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American Philanthropy of the Nineteenth Century

Edited by HERBERT S. BROWN

Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy


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Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy

BY

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Vice-President of the Massachusetts Civic League

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JACOB A. RIIS

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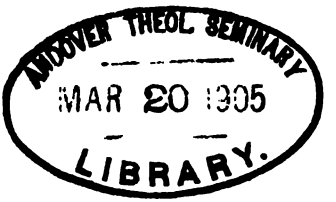

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INTRODUCTION

QUITE some years ago, when I had written "How the other half lives," I received a letter postmarked "Brookline, Mass.," and signed "Joseph Lee," asking some purely academic question about sweating. Now, sweating is a nuisance at all times, not to be borne, and with an academic discussion of it I never had any patience. A club seems to me to fit it better. And I remember thinking, "Who now is this fellow come to bother me?" and feeling rather ungracious about it. I hope Mr. Lee has forgotten it. First impressions are but poor stuff. I suppose it depends on the man who receives them. The years that have passed have shown me and all of us Mr. Lee as he really is: the practical, common-sense champion of the boy and of his rights, in school and home and in the playground,—particularly in the playground, where the boy grows into the man. To him it has been given to grasp the full meaning of Froebel's warning that through his play the boy gets his first grip on moral relations. That at last we are beginning to heed the

warning is due, here in our country, largely to the clear reasoning and lucid statement of Joseph Lee. Nothing could be less academic, in its accepted meaning, than the campaign he has urged for "the Men of To-morrow."

Hence he comes in his own right to tell us of "Constructive and preventive philanthropy" at the close of the century that is past, and that he should have such a story to tell is by long odds the best testimonial to the century. At the head of it all he puts the preservation of the home, which, he says, is part and parcel of the fight for good government. Yes! and the biggest part of it; for unless we can preserve it, — say, rather, restore it in our cities, — we shall not long enjoy the government or the freedom for which we would all so gladly die — and sometimes, illogically, find it so hard to live. Had not Mr. Lee's book ended with the century, he would have been able to point to the certain signs that we are winning the fight for the people's homes. It was worth living just to be in that fight.

And then the play! "The boy without a playground," says he, "is father to the man without a job, and the boy with a bad playground is apt to be father to a man with a job that had better have been left undone." If he had written nothing else, he would have

earned a place among the real sages of the day, of whom there are not too many. No one has understood boy-nature better, and, after all, boy-nature is just the beginning of man-nature. It isn't for his badness the boy admires the tough, but for the real heroic stuff that is in him, for his courage, his resourcefulness, his daring. "Give these qualities their legitimate means of expression in hard organized play," and burglary "will be abandoned as an inferior form of sport."

For this I shall forgive Mr. Lee his curious Mugwumpery when it comes to the Mulberry Bend, for his diagnosis of the boy is fundamental, that of the Bend is not. He never saw it, I will warrant. It was "materially worse" than the rest of the neighborhood, — than any other place I ever saw or heard of. It was a pigsty, only the pigs were men. Therefore the men became pigs in that foul spot. I do not remember Bromley's map (p. 229), but if it had only two alleys in the Bend, it must have been wofully bad. I knew a dozen, yes, two dozen. And if there are hundreds of such alleys in Boston (same page), that town is not fit to be on any map. But there are none such. Neither is there the least mystery about why murder ceased in the Bend when the pigsties were torn down: the sunlight came in, that was all, and grass and flowers and birds, and with

them peace. Where the slum rules unchallenged, everybody feels more or less like sticking his neighbor when he as much as makes a face at him. And I do not know but the feeling is natural: life is not worth living in such a place.

But that was not what I started to say; just this, that Mr. Lee has written a good and useful book, though not half as good and useful as he is himself; and he has shown the faith that is in him by prophesying that school and playground will yet be drawn together. That is what we are coming to, — did come to in New York this past season with a rush that almost took the breath away from some good people; quite unnecessarily, for on that road lies safety. For which also we owe Mr. Lee and his work thanks. Truly, we are much obliged to him.

JACOB A. RIIS.

NEW YORK,
October 14, 1902.

Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy

"Now it [philanthropy] is preventive, constructive, and no ten men could gather all the threads and hold them." — JACOB A. RIIS.

CONSTRUCTIVE AND PREVENTIVE PHILANTHROPY

CHAPTER I

ESSENCE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SUBJECT

On the general subject of this book see "How the other half lives" and "The battle with the slum," J. A. Riis; "Improvement of towns and cities," C. M. Robinson; "The poor in great cities" (Scribners, New York, 1895); Directories of charities of Boston and New York; *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, September, 1900 (statistics of cities on many of the subjects to be dealt with). For an exhaustive bibliography of municipal undertakings of all sorts, see *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1901, and supplements in subsequent numbers. The way to find out what is done in any city or town where there is a charity organization society is to write to them. The present writer has received invaluable assistance from these societies.

Immigration: Publications of the Immigration restriction league, including a bibliography of three pages (P. F. Hall, Fiske building, Boston); "Restriction of immigration," F. A. Walker, in *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, volume ii, pp. 417–426; articles by the same author, *Forum*, 1891, pp. 634, 743; *Atlantic Monthly*, volume lxxvii, p. 822, June, 1896; "Emigration and immigration," R. Mayo-Smith (Scribners, New York, 1892), the best general book on the subject, contains a useful bibliography; "Un-American immigration," R. M. Atchison (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1894).

Constructive philanthropy aims to foster life

THE common object in the promotion of which the many and varied activities of constructive and preventive philanthropy find their unity, and can be classified and understood, is the fostering of life, — the protection and cultivation, that is to say, of the spiritual element in the individuals and communities whom they seek to benefit. Philanthropists have sought this object partly by means that may be called in the narrower sense of the term preventive: by laws and other measures, that is to say, for the direct repression of evil or for the abolition of influences or surroundings found to be an injury or a hindrance to life, on either the moral or the physical side. But by far the greater part of present philanthropic effort is aimed directly at the development of the spiritual life through the encouragement and facilitating of its expression in concrete and definite achievement. This effort is also preventive in its effects, as the promotion of health is inevitably prevention of disease.

by facilitating its expression in definite achievement.

Savings institutions project present life to include the future;

The institutions that promote the saving of money aim to build up, by exercise, in the minds of those whom they can reach, the habit of vividly imagining their own future, and of the determination to control it, aim to cultivate in them the unity of thought and of purpose that distinguishes life properly so called from a mere succession of unorganized

and unrelated acts and sensations. The philanthropies that aid in the formation and successful conduct of the home seek to secure for the individual that broadening of the conception of life that comes from the habitual and active subordination of one's individual and private aims to the life of the family. The philanthropy that has dealt directly with children has, unconsciously and independently, rediscovered the great educational truths that life grows by expression, by doing and not by receiving, and that child life and family life are one. It seeks, by promoting the activities, such as sloyd and outdoor games, which make the deepest emotional appeal to the nature of the child, to call into fullest and most vital activity all the power that is in him; and it aims by its introduction of the kindergarten into the school, by the reverential attitude expressed in all its dealings with family life, and by relating as far as possible every activity to it, to develop the child as a child, as a member of a family and the inhabitant of a home, and not as an unrelated and irresponsible social atom or outsider. For grown people philanthropy aims, by trade teaching, by forms of partnership, by village industries, to make men's daily work an expression of thought and character, a part of life, not a squandering of life's best hours on a task alien, extraneous to life and making no

culture of the home broadens it to include the family;

sloyd and playgrounds deepen the vital growth in childhood;

partnership and workmanship make the day's work contributory to life and character;

contribution to it. Finally, in its efforts on behalf of adults outside of business and the home, philanthropy is beginning to show at least so much of educational insight as is implied in seeking to make of the individual, not a social atom in whom life and purpose have been starved down to the narrow limits of unrelated individual existence, but a member of a family and a citizen.

the individual life is widened to take in family and state.

In short, constructive philanthropy seeks to intensify life by promoting activity toward objects at once more definite and more inclusive, objects embracing first the individual's own future definitely conceived, and then the larger whole of the family, and finally of the state. Such is its nature and essence; but the subject as I am to write about it has certain conventional, and, from the philosophical point of view, arbitrary, limitations which must be noted.

Some conventional limitations of the subject:

First and especially, I wish to say that I do not seek to arrogate to the class of effort and achievement of which I am to write a monopoly of the titles "constructive" and "preventive," which does not properly belong to it.

Constructive and preventive work may be divided into two classes, one dealing with the question of who shall be born, and the other with the question of what shall happen to people after they are born. Of these two

classes of work the biologists tell us alternately that the former is the more important way of producing permanent and cumulative results, and that it is the only way; and yet direct preventive work of this kind — the sterilization of the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the morally impotent, and the incorrigibly vicious — belongs to that part of philanthropy which is generally considered farthest removed from the preventive, namely, that which deals with the more hopeless classes.

Who shall be born not affected.

Furthermore, all good work which we ordinarily class as "treatment" is really largely constructive. The friendly visitor to a poor family is laying the foundations for a healthy and successful life in the children; he is also filling a place that would otherwise probably be filled by unwise public relief, and is thus indirectly preventing the positive culture of pauperism.

Much relief work, etc., constructive.

Nor is it any part of my task to tell of those principal constructive forces which are found in our every-day political and business life. If a man leaves the town or the part of the city where he was brought up and goes to live in a college settlement to take part in recognized philanthropic effort, he comes within my subject; but if he stays at home, goes on his school committee and board of selectmen, attends primary conven-

Good citizenship not "philanthropic."

tions, and in general does his share of the public work to be done, his service, although perhaps it is the most important constructive work that is done at all, is regarded as being a matter of course, becomes merged in the larger subject of good citizenship, and is not classed as philanthropic.

Only the new in constructive social effort is classed as philanthropic.

And in general, as soon as a social service has become an established and fully recognized part of our public or private duties, it ceases to come within the present subject. When public schools were started in this country, they were, and still remain, the most important step ever taken in the way of constructive philanthropy, but they have now become a matter of course, and are not included here, while such recent extensions of the same principle as are found in our vacation schools and trade schools do come within the subject, simply because they are new. It is, in short, only with such constructive or preventive work as is a part of the new growth on the ever-growing tree of social life that we have to deal.

Some commercial enterprises incidentally of high social value:

It is unnecessary to point out that beneficent activities undertaken for purely business motives, of which the social effects are wholly incidental, are not classed as philanthropic; nevertheless, for the sake of proportion and of the relations of things we must remember how important these are. Thus, I shall speak

a great deal in what follows of new developments of opportunity for play and exercise, but it is important to bear in mind that the evolution of the bicycle, of which I shall say nothing, has done far more in that direction than all our philanthropic efforts put together.

The bicycle, for instance.

Finally, in order to understand the philanthropy of the present day, it is necessary to note that its motive has shifted and is shifting, from a motive felt by one class to do good to another class, into a motive that can be entered into by all, which takes as its object not the helping of one sort of people, but the building up of the better life of the community. It is no longer what I can do for you, but what we can all do for ourselves and our country.

Motive shifting from pity to a social purpose shared by all.

The subject, even thus marked off, is so large a one that a mere catalogue of the agencies, and one might almost say, of the classes of agencies, included in it, would occupy more space than that assigned to me. I have therefore had to choose between a wholly inadequate account of a great many things and a comparatively comprehensible account of a few typical subjects and instances. This plan accounts for the otherwise undue prominence given to eastern, and especially to Boston, experience. As I have had to confine myself to illustration rather than venturing upon

complete statement, I have chosen the illustrations about which I know most.

I have said that efforts to affect the question who gets born do not come within my province. There is, however, one exception which, as it cannot be brought properly within my general classification of the subject, I will speak of now.

Problems of philanthropy largely due to immigration.

As we shall see, the problems with which American philanthropy has at present to deal have been largely imported along with the greatly increased volume of immigration that has come during the last fifty to sixty years. But the most important result of this immigration is in its permanent effect upon the character and composition of the race to which the destinies of this country are to be committed. The filling of the unskilled occupations by a squalid imported population has probably not increased the total of our population, but has checked the natural increase of the original stock to an extent probably equal to the whole volume of the immigration, the native American being unwilling to take the risk of his children falling into the lower caste which these importations have established. Our immigration, in short, has decided that the people who get born shall, to an increasing extent, be of the lower and peasant classes of Europe rather than of the native American stock.

The object of the Immigration restriction league, started in Boston, 1894, and having branches all over the country, is to secure the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as will bring it about that the American citizen of the future shall be a blend of our present stock with the stronger and better elements of European society rather than with the weaker and less desirable. The test which the league has tried to have applied is that every immigrant shall be able to read and write in some language, his own or any other. A bill embodying this condition was passed, in spite of strenuous opposition from the steamship companies, through both houses of congress in 1897, but owing to the insertion of an unfortunate amendment, it was vetoed by President Cleveland. The league has secured some improvements in administration.

