE 115.-AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF RETARDATION PER PUPIL ENROLLED ACCORDING TO STANDARD II.

|  | Average years of retardation. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Locality. | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | Excess of retardation of boys over that of girls (per cent). |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 1.06 | 0.99 | 1.03 | 7.1 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 1. 60 | 1.56 | 1.58 | 2.6 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 1.88 | . 83 | . 85 | 8.0 15.6 |
|  | 1.04 | . 90 | . 96 | 15.6 20.8 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 1.51 | 1.28 | 1. 40 | 18.0 |

The above table shows a larger percentage of difference between boys and girls than the preceding, and as a measure of amount of retardation is more accurate, since the number of pupils retarded and the number of years retarded are both factors in the result. There appears more variation between one place and another than in the preceding table, the per cent that the retardation. of boys exceeds that of girls ranging from 2.6 in Woonsocket to 20.8 in Plymouth. It is evident that while proportionately more girls than boys were retarded in Woonsocket, their degree of retardation was not so great; they were not as far behind the classes in which they should be found.

## NUMBER OF REPEATERS AS A MEASURE OF RETARDATION.

So far only the ages of the pupils in the different grades have been considered as a measure of retardation. The number of repeaters, i. e., of children who are working in the same grade for a second or even a third year, furnishes a second means of estimating retardation, which will bring to light some cases which escaped the first test. For while not all retarded children are repeaters, all repeaters are retarded; yet a child who began school earlier than the normal age for the first grade might be retarded by repeating one or even two grades without appearing in the list of children over age.

But the study of repeaters has a second and no less important purpose. For one of the leading school problems of the day is elimination in the lower grades. How many children really go through the elementary grades and how many fall out by the way? To answer this, we need to know how many are beginning school each year. If we can find out how many children begin school each year, we can compute how many remain in the final elementary grade. Now, if we know the number of repeaters in the first grade, we know approximately the number who are beginning school. For though a few
begin in grales abuve the first, and though more begin their school life in one place and continue it in another, thus increasing the difficulty of deciding on the real beginners, these can not constitute more than a very small proportion, and those of the latter class who come from other localities to enter higher grades are to some extent balanced by those who leave the higher grades to go to other localities.

It is, of course, fully recognized that no six cities can furnish data that will settle for any other cities so intricate a statistical problem as this of the relation of retardation and elimination. If the six cities had been selected at random, and their racial, industrial, and educational conditions had remained unknown, few inferences of any value whatever could be drawn from the mere statement of the figures. The figures might indeed serve to confirm (not, of course, to prove) or to disprove the universal validity of a proposed method for deriving the number of beginners, when that number is not directly reported, from other figures. But beyond that, a random selection of cities could serve no important purpose.
It is hoped, however, that, in the case of the six cities forming the subject of this study, general conditions have been described to such an extent as to give a real value to the direct data on the topic of repeating which have been so kindly furnished by the superintendents.

Before introducing any of the figures, it must be noted that the problem of deciding in a given case whether a pupil is a repeater or not is far from being an altogether simple one.
The best illustration of the difficulties that may arise-and of the special circumstances without a knowledge of which any attempt at correct inferences from the mere figures must fail-is found in the following quotations from letters from the superintendent of the Woonsocket schools, accompanying the desired statistics:

$$
\text { February 28, } 1910 .
$$

About 50 per cent of our child population (5 to 15) are in parochial schools and there are frequent interchanges between the two systems of schools. Four-fifths of the children in Woonsocket are of non-English-speaking parentage. If the accounts of the different cities are to be of any sort of value to the interested student, the conditions ought to be fully understood both as to character of people and periods of promotion.

Children enter our schools three times a year, the first two weeks of the fall, winter, and spring terms. Most of them enter in the fall and spring. We have yearly promotions. Those entering the spring term of twelve weeks I do not regard as repeaters when they are registered again in the same grade in the fall

The questions I proposed to my teachers last term were: How many of your present registration have been one year in this grade and are now repeating it? Why were they not promoted?

We have many "over-age" pupils, and many more "repeaters" than I wish; but I am inclined to think that as far as the latter is concerned our record will not compare unfavorably with other manufacturing cities of New England.

## March 16, 1910.

I am sending you to-day the required data in regard to "repeaters" in our schools. The figures are compiled from the answers given by the several teachers in the fall term to the question, "How many of the children at present registered in your school have been in this grade a year and are now repeating it?" The answers have reference only to the public schools. The work in the parochial (French) schools does not correspond to that of the public schools, and it would be impossible to tell just what those coming to us from those schools have done.

The fall term closed on December 17 and the enrollment was reported at that time. The data were collected in November, when the registration would be slightly less. A year ago one of the French parochial schools here was closed and some 250 children were turned into two of our public schools. Of course we were overrun, our grades broken up, and the schools thrown into more or less confusion. You will understand that this unexpected influx of children seriously interfered with our school work and that "repeating" in many cases was absolutely necessary.

It was evident at once from a reading of the preceding letter that to compute the percentage of repeaters from the data given would result in an error, for the reason that the list of repeaters included no names of pupils who had entered from parochial schools, while such pupils were included in the total enrollment. The per cent of repeaters would therefore be too small. It might, of course, be assumed that no pupil entering from parochial schools ought to be considered a repeater, but in the absence of definite information on the subject this seems a violent assumption.

More important still, it would be impossible to know the number of real beginners, unless it should be assumed that all pupils in the first grade entering from parochial schools ought to be considered beginners, no matter where they had been in the parochial school, or that they all ought to be considered repeaters.

In view of this uncertainty in regard to pupils who had attended other than public schools during the previous year, it would seem better to omit them from the total enrollment, as well as from the number of repeaters. The information necessary for this plan, however, was obtainable only for the first grade and without distinction of sex. The letter from the superintendent of the Woonsocket schools, transmitting this information, sets forth so well the mixed composition of grade 1 and the difficulty of deciding between beginners and repeaters that it is worth quoting:

March 30, 1910.

| Number of different pupils enroll | 976 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Number of new pupils, those who have never before attended public schools. |  |
| Number who have entered last half of previous year........................ | 129 |
| Number of "repeaters". | ${ }^{1} 135$ |
| Number from parochial schools (registered from time to time in public schools) and from out of town public schools. | 134 |

${ }^{a}$ In the detailed data 140 repeaters were listed and this number is used in tabulation.

It has been impossible to predicate anything in regard to those children drifting into the public schools from the parochial schools. Their parents are a migratory lot, living now in one part of the city and now in another, moving out of the city and then back again, sending their children part of the time to the public schools and part of the time to the parochial. It is also difficult to tell how much little children coming from out of town to the first grades have been to school and whether they are repeaters or not.

A letter from the superintendent of the Plymouth schools illustrates other difficulties:

February 27, 1910.
Our grading is somewhat different from most towns. We have grades $1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8$, high school, but we have no hard and fast line between the grades. For illustration, we had about 150 pupils of seventh grade at the beginning of this school year, September, 1909. The best one-third of them was placed in one room, the next best one-third in another room, and likewise the poorest third in another room. Now, at the end of the year every pupil will be promoted, nearly all first-mentioned pupils will go to grade 8, about two-thirds of the second-mentioned third and perhaps 3 or 4 of the lowest third will also go to grade 8. The remainder of these now grade 7 will be first division grade 7 next fall, but a different set of texts is always provided, somewhat more difficult than the former year. A few moments ago I found in grade 8 that more than four-fifths of the pupils were more than 14 years of age and therefore behind their grade, and yet they are not "repeaters;" not a single one has ever been over that work before.

In regard to the problem described above it was decided to consider as a repeater any pupil who had been in his present grade (ignoring "division" lines) more than a year.

Another difficulty arose in the mind of the superintendent in Columbia: should those who were repeating the grade by reason of prolonged absence from school the latter part of the previous year be considered as repeaters, or only those who having remained in school to the end of the previous year failed of promotion? It was decided to include both classes.

Every effort was made to render the data from the six cities comparable. But after all, some local circumstances, such as those described above and others that will be mentioned later, must be allowed for.

## DISTRIBUTION OF REPEATERS BY GRADES.

Taking, then, the data received from the superintendents of the various schools studied, we have in Table 116 the number and per cent of repeaters in each grade:

Table 116.-NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF REPEATERS, BY GRADES AND SEX.

| Grade. | Pawtucket, R.I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus, Ga. |  | Columbia, S. C. |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Plymouth, } \\ \text { Pa. } \end{gathered}$ |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. |
| Grade 1: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Number enrolled | 547 | 485 | 502 | 525 | 125 | 137 | a 266 | b 246 | 252 | 234 | 233 | 229 |
| Number of repeaters | 111 | 105 | 70 | 70 | 19 | 10 | c 28 | ${ }^{\text {d }} 16$ | 43 | 30 | 26 | 15 |
| Per cent of repeaters | 20.3 | 21.6 | 13.9 | 13.3 | 15.2 | 7.3 | 10.5 | 6.5 | 17.0 | 12.8 | 11.1 | 6.5 |
| Grade 2: <br> Number enrolled. | 386 | 378 | 352 | 368 | 109 | 96 | 93 | 112 | 227 | 188 | 205 | 213 |
| Number of repeaters | 62 | 39 | 24 | 37 | 12 | 8 | 16 | 10 | 35 | 26 | 32 | 29 |
| Per cent of repeaters | 16.1 | 10.3 | 6.8 | 10.0 | 11.0 | 8.3 | 17.2 | 9.0 | 15.4 | 13.8 | 15.6 | 13.6 |
| Grade 3: <br> Number enrolled. | 409 | 356 | 348 | 294 | 126 | 148 | 99 | 97 | 150 | 145 | 194 | 210 |
| Number of repeaters | 50 | 45 | 32 | 18 | 13 | 16 | 14 | 4 | 25 | 7 | 28 | 14 |
| Per cent of repeaters | 12.2 | 12.6 | 9.2 | 6.1 | 10.3 | 10.8 | 14.1 | 4.1 | 16.6 | 4.8 | 14.4 | 6.6 |
| Grade 4: <br> Number enrolled. | 381 | 379 | 280 | 283 | 108 | 112 | 86 | 105 | 162 | 183 | 203 | 188 |
| Number of repeaters | 43 | 45 | 19 | 23 | 19 | 20 | 14 | 11 | 26 | 18 | 19 | 18 |
| Per cent of repeaters | 11.3 | 11.8 | 6.8 | 8.1 | 17.6 | 17.8 | 16.3 | 10.5 | 16.0 | 9.8 | 9.3 | 9.5 |
| Grade 5: <br> Number enrolled | 354 | 324 | 217 | 209 | 90 | 102 | 90 | 88 | 153 | 109 | 162 | 154 |
| Number of repeaters | 37 | 24 | 23 | 10 | 16 | 8 | 13 | 12 | 19 | 10 | 120 | 17 |
| Per cent of repeaters. | 10.4 | 7.4 | 10.6 | 4.8 | 17.7 | 7.8 | 14.4 | 13.6 | 12.4 | 5.5 | 12.3 | 11.0 |
| Grade 6: <br> Number enrolled. | 310 | 284 | 132 | 143 | 63 | 72 | 66 | 74 | 77 | 71 | 152 | 180 |
| Number of repeater | 25 | 13 | 16 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 14 |
| Per cent of repeaters | 8.1 | 4.5 | 12.1 | 4.2 | 11.1 | 12.5 | 4.5 | 8.1 | 5. 2 | 4.2 | 8.5 | 7.7 |
| Grade 7: <br> Number enrolled |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Number enrolled.. | 232 | 232 | 99 | 109 | 24 | 27 | 46 | 61 | 58 | 57 | 100 | 120 |
| Per cent of repeaters. | 9.9 | 2.1 | 11.1 | 3.7 | 12. 5 | 18. 5 | 13.0 | 5. ${ }^{3}$ | 13.888888 | 12.3 | 1.0 | 3.3 |
| Grade 8: | 157 | 2.1 | 11.1 75 | 76 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 83 |
| Number enrolled | 157 | 147 | 75 | 76 |  |  |  |  | 30 | 35 | 82 | 83 |
| Number of repeaters | 1.38 | 6 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 8 |
| Per cent of repeaters Grade 9: | 1.9 | 4. 0 | 2.6 | 4.0 |  |  |  |  | 3.3 |  | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| Number enrolled. | 112 | 106 | 55 | 64 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Number of repeaters. |  |  | 4 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Per cent of repeaters... |  |  | 7.3 | 1.6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total enrollmen | 2,888 | 2,691 | 2,060 | 2,071 | 645 | 694 | 746 | 783 | 1,109 | 1,022 | 1,331 | 1,377 |
| Total repeaters. | 354 | 282 | 201 | 172 | 89 | 76 | 94 | 62 | 161 | 97 | 143 | 115 |
| Per cent of repeaters.. | 12.2 | 10.5 | 9.8 | 8.3 | 13.8 | 10.9 | 12.6 | 8.0 | 14.5 | 9.5 | 10.7 | 8.4 |

a Including 135 in advanced grade 1.
6 Including 115 in advanced grade 1.
c Including 15 in advanced grade 1.
d Including 3 in advanced grade 1.

This table does not represent the facts quite accurately for Woonsocket on account of two errors. In the first place, the enrollment for the first grade is somewhat too large, including some duplicate enrollments, and, secondly, the number of repeaters is too small, since pupils entering from parochial and out-of-town schools were systematically omitted from the list of repeaters, while they were not omitted from the enrollment. So far as concerns the money cost of the repeater to the taxpayer, or the educational responsibility of the public schools, this is perfectly fair. But for the purposes of a broad comparison between one city and another, or of a general consideration of the educational interests of all the children, such cases should not be ignored.