Efforts to restrict immigration.

In what follows, the present tense refers to the close of the nineteenth century, except where a departure from this rule is specially indicated.

CHAPTER II

BEFORE 1860

Lowell: "Recollections of a New England girlhood," "Life and letters," Lucy Larcom; Memoir of P. T. Jackson, by J. A. Lowell, in "Lives of American merchants," also in proceedings of "Old residents' historical society," Lowell; Dickens's "American notes," pp. 71 ff.

Libraries: Report of the United States board of education, 1897; "Free public libraries in Massachusetts" (published by the free public library commission of Massachusetts); report of the Massachusetts home library commission, 1899; "Public libraries in America," Fletcher, 1894; *Library Journal*, December, 1899; *Review of Reviews*, July, 1900, p. 56; *Outlook*, February 15, 1902, pp. 420–4.

Illustrations of philanthropic activity prior to the immigration period:

I HAVE selected two illustrations of the constructive philanthropy of the period before the civil war and before the full effects of the great immigration: namely, the public library, whose roots run back to our earliest history, and which is to-day more popular than ever before, and the early story of the town of Lowell, which shows how a purely American community met the problems of the great industrial revolution.

The library.

I will take Massachusetts as the most prominent example of the library movement. The library is a natural outgrowth of the soil of New England. There was a public library

in Boston before 1658 in charge of the selectmen of the town, and at the present day "There are only seven towns in the state that are not fully entitled to the privileges and rights of a free public library, and in three of these towns there are association libraries that are not free"; in six of them the population is decreasing, and all seven contain less than one-half of one per cent of the total population of the state.

The library in almost every instance has grown up as the spontaneous expression of the ideals of the people and of their characteristic determination to realize them. There are no Carnegie libraries in Massachusetts. Jenny Lind once gave $500, the proceeds of a concert in Northampton, for a library in that town; there has been a gift from an enthusiastic Frenchman to the Boston public library; and other generous contributions have come from outside sources; but for the most part the support has come from the people of the town or from those who have been brought up in the town and have cherished the memory of it during a successful business life elsewhere. The most often repeated story is that of the country boy who goes West and makes his fortune, and then sends $100,000 or so back to start a library. John Smith, wealthy flax manufacturer of Andover, Mass., visits the public

A spontaneous expression of the ideals of the American people,

both rich

library at Dresden, and there comes to him the vision of his native town and what such an institution might do for it. Accordingly he gives the money necessary to found the library, which, like so many of those in the state, is a memorial to the men of the town who lost their lives in the rebellion.

and poor.

But it is not alone the rich people from whom the support has come. We find that Mr. Emerson's father, a minister on $350 a year, was the chief founder of the library at Harvard, Mass., as well as the chief promoter of the Boston Athenæum; we read of a library founded by gifts "from twelve schoolgirls," who earned a dollar each for the purpose; many poor ministers and school teachers have given their services; money comes from summer residents, Lend-a-hand clubs, churches, sea captains, from the famous Twentieth regiment, the Grange and Farmers' alliance, Sunday-schools, the Woman's education association, from mutual improvement clubs, and a Catholic priest. In some dozen or fifteen cases the library has been established by a manufacturing company, sometimes for its operatives and their families, but more often for the whole town. Though many of the libraries have been started by great donations, it is by no means the custom to wait for such. One finds them beginning in such places as a private resi-

dence, the country store, the Baptist chapel, a night-school, the railroad station, and the fire-engine house.

To return to the history of our subject, Concord had a circulating library, containing the "Book of marters" and other books, as early as 1672. Four town or parish libraries were started in the eighteenth century, including that at Franklin from a gift of $125 from Benjamin Franklin, in 1785, in response to a request for a church bell, "sense being preferable to sound." This library contained 116 volumes, "scarcely one of them of less solidity than Blackstone's Commentaries," about ninety of which are still in existence. The parish was at that time in Massachusetts identical with the town, and this Franklin library was supported by taxation.

Beginning with town or parish libraries in colonial times,

These older town libraries were supplanted early in the nineteenth century by the social or subscription libraries, many of which throughout the country were substantially free.

and passing, early in the century,

As the social library impulse died out these institutions began to be replaced by the famous organization known as the lyceum, which, beginning in the early '20s, and encouraged in Massachusetts by the lyceum act in 1829, reached its height somewhere about 1850. The lyceums, sometimes called working-

through the social library and the lyceum periods,

men's institutes, included libraries and courses of lectures. Among the lecturers were Holmes and Emerson; the most successful was John B. Gough.

The school-district libraries, authorized by an act of 1837, were an unsuccessful forerunner of the modern town libraries.

the public library took its present form by the middle of the century.

The first of the latter that I have heard of was established in Peterboro, N.H., in 1833. The Boston public library was authorized by an act of the legislature passed at the suggestion and urgency of the mayor, Josiah Quincy, Jr., March 12, 1848, probably the first law of the kind ever enacted. New Hampshire passed a general town library law in 1849, and Massachusetts followed in 1851, being partly persuaded thereto by the action of the town of Wayland in starting a town library the year before. In 1890 Massachusetts created the first board of library commissioners. Its powers are advisory, with the duty of reporting to the legislature, and also the power to give assistance to the extent of $100 to towns under certain conditions. The commission has been of great service, especially in extending the work in country towns.

Library commissioners.

The public library of to-day is an established and most important part of our educational system. Among the extensions that have made it so is the children's room, being

a room supplied with appropriate books, pictures, photographs, and historical documents, where the children, with the help and guidance of an experienced person, often a kindergartner, have the run of the place, with leave to take down and misplace books to their hearts' content, — where in fact they are treated as though they were in the library of an indulgent grandfather. Such a room or set of rooms is a feature of the library in nearly all of our large cities to-day. Story-telling, with resulting runs on such books as the "Idylls of the king," "Tales from Shakespeare," and Kingsley's "Heroes," is a new feature of the Carnegie library of Pittsburgh, and children's clubs and gymnasium work are found there also. The first of the children's rooms was started in Brookline, Mass., in June, 1890.

The children's room, an important educational feature.

The Pittsburgh library sent in the summer of 1899 "700 books to five summer playgrounds, in charge of a kindergartner who had had previous experience in these same playgrounds. During the six weeks the books were thus used the circulation amounted to 1600." After the playgrounds closed the children asked for library cards. The work was extended during 1900.

Books furnished to playgrounds.

Other interesting features of the modern libraries are free lectures, exhibitions, photographs, lantern slides and music to lend,

An extension of the public school system.

special facilities for the study of local history, preservation of historical relics and chronicles, and their increasingly close touch with the schools. They are taking a prominent and aggressive part in the building up of the people's university of the future.

Home libraries.

Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, secretary of the Boston children's aid society, started in 1887 what is known as the home library, consisting of a little book-shelf with fifteen carefully selected books, which is left with one or another of the children as librarian to circulate among a small club of his friends. Each has a volunteer visitor. There are now seventy-eight such libraries in Boston, and home libraries have been established in Lynn, Lawrence, Holyoke, Providence, Albany, Buffalo, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Wisconsin (by the state library commission), and Tacoma.

Traveling libraries.

An interesting extension of the library idea is found in the traveling libraries, of about twenty-five books each, usually supplemented by photographs, as of Venice, Florence, London, the Philippines, etc., loaned by the Woman's education association of Boston to country towns. The visits of these libraries have, in many cases, stirred up towns to start libraries of their own. The association had twenty-five libraries, containing 718 volumes, with a circulation of 1903 books dur-

ing the year 1898. Similar work with books and photographs is done by many associations in the poorer quarters of our cities.

The visiting of libraries by private library associations is an important aid to the system, and there are such associations in many states.

The public library still remains, perhaps, the most valuable contribution which philanthropy has made to American life. Every sound philanthropic enterprise is twice blessed, rendering service to giver and beneficiary alike; and the public library, by providing a popular means of expression to our national aspiration, shared by millionaire and farmer's daughter alike, to leave this a better and a nobler world than we found it, performs an important function in the development of such aspiration into a concrete and governing ideal. It is, moreover, an institution so appreciated by all that the beneficiary of one year becomes the giver of the next, and it thus brings us nearer to the ideal philanthropy, — to the institution carried on by citizens for the sake of citizens, not by the rich for the sake of the poor, — than we have come in any other instance.

The library gives concrete expression to our national ideals.

The way in which American philanthropy met the problems arising from the growth of the factory system, in the years before the

Lowell: a model factory town of the early period.

great foreign immigration had come to make so marked a change in all our social problems, is typified by the story of the town of Lowell. The problem which Mr. Patrick T. Jackson (the founder of Lowell) and his associates had to meet was not that of housing a population already crowded, but of providing quarters, in what had been a farming town, for young people taken away from their natural surroundings and restraints and brought together in large numbers under new conditions. That the conditions provided were such as made Lowell famous all over the world, as a revelation of what a manufacturing town could be, was due partly to the high character of the men who had charge of the enterprise, but was also in great part a necessary condition of their success, because provision less favorable would not have been accepted by the native American population from which they had to draw their workers.

Tastes and dissipations of the mill girls.

A delightful account of Lowell at that time, one from which I should like to quote at length, and which every one who wants to know what America used to be ought to read, is found in "Records of a New England girlhood," by Lucy Larcom. The mill girls carried on Sunday-schools, visited hospitals, built the Baptist church, collected funds for the education of indigent young men to become home missionary preachers,

sent their brothers to college, and started girls' clubs for discussion, out of one of which grew the famous "Lowell offering." They carried around in their pockets such books as "Watts on the improvement of the mind" and "Locke on the understanding," and the greatest difficulty the overseer had was in trying to break up the "Bible habit." His endeavors were frustrated in Miss Larcom's case by her carrying loose pages in her pocket.

The founders built boarding-houses and selected such people as Miss Larcom's mother to be matrons. Unitarians themselves, they built an Episcopal church as a compromise between various other denominations to which the mill girls belonged. They gave land for Baptist and Congregational churches, started a school, and bore the main expense of the hall of the Middlesex mechanics' association. Miss Larcom speaks of the church as "a lasting monument to the religious purpose which animated the first manufacturers." "It was one of the mill regulations that everybody should go to church somewhere." She and her sister were admitted to the mills on the condition that they should attend school the full number of months prescribed.

Mill owners foster the public institutions of the town.

Even the æsthetic possibilities of the factory were not neglected in this early New England beginning, and one finds a prophecy of the latest development of model factory

Flowers in the work-rooms.

conditions in the following sentences: "The last window in the row behind me was filled with flourishing house-plants—fragrant-leaved geraniums, the overseer's pets. They gave that corner a bowery look; the perfume and freshness tempted me there often. . . . On the whole it was far from being a disagreeable place to stay in. The girls were bright-looking and neat, and everything was kept clean and shining. The effect of the whole was rather attractive to strangers. I had one pet window plant of my own, a red rose-bush, almost a perpetual bloomer, that I kept beside me at my work for years." Miss Larcom was allowed to paste her favorite poems up near the window where she could read them. Of the cloth room she says, "Our work and the room itself was so clean that in summer we could wear light muslin dresses, sometimes white ones, without fear of soiling them."

The mill superintendent (an ex-soldier of the Peninsular war) was "a man of culture and a Christian gentleman of the Puritan school, dignified and reserved. He used often to stop at my desk on his daily round to see what books I was reading." She adds, "Only those of us who were incidentally admitted to his confidence knew how carefully we were guarded."

CHAPTER III

SAVINGS AND LOANS

"Savings and savings institutions," J. H. Hamilton (Macmillan, 1902); "The development of thrift," M. W. Brown (Macmillan). Collection-savings and stamp-savings systems must be studied in the reports of the various organizations, chiefly charity organization societies, that carry them on. For school savings see pamphlet and table compiled by J. H. Thiry, Long Island (*American Banker*, New York). Savings Banks: Report of the United States comptroller of the currency, 1898, volume i; reports of the savings bank commissioners of the several states; "History of the Massachusetts savings banks," William Woodward, *Banker's Magazine*, 1899 (Homans' Publishing Co., New York); "History and operation of savings banks," same, May, 1888, and "The Massachusetts savings banks," same, May, 1891, both by E. A. Stone, of the Franklin savings bank, Boston. Local building and loan associations: see reports of the United States league of local building and loan associations (H. F. Cellarius, Government building, Cincinnati). Philanthropic loans: *Annals of the American Academy*, May, 1897; *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, March, 1899; "Origin and system of the workingmen's loan association," R. T. Paine, 2d. (Massachusetts board of World's fair managers, 1893).

Savings institutions aim to make spending an expression of personality.