This latter source of error undoubtedly affects the Plymouth data also. Discussing the general situation there, the superintendent writes:
We have several hundred pupils who do not come to us until they are 9 or 10 years of age. I refer to those who attend the parochial schools during the first three years of school age. When these do come to us they generally enter the first grade. These people are not backward, as you remark; they simply are not developed in our line.

In Plymouth only 13 pupils are reported as repeating on account of change of schools, so it is evident that these "several hundred pupils" have not been counted as repeaters. It is also evident that the Plymouth list of 258 repeaters would be greatly increased if it included those who, coming from other schools, are put back into grades they have already gone through in those schools.
In Hazleton only 5 are reported as repeating on account of a change of schools. We have no data to show how many have come into the public from private or parochial schools, but unless conditions are strikingly different from those found elsewhere, this can only mean that those who are in lower grades than they should be on account of having attended other schools are not counted as repeaters.

In the southern localities visited the problem of the children from parochial schools does not exist to any appreciable extent.

In three out of the four northern cities, then-Woonsocket, Plymouth, and Hazleton-the pupils entering from parochial schools, while counted in the enrollment, were practically omitted from the list of repeaters, unless by reason of a double change they were found for two successive years in the same grade in the public-school system. This fact may serve to explain some portion of the wide difference between the amount of retardation which the preceding section showed to exist in 1908 and the proportion of repeaters here shown for 1910. It also emphasizes the impossibility of deducing the number of repeaters from the number of retarded pupils without fuller information on this and similar points than is usually obtainable.

Bearing in mind that the number of repeaters as shown in Table 116 is probably an understatement, we still see two striking points-the variation by grades and the almost unvarying preponderance of boys.

As to the first point, in the places where school attendance is compulsory, the largest number and proportion of repeaters are found in the first two grades - with the exception of Hazleton, in the first-and the tendency is for this proportion to diminish as the grades advance. In Plymouth the variation is altogether irregular. It has been shown that the attendance laws were easily and frequently evaded in Plymouth, which may have some connection with this irregularity. In the two places where attendance is optional the first grade has proportionately fewer repeaters than some of the higher grades. In Columbus the sixth grade shows as high a percentage as the first, and the seventh grade shows a percentage considerably higher. The mere fact of com-
pulsory or noncompulsory attendance may explain a considerable part of this difference. Where attendance is enforced the dull child must remain in school a certain number of years, even though he repeats every grade he enters, sometimes spending three years over the work which should be done in one year. Naturally he does not advance very far, and the upper grades, which only the brighter scholars reach, show a much smaller proportion of repeaters. But where school attendance is optional, it is entirely possible that these duller pupils drop out as soon as they realize that they can not keep up with their mates, thus explaining the smaller proportion of repeaters in the low grades. As the brighter children reach the higher grades they also reach the age at which custom sanctions their going to work, and the interruptions due to this cause account for a considerable amount of the repeating. In Columbia, for instance, where the largest proportion of repeaters is found in the fifth grade, 35.3 per cent of the repeating children are 12 and 13 years old. (See Table 118.)

Looking at the table as a whole, there is an unexpectedly large proportion of repeaters in the upper grades. In Plymouth the percentage in the seventh grade is very nearly as large as in the first, in Columbus it is larger, and Columbus, Columbia, and Hazleton all show proportionately more in the fifth grade than in the first.

## PER CENT OF BOY AND GIRL REPEATERS COMPARED.

As between the sexes, the boys almost without exception show an excess of repeaters in all places and all grades. Table 116 shows the detailed comparison, but the difference is perhaps brought out more strikingly by the following summary, which compares the per cent of repeaters among boys and girls, and also the per cent by which boys retarded and boys repeating exceed girls:

Table 117.-PER CENT OF BOY AND GIRL REPEATERS AND PER CENT BY WHICH bOYS RETARDED AND BOYS REPEATING EXCEED GIRLS.

|  |  | Per ce pea | of rers. | Per cent boys ex | by which eed girls. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Locality. | Boys. | Girls. | Repeaters, 1910. | Retarded (Standard II), 1908. |
| Pawtucket, R. I |  | 12.2 | 10.5 | 16.2 | 4.0 |
| Woonsocket, R. I |  | 9.8 | 8.3 | 18.0 | a 2.8 |
| Columbus, Ga. . |  | 13.8 | 10.9 | 26.6 | 7.2 |
| Columbia, S. C. |  | 12.6 | 8.0 | 57.5 | 10.3 |
| Plymouth, Pa. |  | 14.5 | 9.5 | - 52.6 | 9.2 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. |  | 10.7 | 8.4 | - 27.4 | 6.1 |

a In Woonsocket retarded girls are 2.8 per cent more numerous in proportion than retarded boys.
A comparison of the last two columns shows a rather surprising. difference. The per cent by which repeating boys exceed repeating girls is very large, much larger than the corresponding per cent for retardation.

Of course the fact that the figures in the last two columns represent conditions for two different years weakens any conclusions to be drawn from the wide variation shown there. Nevertheless the comparison seems to indicate rather strongly not only that retardation is found less frequently among girls, but that when it occurs it is apt to be less serious in degree, far less frequently involving the spending of a second year in the same grade. In the study of ages in grades it was found that while the girls usually began school at a somewhat later age than the boys they displayed a tendency to catch up with the latter, so that the disparity lessened as the upper grades were reached. The relative infrequency of repeating among girls shows one of the ways in which this catching-up process is accomplished.

## Ages of repeaters.

The number of repeaters, by age and sex, is shown for each city in Table 118 following:

Table 118.-NUMBER OF REPEATERS, BY AGE AND SEX.

| Age. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  | Columbus. Ga. |  | Columbia, S. C. |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Plymouth, } \\ & \text { Pa. } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hazleton, } \\ & =\mathrm{Pa} . \end{aligned}$ |  | Total. |  | Grand total. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |  |
| 5 years. | 1 | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 6 years. . | 22 | 30 | 34 | 30 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 57 | 61 | 118 |
| 7 years. | 60 | 48 | 39 | 38 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 3 | 132 | 115 | 247 |
| 8 years. | 54 | 37 | 16 | 16 | 12 | 4 | 10 |  | 12 | 8 | 17 | 20 | 121 | 88 | 209 |
| 9 years. | 35 | 40 | 12 | 19 | 11 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 15 | 12 | 94 | 97 | 191 |
| 10 years. | 34 | 34 | 13 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 96 | 101 | 197 |
| 11 years. | 33 | 35 | 19 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 18 | 12 | 26 | 14 | 119 | 94 | 213 |
| 12 years. | 45 | 18 | 22 | 12 | 11 | 8 | 20 | 13 | 16 | 10 | 20 | 24 | 134 | 85 | 219 |
| 13 years. | 46 | 25 | 22 | 17 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 10 | 37 | 15 | 18 | 9 | 141 | 84 | 225 |
| 14 years.. | 20 | 9 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 36 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 91 | 47 | 138 |
| 15 years.. | 4 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 26 | 21 | 47 |
| 16 years and over. |  | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |  | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 14 | 5 | 19 |
| Not reported. |  |  |  |  | 10 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 | 4 | 14 | 5 | 19 |
| Total. | 354 | 282 | 201 | 172 | 89 | 76 | 94 | 62 | 161 | 97 | 143 | 115 | 1,042 | 804 | 1,846 |

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from the ages of the repeaters as shown in Table 118. Taking the whole group, 7 and 13 years are the ages at which the greatest number are found, and to some extent this same distribution is found in the different localities. There is a tendency for the largest numbers to be found at 7 or 8 years, and again at from 11 to 13 years, after which the decline is very rapid. A noticeable feature is the number found at the higher ages. That over one-fifth ( 23.2 per cent) should be 13 years and over is unexpected. It is far more in accordance with preconceived ideas to find that something over two-fifths ( 41.6 per cent) are under 10 years. On the whole, there is a narrow margin of variation from 7 to 13 years, inclusive; repeating evidently is not a peculiarity of young pupils.

The number of repeaters, by ages and grades, is shown for each city in Table 119.

Table 119.-NUMBER OF REPEATERS, BY AGES, GRADES, AND CITIES.
[Fall of 1909 for Woonsocket and spring of 1910 for other cities.]


When we turn to a consideration of the ages in grades of the repeaters, as shown by the above table, it at once becomes evident that many of these children were badly retarded before beginning the repetition of the particular grade in which they are found. Take the Pawtucket repeaters in the second grade, for instance. It will be remembered that 6 was the mode age for beginning school in Pawtucket. As these statistics were collected in the spring, a child who had entered at 6 , passed through the first grade and nearly finished repeating the second, would naturally be about 9 years old, but nearly one-fourth of the children here listed were above this age. Those who were repeating the third grade should be 10 at the outside, but again about one-fourth were above this age. Those repeating the fourth grade should be at most 11, but not far from half were from one to three years older; in the next grade about two-fifths were additionally retarded, and so on.

In Woonsocket, where the statistics were collected in the fall, the repeaters in the second grade, if they entered school at the mode age of 6 , should be 8 years old, but not far from half were older; in the third grade, where 9 would be the normal age, more than half were above it. In Plymouth over half the repeaters in the second grade were over 10 , the normal age for those who entered at 7 and repeated one grade, while two-thirds of those in the third and one-half of those in the fourth grade showed retardation beyond that caused by repeating this particular grade. It is very evident that a large proportion of these children either entered school late or had more than once repeated a grade. In view of the fact that some of them were four or five years above the normal age, it is not improbable that both causes had been at work.

Table 120.-NUMBER OF PUPILS OF SPECIFIED
PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Cause. | 5 years. |  | 6 years. |  | 7 years. |  | 8 years. |  | 9 years. |  | 10 years. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys | Girls. |
| Change of school system. |  |  |  |  | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 |  | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Irregular attendance or nonattendance |  | 1 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 15 | 13 | 5 |  | 11 | 7 | 12 |
| Moving. .i. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 3 | 4 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Lack of ability. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |
| Slow or dull... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |
| Immature. |  |  | 7 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 |  |
| Mentally defective... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Lack of interest or application. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 |  |  |  | 11 |
| Poor health or iliness. |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Defective hearing. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 2 |  |  |
| Defective sight. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |  |  |
| Defective speech...... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lack of English..... | 1 |  | 5 | 2 | 5 | 5 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous... |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| Not reported... |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |
| Total. | 1 | 1 | 22 | 30 | 60 | 48 | 54 | 37 | 35 | 40 | 34 | 34 |

The bearing of these facts on the important question of how much education the children are to get is apparent. Take the 14 -year-old repeaters in Plymouth, for instance. Out of 42 , only 11 had reached or passed the fifth grade, 21 had not reached the fourth, 16 were in the first and second. What were the chances that any of these children would return to school, having reached the age at which compulsory attendance ceases? In Woonsocket 42 children of various ages were beginning their second year's work in the fourth grade. If they should all keep on without any further retardation, the 5 who were 9 years old might expect to get through the eighth grade, but the rest would drop out at successively lower grades, not one having any reasonable chance of finishing the elementary course.

The real seriousness of the question of repeating lies in the fact that for most children it means a practical certainty that they will never accomplish the work of the primary schools. Experience has shown that for the great majority 13 or 14 years marks the end of their school life. If repeating meant spending a year longer in the elementary grades it would be a sufficiently serious matter, but when it means, as in most cases it does, that a child must actually forfeit a year, it is hard to exaggerate its gravity. Certainly the causes which lead to so serious a waste and loss deserve consideration.

## CAUSES OF REPEATING, BY AGE AND SEX.

The causes of repeating, as assigned by the teachers in whose grades the pupils were taking the work a second time, are shown, by age and sex, in Table 120:

AGES REPEATING, BY SEX AND CAUSES.
PAWTUCKET, R.I.

| 11 years. |  | 12 years. |  | 13 years. |  | 14 years. |  | 15 years. |  | 16 years and over. |  | Age not reported. |  | Total. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. | Boys. | Girls. |
| 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 23 | 21 |
| 10 3 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 15 | 10 2 | 2 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 79 | 83 |
| 2 | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 5 |  |
| 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 33 | 28 |
| 12 | 12 | 16 | 5 | 13 | 6 | 11 |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 118 | 72 |
| 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 |  | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 24 | 17 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $5$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |  |
|  | 2 | 4 | 3 |  | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 28 | $\begin{array}{r} 8 \\ 19 \end{array}$ |
|  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 6 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 33 | 35 |  |  |  | 25 | 20 | 9 | 4 | 4 |  | 1 |  |  | 354 | 282 |

Table 120.-NUMBER OF PUPILS OF SPECIFIED
WOONSOCKET, R. I.


COLUMBUS, GA.


COLUMBIA, S. C.

a Those repeating agrade taken in another school system were not counted repeaters in the Woonsocket
lists. lists.

## Ages repeating, by sex and causes-Continued.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.


COLUMBUS, GA.

|  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 13 |  |
| 2 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | ${ }_{5}$ | 16 |
|  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 4 | 5 |
|  | 3 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 10 | 16 |
| 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 4 |  |
|  |  | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 | 2 |
| 6 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 5 |  | 35 | 15 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | $\stackrel{4}{2}$ | 4 |
|  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| i |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 12 | 14 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 8 |  | 10 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 89 | 76 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

COLUMBIA, S. C.


Table 120.-NUMBER OF PUPILS OF SPECIFIED
PLYMOUTH, PA.

haZLETON, PA.