THE purpose of philanthropic savings organizations is to encourage people to make their expenditure an expression, and hence a development, of true personality instead of a mere unorganized dribbling away of money. Savings perform this service by the withholding of small sums from dissipation in trifling

ways — harmless or otherwise — in order to make possible an expenditure for larger and more vital purposes. They divert the drink, tobacco, and chewing-gum fund to the purchase of the home, of furniture, of tools, of horse and wagon and stock in trade, or to keeping the machinery of life going in times of scarcity.

In the cultivation of the saving faculty, as in all educational undertakings, it is the first step that costs. The planting of the habit of saving in the mind and character of the most improvident kind of people is very similar to reclaiming for cultivation a desert of shifting sand. The first thing to do, in the latter undertaking, is to find some kind of plant that will grow at all, the service of this pioneer vegetation being not in its own value as a plant, but in the fact that it takes the first difficult step in holding the soil together and preparing it for the support of more valuable products.

The first step: the savings collector,

The pioneer plant of the savings variety is the society which seeks the family in its home by means of a collector, who calls at stated intervals, usually once a week. He reaches the people in whom the germ of foresight hardly yet exists, who accordingly will not save on their own initiative, however little is required, to whom thrift must come embodied in a person, and must come at regular intervals, intervals not so long but that his next

visit is always within the brief range of their forward vision. Philanthropy has, in this instance, adopted the method found so successful in the case of life insurance, and of the various instalment schemes, a method well adapted to the human nature with which it has to deal.

who seeks out the saver in his home.

Our collection agencies are usually carried on by charity organization societies in connection with stamp savings. The system is not so widespread as stamp savings, but is spreading, and is now found in a great number of cities and towns, in small places as well as in large ones.

The next step, when the first germs of foresight have been successfully planted, or when people are to be reached in whom these already exist, is to provide a method of savings which, while it does not come to the home, stands ready at some convenient place to which people are already in the habit of resorting, and in some attractive form in which the first step is made as easy as possible. This provision is made by the stamp savings societies.

Next, savings stamps, sold where people are in the habit of coming.

The method of work is to have a number of stamps printed, of different denominations from one cent up to one dollar, and to sell them to depositors, each depositor having a card on which the stamps are stuck as they are bought. The money can be drawn out

at any time upon presentation of the card with the stamps on it. The stamp is simply a convenient form of receipt, and one which appeals to the eye and imagination, and so has a tendency to promote saving, on the part of children especially, and to advertise the society. The desire to fill in all the blanks on the card with stamps is a beginning of financial ambition.

Method.

The stamps are sold and deposits received in any given city or town at from one to several hundred branch offices, sometimes located in stores, frequently in boys and girls' clubs, sometimes in public schools, and sometimes in a savings bank. The best plan is to select places where the children are already in the habit of coming. The stamps are taken to these local branches, and the money brought from them to a central office by volunteers. At this central office there is a paid agent who gives out the stamps and receives deposits. Depositors are advised to put the money into the savings bank as soon as it has amounted to five dollars or so.

The method of stamp savings is also applicable to the weekly collection system, and is the principal form of school savings now in use. It is the practice of those who conduct this system to appeal not to the hoarding or miserly instinct (which, in fact, does not exist among its constituents), nor abstractly

to the spirit of prudence, also very faintly present in the classes affected, but to definite purposes which may be carried out through saving. Their little leaflets contain such exhortations as, "Save for a vacation, for a new dress, for coal, for a home," and experience shows that the money, saved a few cents at a time, is usually drawn out in sums of from one to ten dollars and over.

There are very good incidental effects from the communication between the children and the persons conducting the stations.

The system has been started in almost every instance by the charity organization societies. The Penny provident fund of New York was started by the Charity organization society of that city in 1888. February 1, 1900, it had 300 local stations, 69,380 depositors, and $44,534 on deposit. The total deposits made during the last year were $92,042. "The habit of saving is easily formed with the young, and when one card is filled a new one is almost always asked for."

The Penny provident fund.

Stations of the New York Penny provident fund are found in Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Colorado, and of course in many places throughout the state of New York. Six of them are located in

public schools in New York, and many of them in public schools in other cities and towns. They occupy, besides, savings banks, churches, social settlements, associated charities rooms, libraries, day nurseries, boys' clubs, reading-rooms, hospitals, etc. They are found not only in small cities and towns, but also in such places as Hartford, Albany, Baltimore, Annapolis, Wilmington, Louisville, St. Louis, Richmond, Savannah, Knoxville, Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Orange, Syracuse, Washington, Denver, and of course in Brooklyn, Jersey City, and Hoboken. There is a branch in a girls' friendly society in Chicago. There are stamp savings societies in Boston and Philadelphia, (with many branches in other cities and towns), and in Chicago, Dayton, Denver, in Springfield, Mass., New Haven, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and Buffalo.

Postal savings.

There has been some agitation, and several recommendations by postmaster-generals, for a national system of postal savings, but as yet without success.

School savings are in essence an application of the same idea as stamp savings, namely, the idea of lying in wait for people at a point where they are in the habit of coming, with some sort of bait which they are likely to take. But historically speaking, school savings was started before the stamp

savings. On March 16, 1885, the plan was introduced by Mr. J. H. Thiry at Long Island city, N.Y. There were in January, 1900, 1579 schools savings banks with 54,649 depositors and $280,806 on deposit. The total amount that had been deposited since the beginning was $806,016. School savings are carried on partly on the stamp system and partly otherwise. New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey have very much the lead in this direction; then follow Maryland, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. The system exists at Grand Rapids in four parochial schools and in a public school; it is found in Chicago and in two other places in Illinois. There is a school savings bank in Ohio, one in Maine, and one in Minnesota. There is a small scattering in the extreme northwest.

School savings.

The person who can use a savings bank is a considerable step ahead of the one who depends on stamp savings, there being usually a minimum requirement for opening an account, and each bank having only one place for doing business, and that a separate place of its own where people are not already in the habit of coming. On the other hand, the savings bank has the machinery for doing an incomparably larger business than is done by these other agencies. Its work is so well known and understood that I shall give only a few figures on the subject.

The savings bank, which the saver reaches by some effort.

The first savings bank to do business in this country was the Philadelphia savings fund association, which opened for business in November, 1816; the first to be incorporated was the Provident institution for savings in Boston, December 13, 1816. The latter had, on October 31, 1899, 94,142 depositors, $37,739,565 due depositors, and $40,052,839 assets.

The number of banks in the United States "in 1898" was 979, the total number of depositors was 5,385,746, the total assets $2,065,631,298, the average due each depositor $383.54, and the average per capita deposit in the United States $27.67. Both banks and deposits are much more numerous in the East than they are in the West. In the South they have as yet taken very little hold. The highest per capita saving is in Connecticut, $192.

An interesting question is to what classes both of borrowers and of lenders the banks are of special service. The following figures from Maine, Connecticut, and Massachusetts furnish some data upon this question: —

Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1898.

Information with respect to the classification of deposits is confined to savings banks in Maine and Connecticut, and is as follows: —

Classification of Deposits	Deposits		Deposits	
	Number	Per cent	Amount	Per cent
MAINE				
$500 or less	129,865	77.30	$48,214,077	80.9
Over $500 and less than $2,000	33,558	20.00		
Over $2,000	4,456	2.70	11,384,272	19.1
Total	167,879	.....	59,598,349	.....
CONNECTICUT				
$1,000 or less	320,149	87.31	63,195,480	40.52
Over $1,000 and less than $2,000	32,313	8.81	42,505,536	27.25
Over $2,000 and less than $10,000	13,964	3.81	46,869,038	30.05
$10,000 or over	235	.07	3,399,744	2.18
Total	366,661	.....	155,969,798	.....

In Massachusetts, October 31, 1898, out of total assets of $519,199,625, there were 66,874 loans of not exceeding $3000 each aggregating $79,657,589.63. The average size of these loans is therefore about $1200.

Building and loan associations, requiring still greater persistency.

One step farther in the order of savings institutions brings us to the local building and loan associations, sometimes called coöperative banks. These are not so easy to use as the savings bank, requiring on the part of the depositor a steadfast purpose of saving a definite amount.

The share-holders in these associations put their savings together in charge of the association (now always incorporated), and the association then invests these savings in loans made to the share-holders, often secured by first mortgage on the land and house of the

borrower. The share-holders by this plan of coöperation secure both a better investment for small savings and larger advances, with easier rates, upon small holdings of land than would otherwise be possible.

Methods of these associations.

Savings can be placed in these banks only by the purchase of "shares." The price of a share is one dollar a month, payments to be continued until the share is worth $200, — which is its maximum. Profits are credited semiannually on each share in proportion to the amount already paid in, so that with the payments and profits together the share is usually paid for in about eleven or twelve years. If the share-holder neglects to pay his one dollar per month on each share, he is subject to a monthly fine of two cents for each dollar which he thus neglects to pay. Further pressure toward regularity and continuity of saving is exercised by means of small pecuniary disadvantages on withdrawal and often by the requirement of a month's notice before a withdrawal. In several of the states the company may refuse to apply more than one-half of the receipts of any given month to withdrawals. By these provisions against withdrawals — and in most states, by a further provision that nobody shall hold more than twenty-five shares — protection is afforded to these associations against rich men who might otherwise deposit their money with them when the

return on other investments was low and withdraw their money at times when such returns were high.

Loans are made only to share-holders. The security must be either first mortgage on real estate or the borrower's shares. The total loan may not exceed the total full-paid value of the shares held by the borrower, so that his monthly payments on his shares constantly diminish the amount of the loan and finally extinguish it. There is no limit upon the proportion of the value of mortgaged real estate up to which loans may be made, a freedom which has been a great boon to borrowers and has not been found dangerous in practice. The rate of interest is determined by an auction, held at the regular monthly meeting of the company, at which the funds on hand are loaned to the bidder who offers the highest "premium" or interest above a certain minimum fixed by law.

The first of these institutions in this country was the "Oxford provident," organized at Frankford, now within the corporate limits of the city of Philadelphia, on January 3, 1831. This association was not incorporated, nor were several successors in the same locality. The first law which recognized the existence of such associations was passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1850; and Pennsylvania still holds a decided lead in the

History and statistics.

number and importance of institutions of this class. There is usually state supervision, to the extent of inspection of the accounts and affairs of each association and report to the governor or legislature, by some commission having powers to that end.

The number of these associations in the United States in July, 1900, was 5485, the number of members 1,512,885, the assets $581,866,170. There has of late years been a slight decrease in some of the middle western states due to a too rapid extension of business. The amount of assets for each inhabitant of the United States is a little over $8. About a quarter of the share-holders are borrowers on real estate mortgages, the average loan being about $1000, and the great majority lying between $700 and $1700. Practically all of these loans are used in building a house or paying off a mortgage on one. The expenses of these companies in Massachusetts in 1898 were less than one-half of one per cent of their assets.

All these aid in controlling the future.

The various classes of savings institutions may be said to furnish a series of aids or exercises in the formation of purpose, in the formation, that is to say, of an idea of some sort about one's own future, and in the taking of practical steps to control it. The building associations give to this idea the definite form of home-making,

while both they and the savings banks, in their capacity of lenders, make the building of many homes possible.

As the savings institution helps people to save present earnings for future emergencies, so the philanthropic loan enables the borrower to anticipate future earnings to meet an emergency, or to take advantage of an opportunity which already exists.

The philanthropic loan.

By the will of Benjamin Franklin £1000 was left (1791) in the hands of trustees to let out at interest at five per cent to young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five, who have faithfully served an apprenticeship in Boston so as to obtain a certificate of good moral character from at least two respectable citizens who are willing to become their sureties in a bond for the repayment of the money; loans not to exceed £60 to any one person nor to be less than £15, to be repaid in annual instalments of ten per cent.

The Franklin fund, for young men.

There are to-day a number of private charities which loan money. Prominent among these is the Provident loan society of New York, incorporated in 1894, which does a pawn-shop business at a charge of one per cent a month, for sums under $250, and ten per cent a year for larger sums. The capital at the close of 1900 was $250,000. Debenture bonds to the amount of $500,000

Pawn shops.

have been issued and an additional $60,000 borrowed, total loans $810,000. The company divides five per cent and earns a large surplus. The loans are usually soon repaid. Chicago started what I believe to be the first municipal pawn-shop in this country in November, 1899, loaning money at one per cent a month.

The loan of appliances which may be useful in case of sickness is common. A church I know of loans baby carriages — a great boon to tired mothers.

The most important form of philanthropic loan is that which aims directly at starting and keeping together the home. Of the work of savings banks and building companies in this direction I have spoken.

The first philanthropic company in America that I know of to lend money on personal property remaining in the possession of the borrower was the Workingmen's loan association of Boston. This was started by Mr. Robert Treat Paine, who began August 1, 1887, by an experiment with $10,000 of his own. The company was incorporated March 8, 1888. It lends money on chattel mortgage (almost entirely on household furniture) at a rate of one per cent a month. It pays six per cent dividends, as well as taxes, and lays up a surplus sufficient to guarantee against danger from bad loans or bad times.