ALL CITIES.

| Change of school system. . |  |  |  |  | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Irregular attendance or nonattendance | 1 | 1 | 13 | 22 | 22 | 36 | 24 | 16 | 18 | 20 | 19 | 23 |
| Moving... |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 |  | 3 | 23 2 |
| Lack of ability |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| Slow or dull. |  |  | 10 | 3 | 16 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Immature. |  |  | 19 | 16 | 26 | 20 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 10 |
| Mentally defective.. |  |  | 1 |  | 4 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 4 |
| Unprepared................. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lack of interest or application |  |  | 4 | 7 | 21 | 14 | 27 | 7 | 18 | 20 | 29 | $19^{\circ}$ |
| Poor health or illness. |  |  | 1 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 11 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 5 | 9 |
| Defective hearing. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 |  |
| Defective sight... |  |  |  |  | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Defective speech. |  |  |  |  | 2 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |
| Other physical defects |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Lack of English.. | 2 |  | 8 | 10 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| Use of tobacco. |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Miscellaneous. |  |  | 1 |  | 4 | 2 | 2 |  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Not reported. |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Total. | 3 | 1 | 57 | 61 | 132 | 115 | 121 | 88 | 94 | 97 | 96 | 101 |

## AGES REPEATING, BY SEX AND CAUSES-Concluded.

PLYMOUTH, PA.


HAZLETON, PA.


ALL CITIES.

| 3 |  | 6 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 38 | 29 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 26 | 29 | 30 | 27 | 41 | 30 | 33 | 16 | 6 | 4 | 2 |  | 5 |  | 245 | 224 |
| 3 | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 18 | 11 |
| 8 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 |  | 3 | 2 |  | 40 | 44 |
| 9 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 76 | 44 |
| 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 87 | 76 |
| 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | . | 1 | 35 | 32 |
|  |  | 4 | 1 |  | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 9 | 4 |
| 32 | 22 | 40 | 11 | 31 | 14 | 22 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 7 |  | 5 |  | 244 | 125 |
| 12 | 9 | 16 | 9 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 6. |  | 3 |  |  | 1 | 4 | 82 | 77 |
|  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 2 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 7 | 8 |
| 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 26 | 20 |
|  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 3 |
| 2 | - 1 | 2 |  | 1 |  | 3 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 11 | 7 |
| 4 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 64 | 64 |
|  |  | 4 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 9 |  |
|  |  | 2 |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 16 | 5 |
| 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 30 | 31 |
| 119 | 94 | 134 | 85 | 141 | 84 | 91 | 47 | 26 | 21 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 5 | 1,042 | 804 |

As has been mentioned before, the number assigned to "change of school system" is too small since, except in Pawtucket, most of those who were delayed by this cause were not counted as repeaters. "Irregular attendance or nonattendance" covers all cases in which the child was either irregular in attendance, or entirely absent from school for a time, taken out, perhaps, to go to work but later allowed to return, or excluded because of scarlet fever or diphtheria or other contagious disease in his family. "Moving" is an unsatisfactory term, since it does not explain whether the repetition is due to a change of schools, or to absence due to the moving.

The next group of reasons probably all express one and the same cause, present in varying degrees. Evidently if a child is slow or dull, or if he is immature or mentally deficient or unprepared, he lacks ability to do the regular work and it will probably depend a good deal upon the teacher which of these causes will be assigned, or whether, indeed, he will not be classed under the next head, as lacking interest or application. This latter heading is used to cover all cases in which a child is described as careless, indifferent, lazy, or unwilling to apply himself. The remaining causes need no comment.

Looking first at the summary, it is very apparent that the personal element has entered largely into the assignment of these causes and that consequently comparisons can hardly be made between different places.

The decisions represent the individual judgment of the different teachers concerned, so that uniformity is impossible. This probably accounts for the fact that Pawtucket, Columbus, and Columbia show such a large proportion of repeaters on account of lack of interest or application, that Woonsocket has such an excess of "slow or dull" repeaters, that immaturity does not appear as a cause at all in the two Pennsylvania cities, etc. Making all allowance, however, for such variations, the summary shows an interesting grouping of causes.

There are two general charges brought against our school courses in connection with repeating and retardation-that they are too difficult and that they are not sufficiently adapted to the average child to rouse his interest. Some measure of the degree in which the first charge is valid may be found in the number repeating on account of lack of ability, and of the second in the number repeating on account of lack of interest or application. In counting those repeating onaccount of lack of ability we should naturally exclude those who are mentally defective, as well as those who are unprepared, since the average curriculum is not designed for either class. Making this omission, and omitting from the calculation the 61 children for whom no cause was assigned, the two causes account for the following proportion:

As far as these six places are concerned, these two charges do not seem to besustained, since neither accounts for more than one-fifth, and the two together do not explain one-half of the cases of repeating. Of course, as limited a study as this can not do more than give a mere indication of the relative potency of different causes; but as far as it goes, it does not indicate that the character of the course of study is to blame for all or even the greater part of the repeating and consequent retardation here shown.

The most important single cause here shown is absence or irregular attendance. To this we may very fairly add "change of school system" and " moving," since both involve a break or interruption in the regular course of school work. ${ }^{a}$ Combining these we find they account for 565 cases, or 31.6 per cent of the whole number for whom causes were given. Evidently in any study of retardation and its causes some stress must be laid on the question of attendance. The schools can hardly be held responsible for their failure to teach children who are not there to be taught.

Lack of a knowledge of English seems a rather unimportant cause, accounting for only about 7 per cent of the assigned causes-or a little over 8 per cent if we confine the calculation to the four places in which foreigners form an appreciable element. Poor health and physical defects are far more important, accounting for 13.7 per cent. This does not tell the whole story, for in many cases the irregular attendance was probably due to or accompanied by poor health, but it is a sufficiently impressive total as it is.

The differences between the sexes are rather unexpected. Taking the leading causes just discussed and omitting, as before, all for whom no reasons were reported, we have the following:

Table 121.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF bOYS AND OF GIRLS REPEATING FOR SPECIFIED LEADING CAUSES.

| Cause. | Boys. |  | Girls. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Irregular attendance or absencea. | 301 | 29.7 | 264 | 34.1 |
| Lack of ability, slowness, dullness, or immaturity. | 203 | 20.0 | 164 | 21.2 |
| Lack of interest or application.................... | 244 | 24.1 | 125 | 16.2 |
| Poor health and physical defects. | 131 | 12.9 | 115 | 14.9 |
| lack of English................... | 64 | 6.3 | 64 | 8.2 |

a Including moving and change of schools.
The greater frequency of irregular attendance among girls is perhaps connected with the question of health, in which cause they also show an excess over the boys. The proportionately greater number of girls repeating on account of lack of ability is rather curious in view of the fact that our school courses are declared to be better fitted to

[^53]girls than boys. However, as there is no cause in which the teacher's individual judgment would play a larger part than in this, and as we have no means of allowing for this variation, it is unsafe to draw any conclusions.

The relative weight of the other leading causes is about what might have been expected. It is a matter of common experience and belief that on the whole girls are more apt to apply themselves to their studies and that their health is not quite as good. As to lack of English, the more secluded life of the girl naturally keeps her more exclusively among those who speak her own tongue and so hinders her acquisition of a strange language.

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions as to the relative weight of different causes at different ages. The proportion repeating on account of causes involving irregular attendance increases steadily from 30 per cent at 6 years old to 44 per cent at 14, at which age it takes a sudden drop. The proportion repating on account of causes involving lack of ability, dullness, or immaturity reverses this order rather exactly, decreasing from 41 per cent at 6 years to 11 per cent at 14 , and then suddenly rising to 27 per cent at 15 . Up to 9 years old the boys lead in this cause, but at 10 , the girls come to the front and on the whole show a considerable excess thereafter. Lack of interest, like irregular attendance, increases in importance with age, rising from 9 per cent at 6 years to 23 per cent at 14. In this cause the boys lead at all ages, except 9 , where we find 20 per cent among boys to 21 per cent among girls. In the matter of health and physical defects, the age variations seem entirely irregular. Evidently the numbers involved are too small to permit any general conclusions.

The question naturally arises whether race has any influence in the matter of repeating. Unfortunately, the necessary information for deciding this matter is not available. The race of the repeating pupils was supplied, but as the racial composition of the school populations was unknown it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the proportionate number of repeaters of each race. We have already seen how far a lack of familiarity with English accounts for repeating among these particular children, and beyond this we can not go.

On the whole, this study of repeaters may be summarized by saying that while the first grade usually contains both the largest number and the largest proportion, they are found in unexpected numbers throughout the grades; that the number repeating at each age is quite uniform from 7 to 13 years, after which it decreases rapidly; that it is difficult to show any marked difference between girls and boys as to causes of repeating; and that while inability to accomplish the prescribed courses and lack of interest in the school work both account for a considerable proportion of failures, the most important single cause is found in irregular or nonattendance.

## ELIMINATION OF PUPILS.

We come now to the consideration of a problem which, from a statistical and educational point of view, is the most interesting of the chapter. What percentage of the pupils who annually enter school continue to each successive grade? Tbere has been little precise information in regard to this point, for school reports have not been made so as to show exactly how many enter.

## NUMBER OF BEGINNERS.

In the absence of exact data three different methods have been employed at various times for estimating the proportion who finish the elementary course. A leading educator, taking the membership of the first grade as representing the total number who enter school and making no corrections except for growth of population, compares with it the graduating class, and estimates that something over one-third of those who enter finish the elementary course. ${ }^{a}$ Criticism has been made of this plan that the membership of the first grade usually exceeds the number of beginners to a considerable degree. Another writer on the subject ${ }^{b}$ strives to correct this source of error by taking the average membership of the first three grades as representing the number of beginners. This, he claims, with some modifications adapted to local circumstances, will give results very close to the mark. As compared with the first plan the base is considerably smaller, and in consequence this method shows a somewhat larger percentage of pupils retained through the lower grades, but from the sixth grade up there is substantial agreement between them.

A more recent writer on the subject claims ${ }^{c}$ that this second method likewise gives altogether too large a number of beginners, and that consequently the calculation of the number eliminated or dropped out during the passage of the class through the elementary grades is also too large. He therefore, as a basis for his estimate, assumes that the number of children beginning school each year is approximately equal to the average of the generations ${ }^{d}$ of the ages 7 to 12 in the school membership of the system.e

These are the three principal methods which have as yet been proposed for finding the number of beginners. The first, making no allowance for repeaters in the first grade, is plainly inaccurate as applied to prevailing conditions, and the discussion lies between the

[^54]${ }^{e}$ Leonard P. Ayres, Laggards in Our Schools, p. 52.
second and the third. The natural way of deciding between them would be to compare the results obtained by each with the actual number of beginners and of repeaters in each grade for a given school system. Unfortunately, as mentioned above, this plan is not generally possible owing to the fact that school reports rarely give the number of beginners and repeaters.

Nearly the whole value of any discussion of elimination depends upon the accuracy of the calculations showing how many pupils remain to each grade, and the accuracy of these calculations depends upon the correctness with which the number of beginners is ascertained. The number of beginners is the basic fact, and since, in the absence of direct data, this number must generally be estimated, the relative accuracy of the two methods of estimating it now before the public is of sufficient importance to give value to any contribution of direct data, however slight, bearing upon the subject. It may be worth while, therefore, to test the two methods by the data secured in this investigation, and see which comes nearer to producing the actual number of beginners for the six cities included in this study.

The important point for both systems is the number of beginners obtained by it, as this number is the basis upon which to calculate the per cent of pupils continuing to the various successive grades.

With a set of grade figures taken simultaneously, say in 1908, what base do we want-if we can get it? Will the number of beginners in the first grade in 1908 be the correct base? That number would be the right base for the second grade in 1909. For the second grade in 1908, the 1907 beginners would be the correct base; for the third grade in 1908, the 1906 beginners would be the correct base, and so on back, until in the 1901 beginners we reach the base number of which the eighth grade class in 1908 are the survivors. Those who enter for the first time in grades higher than the first may be supposed to be balanced by those who leave to go to higher grades in other schools.

Thus, in order to calculate properly the desired per cents of pupils remaining in school to the upper grades it would be necessary to know the actual number of beginners for eight to nine years past. But since such data are as yet seldom or never available, some compromise must be effected. Assuming some growth of population from year to year, as well as some accidental variation (often considerable where enrollments go no higher than hundreds), any single number intended to serve as a base upon which to calculate the per cents retained in all the grades in 1908 should be smaller than the actual number of beginners in 1908 and larger than the actual number of beginners eight or nine years before. If it were about midway between the two extremes, the errors would be reduced to the least possible with any one base, being least in the
middle grades and increasing both above and below. The total amount of error would depend on the rapidity of the growth of popu-lation-the more rapid the growth, the greater the error in the higher and lower grades.

Bearing in mind that this correction must be made whenever a series of grades is under consideration, let us first see what is the actual number of beginners in the year for which we have full data.

## NUMBER OF BEGINNERS AND REPEATERS IN GRADE 1.

Table 122, based on data furnished by the school superintendents of the cities under consideration for use in this report, gives the number enrolled in each grade, the number of repeaters, and for the first grade the number of beginners. The figures are for the spring of 1910, save in the case of Woonsocket, where they are for fall of 1909.

TABLE 122.-NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED, NUMBER AND PER CENT OF REPEATERS, BY GRADES, AND NUMBER OF BEGINNERS IN GRADE 1.
[The figures for Woonsocket are for the fall of 1909; those for other cities are for spring of 1910.]


[^55]The figures representing the beginners here give the basis of fact upon which to compute the per cent continuing to specified grades.