Chattel mortgage loans.

The capital stock is $125,000. The company borrows about $38,000, and in June, 1900, had outstanding loans of about $192,000, the average loan being about $70. There are small charges made for investigation of security and to furnish an insurance fund against fire; if the borrower is already insured, his policy is assigned to the company. Monthly payments in addition to interest are encouraged, — are, indeed, practically required, — and small fines are made whenever there is failure to pay interest when due. Partly as a result of these latter provisions the average length of a loan is only one year and two months. During the year ending March 31, 1900, the company was the means through which people paid off debts to the amount of over $146,000.

When this company began business the rate of interest charged upon chattel mortgage loans in Boston was often five per cent per month, the rate varying from about three per cent to ten per cent per month, besides charges for investigation, etc., which made the rate very much higher upon small loans. Rates have since been considerably reduced to meet the competition of the company.

One of the most important lessons of the experience of this company is that reinspection of property after the loan is made is unnecessary, owing to the monthly diminution

of the loan by payment on the principal and to the resulting close touch with borrowers.

Mutual benefit organizations.

Mutual and benefit loan organizations are more important than the philanthropic organizations, but they are more a matter of business and I shall have to omit them.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOME: HEALTH AND BUILDING LAWS

On the general subject of this and the next chapter see: Reports of New York tenement-house commission, 1900; "The housing of the poor in American cities," M. T. Reynolds, *American Economic Association*, volume viii, Nos. 2 and 3; the books by Riis and Robinson referred to at the head of chapter i; "Eighth special report of the United States commissioner of labor," 1895; report of Massachusetts sanitary commission of 1850; "The poor in great cities."

Health laws: "Public hygiene in the United States," by Samuel W. Abbott, secretary of the Massachusetts state board of health, published for the Paris exposition, department of social economy, United States commission to the exposition. Many of the references to building laws refer also to health laws.

Building laws: Exact references to statutes are important to special students in a study like this. Such references are, however, necessarily very voluminous and cannot be included here. They will be found in this chapter as originally published in *The Charities Review*, December, 1900, the notes to which form a comparative study of the building laws in different cities. The above-cited reports of the Tenement-house commission of 1900, giving building laws in the different cities and the history of the building law in New York up to 1900, are much the best sources from which to obtain this information. The laws passed since that time may, in some cases, be obtained by writing to the building commissioner or the board of health of each city. See also: reports of the Metropolitan board of health of New York, 1866–1870, and the reports of the New York board of health, 1871–1873; reports of the Association for improving the condition of the poor; "The housing problem," E. R. L. Gould, *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1899; "The housing prob-

lem in great cities," same, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1900; C. F. Wingate, *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1898; *Municipal Affairs*, December, 1897, p. 749; *Yale Review*, November, 1896, p. 290; *American Architect*, May 20, 1893; *Review of Reviews*, December, 1896; *Harper's Weekly*, September 9, 1899, p. 882; *Outlook*, September 21, 1891, p. 181, September 7, 1891, p. 25; E. T. Devine, proceedings of 2d New York state conference of charities and correction (State Board of Charities, Albany).

BESIDES helping people to buy a house by providing savings and loan institutions, philanthropy cultivates the growth of the home directly, by trying to modify the sort of habitations among which people have to choose. There are several ways of doing this.

Ways of modifying the human habitation.

The most general way, a way which affects every individual in the community, is that of building and health laws. It is through these laws alone that the lowest class of tenants is reached or that any large class of people are affected at all in American cities. A method by which many homes are made more homelike in London is Miss Octavia Hill's plan of rent collecting, which is applicable to a very feeble class of people as well as to some stronger ones. Coming to a somewhat higher level of vitality we find the model tenement house; then, at the top, comes aid in establishing the separate suburban home.

Public recognition of the value of the home, and protection of it, which would not generally be classed as philanthropic, is seen in our

homestead and land-grant legislation and in the laws exempting the home and the tools of the trade from execution in cases of bankruptcy. In Massachusetts there is legislation conferring rights, beyond those secured in the contract, upon the buyer of furniture on the instalment plan.

Tenement and lodging-house laws are a branch of our general health legislation and cannot be understood without some knowledge of the larger subject. I must therefore begin with a brief account of the latter.

Health laws.

The selectmen of Salem, in 1678, "ordered that William Stacey, who is sick with the smallpox, doth not presume to come abroad till three weeks after this date; and that he be very careful that when the time be expired he shift his clothes and do not frequent company until he be wholly clear of his infection. A house is ordered to be impressed for our sick having the smallpox."

Origin due to smallpox.

Legislation against smallpox began in 1701, and laws to regulate offensive trades were passed in 1692 and 1708 by the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

"Up to the close of the eighteenth century, and for several decades of the nineteenth, almost the only health legislation which was enacted in the different states of the Union consisted in a few laws relating to smallpox, since this pestilence was scarcely ever absent

for many years at a time from any city, town, or village, till after the general introduction of vaccination. And it was reserved for the epidemic of 1848 to thoroughly arouse the people to the importance of initiating public sanitary measures." Vaccination first appeared during the first decade of the century.

The Massachusetts commission of 1850.

The report of the Massachusetts sanitary commission of 1850, consisting wholly of laymen, marks an epoch in the history of preventive legislation. Subsequent advance in protection of the public health has been chiefly a gradual and, as yet, imperfect adoption of the measures recommended by that commission.

Local and state boards of health.

The most important part of our health legislation to-day consists of the laws creating our state and local boards of health and defining their powers. New York city's board of health was created in 1796; Philadelphia's in 1794, although it was not called by that name until 1799. The boards of health of Boston and Salem were created in the last-named year. "At present nearly every city and large town of 10,000 inhabitants or more in the United States has its board of health or health department organized for the purpose of providing for the protection of the public health of the citizens. For the small towns, villages, and rural districts, which comprise at present the greater part of the population of the

United States, the laws are much more variable."

We now have state boards of health in almost all the states. The first was started in Louisiana in 1855. The Massachusetts board was not created until 1869, and California followed in 1870. There is no national board of health, the place of such a board being partly filled by a number of volunteer organizations. The chief function of state boards is the education of the public, the legislature, and the local boards.

Local boards given wide powers and discretion.

The leading characteristic of the laws defining the powers and duties of our local boards of health is in the very wide and comprehensive nature of their legislative and discretionary powers. They are in substance given the legal power to make and enforce such rules and regulations as they deem fit in all matters affecting the public health. In practice this power amounts to the power to do whatever public opinion will sanction. A determining factor, accordingly, in the great and accelerating advance which the last ten years have seen in preventive medicine is to be found in the increased enlightenment of public opinion, an enlightenment largely due to the discoveries of bacteriology. A board of health which ten years ago should have forbidden spitting in street cars and other public places would have been laughed

Practical power increased by popular appreciation of the microbe.

out of existence. To-day such rules are made and enforced with heavy penalties. It required the moral courage peculiar to the chosen people to make and obey the irksome requirements of the Mosaic law, trusting as they must purely to a theory — relying simply on their own reasoning that there must be some material thing by the passing of which from one to another disease was transmitted. But now that the thing has been seen and described, its tastes studied and its habits ascertained, now that it has been interviewed and its photograph published in the papers, even the most faithless or "practical" man is willing to take precautions.

It is the general if not the universal method, to give the board very full summary powers to abate nuisances and remove sources of danger to the public health in cases where notice given to the owner does not promptly accomplish the desired result.

Specific functions.

Besides their very wide general powers, it is also the case that many of the laws which it is the duty of the local boards to enforce give them powers and duties which are extremely specific and minute. The specific powers and duties most commonly assigned to city boards are protection against infectious disease; the abatement of local nuisances; inspection of, and enforcement of laws in relation to, supply of food, including milk;

inspection of schools; inspection of plumbing and of certain trades; and the enforcement of the laws, where there are any, specifically governing the sanitary condition of tenement houses. In the North and East the health laws for the cities are usually enacted by the state; in the South and West they are left to the city council or to the board of health itself.

How health laws are enforced: the New York system.

The weak point of most sanitary codes is that they are not enforced. The most important laws, therefore, are those regulating the practical working of the board in enforcement of the other laws and regulations. I will take the New York law on these points as the best example.

The first thing to provide for in a sanitary code is that the board whose duty it is to suppress nuisances and dangers shall have the means of knowing when such things exist. The New York code provides for reports to the board from the police in regard to nuisances or dangers to the public health, or violation of the rules of the board, "and all useful sanitary information"; and provides for reports from doctors and people in charge of lodging and tenement houses in regard to pestilential, contagious, or infectious diseases, and for reports from hospitals, prisons, and schools. The board itself must use all reasonable means to find out and disseminate infor-

mation on its subject, and has the right, for that purpose, to "without fee or hindrance enter, examine, and survey all grounds, erections, vehicles, structures, apartments, buildings, and every part thereof, and places in the city, including vessels and all cellars, sewers, passages, and excavations of every sort, and inspect and make plans, drawings, and descriptions." It must inspect every tenement and lodging house twice a year, and may enter any such house at any time, day or night, and may visit all sick persons reported as having contagious, pestilential, or infectious disease.

A very practical provision in New York is that the board of health shall have from fifty to seventy sanitary inspectors and at least fifty policemen under its orders. Its decisions are final, and hearings may be dispensed with, in case of imminent danger from pestilence. If people do not obey the board's directions within the time specified in its order — usually five days but sometimes as short as twenty-four hours — the board can carry them out itself; and the police must enforce its rules and orders.

Perhaps the most important duties of the board are educational. Besides its reports (which ought, at least, to be of great value, and which were so at one time) it has a corps of summer physicians who go around giving

Educational duties.

medical advice and treatment and distributing leaflets.

An interesting provision of the sanitary code enacted by the New York board itself, marking the advance in the popular acceptance of the conclusions reached by preventive medicine, is contained in section 153, in which consumption is declared infectious and communicable, and where it is made the duty of every physician to report to the board within one week in regard to every such case, and the duty of every person having the disease or in attendance upon any one having it to observe the rules and regulations of the board. Cincinnati had this provision in 1897, and Boston, in 1900, has followed the example.

Consumption attacked.

In the specific matter of tenement and lodging houses the principal powers of the New York board of health, apart from the matters of procedure above mentioned, and until the establishment of the new Tenement-house department, were as follows: The board could order a tenement house vacated without appeal: seventy-five such orders were "issued between the latter part of May and the middle of July, 1893:" it could under certain circumstances order such building removed, with an appeal to the courts. In general, it was the duty of the board to see that the tenement-house law, which we shall presently

Tenement-house work of the health board.

consider, was enforced in regard to existing tenement houses.

"To give an idea of the work of the New York health department with reference to tenement houses, it may be stated that in 1896, 109,134 inspections were made, resulting from 38,858 complaints, upon which orders were issued. Three hundred and twenty-two houses unfit for human habitation were ordered vacated. In 264 cases the houses were placed in proper sanitary condition, and in 58 cases they were vacated. During the year 45,601 night inspections were made, resulting in the issuing of 213 orders to reduce the number of occupants in overcrowded apartments."

Tenement laws also closely related to building laws.

I have said that our tenement-house law is a development of our general health legislation. It has also another ancestor in our general building laws, and it shows the traits of this ancestor, especially in the provisions for security against fire and for safe egress. I have, for instance, found in every tenement-house law which I have examined a provision for a scuttle in the roof which would unlock from the inside. But the building law, except as it refers especially to tenement houses, does not come under the head of philanthropy, and we can make no study of it.

We come now to the branch of our health legislation that deals specifically with the human habitation. I must confine myself to

the story as it has developed itself in New York. To tell this story adequately would require an epic gift, and I feel as though I ought to begin with an invocation to the muse. It has been a long fight between philanthropy and public spirit on the one hand and ignorant immigration and corrupt politics on the other, and has been so far almost a draw, although the apparent advantage until very recently has been more with the immigrant and the boss than with the philanthropist and the physician.

The fight for healthful homes in New York.

In 1847, the Association for improving the condition of the poor published the result of a two years' investigation of the condition of the homes of the working classes. No legislation resulted at the time. The society, however, continued its agitation, publishing an extensive report on the subject in 1853.

Preliminary agitation.

In 1856, the legislature appointed a committee which was given two weeks to examine into the subject of tenement-house conditions in New York city, but which took all summer and framed an excellent bill providing, among other things, for licensing tenement houses, a step which has never as yet been taken in this country. No legislation resulted.