It is as good a basis as one could hope to secure, based on data consisting of a separate sheet from each teacher, giving the number of boys and girls enrolled and listing one at a time all the pupils now repeating the grade, with age, sex, country of birth, race of father (except for Woonsocket), and cause of repeating.

Table 123 immediately following gives in summary form the number of pupils enrolled and the number and per cent of beginners and repeaters in the first grade in each city.

TABLE 123.- NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF BEGINNERS AND OF REPEATERS IN THE FIRST GRADE IN EACH CITY.

| Locallty. | Year. | Number in grade 1. | Beginners. |  | Repeaters. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 1910 | 1,032 | 816 | 79.1 | ${ }^{216}$ | 20.9 |
| Columbus, Ga... | 1909 1910 | ${ }_{262} 97$ | ${ }_{233} 814$ | 8.4 88.9 | 29 |  |
| Columbla, S. C. | 1910 | 262 | 236 | 90.1 | 26 | 9.9 |
| Plymouth, Pa | 1910 | 486 | 413 | 85.0 | 73 | 15.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. | 1910 | 462 | 421 | 91.0 | 41 | 9.0 |

Assuming that the proportion of repeaters and therefore of beginners was the same in 1908 as in 1910, the number of beginners for the earlier year may be computed by applying the percentage shown in the above table. By this method the number of beginners in grade 1 in the earlier year is computed for each of the cities, with the result shown in Table 124 following. The corresponding figures for 1910 are given for comparison.

Table 124.-NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF BEGINNERS IN THE FIRST GRADE IN EACH CITY IN 1908 AND IN 1910.

| Locality. | 1908. |  |  | 1910. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number enrolled in grade 1. | Beginners. |  | Number enrolled in grade 1 | Beginners. |  |
|  |  | Number (computed). | Per cent (assumed same as in 1910). |  | Number. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 959 | 759 | 79.1 | 1,032 | 816 | 79.1 |
| W oonsocket, R.I | 757 | 631 | 83.4 | 1,976 | 814 | 83.4 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 362 | 322 |  | 262 | 233 | 88.9 |
| Columbia, S. C.. | 246 | 222 | 90.1 | 262 | 236 | 90.1 |
| Plymouth, Pa . | 557 | 473 | 85.0 | 486 | 413 | 85.0 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. | 424 | 386 | 91.0 | 462 | 421 | 91.0 |

If the number of children enrolled in grade 1 may be taken as an indication of the change in population this table would show it to be rather an erratic factor. Except in the case of Woonsocket there is a two-year interval between the enrollments shown. In Plymouth there is a decrease of nearly 13 per cent. In Columbus
there appears to be a decided falling off, the numbers decreasing from 362 to 262 . This, however, is more apparent than real, for if the enrollment in the primary industrial school were included in the 1910 figures, the number would be 344 instead of 262 . This was not included in the enrollment which was to serve as a base for calculating per cent of repeaters, because in that school the attendance and the grading were so irregular that it was impossible to decide who ought to be included under the term repeaters. Even were it included, however, there would still be a falling off of about 5 per cent between the two dates. In Hazleton there is an increase amounting to a trifle less than 9 per cent; in Pawtucket an increase of not quite 8 per cent, and in Columbia an increase of $6 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For Woonsocket the figures are probably not fairly comparable because of the closing of a large parochial school in 1908 and a consequent influx of many parochial pupils to the public schools.

Perhaps the safest way of allowing for the effect of the population factor will be to ascertain the actual average enrollment in grade 1 for some years back, and by applying the per cent rate already used, compute the average number of beginners. Unfortunately the data available concerning enrollment is rather fragmentary. Table 125, immediately following, gives the facts available.

Table 125.- ENROLLMEN'T IN SPECIFIED GRADES FOR SPECIFIED PERIOD, AND AVERAGE ENROLLMENT FOR SPECIFIED PERIOD.

a A verage for 1901 to 1908 is 3 per cent lower than enrollment for 1908.
For Pawtucket, for which the facts are given for only three years, it will be seen that the first-grade enrollment varies hardly at all. The per cent by which the average varies from the latest number0.7 per cent higher-is practically negligible. For Columbus it, was impossible to secure the first-grade enrollment. The figures given here are for all grades and can be used only to show in the most general way the changes due to changing population. It will be seen
that the average for the six years is 7.9 per cent less than the enrollment for the latest year. (Here, as elsewhere in the calculations affecting Columbus, only the enrollment for the white schools was used.) Woonsocket shows the most remarkable variation of any place in the list. It will be noticed that the enrollment takes a sudden upward jump in 1909, due perhaps to the closing of a large parochial school the previous year and the consequent influx of many parochial pupils. If 1909 is omitted from consideration, as an exceptional year, the average for the eight years is 734 , only 3 per cent less than the enrollment for 1908 . Condensing the above table and omitting fractional per cents, the following is obtained:
Table 120.-SUMmARY OF YEARS AVERAGED AND PER CENT BY WHICH AVERAGE ENROLLMENT IS HIGHER OR LOWER THAN LATEST ENIROLLMENT, BY CITIES.

| Locality. | Number of years averaged | Earliest and latest year averaged. | Nature of data averaged. | Per cent of difference, average compared with latest enrollment. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R.I. | 3 | 1904-5 and 1906-7. | Total enrollment Grade 1 | 1 per cent higher. |
|  | 8 | 1901 and 1908 |  | 22 per cent lower. |
| Columbus, Ga. | 6 | 1902-3 and 1908-9.. | Total enrollment all | 8 per cent lower. |
| Columbia, S. C. |  | 1902-3 and 1908-9. | Total enrollment Grade 1 | 11 per cent lower. |
| Plymouth | 3 | 1904-5 and 1906-7. |  | 15 per cent lower. |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 4 | 1901-2 and 1906-7. | . d | 14 per cent higher. |

Returning now to Table 124 and making corrections for the growth in population, the following results are shown:

TAble 127.-NUMBER OF BEGINNERS IN 1908, WITII REDUCED NUMBER TO ALLOW FOR GROWTH OF POPULATION.

| Locality. | Year. | Number of beginners in 1908, computed on known enrollment in 1908 and per cent of beginners in 1910. | Per cent of deduction to reduce beginners in 1908 to average number of beginners in recent years. | Reduced (average) number of beginners. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 1908 | - 759 |  | 759 |
| Woonsocket, R. I | 1909 | 814 | 22 | 635 |
| Columbus, Ga. | 1908 | 631 | 3 | 612 |
| Columbia, S. C. | 1908 | 222 | 11 | 198 |
| Plymouth, Pa | 1908 | 473 | 15 | 402 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 1908 | 386 |  | 386 |

We have thus secured for each of the six cities under consideration figures representing not the actual number of beginners in 1908, but the number of beginners in 1908 so modified by allowance for the changing population factor that it may be used as a basis for calculations concerning all the grades in school at that time. This is the modified number of beginners which one of the above-mentioned systems for estimating beginners seeks to secure by taking the aver-
age of the enrollment for each generation from 7 to 12 years of age, inclusive, while the other strives to find a similar basis by taking the average enrollment of the first three grades. By applying each of these methods in turn to the data given in Table 110, and using as a standard the reduced number of beginners shown in Table 127, the relative accuracy of the two methods as applied to these six cities may be tested. By this process the table immediately following is obtained:

Table 128.-number of beginners in 1908 Computed by different methods, with corrections for growth of population.

| Places. | Year. | I. Results obtained from known conditions in 1908 and 1910. |  |  | II. Results obtained by taking average enrollment of first three grades. |  |  |  | III. Results obtained by taking average of each age from 7 to 12 , inclusive. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Begin- } \\ & \text { ners. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent ducted for change in pop- ination. | Re- duced number of beginners. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Begin- } \\ & \text { ners. } \end{aligned}$ | Per cent de- ducted for change in pop- ulation. | $\mathrm{Re}-$ duced number of beginners. | Per cent of num- ber ob- tained from known condi- tions. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Begin- } \\ \text { ners. } \end{gathered}$ | Per cent of num- ber ob- tained from known condi- tions. |
| Pawtucket, R. I.... |  |  |  |  | 806 |  |  | 106.2 | 582 | 76.6 |
| Woonsocket, R. I... Columbus, Ga...... | 1908 1908 | 631 322 3 |  | 612 296 |  |  | ${ }_{265}^{531}$ | 86.7 90.0 | 287 194 | ${ }_{65.5}^{46.9}$ |
| Columbla, S. C...... | 1908 | 222 |  | 198 | $\square^{2} 225$ | 11 | 200 |  | 182 | 92.0 |
|  | 1908 | 473 | 15 | 402 | 392 | 15 | 333 |  | 228 | 56.7 |
| Hazleton, Pa..... | 1908 | 386 |  | 386 | 366 |  | 366 | 94.8 | 261 | 67.6 |

a As grade 1, Columbia, as given in Table 110, combines grade 1 and advanced grade 1 , the sum of the three first grades is divided by four to obtain the number of beginners.

The figures obtained by taking the average of the enrollment of the first three grades are in two cases slightly larger than those calculated from the known conditions-the excess being in one case 2 , in the other 47-but in the other cases they fall below, the difference nowhere being very great. If the correction for growth of population be omitted-and this correction forms no part of the method as proposed-the difference is even less. The figures obtained by taking the average of enrollment at each age from 7 to 12 , on the other hand, are invariably much too small, in only one instance coming within 100 of those calculated from known conditions and running down elsewhere to less than one-half of these. The conditions in six cities can not, of course, be taken as a basis for any general statements, but as applied to these six cities the difference in the comparative accuracy of the two methods is very marked.

Turning from the discussion of methods to the conditions known to exist, to what extent do the pupils in the cities studied drop out of school before finishing the grammar grades?

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## NUMBER IN EACH GRADE COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF BEGINNERS.

Using the reduced average number of beginners in each of the six cities studied after allowing for the growth of population, as shown in Table 127, it is possible to compute the percentage that the grade memberships in 1908, as given in Table 110, formed of the number of beginners. By this process Table 129 is derived.

TABLE 129.-PERCENTAGE IN EACH GRADE COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF BEGINNERS, 1908.

| City. | Reduced number of beginners. | Grade $1 .$ | Grade 2. | Grade 3. | Grade 4. | Grade 5. | Grade <br> 6. | Grade 7. | Grade 8. | Grade 9. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pawtucket, R. I | 759 | 126.3 | 98.1 | 93.9 | 90.2 | 85.6 | 62.8 | 47.3 | 32.4 | 34.9 |
| Wounsocket, R. | 612 | 123.7 | 77.4 | 67.0 | 65.0 | 46.9 | 34.9 | 25.8 | 18.5 | 13.9 |
| Columbus, Ga | 296 | 122.3 | 81.8 | 87.3 | 75.0 | 66.2 | 43.6 | 41.6 |  |  |
| Columbia, S. C | a 198 | 124.2 | 107.6 | 104.0 | 105.5 | 97.0 | 64.1 | 60.6 |  |  |
| Plymouth, Pa | 402 | 138.5 | 99.8 | 54.2 | 56.9 | 34.1 | 25.1 | 20.9 | 15.7 |  |
| Hazleton, Pa . | 386 | 109.8 | 91.7 | 83.2 | 86.5 | 75.6 | 61.9 | 51.8 | 43.0 |  |

$a$ Not including advanced 1.
The above percentages represent the number of children in each grade compared with the number of beginners. If the number of beginners is correctly reported the percentages remaining in school to each specified grade can not exceed those shown in the above table. Bearing this in mind, it will be seen that elimination begins early and increases rapidly. In every city the membership of the first grade is considerably larger than the number of beginners, the presence of repeaters accounting for the excess. By the time the second grade has been reached, in five out of the six places, the membership has fallen below the number of beginners, in spite of the presence of repeaters from the earlier years. Undoubtedly a considerable portion of this decrease is due to those who are repeating the first grade, but the marked fall in the third grade can not be explained in this way. From the second grade on the decrease must mean an actual falling out as well as a dropping back into a lower grade. The movement, as between the different places, is irregular and hard to account for. The two places most successful in holding their pupils at least to the seventh grade are Pawtucket, which has a compulsory school-attendance law, and Columbia, which has none. In three places over half the pupils have dropped out before reaching the sixth grade, while only a single place-Columbia-shows as many as half reaching the final grade. It will be remembered that among the children studied 46.9 per cent left school before entering the fifth grade. ${ }^{a}$ Considering the whole membership of the schools, Woonsocket and Plymouth are the only places which show as large a proportion of elimination from the early grades as this, but nowhere do we find as many as two-thirds of the beginning numbers in the sixth grade.

The foregoing table is based on figures of actual beginners, but it has been necessary to assume that the proportion of repeaters in 1908 was practically identical with the number in 1910, and to calculate a correction for the population factor. Can results be tested in any way by figures of actual attendance without any modifications or alterations? The lack of trustworthy data as to the number of repeaters hampers the student badly, but some conclusions may be drawn from the number enrolled in the various age groups for a series of years. It does not follow that a child who is enrolled in the first grade this year will be found in the second grade next year; in fact, it is known there is a considerable chance that he will not be. But if he is enrolled as 8 years old this year, it is reasonably certain that if he is in school at all next year he will be enrolled as 9 , and the year after that as 10 . If, then, as one generation of children is followed through a series of years, their number is found to be varying, it can only mean that children are coming into school or leaving it. The factor of retardation, which makes the grade membership such a complex product, plays no part in age membership.

## ENROLLMENT OF A SINGLE GENERATION OF CHILDREN IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS.

Unfortunately the age enrollment for a sufficient number of years to follow one generation of children through their school life has not been secured, but it is possible, from available data, to trace the variations of enrollment of those who were 8 years old in 1904-5 through four years, as follows:

TAB'E 130.-ENROLLMENT BY AGE OF ONE GENERATION OF CHILDREN FOR FOUR YEARS.

|  | Children at specified ages enrolled each specified school year. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1904-5, 8 years. | $\begin{aligned} & 1905-6,6 \\ & 9 \text { y } \end{aligned}$ | 1906-7, <br> 10 years. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 1907-8, } \\ & 11 \text { years. } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\xrightarrow{\text { Pawtucket. R. R. I. }}$ | 584 181 | ${ }_{6}^{621}$ | ${ }_{6}^{648}$ | 579 <br> 23 |
| Columbus, G8. |  | 151 217 212 | 141 <br> 196 | ${ }_{220}^{233}$ |
| Columbia, S. Plymouth, Pa. |  | 212 | 213 | 178 |
| ${ }_{\text {Hazleton, }} \mathrm{Pa}$ | 332 316 | 298 337 | 236 335 |  |
| Total, 6 cilles. |  |  |  |  |
| Total, 4 eltles. | i, 413 | 1,411 | 1,360 | 1,290 |

Certain local peculiarities make themselves manifest in this table. Thus, in Woonsocket a decrease at both 9 and 10 , and a sudden rise at 11 are seen. Both of these may be due to the custom of sending children to the parochial schools to prepare for their first communion and later placing them in the public schools. Another cause may also have had some effect. Rhode Island had a legal age below which children might not go to work, and in anticipation of
future desire to begin work it was not an unheard-of occurrence for a child's age to take a sudden upward jump at 9 or 10. Both these causes may have been at work to produce the variations in enrollment shown above. It is to be noticed that in both Pawtucket and Hazleton the numbers enrolled at 9 and 10 are greater than those enrolled at 8. The difference is greater than it seems, since obviously in the course of the three years some children of this age group must have died and others dropped out of school on account of removal or other cause. Those coming in at 9 and 10, therefore, are enough to make up this deficit and still increase the enrollment. Evidently at least a part of the retardation discussed in a former section is due to entrance two, three, or even four years above the normal age.

By the time, however, that the groups of 8 -year-old children have reached 11, there is an actual falling off in numbers everywhere but in Woonsocket. Elimination has begun, and though it is but slight, yet in combination with the retardation many of these children have experienced it may be responsible for highly undesirable results. By turning back to Table 110, we can get some idea of its effects.

Take, for instance, the Pawtuckét school children who were 8 years old in 1904-5. Some of these have dropped out and others of the same age have come in, but by the time they have reached 11, a few less are enrolled than at 8 . This difference is too slight to be worth considering, but the number enrolled at 9 years old has decreased by 42 , and the number at 10 , by 69 . But where are these 579 children enrolled at 11 years old, and what is their chance of finishing the elementary course? Turning to Table 110, we find 26, or 4.5 per cent, of them in the seventh grade, and 153 , or 26.4 per cent, in the sixth grade. If none of these children drop out, and if none of them fail to make each grade in the prescribed time, 26 will finish the grammar grades while 13, and 153 when 14 . Of those in school at $11,30.9$ per cent, then, may graduate from the grammar grades at 13 or 14 . There are 31.4 per cent at 11 in the fifth grade; these may finish the ninth grade when 15, if they are promoted each year. There are 37.6 per cent below the fifth grade; they must stay in school to 16,17 , or 18 if they are to graduate. As a matter of fact, there is little chance of their doing so. By 14, the great exodus of pupils is well under way, and the child who is not up with his grade is not apt to keep on. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

In Woonsocket 26.2 per cent of these 11-year-olds are in or above the sixth grade, so that they may hope to graduate at or before 14,

[^56]but 50.2 per cent are below the fifth grade, so they can not finish the elementary course unless they stay in school until 16 or over. Columbus and Columbia, with a seven-years' course, show a much larger percentage of possible graduates. In Columbus 69 per cent and in Columbia 68 per cent may graduate at or before 14, to judge from their present standing. In Plymouth 30.9 per cent and in Hazleton 49.8 per cent might graduate at 14 from an eight-grade system.

Of course, the assumption that none will drop out between 11 and 14 can not be justified. As a matter of fact, between 12 and 13 the dropping-out process usually begins to outweigh the coming-in process to a marked extent, and at 13 and 14 there is a veritable exodus. Yet even on this improbable hypothesis, in three of the places having eight and nine year courses, less than one-third of those in the school at 11 are likely to finish the grammar grades. In the two southern localities, upon the same supposition, approximately two-thirds would finish the seven-year course, but the fact that 12 is the conventional age there for beginning work makes it even less likely than in the northern communities that they will stay to reach this goal.

Comparing these results with the figures of Table 129, it will be seen that whatever criticisms may be made of the method there used, it can not be claimed that the number of beginners was overestimated and the amount of elimination consequently exaggerated. In Pawtucket this study of the children of one age gives even a smaller percentage likely to graduate than shown in Table 129. In Woonsocket, the figure is nearly twice as large as shown in the table, though still well under one-third. In all probability this is due to the marked tendency in Woonsocket to take children out of school as soon as the law allows, which at the time under consideration would have led to a large number leaving before 14 , the age to which the latter supposition assumes that all remain. In general, this hypothesis is at work everywhere to make the later figures larger than those of the table. To what extent pupils are dropping out at 12 and 13 can not be said, but there seems reason for believing that one-third is a liberal estimate of the number of children of one generation who are likely to graduate from a nine-grade system.

This irregular movement in and out of school is well shown by Table 131, immediately following. The variations in the percentages are too extreme and contradictory to be accounted for by any theory of the growth of population. The fact that in Woonsocket there were actually more enrolled at 12 than at 8 for each year considered, and in Hazleton more are enrolled at 10 than at 8 in two out of three years, shows very plainly that here, at least, the children are not all in school at 7 . In the same way, the low percentages found at 10 in Woonsocket, at 9 in Columbus, at 11 in Pawtucket and Columbia, and at all the ages above 8 in Plymouth show that they leave before 12 .

Table 131.-PER CENT OF CHILDREN ENROLLED AT EACH AGE OF CHILDREN ENROLLED AT 8 YEARS.

| Age. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  | Columbus, Ga. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. |
| Under 8 years. | 406.7 | 377.8 | 353.2 | 313.4 | 293.5 | 282.5 |  | 300.5 | 273.6 |
| 8 years..... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 9 years. | 91.3 | 98.3 | 100.8 | 87.2 | 82.3 | 83.0 |  | 74. 2 | 79.7 |
| 10 years. | 85.3 | 86.7 | 97.4 | 74.9 | 78.6 | 75.3 |  | 95.9 | 80.5 |
| 11. years. | 82.9 | 91.3 | 82.1 | 85.1 | 82.0 | 82.3 |  | 82.5 | 80.1 |
| 12 years. | 85.4 | 91.1 | 95.6 | 126.8 | 111.2 | 112.0 |  | 83.9 | 73.6 |
| 13 years. | 69.7 | 66.0 | 92.3 | 90.7 | 83.3 | 122.9 |  | 77.9 | 68.3 |
| 14 years. | 50.2 | 41.1 | 46.8 | 56.6 | 55.2 | 52.1 |  | 55.3 | 64.2 |
| 15 years. | 24.7 | 25.2 | 18.5 | 26.8 | 21.9 | 23.2 |  | 39.2 | 28.9 |
| 16 years and over | 12.8 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 11.1 | 9.6 | 6.5 |  | 18.4 | 19.5 |
| Age. | Columbia, S. C. |  |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  |  |
|  | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. |
| Under 8 years |  | 149.5 | 176.3 | 177.7 | 183.1 | 250.0 | 168.7 | 180.9 | 176.6 |
| 8 years. |  | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 9 years. |  | 98.1 | 102.9 | 64.2 | 84.2 | 91.0 | 93.0 | 99.1 | 101.6 |
| 10 years. |  | 97.6 | 104.8 | 70.5 | 70.3 | 73.3 | 103.8 | 87.6 | 104.4 |
| 11 years. |  | 71.7 | 82.6 | 60.8 | 51.7 | 84.5 | 92.1 | 90.3 | 91.0 |
| 12 years. |  | 79.7 | 83.1 | 59.9 | 52.8 | 67.4 | 87.3 | 81.8 | 92.8 |
| 13 years. |  | 92.9 | 75.8 | 33.1 | 35.9 | 44.1 | 73.4 | 76.8 | 81.0 |
| 14 years. |  | 60.4 | 55.9 | 11.4 | 25.4 | 33.5 | 61.7 | 59.7 | 60.7 |
| 15 years |  | 31.1 | 50.7 | 8.1 | 8.2 | 11.8 | 39.2 | 30.3 | 28.7 |
| 16 years and over. |  | 28.3 | 28.0 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 5.6 | 19.9 | 21.2 | 20.2 |

This table has an additional interest from its bearing on the method, already discussed, of determining the number of beginners by taking the average of the generations of the ages 7 to 12 in school at any given time. That method is based upon the assumption that all the children of a given generation are in school by the time they are 8 and remain there until they are at least 12 . This table seems to indicate that neither of these assumptions is tenable.

The membership of an age group does not remain the same in its progress through the grades. Some have dropped out and others have come in. Those who have dropped out belong to the generation even though no longer enrolled with it, and the enrollment, lacking them, is not complete, even though it stands at a higher figure than when they were included. In short, the age enrollment never, at any age, represents the whole number of children of that generation who have been or will be in school. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ How far it will fall below this total membership varies widely, according to local circumstances, but it will always be too low; hence an average based on the average enrollments at any given time must also fall below the real membership of the gener-

[^57]ation, and therefore, since everyone who has ever been on the roll was at one time a beginner, it must also fall below the number of beginners.

It is perfectly apparent that data from only six cities can not furnish evidence wholly conclusive on any of these problems, but the correspondence between the results here obtained and those of other students of the subjects gives them a cumulative value. Taking the results of this investigation as fairly typical we may consider what they mean.

It is customary to talk of the cost of retardation, as if every year a pupil is behind his grade means an added year's instruction which the taxpayers must supply. This would be true if every pupil finished the elementary course, but since age seems a more potent factor than grade in causing the exodus from school, there is little reason to suppose that retardation costs the community anything in direct expenditure. The child who spends two years in the same grade requires no more expenditure for teaching and school facilities than if each year were spent in a separate room. Indeed, in two ways retardation may mean an actual saving to the taxpayer. We have seen that an undetermined portion of it is caused by a transfer from private or parochial schools, and a certain other portion by late entrance. Evidently if a child is not in school or is in a private school nothing is being spent by the public on his education, so that in such cases retardation means a certain saving of expenditure. Again, it is entirely possible that if the retarded children who at 14 leave from the fifth or sixth grade were in the eighth or ninth at that age, they, or some of them, would be inclined to stay for at least the first year of high school, thus adding to the number of years during which they would be taught at public cost. There is no ground for supposing that any rearrangement or improvement which would decrease the percentage of retardation would diminish by one iota the cost of the public-school system.

There is, however, a tremendous waste and loss involved in retardation. There is a waste of time for the bright child, who is held back by the grade system and periodic promotions. There is a waste of time for the average child, who misses promotion once or oftener, and must spend two years over the work supposed to be done in one. There is a pitiful waste of time for the rather slow or even dull child, who can not keep step, and who must fall back from year to year while his companions pass on. But worst of all is the loss involved in the fact that so large a proportion must leave school with the elementary work undone. That is supposed to represent the minimum of education with which it is safe or wise to let anyone grow up. If but one-third to one-half of the children who enter the public schools are obtaining this minimum, the seriousness of the situation is evident.

## AGE AND GRADE OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL.

Turning from the complex problem of elimination and considering the much simpler matter of dropping out of school, possibly to return, the six places studied show an unexpectedly large number leaving during the school year. The data concerning this subject were secured from the teachers, who furnished statements of the number of pupils leaving school for any cause during the school year, by grade, age, sex, and month of leaving. Children who were transferred from one school to another were of course not included, and neither were those who, having left, returned within the same school year. No account was made of return in a subsequent year. Doubtless many children did so return, but these are to a certain extent balanced by those who left during the vacation, and whose departure, therefore, was not included in these lists.