In 1864, a Citizens' association was organized, which appointed a council of hygiene and public health, "composed of the best medical minds in the city." This council com-

pleted the same year an exhaustive study of the condition of tenement houses and of the general sanitary conditions of the city, the results of which investigation were published early the next year in a monumental report. As a result of this report and of a visitation of the cholera (the world's great sanitary teacher and life saver), the Metropolitan board of health for New York and Brooklyn was created.

The metropolitan board of health.

The governor appointed an excellent board, which showed its appreciation of the task before it by selecting as its chief executive officer Dr. Edward B. Dalton, then thirty-two years old, who, at the age of thirty, had been at the head of the medical service of the army of the Potomac during the entire Wilderness campaign of 1864, and who was, by reason of his character and experience, probably the best fitted man in the United States for the position.

I wish I could quote at length from Dr. Dalton's first report (November 1, 1866), in order to give some idea of the condition from which New York tenement houses have advanced. We read, for instance, that "the arrangement of water-closets and privies could hardly be worse if actually intended to produce disease," and then follow details as to the dreadful condition of these places. The report of the next year, 1867, shows how

Conditions in 1866.

rapidly the board had gone to work, effecting, among other things, a great diminution in the number of cellar dwellings. Some of these were so low that at high tide the water in them was from six inches to a foot deep, so that the children had to stay in bed until the tide fell.

The drains were frequently backed up by the tide into the cellar, and were ventilated without partiality into all the apartments in the house. Among the tangible results of this first year's work was the reduction in the total number of deaths in New York and Brooklyn from 35,000 to 32,000, it being estimated that, for one item, a thousand lives were saved by the heading off of the cholera. The decrease in deaths from zymotic diseases in the fourth, sixth, fourteenth, and fifteenth wards from 635 for the year before to 426 gives a good test of the work accomplished.

The greatest result of all, due undoubtedly as much to the report of the board as to any other thing, was the passing of New York's first tenement-house law, chapter 908 of 1867. The law of 1867,

The most followed but least intelligent provision of this law prescribed that a certain space, varying according to the height of the building, should be left between front and rear buildings on the same lot. The trouble with this provision is that while it prescribes

how wide a space shall be left, when there is any space at all, it does not prevent the absolute joining together of front and rear buildings into one, and buildings like Siamese twins so joined at birth constitute the present prevailing type of tenement house.

requiring space between front and rear buildings,

There had to be a space ten feet wide across the rear of the building. This has been an effective provision. In the section containing these two provisions appears the famous discretionary clause to be discussed later.

There were several specific provisions in regard to height of rooms, size and number of windows and what they shall open on. To make these latter thoroughly understood would require a long statement and discussion. It is sufficient here to note, as giving an idea of this early stage of the battle of the windows, that of 18,582 tenement houses inspected by the board in 1867, 9,846 were found in a bad sanitary condition, that bad ventilation was the usual trouble, and that the usual remedy was to cut transoms from one room to another and between interior rooms and the entry, the law in regard to this being, as a rule, enforced. When re-inspection was made it was found that 39,270 transom windows in bedrooms had been cut in pursuance of the orders of the board. Most houses at that time appear to have

windows and transoms,

been only four rooms deep, and thus comparatively easy to ventilate. The tenants usually kept the transoms shut, but were, in 1870, becoming educated on the subject. In 1873, however, the board (just reorganized after the Tweed régime) reported a relapse, the transoms being at that time usually stopped up with rags or kept closed.

No cellars could be occupied without a permit and conformity to certain conditions. (The board could make such regulations as it thought fit in regard to cellars and yards.)

and conditions regarding sewerage, water-supply, etc.

There were further specific provisions as to privies and water-closets, connection with the sewer, draining of yards, proper receptacles for ashes and garbage, chimneys and fire-places, water-supply, cleaning and white-washing, fire-escapes, and a definition of the tenement house; also rules for procedure which have since been much improved upon.

In 1870 the board of health, like everything else in New York, was reorganized under the new city charter dictated by Boss Tweed. Its area was confined to New York city, and its members were appointed by the mayor, Oakey Hall, Boss Tweed's tool, instead of by the governor. A clean sweep was made of the subordinate officers, but the sanitary superintendent was retained, and the report sounds

as though the work were still, in the main, efficiently carried on.

The law of 1879,

Renewed agitation, by the State charities aid association and others, including a mass meeting in Cooper union February 28, 1879, brought about the passage of chapter 504 of that year.

limiting the percentage of the lot to be covered,

In this law appeared the first of the provisions limiting the percentage of the lot which could be covered by a new tenement house. Similar provisions are contained in the laws of 1891 and 1895. They have all of them been practically of little effect, and a study of their wording and of the manner in which they have been evaded would almost lead one to the conclusion that they were each the result of a compromise between somebody who was bound that something should be done and somebody else who was still more firmly determined that that something should not be effective.

requiring 600 cubic feet of air to each person,

This law also provided that there should not be less than 600 cubic feet of air to each person in a room in a tenement house, a provision which has since been modified to 400 feet for each adult and 200 for each child. It also contained the first provision for police to act under the orders of the board, and for janitors when there are more than eight families.

But the most important clause of this law

of 1879, historically considered, was the one providing that every sleeping room in every tenement or lodging house thereafter "erected or converted" must have a window opening twelve feet square, either upon the public street "or the yard of the said house" unless sufficient light and ventilation be otherwise provided in a manner approved by the board of health.

and requiring an outside window twelve feet square.

The effect of this clause was to make a beginning in the development of the famous "dumb-bell" type of tenement house. The board's discretion was at first so used that in buildings twelve rooms deep, twenty-four rooms on a floor, only the four middle rooms opened upon the air-shaft. Even the prize plans of the period show no better arrangement. From this beginning, however, the air-shaft has extended toward front and rear till it has reached all but the outside rooms. The conditions imposed for new buildings by the department of buildings (to whom in 1892 the board's powers as to new buildings had been transferred) required, at least as early as 1896, that, "every habitable room must have at least one window opening directly upon the street or yard, or upon the court or light-shaft" and that these courts must be at least two feet wide, and of a minimum area proportioned to their height and to the number of interior rooms. Finally

The dumb-bell tenement followed,

with its "air-shaft" for ventilation of interior rooms.

the law of 1895 provided that in all new tenement houses "each room must have a separate window opening onto the outer air," and that inner courts must be not less than two feet four inches wide at their narrowest part. The air-shaft, in conformity to this law, reaches all the interior rooms, is two feet four inches wide (about four feet eight inches or five feet, when it comes between two tenement houses), and the part of the shaft opposite the centre of the building is in practice about twice this width. The evolution from the air-shaft of 1879 down to the "dumb-bell" type is well traced by the plans shown in the special report of the commissioner of labor, 1895, and in an article by Ernest Flagg in "The poor in great cities." A glance at these plans will tell more than much description.

It is interesting to note that this modification of the ground plan has been produced not by legislation directly designed to that end, but by legislation in regard to what sort of place the windows shall open upon.

As the production of the "dumb-bell" has been, with the exception of the ten-foot space across the rear of the lot, the one tangible result, so far as ground plan is concerned, of all the tenement-house agitation and legislation in New York until very recently, it is interesting to form some idea of what this result amounted to.

There is much severe criticism launched at this type of tenement house. The commission of 1894 says, "It is the one hopeless form of tenement construction. It cannot be well ventilated; it cannot be well lighted; it is not safe in case of fire." And I have heard its air-shaft spoken of as a "disease-breeder," "culture tube," and the like. On the other hand, a recognized sanitary authority says, "The small light-shafts, which serve no useful purpose, have been abolished, and ample courts are now required which really light and ventilate the interior of such buildings." One who cannot be accused of partiality toward the "dumb-bell" writes (what was clearly brought out by the tenement-house exhibit of the Charity organization society of 1900) that the death-rate in these places "is not nearly so high as that of the old houses." The objections are that the narrow light-shafts serve as a medium of communication for disease, immorality, fire, and foul air. On the other hand, I think it can hardly be successfully maintained that a plan by which each room receives a little direct light and air (and those at the top must receive a good deal) is really more "hopeless" than the old-fashioned tenement house twelve rooms deep in which the eight middle rooms in each row received no direct light and air whatever. The smells that go out cannot

The air-shaft not ideal, but a definite gain.

all find their way in again; some must escape at the top.

Of course the courts should be, and have now been made, wider and, as Mr. Reynolds has pointed out, would be much better for an opening to the street or yard at the bottom, inducing an up-draft; but, rhetoric apart, the fact remains that when the air-shaft was established some ground was gained.

A commission authorized by the legislature was appointed in 1884, of which Felix Adler was the ruling spirit, the results of whose recommendations are seen in the new tene-

The law of 1887,

ment-house law of 1887, and also in the small parks act of that year.

This law required that water must be supplied in all tenement houses (not merely new ones) and that it must be so supplied "at one or more places on each floor." Mr. Riis, speaking of intemperance, says: "A single factor, the scandalous scarcity of water in the hot summer, when the thirst of the million tenants must be quenched, if not in that in something else, has in the past years, more than all other causes, encouraged drunkenness among the poor."

This law also made more specific and stringent the various enactments in regard to sewers and the condition of floors and ceilings. But its chief contribution was to the procedure for enforcement. The board must inspect tene-

ment and lodging houses at least twice a year and after making orders. It required that every owner of a tenement or lodging house and every person having charge of one should (instead of merely posting up his name and address in the entry) file his name and address and a description of the property, giving a number of details in regard thereto, with the department of health, and must give notice in case of transfer of the property; and it enacted that "the posting of a copy of an order or notice in accordance with this section (that is to say, posting it up in the house) shall be sufficient service upon the owner of the property affected," thus removing the last defence of the absentee.

notable for its procedure for enforcement.

This law also gave power to the courts to use their equity jurisdiction in enforcement of orders of the board of health when action was brought by the board, a very important provision, as it makes every disobedience a contempt of court, with an unlimited penalty.

A law of 1891 limited the discretion of the board of health in regard to the percentage of the lot to be covered, and also in regard to the ten-foot open space across the rear of the lot, to the case of lodging houses; but as nobody found out that this change had been made, the discretion continued to be exercised as before.

A little politics.

In 1892 the powers of the board of health in regard to light, ventilation, plumbing, and drainage were transferred to the department of buildings, and in this same year the superintendent of the health department, "who had for twenty-two years ably and satisfactorily performed his duties in connection with this department, and had become an expert in the performance of these duties, was informed by the political organization that then governed the city that his place was needed for political purposes, and he was required to send in his resignation upon an hour's notice." The counsel to the board, who had also been in its service a long time and had acquired special ability for the work, "was practically dismissed in the same manner and for the same reason."

Mr. Riis's book, 1890; and the Gilder commission, 1894.

In 1890 Mr. Jacob A. Riis created an epoch in the history of tenement-house and other anti-slum agitation by the publication of his book "How the other half lives." One of the results was the appointment of the "Gilder" commission in 1894. Among the more startling facts brought out was that of 255,033 persons living in a certain area, only 306 had access to bath-rooms in the houses in which they lived, while there was, at that time, no such thing as a public bath in New York, the only publicly accessible bathing facilities being the bathhouse run by the

Association for improving the condition of the poor.

The most important provision of the act of 1895, which followed the report of the "Gilder" commission, is that when any building is either itself a nuisance or otherwise unfit for habitation, or prevents the ventilation of other buildings, and whenever it "prevents proper measures from being carried into effect for remedying any nuisance injurious to health," and when the matter cannot be remedied by repairs, then the board of health may condemn the building and have it removed. Special provisions were made in regard to legal proceedings.

The law of 1895, causing the destruction of a number of rear tenements.

Damages were not to be estimated upon the rent actually obtained from a building, but only upon such rent as would have been obtained if it had been in good condition and had not been overcrowded; also the expense which would have been necessary to put it into decent condition must be deducted from the damages.

The chief effect of this clause, and indeed the principal effect of the law of 1895, has been the destruction of a large number of the old rear tenements, largely owing to the work of the good-government clubs. (For a picturesque account of what was done see Mr. Riis's book, "The battle with the slum.") These chose their point of attack from a

list kept by the health department of sixty-six old houses in which the death-rate had been for five years over forty-eight per thousand, and in some cases as high as sixty-three per thousand. The infant death-rate in one ran up as high as thirty-two and one-half per cent. During the year 1896 the board of health had, altogether, eighty-seven rear tenements removed: Theodore Roosevelt, as police commissioner, was then a member of the board. Since 1897 this power has not been exercised, mainly owing to the return into power of Tammany in January, 1898. The Tammany officials were elected upon the platform of "To hell with reform," and the platform was lived up to at least in this respect.

"To hell with reform."

In this, as in many other cases, the question of good government is literally a question of life and death. The verdict of 1897 was a death sentence to thousands of children. This was not the greatest evil it did, but it is worth noting.

This law also provided for lights to be kept burning in the hallways, a section which was practically a dead-letter and could not be enforced.