Table 132 gives by age and grade the number thus leaving school. ${ }^{a}$
Table 132.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS, BY AGES AND GRADES.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.

| Age. | Number leaving in specified grades. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Per cent leaving of total enrolled at same age. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Gr. 1. | Gr. 2. | Gr. 3. | Gr. 4. | Gr. 5. | Gr. 6. | Gr. 7. | Gr. 8. | Gr. 9. | Mixed <br> grades and special. | High school, first year. | Total. |  |
| 1904-5. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. | 105 | 39 | 6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 150 | 6.3 |
| 8 years........ | 14 | 32 | 16 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 65 | 11.1 |
| 9 years.. | 10 | 11 | 16 | 11 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 52 | 9.8 |
| 10 years. | 2 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 36 | 7.2 |
| 11 years. |  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 8 | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 41 | 8.4 |
| 12 years. |  | 5 | 4 | 16 | 34 | 21 | 10 | 5 |  | 5 |  | 100 | 20.0 |
| 13 years. | 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 33 | 37 | 31 | 17 | 1 | 14 |  | 147 | 36.1 |
| 14 years. |  |  |  | 3 | 12 | 19 | 14 | 16 | 5 | 12 |  | 83 | 28.3 |
| 15 years. |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 12 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 45 | 31.2 |
| 16 years and over |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 4 | 5 | 1 | 13 | 24 | 32.0 |
| Total | 133 | 97 | 55 | 50 | 117 | 97 | 69 | 47 | 19 | 35 | 24 | 743 |  |
| Percent of total in grade..... | 11.5 | 12.3 | 8.1 | 9.3 | 18.7 | 19.2 | 18.9 | 18.1 | 9.2 | 43.8 | 19.2 | 13.9 |  |
| 1905-6. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 115 | 28 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 148 | 6.2 |
| 8 years.. | 7 | 15 | 22 | 4 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 49 | 7.7 |
| 9 years. | 3 | 12 | 29 | 13 | 6 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 64 | 10.3 |
| 10 years. | 1 | 8 | 15 | 14 | 6 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 48 | 8.8 |
| 11 years. | 1 | 3 | 9 | 11 | 14 | 6 | 2 |  |  | 3 |  | 49 | 8.5 |
| 12 years. | 1 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 23 | 25 |  | 8 |  | 9 | $\therefore$ … | 88 | 15.2 |
| 13 years. |  | 1 | 6 | 18 | 22 | 27 | 37 |  | 2 | 8 |  | 130 | 31.1 |
| 14 years. | 1 |  | 2 | 3 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 9 | 3 | 7 |  | 71 | 27.3 |
| 15 years.. |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 10 | 15 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 46 | 28.9 |
| 16 years and over. |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 17 | 20 | 45.5 |
| Total | 129 | 68 | 91 | 76 | 85 | 76 | 76 | 43 | 10 | 31 | 28 | 713 |  |
| in grade...... | 10.8 | 9.0 | 12.7 | 11.0 | 14.3 | 16.7 | 18.5 | 16.7 | 5.0 | 43.1 | 21.8 | 11.4 |  |

[^58]TABLE 132.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS, BY AGES AND GRADES-Continued.

PAWTUCEET, R. I.-Concluded.

|  | Number leaving in specified grades. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Per cent leaving of total enrolled at sameage. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age. | Gr.1. | Gr. 2. | Gr. 3. | Gr. 4. | Gr. 5. | Gr. 6. | Gr. 7 | Gr.8. | Gr.9. | Mixed <br> grades and special. | High school first year. | Total. |  |
| 1906-7. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 121 | 29 | 11 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 161 | 6.8 |
| 8 years......... | 11 | 27 | 26 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 69 | 10.3 |
| 9 years.. | 8 | 10 | 17 | 14 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 54 | 8.0 |
| 10 years. | 5 | 3 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 3 |  |  |  | 1 |  | 55 | 8.5 |
| 11 years.. |  | 3 |  |  | 13 | 5 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 46 | 8.4 |
| 12 years.. |  | 1 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 52 | 8.2 |
| 13 years. |  | 2 | 2 | 14 | 17 | 29 | 20 | 12 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 111 | 18.1 |
| 14 years. | 1 |  |  | 10 | 25 | 22 | 33 | 18 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 130 | 41.8 |
| 15 years.. |  |  |  | 1 |  | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 29 | 23.6 |
| 16 years and over. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 7 | 9 | 19.6 |
| Total | 146 | 75 | 92 | 75 | 89 | 77 | 75 | 37 | 9 | 26 | 15 | 716 |  |
| Per cent of total in grade...... | 12.6 | 9.3 | 11.9 | 9.9 | 13.5 | 13.5 | 19.2 | 11.7 | 4.6 | 20.3 | 10.6 | 12.2 |  |

COLUMBUS, GA.

| 1905-6. | 63 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 66 | 10.1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 years... | 21 | 9 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 40 | 18.4 |
| 9 years.. | 5 | 12 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 21 | 13.1 |
| 10 years. | 3 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 25 | 12.0 |
| 11 years. | 1 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 3 |  | . |  |  |  | 26 | 14.5 |
| 12 years. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 13 | 4 |  |  |  |  | 30 | 16.5 |
| 13 years. | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 3 |  |  |  | 29 | 17.1 |
| 14 years.. |  | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 4 |  |  | 5 | 29 | 24.1 |
| 15 years.... |  | 2 |  | 5 | 5 | 7 | 3 |  |  | 7 | 29 | 34.1 |
| 16 years and over. $\qquad$ |  |  |  |  | 4 | 7 | 5 |  |  | 10 | 26 | 65.0 |
| Not reported... | 12 | 25 | 18 | 13 | 7 | 8 | 4 |  |  | 2 | 89 | 32.0 |
| Total. | 107 | 70 | 61 | 43 | 49 | 37 | 19 |  |  | 24 | 410 |  |
| Percentof total in grade...... | 22.8 | 21.8 | 19.3 | 18.7 | 21.0 | 20.0 | 15.0 |  |  | 23.7 | 20.7 |  |
| 1906-7. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 57 | 9 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 66 | 9.8 |
| 8 years.. | 30 | 13 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 47 | 19.1 |
| 9 years. | 10 | 16 | 5 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 32 | 16.3 |
| 10 years. | 4 | 13 | 14 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 36 | 18.2 |
| 11 years......... |  | 5 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 21 | 10.6 |
| 12 years. | 5 | 4 | 14 | 8 ! | 5 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  | 40 | 22.1 |
| 13 years. | 1 | 2 | 6 | 15 | 5 | 7 | 2 |  |  | 2 | 40 | 23.8 |
| 14 years. |  |  | 2 | $3!$ | 12 | 6 | 5 |  |  | 13 | 41 | 25.9 |
| 15 years. | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 3 | 1 |  |  | 9 | 16 | 22.5 |
| 16 years and over. |  |  | 1 |  | 2 | 4 | 3 |  |  | 6 | 16 | 33.3 |
| Not reported... | 26 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 9 | 7 | 2 |  |  | 5 | 97 | 33.3 |
| Total | 134 | 80 | 69 | 52 | 37 | 31 | 14 |  |  | 35 | 452 |  |
| in grade...... | 25.8 | 21.8 | 21.0 | 20.6 | 19.5 | 16.7 | 10.4 |  |  | 34.3 | 21.7 |  |

Table 132.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS, BY AGES AND GRADES-Continued.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

| Age. | Number leaving in specified grades. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Percent leaving of total enrolled at same age. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Gr. 1. | Gr. 2. | Gr. 3. | Gr. 4. | Gr. 5. | Gr. 6. | Gr. 7. | Gr. 8. | Gr.9. | Mixed grades and special. | High school, first year. | Total. |  |
| 190ご-6. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years.. | 73 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 75 | 23.7 |
| 8 years........... | 34 | 17 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 52 | 24.5 |
| 9 years. | 17 | 10 | 23 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 52 | 25.0 |
| 10 years. | 15 | 7 | 8 | 26 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 56 | 27.0 |
| 11 years. | 5 | 2 | 9 | 9 | 14 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 40 | 26.3 |
| 12 years. | 7 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 |  |  |  |  |  | 44 | 26.0 |
| 13 years. | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 14 | 11 | 16 |  |  |  |  | 60 | 30.4 |
| 14 years........ | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 6 |  |  |  | 8 | 41 | 32.0 |
| 15 years......... | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 |  |  |  | 4 | 23 | 34.8 |
| 16 years and over. $\qquad$ | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 |  | 3 |  |  |  | 17 | 34 | 56.6 |
| Total. | 167 | 50 | 61 | 56 | 52 | 31 | 31 |  |  |  | 29 | 477 |  |
| Per cent of total <br> in grade | 33.1 | 20.5 | 24.6 | 29.6 | 28.4 | 23.0 | 24.0 |  |  |  | 34.5 | 27.7 |  |
| 1906-7. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 92 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 94 | 25.3 |
| 8 years. | 32 | 19 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 54 | 26.0 |
| 9 years. | 16 | 13 | 21 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 54 | 25.7 |
| 10 years. | 11 | 14 | 20 | 34 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 79 | 36.4 |
| 11 years........ | 6 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 15 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 36 | 21.0 |
| 12 years. | 4 | 4 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 4 |  |  |  |  | 45 | 26.1 |
| 13 years... | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 7 |  |  |  |  | 33 | 21.0 |
| 14 years.. | 5 |  | 2 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 3 |  |  |  | 7 | 36 | 29.0 |
| 15 years.......... | 3 |  | 1 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 10 |  |  |  | 7 | 36 | 34.3 |
| 16 years and over. $\qquad$ | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |  | 2 | 4 |  |  |  | 15 | 30 | 51.7 |
| Total. | 177 | 58 | 62 | 65 | 46 | 32 | 28 |  |  |  | 29 | 497 |  |
| in grade...... | 32.5 | 25.4 | 23.4 | 28.6 | 28.5 | 22.0 | 23.3 |  |  |  | 29.6 | 27.7 |  |

PLYMOUTH, PA.

| 1904-5. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Under 8 years. | 67 | 17 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 84 | 14.2 |
| 8 years. | 5 | 19 | 23 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 47 | 14.1 |
| 9 years. |  | 11 | 19 | 12 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 43 | 20.2 |
| 10 years. |  | 13 | 20 | 15 | 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 62 | 26.5 |
| 11 years........ | 1 | 4 | 4 | 18 | 15 | 1 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 45 | 22.3 |
| 12 years........ |  | 2 | 11 | 10 | 19 | 15 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 60 | 30.1 |
| 13 years....... |  |  | 1 | 4 | 11 | 13 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 32 | 29.1 |
| 14 years. |  |  | 2 |  |  | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 7 | 18.4 |
| 15 years. |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |  | 4 | 14.9 |
| 16 years and |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| over........... |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Not reported.... | 1 | 2 |  | 5 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 9 |  |  | 8 | 36 | 60.0 |
| Total | 74 | 68 | 80 | 64 | 68 | 34 | 13 | 11 |  |  | 8 | 420 |  |
| Per cent of total in grade...... | 12.6 | 17.8 | 32.4 | 28.8 | 24.0 | 22.0 | 22.4 | 26.8 |  |  | 23.5 | 20.9 |  |
| 1905-6. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 106 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 122 | 18.8 |
| 8 years | 17 | 17 | 13 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 47 | - 13.2 |
| 9 years | 1 | 27 | 14 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 50 | - 16.8 |
| 10 years | 2 | 13 | 6 | 20 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 49 | 19.6 |
| 11 years. | 1 |  | 4 | 15 | 17 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  | 42 | 23.0 |
| 12 years. |  | 1 | 9 | 13 | 19 | 11 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 54 | 28.8 |
| 13 years. |  | 1 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 2 |  |  |  | 26 | 18.5 |
| 14 years... |  |  | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 3 |  |  | 1 | 21 | 23.3 |
| 15 years. |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 2. |  |  |  | 5 | 17.2 |
| 16 years and over. $\qquad$ | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Not reported.... |  |  |  |  | 3 |  | 2 | 1 |  |  | 5 | 10 | 62.5 |
| Total. | 128 | 75 | 49 | 63 | 59 | 32 | 9 | 9 |  |  | 6 | 430 |  |
| in grade...... | 20.8 | 15.0 | 19.4 | 25.0 | 19.4 | 20.3 | 18.0 | 18.4 |  |  | 22.2 | 14.9 |  |

Table 132.-NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS, BY AGES AND GRADES-Concluded.
PLYMOUTH, PA.-Concluded.

|  | Number leaving in specified grades. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age. | Gr.1. | Gr. 2. | Gr. 3. | Gr. 4. | Gr. 5. | Gr. 6. | Gr. 7. | Gr. 8. | Gr. 9. | Mixed grades and special. | High school, first year. | Total. | leaving of total enrolled at same age. |
| 1906-7. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 8 years. . | 83 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 93 | 11.5 |
| 8 years......... | 13 | 23 | 14 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 51 | 15.8 |
| 9 years. |  | 13 | 18 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 39 | 13.3 |
| 10 years. |  | 3 | 16 | 14 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 35 | 14.8 |
| 11 years. |  | 2 | 15 | 24 | 12 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 55 | 20.2 |
| 12 years. |  | 1 | 11 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 5 |  |  |  |  | 72 | 33.1 |
| 13 years. |  |  | 2 | 5 | 8 | 19 | 3 | 2 |  |  |  | 39 | 27.5 |
| 14 years. |  |  |  | 1 | 3 | 16 | 1 | 3 |  |  | 1 | 25 | 23.1 |
| 15 years....... |  |  |  |  | 1 | 2 |  | 3 |  |  | 2 | 8 | 21.1 |
| 16 years and over. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |  |  | 2 | 5 | 28.0 |
| Not reported... |  |  | 3 | 10 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 16 | 59.2 |
| Total. | 96 | 52 | 79 | 81 | 50 | 55 | 9 | 11 |  |  | 5 | 438 |  |
| in grade...... | 12.4 | 12.5 | 21.6 | 20.6 | 24.6 | 27.6 | 17.6 | 23.0 |  |  | 17.2 | 17.6 |  |

hazleton, pa.


It will be seen at a glance that a very large proportion of those who left were not only under 14, but even under 12. The following summary shows this clearly:

Table 133.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL UNDER GIVEN AGES AND NOT RETURNING DURING SCHOOL YEAR, BY CITIES.
[Only those chlldren whose ages were reported are here included.]

| Locality. | 1904-5. |  |  |  |  | 1905-6. |  |  |  |  | 1906-7. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total leaving, all ages. | Leaving under 14. |  | Leaving under 12. |  | Total leavlng, all ages. | Leaving under 14. |  | Leaving under 12. |  | Total leavlng, all ages. | Leaving under 14. |  | Leaving under 12. |  |
|  |  | No. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | No. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |  | No. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ | No. | Per cent. |  | No. | Per cent. | No. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Per } \\ \text { cent. } \end{gathered}$ |
| Pawtucket, R.I | 743 | 591 | 79.5 | 344 | 46.3 | 713 | 576 | 80.8 | 358 | 50.2 | 716 | 548 | 76.5 | 385 | 53.6 |
| Columbus, Ga |  |  |  |  |  | 321 | 237 | 73.8 | 178 | 55.4 | 355 | 282 | 79.8 | 202 | 56.9 |
| Columbia, S. C |  |  |  |  |  | 477 | 379 | 79.4 | 275 | 57.6 | 497 | 395 | 79.4 | 317 | 63.8 |
| Plymouth, Pa. | 384 | 373 | 97.1 | 281 | 73.2 | 420 | 390 | 92.8 | 310 | 73.8 | 422 | 384 | 91.0 | 273 | 64.7 |
| Hazleton, Pa. | 339 | 223 | 65.7 | 141 | 41.6 | 395 | 284 | 71.8 | 191 | 48.3 | 319 | 240 | 75.2 | 164 | 51.4 |
| Tota | 1,466 | 1,187 | 80.9 | 766 | 52.2 | 2,326 | 1,866 | 80.2 | 1,312 | 56.4 | 2,309 | 1,849 | 80.0 | 1, 341 | 58.0 |

Taking the children from the five places as one group, it appears that four-fifths of those leaving school whose ages were known were under 14, and over one-half were under 12. In the separate cities the proportion under 12 ranges from 41.6 to 73.8 per cent.

The proportion leaving from the earlier grades is as impressive as from the earlier ages. The number and per cent leaving before reaching the fifth grade are as follows:

Table 134.-NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL BEFORE REACHING THE FIFTH GRADE, FOR EACH CITY.

| Locallty. | 1904-5. |  | 1905-6. |  | 1906-7. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 335 | 45.0 | 364 | 51.0 | 388 | 54.2 |
| Columbus, Ga.. |  |  | 231 | 68.5 | 335 | 74.1 |
| Plymouth, Pa... | 286 | $68.1{ }^{-1}$ | 315 | 70.2 73.2 | 362 308 | 72.8 70.3 |
| Hazleton, Pa.. | 218 | 51.4 | 244 | 55.8 | 203 | 57.5 |

It is evident that considerably over half of the children dropping out of the grades during these years had not even gone through the fourth grade. Of course no one supposes that all of these children remain out of school, but we do not know at all how many return. When older children leave from low grades they are very likely to remain away. Table 132 shows that in 1905-6 in Pawtucket 34 children-over two-fifths of the whole grade-dropped out of the fourth grade aged 12 or over. In 1906-7, 50 aged 12 or over dropped out of the first four grades. It is, to say the least, unlikely that children who at such ages have made so little progress will return.

From about one-third to something over one-half left during the first half of the year; so that the least their withdrawal could involve was a full half year's absence from school. The majority-and usually a very large majority-had gone before the last two months of school were reached. This would almost inevitably mean that those who returned the following year would have to repeat the grade, a fact which seems to have a very direct bearing on the number of repeaters and the amount of retardation. Some of the children are sufficiently ahead of their own generation to be able to repeat a grade without appearing as retarded when the age and grade enrollments are studied, but evidently that is not the case with the majority. If these figures are in any respect typical of what is going on in the schools generally, it is not surprising that retardation is common, the lower grades overcrowded, and multitudes of children never reach the upper grades. Before concluding that our school courses are too difficult for the average child it would seem advisable to make a careful study of irregular attendance and its effect on the child's school standing.

What becomes of all these children, why they leave, whether they return, and, if so, when, are important but unanswered questions. It is known that none of these returned during the school year in which they left, but beyond that information is not available.

Some light may be thrown on the reasons for leaving school by the results of an inquiry made by the superintendent of the Woonsocket schools, in the fall of 1909. At the close of the fall term he asked for a report on the number of children who had left school for any cause whatever. The numbers and reasons stood as follows:

Left on account of sickness...................................................................... 26
Moved from city ......................................................................... 78
Moved from district....................................................................... 144
Left to enter parochial schools............................................................... 67
Total............................................................................... . 377
Those who had gone to work were distributed among the grades as follows:


[^59]These figures can not be taken as typical, but they give some indication of the kinds of interruption a child's school course may suffer, even where there is a compulsory attendance law and an honest effort is made to enforce it. Where there is no such law and children may drop out almost at their own whim, the possibilities of lost and wasted time during what should be the years of schooling are impressive and discouraging.

## NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PUPILS COMPLETING ELEMENTARY COURSE.

The converse of elimination is graduation from the primary and grammar grades. The number who, having finished the elementary course, continue their studies in the high school is also of interest.

Table 135 shows the facts gathered in regard to these points, with some additional data concerning those who drop out between the grammar grades and the high school, and during the first year of high-school work.

Table 135.-NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN GRADUATING FROM THE ELEMENTARY GRADES.

| Age at graduating from grammar school. | Pawtucket, R. I. |  |  | Woonsocket, R. I. |  |  | Columbus, Ga. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. |
| Under 12 years |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years.. |  | 1 | 17 | 7 | ${ }^{6}$ | 2 |  |  | 1 |
| 13 years. | 7 | 20 | 17 | 35 | 25 | 30 |  | 6 | 10 |
| 14 years. | 56 | 70 | 77 | 24 | 22 | 28 |  | 43 | 34 |
| 15 years. | 73 | 65 | 58 | 19 | 15 | 15 |  | 24 | 34 |
| 16 years. | 32 | 29 | 24 |  |  | 3 |  | 21 | 20 |
| Over 16 years | 13 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 |  | 5 | 2 |
| Not reported |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 3 |
| Total. | 181 | 192 | 181 | 90 | 75 | 83 |  | 104 | 104 |
| Percent graduating of total enrollment. | 3.5 | 3.6 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 2.2 | 2.2 |  | 5.5 | 5.3 |
| Number entering high school......... | 114 | 113 | 107 | 70 | 50 | 53 |  | 86 | 94 |
| Per cent entering high school...... | 63.0 | 58.9 | 59.1 | 77.8 | 66.7 | 63.8 |  | 82.7 | 90.4 |
| Number completing first year high school. | 94 | 86 | 93 | 61 | 42 | 44 |  | 54 | 75 |
| Per cent completing first year high school | 82.5 | 76.1 | 86.9 | 87.1 | 84.0 | 83.0 |  | 62.8 | 79.8 |
| Age at graduating from grammar school. | Columbia, S. C. |  |  | Plymouth, Pa. |  |  | Hazleton, Pa. |  |  |
|  | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. | 1904-5. | 1905-6. | 1906-7. |
| Under 12 years. |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 years. |  |  | 5 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 13 years. |  | 17 | 28 |  | 20 | 4 | 16 | 17 | 24 |
| 14 years. |  | 32 | 24 |  | 14 | 22 | 43 | 26 | 45 |
| 15 years. |  | 25 | , |  | 6 | 7 | 34 | 43 | 51 |
| 16 years. |  | 8 | 4 |  | 1 | 4 | 8 | 25 | 29 |
| Over 16 years |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| Notreported |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total. |  | 86 | 72 |  | 42 | 38 | 106 | 116 | 156 |
| Per cent graduating of total enrollment |  | 5.3 | 4.3 |  | 1.9 | 1.6 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 5.8 |
| Number entering high school. |  | 73 | 65 |  | 32 | 30 | 86 | 86 | 116 |
| Per cent entering high school. |  | 84.9 | 90.3 |  | 76.2 | 78.9 | 81.1 | 74.1 | 74.3 |
| Number completing first year high school |  | 47 | 54 |  | 25 | 27 | 70 | 71 | 91 |
| Per cent completing first year high school. |  | 64.4 | 83.1 |  | 78.1 | 90.0 | 81.4 | 82.6 | 78.4 |

The figures on which this table is based were furnished separately for boys and girls, but the differences between the sexes did not seem sufficient to require separate presentation. In general it may be said that the proportion of girls graduating was slightly larger, and that they were apt to be a little older than the boys at graduation. The variations were hardly sufficiently marked and uniform to justify generalizations.

The same may be said of the difference between the six places considered. The data, specially compiled for this report, show interesting diversities from place to place, but do not cover a sufficient series of years to justify comparisons or general statements.

Perhaps the most striking point about this table is not the small proportion who finish the elementary course, but the high age at which so many of them reach this goal. In Pawtucket, for instance, during the three years under consideration, 554 children graduated, of whom 55 per cent were 15 or older. In Woonsocket matters are somewhat better, only a trifle over one-fourth ( 27 per cent) being 15 or more at graduation, but in Columbus again over one-half (54 per cent) of those graduating during two years had passed their fifteenth birthday. Taking the children from all the places together, in 1904-5, those who had reached or passed 15 formed 49.8 per cent of the graduates, in 1905-6 they were 46.9 , and 1906-7, 43.9 per cent. This throws an interesting side light on the question of elimination. It is known that for the great mass of school children 14 is an outside limit of attendance; indeed it is questionable whether 13 is not an extreme limit for the majority. But if from two-fifths to one-half of those graduating are 15 or more, it is evident that a very large proportion of those whose school life ends by or before 14 never reach the graduating class.

Passing on from graduation through the first year of high school attendance, the familiar phenomena of elimination are still apparent. In every place and for every year some of those graduating from the lower grades fail to enter the high school, and of those who do enter a varying but considerable proportion drop out before completing the first year's work. On the whole, the most noticeable noint here is that so large a proportion should enter the high scinool at all. That from 58 to 90 per cent of those finishing the grades should make the effort to continue would hardly have been expected. It will be noticed that a very creditable proportion of them finish the first year's work.

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[^0]:    $\boldsymbol{a}$ The term "at work" as used in this connection and throughout the quoted statistics means at work in occupations other than agriculture.
    b See Census Bulletin 69, Table 196.
    c See Census Bulletin 69, Table 199.
    ${ }^{d}$ See Census Bulletin 69, Table 200.
    e See Census Bulletin 69, by a combination of Table 196 and Table 203, thus: Figures for large cities from Table 203, assuming that none in large cities were at work in agriculture; figures for small cities and country districts from Table 203 minus those in agriculture (found in Table 196).
    $f$ See Census Bulletin 69, Tables 199 and 200.

[^1]:    $a^{a}$ See Census Bulletin 69, Table 199.
    ${ }^{b}$ See Census Bulletin 69, Table 200.
    c See Supplementary analysis of Twelfth Census, p. 345.
    dSee Supplementary analysis of Twelfth Census, p. 725.

[^2]:    $\boldsymbol{a}$ As given in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ending June 30, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 359 ff.

[^3]:    ${ }^{a}$ Twentieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island, 1906, Part 3, pp. 84, 85.

[^4]:    ${ }^{a}$ Twentieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island, 1906, Part 3, pp. 180, 181.

[^5]:    $a^{a}$ In order to see how country conditions compared with city conditions, a canvass was made of Lattimer and Beaver Brook, two mining settlements in the vicinity of Hazleton. Schools and collieries were visited, teachers, principals, and mine authorities interviewed, and every means taken to learn how numerously children were leaving school for work. The inquiry showed conditions so like those of the city that it was evident the study of the city school children would represent very fairly the general conditions of the locality.

[^6]:    $a$ Dr. Frank P. Underhill estimates the minimum cost of food per day per man at 22 cents. See The Standard of Living among Workingmen's Families in New York City, by Robert Coit Chapin, Ph. D., 1909, p. 127.

[^7]:    $a$ One hundred and nineteen cases were found in which the sickness or death expenses during the preceding year had amounted to $\$ 50$ or over.

[^8]:    $a$ See on this subject "Poverty, A Study of Town Life," by B. S. Rowntree; The Independent, August 29, 1907; "Standard of Living among Workingmen's Families in New York City," by Robert Coit Chapin; Charities and The Commons, September 5 and November 28, 1908, January 16 and March 20, 1909; Fourth Annual Report Manhattan Trade School for Girls; Report of National Conference Charities and Corrections, 1906 and 1907; Report of Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906.

[^9]:    a See Table 7, page 38, for classification of houses and neighborhoods.

[^10]:    $\boldsymbol{a}$ The reason why the per cent mere is so much smaller than in the census figures is because the 83 establishments included many mines.
    $b$ Nearly all the Georgia and Alabama children worked in Columbus, and the one or two establishments visited outside the city limits of Columbus were included with the Columbus establishments.

[^11]:    ${ }^{a}$ In a few cases a conflict was found between the age given in the school records and that given in the child's home. These conflicts are not sufficiently numerous to be important and for the sake of uniformity the home statement has been used throughout this study. In Plymouth these conflicts were more numerous than elsewhere, and accordingly supplements have been added to some tables, based on the school records.
    ${ }^{b}$ See Cotton Textile Industry, Vol. I of this report, p. 218, where a table is given showing that over 88 per cent began work at 14 years of age in Fall River, Mass., in 1906 and 1907.

[^12]:    a The distribution is not quite exact for the total, as there are, for instance, some Slavic fathers in Hazleton in "Other races," and so in several other cases. More detailed information as to race and nativity will be found in Table 17.

[^13]:    ${ }^{a}$ In the 6 cases of this kind for which no income was given the child had not even the aid of relatives. Usually he was entirely dependent on his own efforts, not having anyone in the background to rely on in an emergency.

[^14]:    $49450^{\circ}$-S. Doc. $645,61-2$, vol 7-5

[^15]:    a In this table "father"=male head; "mother"=mother or stepmother.