The charter of greater New York, 1897;

The "greater New York" charter of 1897 contained the tenement-house law substantially as it was left by the law of 1895; but it contained a clause giving complete discretionary power, in all cases whatsoever

"where there are practical difficulties in the way of carrying out the strict letter of the law," to each commissioner with the approval of the board, said approval to be given by majority vote.

The municipal assembly of "greater New York," pursuant to the power given it by the charter to make ordinances supplementary to those contained in the charter, adopted in December, 1899, a building code which contained a few changes in the tenement-house law, chiefly in regard to fire-proof construction of stairs, and of light and air shafts.

and the building code of 1899.

An important regulation made by the building department and printed upon their blank form of application for permission to build a tenement or lodging house was that "alcove rooms must conform to all the requirements of ordinary rooms." The importance of this provision is that without it a part of a room may be curtained off and called an alcove, and in that case the fact that the other part of the room opens to the external air would satisfy the law, even although the "alcove" might have a separate door into the entry and be occupied by a separate family, thus constituting practically an inner unlighted and almost unventilated room, a device which is at the present day much resorted to in Boston.

A useful departmental regulation.

The clause leaving discretionary power to the department of buildings and the board of

health, which formed so marked a feature of the New York tenement-house law, has been used by both of these departments as an opportunity for rewarding political service and for punishing political opposition. The Association for improving the condition of the poor, in its regular work in securing the enforcement of the tenement-house law, has found "that if the owner belongs to the machine which governs the city, no complaint, however well founded, receives adequate attention," and Mr. Riis among much similar testimony tells of how this clause was used with great, but fortunately not with conclusive, effect, to prevent the election of Theodore Roosevelt as governor. It had also been used for the systematic levy of blackmail upon builders and others, and in other ways made to furnish financial support to the boss and his machine. A certain fire-proof material, for instance, was excluded by the building department, until a son of the ruling boss obtained an interest in it, after which event plans specifying the use of that material were never rejected.

Discretionary power used by officials for political purposes.

Upon the other hand, the change which has occurred in the prevailing shapes of tenement houses since 1879 shows that the law has been, as a rule, enforced at least in its more obvious requirements, and it is probable that the discretion given to the departments has

But, on the whole, conditions have materially improved since 1879.

been used in a rational manner, where political considerations have not entered. Too rigid enforcement of these building laws when first passed might have produced reaction. Much also of the harm that it appears to have done would occur under a Tammany rule if such a clause had never been framed.

As the result of renewed efforts on the part of the philanthropic public under the leadership of the tenement-house committee of the Charity organization society, a Tenement-house commission was appointed by Governor Roosevelt in 1900 to make a thorough investigation and report on the whole subject of tenement-house conditions. In 1901 the report of this commission, recommending a new code of tenement-house laws, was placed before the legislature, and as a result a new Tenement-house department, to give exclusive attention to the supervision of this class of dwellings, came into existence January 1, 1902, with Mr. Robert W. de Forest, the chairman of the commission and president of the Charity organization society, as its first commissioner. This movement for the most part falls in the present rather than in the historical period covered by the writer in considering the philanthropy of the last century, and extensive treatment of it will not be attempted here. The literature of the movement is very complete, and can

The Tenement-house commission of 1900, resulting in the new Tenement-house department in 1902.

readily be referred to by the reader. [It may be fair to state that none of this literature was in existence or anticipated when the present chapter was planned and first written. — EDITOR.]

Most of our tenement-house laws are copied from the original law of 1867. In some cities, however, there are special provisions in regard to surrounding air space which are a considerable improvement over the New York law previous to 1901 — notably in Boston and Philadelphia.

Provisions in other cities.

In Boston the sixty-five per cent of the lot which may be covered is measured to the middle line of the street, thus giving a deserved advantage to a lot situated on a wide street over one bordering, as many Boston tenement houses unfortunately do, only upon alleyways.

Again, the Boston law contains an ingenious provision which seems to me the best one yet invented upon the subject of surrounding air space, namely, that "every such building shall have on at least two exposures on land of the owner, or as part of public ways, open spaces of at least ten feet in width, which spaces shall have an aggregate length of one foot for every twenty-five feet of superficial area actually occupied by the building. Such spaces shall be open to the sky and shall remain undiminished so long as the build-

The Boston rule for air space.

ing is occupied as a tenement or lodging house."

The effect of this provision is that no building can cover the full width of the lot to a greater depth than fifty feet, unless it has an interior court at least ten feet square. Beyond that depth it can extend only in the form of an L, leaving an open space of ten feet in width upon one side. The practice of the building commissioner is not to allow the same piece of ground to count more than once under this section of the law. An interior court, for instance, ten feet square only counts as ten feet of exposure on an open space and not as forty feet.

The difficulty with the New York law, as applied to other cities, is that it was drawn upon the assumption that all lots were precisely like the typical New York lot. For struggles which have taken place to adapt these New York provisions to lots of various sizes, shapes, and conditions, see, for instance, the tenement-house regulations in Washington.

In Philadelphia the open spaces provided for must be at least eight feet wide; if they come between the wings of a tenement house, they must be 12 feet wide; and, furthermore, every court or shaft for the purpose of furnishing light or air must "open upon one side into a street or into the yard or open space," Philadelphia.

— in other words, it must be open at one end and not merely an interior well. Moreover, every room in every new tenement house must have at least two windows opening into a street or open space and "from every window to the wall or party line opposite to it shall be at least eight feet." The Buffalo law requires courts to be eight feet wide at the narrowest part, and an additional foot of width for every story above four stories in height. For courts that are entirely enclosed larger dimensions are required.

Safety costs.

A notable provision is found in the Boston law that every new tenement house must be of fire-proof construction. Since this law went into effect, in 1897, no tenement houses have been built, but some have been enlarged and many dwelling houses for three families have been erected. In Boston, also, windows on every floor of the hall may be omitted if the stairs are put under each other so as to leave an unobstructed light-well from the top.

In Philadelphia, whenever the chief of the bureau thinks that a tenement house can be built without a common entry connecting the several tenements or suites, he may require it to be so built.

The St. Louis law is remarkable chiefly for the generality of its provisions. Everything must be "sufficient," "proper," and "adequate."

The fight as to what minimum of merit shall be attained by the worst habitation in which the citizen of the American city shall be permitted to live, has, as I have said, been so far almost a drawn battle, and it has now become more than ever a part of the general fight for good government. It will not be won finally until that is secured.

The fight for good homes a part of the fight for good government.

CHAPTER V

THE HOME: MODEL TENEMENTS

On rent collecting see: eighth special report of United States commissioner of labor, pp. 161–168; Boston directory of charities; "Housing of the poor in American cities," *American Economic Association*, report viii, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 65–66. On model tenements and suburban homes see: Massachusetts sanitary commission, report for 1850; eighth special report of United States commissioner of labor, 1895, pp. 171–214; *Scribner's*, September, 1901, p. 276; Boston directory of charities; report of New York tenement-house commission, 1900; "Poor in great cities," pp. 383 ff., "A dividend to labor," N. P. Gilman; *Bulletin of Department of Labor*, November, 1900; "The housing problem in great cities," E. R. L. Gould, in *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1899, pp. 107–131; *Yale Review*, November, 1896, pp. 288–402; *Review of Reviews*, December, 1896, pp. 693–701; "The housing problem," F. S. Baldwin (Civic department, Twentieth century club, Boston). For overcrowding, see *Review of Reviews*, December, 1896, p. 695. Model lodging houses: *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1899; *Atlantic*, June, 1899, p. 25; eighth special report United States commissioner of labor, pp. 319–398.

RENT collecting upon the plan of Miss Octavia Hill has been carried on, in eight or ten houses, containing perhaps one hundred and fifty families, in New York during the last few years by Miss Louise T. Caldwell. The tenants have improved greatly in regularity of payments, and the net return

has been four and one-half per cent. There are a few similar cases in Boston.

Rent collecting *versus* model tenements.

Model tenements do not attempt, or rather they cannot be made, to help the weakest of our tenement-house population. Their rule requiring the prompt payment of rent, frequently in advance, allowing arrears (beyond a very limited period, usually one week), only in case of well-known and desirable tenants, and their other rules enforcing orderly and decent behavior, make them what they are intended to be — the refuge of the better class. The proper construction and conduct of a model tenement is a matter of infinite detail. (For an adequate account of what has been done, see the eighth special report of the United States commissioner of labor, 1895.) The leading aims may be said to be privacy, safety (from disease and fire), comfort, possibility of cleanliness, and a reasonable rent.

Miss Octavia Hill.

The difference between rent collecting and model tenement-house work may be illustrated by a remark Miss Hill once made to the writer: "I find it is easy enough to raise the house, but if you raise it too rapidly the tenants fall out through the bottom." The rent collector who aims to raise a low class of tenants finds that one must begin very gradually. A sensitive mind, Miss Hill pointed out, may receive a serious shock from the

unexpected washing of a floor, to say nothing of substituting a pane of glass for the old hat which had formerly served the same purpose, and when it comes to such extremes as painting and whitewashing, a man of settled habits may well feel that it is time for him to be jogging.

Some of the organizations which supply model tenements, however, also own and manage old houses on improved methods similar to Miss Hill's; and in the model tenements themselves they apply, in their relations with the tenants, some of the same methods.

Early model tenements.

There were, from 1844 to 1848, some slight beginnings in the model tenement direction in Boston and Salem. In 1845 the New York association for improving the condition of the poor made plans for a model building, and in 1854 it organized a company which erected a building, "which unfortunately was not model in many respects, and later became one of the worst tenement houses the city has ever seen."

Boston.

The next practical step seems to have been deferred until 1871, when, as a result of the efforts of Dr. Henry P. Bowditch, the Boston coöperative building company was organized. It has built 67 houses and owns besides about a dozen old houses. Its total number of rooms is 985. In the newer houses some attention is given to providing tenements of one or two

rooms. Its recent enterprise, the Harrison avenue estate, was launched in 1892. The buildings are three stories or thirty feet high, and are described as being "cottage flats" rather than tenement houses. They occupy sixty-seven per cent of the lot and are made around a hollow square, 100 by 80 feet, with trees, grass, seats, and a playground in the middle. They are not wholly fire-proof, but have good egress. They are not wholly "self-contained." Every room opens to the outer air. Each apartment has water and a place for a stove. The rents vary from $2.25 for a two-room tenement to $3.50 for a four-room tenement. The company's East Canton street estate is designed for a poorer class of tenants, but shows a remarkable percentage of long residence. About one-half of the families who were there in 1895 had been there for periods varying from five to twenty-five years. The company pays taxes and divides five per cent annually, has set aside a fund for repairs, and had in 1901 a total reserve fund of $70,500 on a capital of $292,000. It is carried on mostly by women, and all the estates are in charge of women agents.

The most famous model tenement enterprises in America are the Home, Tower, and Riverside buildings, erected respectively in 1877, 1878, and 1890, by Alfred T. White,

of Brooklyn. These buildings contain 519 apartments, 1395 rooms. Rents range from $1 to $3.60 a week, and are about the same per floor space as elsewhere in the vicinity.

Mr. White's buildings in Brooklyn.

The buildings, covering about fifty per cent of the lot, are built around three sides of a square, open to the south. They are six stories (sixty feet) high, are almost absolutely fireproof, and have excellent means of egress. The rooms are mostly fifteen to eighteen feet long by seven to ten feet wide. Every apartment not only opens outdoors, but has a through draft, three-room apartments by means of their own doors and windows and two-room apartments through their doors and windows and the hallways. The apartments are "self-contained"; rooms are supplied with water, a clothes-press with shelf and hooks, a place for a stove, and a coal-box, holding a quarter of a ton. There are no garbage receptacles, and all garbage must be burned. There are a closet and shelves in each kitchen to serve as a pantry. There are dumb-waiters for raising fuel and provisions, ash-shoots, regularly disinfected in warm weather, gas on the stairs and in the hallways, and bath-rooms in the cellar. Children can play in the courtyard, and also in the cellar or covered verandas when it rains. There is a band of eight pieces for two hours on Saturday afternoons in summer. The Home

building has a reading-room for its own tenants and for those of the Tower building and the general public, which takes daily papers and weekly and monthly magazines, and also has a circulating library of 334 novels. The buildings have open stairways, but the tenants do not seem to object. The old buildings pay ten per cent, the new one five to six per cent, the difference being due to the great increase in the cost of labor between 1878, when bricklayers charged $2.50 for ten hours' work, and 1890, when they charged $4 for eight hours' work. The company pays about $10,000 a year in taxes.

The company is very liberal in making repairs, and there is very little loss from unoccupied tenements. Rents are paid weekly and in advance.

The City and suburban homes company was organized in 1896. Its model tenement work shows all the modern improvements, with slight variations from Mr. White's buildings. The buildings contain fixed tubs, shower-baths, kindergartens (some of them playrooms also), and deadened partitions, and pay five per cent and taxes besides laying up a surplus of a little over one per cent, an amount deemed sufficient for a depreciation fund. There is a special building for women on Sixty-ninth street.

The City and suburban homes company.

The rent collecting is done by women in

accordance with the best modern methods, one of the rent collectors having studied under Miss Octavia Hill.

This matter of the instrumentality and method of communication between landlord and tenant is not a minor or unimportant consideration. The model tenement should not be regarded as an achievement, but rather as an opportunity. When we have read all that can easily be set down about one of these buildings, we still remain in doubt whether it is so conducted by its owners and managers, and so regarded by the tenants, that the latter may be said to have acquired homes in it or only to have found locations — cells or pigeonholes — where homes might, under favorable circumstances, be built. One recalls the remark of the English artisan, made, I think, to a parliamentary commission, the bluntness of which may be excused by the importance of the warning conveyed: "Gentlemen seem to think that any place with a water-closet in it is a home."

Length of tenancy an evidence of success.

The length of tenancy is perhaps a fairly good test on this subject, and its application to our model tenements seems to indicate success. I have cited the case of the Boston coöperative building company. In Mr. White's buildings the tenancies are not often longer than three years, but the average stay *there* has become shortened owing to the

custom which the tenants have acquired of going to the country for the summer. In the buildings of the Tenement-house building company, New York, "the average term of occupancy during the first three years was found to be thirteen months, or more than double the average period of tenement houses, which is not more than six months." A recent annual report of the City and suburban homes company shows that seventeen per cent of their families had been in residence since the opening of their first building, a period of fourteen months; forty-two and one-half per cent had lived there a year or more, and sixty-one per cent eight months or more. Changes were mostly to secure better employment or to be nearer employment. Only three families had moved because of discontent.

One special and vitally important effort made by the City and suburban homes company is to interest a new class of investors. The shares are $10 each, and many of the share-holders are said to be working-men.

Little yet accomplished: a business problem.

At present it must be said of the model tenement house that, although its results are excellent so far as they go, yet as compared with the entire problem they are infinitesimal. The total number of apartments in model tenements in greater New York is about 1500: allowing four people to an

apartment, this gives about 6000 tenants, or about three-tenths of one per cent of the tenement-house population.

Pioneers are showing investors the way.

Model tenement-house work ought not, indeed, to be judged by its present achievements. What these pioneers have done and are doing is to establish the fact that decent tenement houses can be made a paying investment. When once this is proved to the satisfaction of the investing public, the problem will solve itself. The demonstration had already been completed by Mr. White and others in regard to the large capitalist who has ability in this direction; and it has been carried a step farther in this demonstration by the City and suburban homes company, that the small share-holder can find safety with a reasonable return in such investments.

The square ground plan saves space and money.

The great lesson as to ground plan which has so far been taught by the builders and designers of model tenements, is the necessity, for beneficent and economic building, of crossing the arbitrary line which the builders and investors of New York have made, dividing the city blocks into lots twenty-five feet wide.

It is a mathematical truth that the square is the rectangular figure with the largest area in proportion to the length of its sides. An important application of this truth is, that the *square* building, and for the same reason the

square interior court, has the greatest area in proportion to the length of its walls and therefore in proportion to the expense of building. Further, it is a fact easily demonstrated that the amount of light obtained from a rectangular court of a given area increases as its shape approaches the square. And, finally, it is an important truth that light and air space is more valuable when concentrated than when taken in homeopathic doses — so that a single open court produces greater results than the same amount of area punched into a block in the form of small wells.

A remarkable application of these mathematical principles is contained in an article by Mr. Ernest Flagg in "The poor in great cities." He has taken a piece of land 100 feet square and has compared the use of it as a unit upon a plan of his own with the use of it for four separate buildings twenty-five feet wide. Among the advantages of the former plan over the other Mr. Flagg shows that, whereas the rentable area is practically the same in both, the four separate houses require twenty-one per cent more building material than is called for by the other plan; that whereas the square plan uses only fifteen per cent of the whole area for entries and other non-paying uses, the four separate buildings use nearly twenty-four per cent for such

purposes; and that the space left open for light is nearly 1000 square feet (or nearly fifty per cent) greater in the square plan than in the other, besides being a better shape.

Similar demonstrations are made by every model tenement house.

These demonstrations have been conclusive as regards the large investors, have been followed by them, and are a main cause of their success. The next problem is how to make it possible for an important class of small investors to take advantage of the same economic and structural principles. The persistence of the twenty-five-foot lot appears to be due to the existence of a large number of persons who desire to own buildings, managing them, often living in them, themselves, and thus securing a much larger return than they could hope to receive as stockholders in a company. The trouble is not with the ability of the builders to use a larger unit, for Mr. Lawrence Veiller has shown that about forty-five per cent of the houses of the prevalent type, twenty-five feet wide, are built in blocks of two or more at a time. The reason why these builders divide their buildings up into these narrow sections is in order that they may be able to sell them to the investor of the class above described, whom the philanthropic designers have as yet been unable to attract.

Narrow tenements persist because of the small proprietor.

The above described are the leading examples of model tenements in this country. A model tenement house has recently been erected in Chicago, but I believe that is the only other American city besides New York and Boston that has one. The problem is not nearly so pressing in the western cities, because these have seen and secured the benefits of rapid transit.

The peculiar difficulties of New York and the crowding of that city, which far exceeds that of any other place in the world (there were sixty-six acres on the east side in New York in 1894 which had 986.04 persons to the acre, — now doubtless increased to well over 1000), are usually attributed to its geographical position; but other cities are situated on rivers, and the inhabitants do not find it impossible to cross them. The peculiarity of the situation in New York seems to present a puzzle without an answer, unless it be that the political influence of the elevated railroad has been sufficient to postpone the introduction of the electric system for street-car traffic ten years after it was in general use elsewhere and to postpone to a similar extent the bridging and tunneling of the North and East rivers. The depth of the New York lot (100 feet) has been much cursed by her reformers. But we are all of us too prone to complain of our lot, and hers

Lack of transit facilities contributes to New York's unexampled crowding.

is, as a matter of fact, the shallowest lot in the country, the average being 120 feet.

Model lodging houses.

There have, I suppose, always been houses which were perfectly self-supporting (and which, therefore, would come under the head of prevention rather than charity) where girls could get a lodging in a more or less pronounced family atmosphere and under some kind of semi-parental oversight. The Young women's christian associations and other religious bodies have been especially active in providing such homes. Other examples are in the careful supervision of lodging houses for factory girls in towns like Lowell as above described.

In 1893 Mr. Eugene Levering, of Baltimore, built what "is, in reality, a workman's residential club where isolated sleeping apartments may be hired by the night or by the week," with baths, smoking, reading and game rooms, holding eighty lodgers at from fifteen to thirty cents a night.

The Mills hotels.

The prominent examples at the present time of the philanthropic lodging house are the Mills hotels, recently built on the lower east side of New York. The one on Bleecker street accommodates 1554 lodgers, "which is said to be more than twelve per cent of the capacity of all the cheap lodging houses in the city." The price is the same as that for a cot in a Bowery barracks, while the bed

provided is the same as that used in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. Every man has a separate room with a window opening outdoors or on the large central glassed-over court. There are baths, a reading-room, a library, a laundry where men may wash their own clothes, and a drying-room. The central court is used for smoking, loafing, and games; and one may see a free-and-easy crowd of idlers there at any time in the day. A good dinner can be got for fifteen cents in the restaurant. The heating and lighting is good. The hotel has been a success as regards patronage, crowds being frequently turned away. One result of starting it has been that all the Bowery lodging houses, except the ten-cent ones, have put in improvements.

A woman's hotel company is now well under way in New York. The cost of its first hotel is expected to be $800,000; the accommodation to be for 500 women.

Applications of the Mills hotel idea are to be found in Worcester and Providence, each with the addition of work and accommodation for tramps.

Besides the legal provisions concerning lodging houses which I have cited under the head of tenement-house legislation, there are now beginning to be special statutes for their better management, based upon a recognition of the fact that some of them are largely the

Special legislation for lodging houses.

resort of tramps and, in many cases, of criminals also. There is, for instance, a law for Boston which provides that every lodging house where twenty-five cents or less is charged shall have a license from the board of police, which license shall not be granted without a statement from the inspector of buildings that there is proper means of egress in case of fire nor without a statement from the board of health that the sanitary arrangements and ventilation are sufficient. Such houses may be entered at any time by the health or police departments. The regulations of the board of health are nineteen in number, and include the following: "No person who is not clean will be allowed to retire without a bath."

The lodging house encourages isolation, but is not without usefulness.

The objection is made against the model lodging house that it encourages men to live purely selfish, isolated lives without duties or organized relation to society. On the other hand, it is urged that there are many young men who are coming to the city to work, and that the only alternative is that they should fall among sharks. And as regards those who may be classed as the unfit, it may be a question whether marriage would not be, for the race, an expensive way of trying to civilize them.

Philanthropic provision for a class of people who can pay for something better than life

in a tenement house is made by agencies which enable people to buy small houses, whether in the suburbs or in factory towns. (Compare building and loan associations and other savings and loan philanthropies.) These houses are usually grouped together into what is called a model village.

Model villages, mainly manufacturing.

The origin of the American model village must be traced back to such early manufacturing towns as Waltham and Lowell. There are, in every manufacturing region in the United States, numbers of mills and factories which have sprung up where there is good water-power and where there was not previously any considerable town. The manufacturers, therefore, have been obliged to build houses for their people, and I suppose in most cases they have been guided not wholly by pecuniary considerations in the provision they have made. There is at all events a very long list of such places in which manufacturers have done a greater or less amount for the proper housing of their employés.

Suburban dwellings.

Suburban houses are also provided without connection with manufacturing business. One of the pioneers in this direction was Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, who began building about 1875, and ten years afterward erected forty-five small dwellings upon a piece of land in the suburbs, each house being adapted to a single family, and having from

four to six rooms besides a bath-room containing hot and cold water. The price of these houses ranged from $2000 to $3500, and the payments, including interest, taxes, etc., were from $130 to $214 a year; the tenant becoming full owner in twelve years. A total of 101 houses had been built and sold by October, 1890; since which time, Mr. Paine's work in this direction has been chiefly through the Working-men's building association, founded by him.

The Homewood community.

Since this beginning by Mr. Paine, much other similar work has been done, one instance of which is that of the City and suburban homes company, which is building up a settlement called Homewood, comprising about 530 city lots in Brooklyn — a five-cent fare, and about fifty minutes' distance from the city hall of New York. It has macadamized streets, gutters, curbs, sewers, a sewage disposal plant designed by the late Colonel Waring, sidewalks, trees, and hedges. The houses have a brick basement and a superstructure of wood and stucco of a sort of Stratford-on-Avon aspect. A number of picturesque designs are furnished by the company. Special attention has been paid to plumbing, and every house has a porcelain-lined bath-tub. There exists some doubt whether the company meets the wants of the people as well as its purely business rivals.

CHAPTER VI

THE SETTING OF THE HOME

Street cleaning: *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1898, supplement, and December, 1898; *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1899, pp. 774–775; *Forum*, March, 1895, p. 102. On asphalt pavement, see *Bulletin of Department of Labor*, September, 1900, table viii. Civic art: *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1898. The subject is constantly followed up in this periodical. Also *Atlantic*, June, 1899, pp. 771–784. Village improvement: *Forum*, March, 1895; *Harper's Bazar*, September 16, 1899; "A dividend to labor," N. P. Gilman; *House Beautiful*, April, 1898. Model manufacturing villages: "A dividend to labor;" "Industrial betterment," W. H. Tolman; eighth special report of United States commissioner of labor, 1895, pp. 321–326; *Municipal Affairs*, March, 1899, pp. 145–151; *Bulletin of Department of Labor*, November, 1900, pp. 1117–1156; "Profit sharing," N. P. Gilman; sixteenth annual report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics, August, 1885, part i; *The Charities Review*, March, 1899, pp. 145 ff.

THE man who goes to the city hall and the state house and lobbies for a rational street plan and street management, with some regard to the needs of rapid radial transit, does more to provide good homes than all other agencies put together, both by lessening congestion in the crowded districts and by bringing the man to the suburban home. If the

Rapid transit an important factor in home making.

man can get there, the home will find itself. But this agitator is as yet a rare bird, or at least is rarely to be classified as belonging, in his intention, to the philanthropic species.