[^16]:    $a$ The table represents the condition of affairs at the time the investigation was made. In the period between the children's going to work and the investigation 192 fathers had been unem ployed for varying periods. Using the fullest information obtainable, there seemed only 18 cases (concerning 2.8 per cent of the children studied) in which the father's lack of work seemed attributable to his own indolence, intemperance, or other fault.

[^17]:    a It does not follow that because a woman is a widow or deserted wife she is a "female head of a family." In some cases such women have returned to their earlier homes, their fathers or brothers have assumed the responsibilities of the absent husband, and the family appears among those having male heads. Hence it does not follow that all of these widowed mothers who were working were the sole or even the main support of their families.

[^18]:    ${ }^{a}$ The number of wage-earners under 16 does not coincide with the number of schedule children, first, because in many of the families there were other children under 16 at work; secondly, because some of the schedule children had by the time the visit of investigation was made reached 16; and, thirdly, because some of the schedule children were working for relatives or for some other reason received no wages.

[^19]:    $49450^{\circ}$-S. Doc. $645,61-2$, vol $7-6$

[^20]:    $a$ But it must be remembered that at the time of the visit many of these children had not yet had a full year in which to work. The places are arranged in the order visited, the interval for work ranging from an average of about six months for Pawtucket to a year for Hazleton. The same is true of children under 14.

[^21]:    ${ }^{a}$ The "income" as the word is used here means the full earnings of the parents plus the amount contributed by other members to the family fund plus any miscellaneous profits the family may have had. Theoretically the full earnings of any children under 21 belonged to the parents and might be looked upon as part of the income, but as this study was more concerned with fact than theory, only the amounts actually contributed by these children were taken into account. An analysis made of the earnings of those under 21 showed that the amount withheld was too insignificant to affect the general average noticeably.

[^22]:    a After deducting rent and expenses for sickness and death and income from all children of same age as child specified and from younger children.
    b Custodian; own father deserted child.
    c Not reported.
    d Stepfather; own father dead.

[^23]:    $a$ Charities and the Commons, October 5, 1907, p. 810.
    ${ }^{6}$ Report of the Commission on Industrial and Technical Education (Massachusetts), 1906, p. 41.

[^24]:    $a$ In Pawtucket and Woonsocket, as the law obliged children to remain in school until 14 and as no children of 16 and over were taken, it was impossible that any should have remained 2 years or more.

[^25]:    a Compare Laggards in our Schools, by Leonard P. Ayres, Chap. XIV, and particularly the following: "We can, however, state definitely as a conclusion from the facts that have been presented, that our schools as they now exist are better fitted to the needs and natures of the girl than of the boy pupils" (p.158).
    ${ }^{6}$ It will be remembered that Table 11, page 52, showed that dislike of the teacher was the principal reason for leaving in the case of 20 boys and of 11 girls. The two showings are not, of course, inconsistent, but merely indicate that the girls ?id not consider their dislike of the teacher in itself a sufficient cause for leaving school as generally as the boys did.

[^26]:    ${ }^{a}$ Capacity, of course, does not determine grade, which depends also on age and length of school attendance. The bright, average, and dull pupils were found scattered throughout the grades, the bright being but little, if at all, more numerous in the upper grades.

[^27]:    ${ }^{a}$ In many cases the child's employer sees too little of it to form any opinion of its capacity. For this and other reasons it was impossible to get the employer's estimate in the majority of cases.

[^28]:    a Seventeen children in Pawtucket, or 16.5 per cent, and 22 in Woonsocket, or 12.7 per cent, had left school before coming to these two cities, so that the Pawtucket and Woonsocket schools can neither be blamed nor credited for their standing. The 17 in Pawtucket had attended school as follows: In other parts of Rhode Island, 5; in other States of the United States, 4; in Canada, 2; in foreign countries, 6. The Woonsocket children as follows: Other parts of Rhode Island, 1; other States of the United States, 6 ; Canada, 12; Poland, 1; never attended, 2 (these 2 were of legal age when they came to Rhode Island from Canada).

[^29]:    a Eight, or 9.5 per cent, are one year younger than average age; and 2 , or 2.4 per cent, are two years and over younger than average age.
    ${ }^{\boldsymbol{b}}$ Twenty-two, or 26.1 per cent, are one year older than average age; 21 , or 25 per cent, are two years older than average age; 6 , or 7.1 per cent, are three years older than average age; and 2, or 2.4 per cent, are five

[^30]:    $\boldsymbol{a}$ The measurement of the age difference is somewhat inaccurate, since months were disregarded, all 14 -year-old children being classed as a year older than 13 -year-old children, though the difference in age might be really much less than a year.

[^31]:    ${ }^{a}$ The authorities consulted for the statistics of wages were: Census Bulletin 93 (Census of Manufactures, 1905: Earnings of wage-earners); Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 77, July, 1908: Wages and Hours of Labor; Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs on Industrial Statistics for 1906, Pennsylvania; Twentyfourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, New York; Report on Statistics of Labor, 1906, Massachusetts; figures obtained in this investigation.

[^32]:    a Report of Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, p. 31.

[^33]:    $a$ The schedules include no grammar-school graduates, no high-school students, and none from technical schools, unless we should except a few from the Secondary Industrial School in Columbus.

[^34]:    $a$ This does not necessarily imply a special aptitude for the work chosen. It may have been attractive because it was " clean work," or was supposed to have some social standing, or because the employer in question had a reputation of treating his help fairly.

[^35]:    $a$ Under "definite" ambitions are included all those looking toward a specific occupation, such as the desire to become a glazier, a draftsman, a civil engineer, and the like. Under "indefinite" ambitions are included such vague aspirations as the desire to "get rich," to have "nice work," to do something "where he wouldn't have to take his coat off," etc.

[^36]:    a Not all of these 24 were children of the parents cited above.

[^37]:    a Including 7 whose grade was not reported.
    $b$ Including 5 whose grade was not reported.
    d Including 4 whose grade was not reported.
    e Including 10 whose grade was not reported.
    c Including 1 whose grade was not reported. $f$ See notes to details.

[^38]:    $a$ The grade reached by other wage-earners under 25 was unknown in 122 cases.
    ${ }^{b}$ One hundred and twenty-nine of the other wage-earners under 25 had attended only ungraded schools.

[^39]:    a The following case, by no means unique, illustrates the difficulty of forming conclusions as to the amount of education these children possess from the months of schooling they have had:
    Two of the girls, 18 and 14 years old, who began work at 14 and 11, respectively, go to school three months every year and will continue to do so until they are 20 years old. The rest of the year they work in the cotton mill, each earning $\$ 10$ a week. Their father, a dry goods clerk, prepares lessons in arithmetic, English, and reading once a week, and these lessons they prepare at night and recite to their father at the end of the week. In this way, with only thirty-two months actual schooling the elder of the two has reached the seventh grade, and the younger, with twenty-four months, has reached the fourth.

[^40]:    ${ }^{a}$ This exception in favor of mercantile establishments has been revoked by an act passed April, 1910.

[^41]:    a In 1909 a new child labor law was passed requiring real proof of age instead of a mere affidavit, and placing the issuance of certificates in the hands of school officials

[^42]:    a Birth certificate has a different meaning in the two places. In Pawtucket it means a civil record. In Woonsocket church records are included and predominate.
    $b$ Three of these were renewal certificates and hence are not included in the list of certificates by month in which granted, p. 18.

[^43]:    ${ }^{a}$ That the members of this association mean to keep faith with one another is altogether probable, but violations at once of their rules and the State laws do occur. Thus two boys 11 years old, not employed under a legal exception, were found working in knitting mills. Another boy of 11 had been sent out of the mill, in accordance with the rules quoted. He later returned and helped his mother without being put on the pay roll, and because she needed the extra pay so badly the overseer let him stay. In this case, as the boy's mother was a widow, he might have easily secured a certificate, under the legal exception, which would have made his employment legal. A fourth boy was found working illegally, as he was only 9 years old. He held, however, a certificate from the county ordinary that he was 10.

[^44]:    ${ }^{a}$ The affidavits in common use in Plymouth did not state the exact age of the children, but only that they were 14 or over. At one large coal company's office the agent was permitted to look over all the affidavits of age presented by the boys employed to find the number of boys at each age. These affidavits were of all sorts and kinds. Some were on printed forms that appeared to be part of the old schooling and age work certificate, others on forms that seemed to be made out for the purpose, still others on blank sheets of paper. These last were for the most part made out by a justice of the peace who was scarcely able to write his own name legibly and whose English and spelling were quite unusual, the opening statement usually being that so-and-so "bing swor" stated, etc.
    One mother said that in the silk mill all a child had to have to go to work was a paper signed by the parent saying he was willing it should work; but when a boy went to work in the breaker he had to get an affidavit from the squiro.

[^45]:    a Including 8 cases in Rhode Island in which home statement of age was not accepted.
    $b$ These 4 cases were illegal, according to strict interpretation of the law
    c These 9 cases were illegal, according to strict interpretation of the law. Eight of them worked in Georgia. Only 1 worked in Alabama, and he was working without the affidavit required by the Alabama law.
    d These 6 cases were illegal, according to strict interpretation of the law.
    eThese 7 cases were illegal, according to strict interpretation of the law. Five of them worked in Georgia. Only 2 worked in Alabama, and these 2 were working without the affidavit required by the Alabama law.

[^46]:    a A word of reminder may, however, be in place. It will be observed that only three children were working illegally under age in Columbia. The law does not forbid children, no matter how young, to work; it only forbids employers to hire them. A number of children (21) were found in Columbia who had begun work under 10,but this would not constitute an illegality unless their names appeared on the pay roll. According to the Georgia law, however, such employment is forbidden, so that had these children begun work in Columbus instead of Columbia they would have been counted as furnishing so many illegalities.

[^47]:    $a$ The law specified a number of ways in which a child under 15 may not be employed in any place in which liquors are sold or given away, but tending bar is not included in the list. (See Brightly's Purdon's Digest, 12th ed., 1895, p. 1015, sec. 10.)

[^48]:    $a$ In Columbia grade 1 is divided into grade 1 and advanced 1 , each requiring a year's attendance in half day sessions. Hence the seven grades take eight years to complete.

[^49]:    a It will be seen that this second standard is stricter than one of those used by Mr. Ayres, who considers a child in the first grade as of normal age until he has passed his eighth birthday. See Leonard P. Ayres, Laggards in Our Schools, p. 37 et seq.

[^50]:    [In getting actual average age one-half year was added to average, but in getting normal average age, based on average age in grade 1, the one-half year was not added to average, because in the grade 1 average the start was made with the one-half year addition.]

[^51]:    $a$ The difference between this per cent obtained from data gathered in the spring of 1908 and the per cent shown in Mr. A yres's Laggards in Our Schools, $p .45$, viz, 35.4 , is no doubt almost wholly due to the difference in the time of year, for the data from which Mr. Ayres's per cent was computed were gathered in September, 1907.

    This summary shows very well the different results obtained by using the two standards, a difference not only in the absolute but in the relative amount of retardation. Thus, Pawtucket, which, according to the first standard, has the smallest per cent of retardation, falls back to the fourth place when the second standard is used, and

[^52]:    a Compare Leonard P. Ayres, Laggards in Our Schools, p. 3: 7 per cent to 75 per cent returded.
    ${ }^{6}$ Idem, p. 3.

[^53]:    ${ }^{a}$ Some of the cases classed as due to poor health involved absence from school,but these are not included here.

[^54]:    ${ }^{a}$ Annual Report of New York State Commissioner of Education, 1908.
    ${ }^{b}$ Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education, No. 4, 1907.
    ${ }^{c}$ Leonard P. Ayers, Laggards in Our Schools, p. 66 et seq.
    ${ }^{d}$ Throughout this discussion the term "generation" is used to designate the whole group of children born during a given twelve months and consequently of approximately the same age.

[^55]:    $a$ The number of beginners and of repeaters in the first grade, Woonsocket, was obtained as follows: Data received from the superintendent showed 976 separate pupils enrolled, including 140 repeaters, and 134 pupils from parochial and out of town schools, none of whom were classed as repeaters. It was assumed that the proportion of repeaters among the children from other schools was at least as large as among the public school children. Omitting the 134 pupils from other schools from the enrollment, 842 public school children are left, of whom 140, or 16.6 per cent, are known to be repeaters. Applying this percentage to the total enrollment of 976 it is found that the grade contained 162 repeaters and 814 beginners.
    $b$ Not including one second-grade room (missing).

[^56]:    ${ }^{a}$ Some light on the point at which elimination is likely to begin is given by the investigation into the silk industry in Pennsylvania. There it was found that out of 684 children in 21 towns who in 1907-8 left school under 14 years of age, 307, or 44.9 per cent, had not entered the fifth grade, and 178 , or more than a quarter of the whole number, had not reached the fourth grade. (See. Silk Industry, Vol. IV of this report, p . 114.).

[^57]:    ${ }^{a}$ Table 133 (p. 300) shows that among children leaving school and not returning during the school year, as reported by teachers, over 50 per cent were under 12. In the investigation into the silk industry, it was found that out of 779 children in Pennsylvania towns, leaving school within a specified time to go to work, 54.9 per cent were under 13; over 28 per cent were under 12. (See Silk Industry, Vol. IV of this report, pp. 110-112.)

[^58]:    a Owing to a misunderstanding, the Woonsocket statements covered only children leaving to go to work, so that they are not comparable with the others.

[^59]:    $a$ It will be remembered that in the causes assigned for repeating, irregular attendance or absence led.