But attention has been devoted rather toward sanitation,

What has been done to make the city a proper location for human habitations has been, with the exception of parks and open spaces, which will be dealt with later, almost wholly a matter of sanitation, and has been directed especially to the securing of better food and water supplies and to the proper disposal of waste. (See account of health laws, above.)

proper water supply,

I will cite only one fact as significant of the place which America is beginning to take in these matters; namely, that the Massachusetts board of health had in 1890 already made elaborate investigations of the effect of sand and gravel filters which anticipated the famous experiments in Hamburg, and which, without the quickening stimulus of a cholera visitation, resulted in the introduction of such filters for the city of Lawrence, contemporaneously with their introduction in the above mentioned German metropolis.

pavements which can be kept clean, etc.

I must refrain from giving an account of Colonel Waring's work, or of the increased attention now being paid to the hygenic value of asphalt pavement, results of which may be seen throughout a large district on the lower east side of New York as well as in other

cities. The good work for clean streets on the part of such organizations as the Civic clubs of Philadelphia and Hartford, the Civic federation of Chicago, the Merchants' association of San Francisco, and other similar organizations I can only mention in passing. The organization of children for street cleaning by Colonel Waring in New York and by others in Chicago, is an interesting feature of the crusade.

Smoke nuisance.

Measures to control the smoke nuisance have been adopted in a number of cities, including New York, Washington, and Springfield, Mass. The most successful measures have been taken in Cleveland, where the commission in charge has accomplished a great deal, not only with factories but with railroads, by moral suasion accompanied by suggestions as to how fuller consumption of coal, resulting in the distribution of fewer tons of it through the atmosphere, can be brought about.

Artists' organizations to make the city attractive.

The two classes of citizens who, in this matter of home surroundings, have shown the greatest signs of life are the doctors and, recently, the artists and architects. These latter have formed a number of associations like the Municipal art society (1893) and the Architectural league of New York. The former society has, among other things, given the city at its own expense Simmons's beauti-

ful paintings in the criminal courts building, and has secured competitive designs for artistic street-lamps, public flagpoles, park benches, drinking fountains, etc. Its motto is "To make us love our city, we must make our city lovely." Its work is modeled somewhat on that of the national Belgian society.

In some cities there are organizations specially for tree-planting. In some instances, on the other hand, a sort of philanthropic trust has been formed which represents good citizenship on many sides, — the artistic and sanitary as well as others, — of which the Civic club of Philadelphia is the most typical, and the Merchants' association of San Francisco is a prominent instance of a somewhat different sort. The former is carried on entirely by women, the latter by men. An interesting development is that of local or district improvement societies in cities.

The Civic clubs.

In all these lines of work, in the city as well as in the country, women have taken the most prominent part. In Boston, for instance, we owe about half of what now makes our city interesting, namely, the preservation of the Old South church, the preservation of the Bulfinch front to the state house, the preservation of the beauty of Copley square, to the energy and public spirit, and the instinct for what makes a city worth living in, of two women. Indeed, the controlling factor in the present

Women's housekeeping sense makes their efforts the most effectual.

situation of the city housekeeping problem is the entrance of women into it. A woman has a feeling about dirt which men only pretend to have. The reaction which the sight of dirty streets produces in her, when once she has come to look upon the matter as being within her sphere, is something of which every head of a family has learned to stand in awe. She has, in such cases, a directness of method, a scorn for obstacles or excuses, an absence of any sense of humor as applying to the situation, that is very difficult to stand up against. She does not get over it as a man does, and she cares nothing for political affiliations or official proprieties. There is no divinity that effectively hedges the responsible boss or official when once she has got started. This is no guess or prophecy based upon general principles, but a conclusion forced by a consideration of the facts. (For a good account of how a political magnate — in New York, too — went into a fight in such a case like a lion and came out of it like a shorn lamb, and for other data, see *Municipal Affairs*, September, 1898, pp. 439 and following.)

The result — an intenser civic consciousness.

Those who are thus setting to work to create a city that shall provide a fit and dignified setting for its public life and for its homes are contributing not only to the deeper and freer private life of the citizen, but are

creating in him and in themselves that civic consciousness, that "freedom of the city," to which they are striving to give expression.

Village improvement associations.

"More than one hundred years ago" United States Senator James Hillhouse, of New Haven, organized the Public-green association and raised $1500 for grading the green and planting elms. That is the way in which a beginning is usually made, with some definite and visible work of local improvement. "The momentum given by successfully doing one task is great. . . . The founders of such an association, therefore, knowing the local conservatism, should propose to themselves the accomplishment at first of only 'open, gross, and palpable' improvements, and then wait for the community to catch up with them." But once started, there is hardly anything for the public benefit that such associations may not and do not accomplish. "Their aims, varying, of course, with local needs, include municipal reform, sanitary improvements, — especially as to water supply and sewerage and disposal of waste, — the improvement of roads, of sidewalks, of parks, of school yards, and other public grounds, — especially grounds around railway stations, — providing drinking tanks and fountains, organizing free town libraries, and removing nuisances and front fences. They are the

Varying aims, adapted to local needs.

rural counterparts of the urban boards of trade, the organization of those who would really serve the town, with no thought of loaves and fishes." They are, in these their salad days, occasionally guilty of causing the removal of roadside trees and bushes that had better have been left where they were.

To the above first recorded village improvement society one man was moved to contribute five gallons of rum, and from that day to this what I have said about the support given to libraries applies to a considerable degree to the work of these organizations; from the millionaire, often a poor boy of the village who has made his money in some other place, to the school children of the present day, all classes have contributed.

Everybody works together.

Indeed one of the greatest benefits, probably the greatest benefit, that such organizations confer upon the communities in which they spring up, is the development of a local patriotism which includes all classes and embraces all faiths, uniting the people in a truly public purpose. The germ of a social will that exists in every man is through them furnished with effective means of expression, and is thereby cultivated into greater activity and vigor, even to the subordination of party and sectarian jealousy.

The first of these organizations to be incor-

porated was the Laurel hill association of Stockbridge, organized by Miss Mary Hopkins in 1853. As one goes west in Massachusetts to the valleys of the Connecticut and the Housatonic, one comes more and more to towns laid out upon the beautiful and ample plan which leaves a wide green with a row of elm trees, sometimes even with two rows, upon each side of the village street. One of the most charming of the towns so laid out is Stockbridge, in the Housatonic valley, and it was to the improvement of the main street, its most characteristic feature, that this first work of an incorporated village society in America was directed.

The Stockbridge association.

Of the other achievements of the Stockbridge society, its bringing about the creation of the Ice glen park, and the rest, I cannot speak; but one matter deserves special mention, namely, the attention given by it to the improvement of the railroad station and the grounds about it. Nothing, I think, gives either the visitor or the resident a more homesick and discouraged feeling than landing at the old-fashioned squalid and hideous railroad station, fashioned in the image of a cheap bath-house and surrounded by a wilderness of loose gravel; and it has been this feature that many of our village improvement societies have selected as an important point of attack.

Railroad stations and surroundings.

The Stockbridge society has offered prizes for tree-planting and tree-nurture, condition of sidewalks, and beauty of private grounds; and, in general, prize-giving is a common method with these societies. The society at Springfield, Mass., encourages window gardening in winter by the free distribution of thousands of imported bulbs and by prizes for the best results. A large floating bath-house was the first achievement of this society.

The bill-board and poster disease has in many cases yielded to the healing hand of these organizations, and their activities have included much work of an historical nature, such as the preservation of relics and landmarks. Their work merges, at this point, into that of historical societies, of "sons" and "daughters" of various political events, and of the public libraries.

Massachusetts has more of these societies than any other state, but those in the western and middle states of the same latitude are many and vigorous.

"If the executive committee numbers fifteen, I advise that eight should be women. There is a growing number of such societies comprised (*sic*) entirely of women, to which men are admitted as honorary members. Women succeed better in getting money and in securing the coöperation of all classes."

Two Deerfield institutions:

Among the many interesting features of Deerfield, Mass., are two which may be classed as novel manifestations of the village improvement idea. Deerfield is one of the beautiful valley towns of western Massachusetts, but is even more quaint and picturesque than any of the others that I know. It is a sister town to that historic spot where a venerable champion — supposed to have been one of the Cromwellian regicides — appeared and turned the tide of an Indian attack. Like the other settlements which pushed their way up the Connecticut valley in the seventeenth century, it has a picturesque and interesting history; and it has a local charm and a local flavor of its own pervading its later as well as its earlier life.

the "Village room," a social centre,

One of the features to which I allude is the Village room (incorporated), a memorial to a beloved postmistress, consisting of a low building containing one large room and a kitchen and coat-room, and serving as a general meeting place for business and social purposes. It has been used, in the two years of its existence, nearly one hundred and fifty times for dances, clubs (women's, baseball, and rural), church meetings, etc. The fee for using it is thirty cents. The club also has a circulating library of about four hundred books, and is open one afternoon and evening every week. It is hoped that it will

prove "a more attractive lounging place than the village tavern."

The other Deerfield institution that I have alluded to is what I may describe as a group of artistic household industries which have sprung up there. The most prominent of these is the already famous "blue and white needlework." The work is done mostly by the farmers' wives and is a revival of a style of embroidery practised in New England by the women of the colonial and revolutionary periods. It follows the beautiful old designs, of which examples were to be found preserved as family heirlooms. These were collected for several years previous to the starting of the industry by two women, Miss Margaret C. Whiting and Miss Ellen Miller, both of whom had had a regular artistic training, and who have supplied the initiative and management, and done the further designing for the enterprise. The society received its first order in August, 1896, and it has sold annually since that time about $1500 worth of its productions. In fixing a price, the labor is rated at twenty cents an hour for skilled workers, the money being divided between the designers, the workers, and a fund to cover general expenses and cost of materials. The number employed varies from five to twenty-five, according to the season of the year. Other industries of the group are rug-making, metal work, and artistic photography.

and several household industries,

whose aim is to give expression to the artistic impulse.

The impulse which has found expression in these industries has been not an economic, but an artistic, impulse; they are — I do not speak it profanely — a manifestation of the true sporting spirit which finds the value of the deed in the satisfaction of doing it, not in ulterior results. It is true that the bringing of even $1500 a year into a farming community dependent upon the vagaries of the tobacco crop is a not unimportant item. Nevertheless, the great contribution which these occupations were intended by those who started them to make, and which they do make, to the lives of the women who carry them on is not in the money which they bring, but in the self-expression which they afford.

It is a truth that we need to recognize more than we do that the artisan can find in such work as this, within the limits of the design furnished, scope for the expression of character. "The leaders find that if excellence is called for for its own sake, a response is sure to follow from all concerned in the production."

Another example of the revival of village industries is the rug-making of which the designing and organizing is done by Miss Helen R. Albee of Pequaket, N.H.

These Deerfield activities ought not, perhaps, to be classed as philanthropy, because philanthropy so successful as that is not

philanthropy, but rises into a higher sphere, that of citizenship. I could not, however, refrain from mentioning them, because of the lesson they teach of what can be done for a country community. We do very little toward making country life such as we ourselves could be induced, by any consideration, to endure. A little kindling of social warmth, a touch of art, — the wings of the muse heard among the elms of the village street, — may make again of the country town the sort of place that Keene, Northampton, and Concord were in the old days before the rush of wealth and culture to the cities had had its full effect.

Such examples show what can be done to enrich life in country communities.

The most thorough work which has been done in making the town or city a suitable site for the home, has been in the cases where manufacturers have undertaken to improve the conditions under which their employés live. A well-known instance is that of the National cash register company, of Dayton. Much of what has been done goes beyond the matter of providing a proper site for the home. It seems better, however, in this case to follow the dramatic rather than the scientific classification and to describe what is done in such towns as Dayton all in one place.

Manufacturing communities most developed.

The Dayton company employs 1500 people besides some three hundred salesmen. The housing part of the work has not included the owning or building of any houses for the

The National cash register company's work.

working people, but has consisted entirely in giving prizes ($250 a year) for what the company judges to be the best-kept front yards and back yards, the prettiest window boxes, the most tasteful planting of vines, and the like. The results, as may be seen in the photographs published by the company, have been most remarkable, considering the means of those who produced them. The company has itself set an example: the lawns have been laid out and flowers planted about the factory, windows have been enlarged, and a uniform color, pleasant to the eye, has been adopted inside the building, junk and scrap have been hidden from sight; even telegraph poles are painted an invisible green and surrounded by wire netting on which vines are trained.

Attractive grounds, and work and rest rooms, luncheon, baths,

An upstairs room has been painted and fitted up as a dining room, with table cloths and china, rugs, vines, palms, and a piano, bought by the young women. In this room lunch, consisting of tea and coffee and soup, is served every day at the company's expense. The girls take turns in waiting on the table and pay one cent a day for certain extras. Besides this lunch the company has provided, toward the physical well-being of its employés, free medicine when needed, a "stable" where 500 bicycles are put up, bath-rooms for men and women, in which they can have one

bath in winter and two in summer every week, — occupying for each bath twenty minutes of the company's time, — and as many more baths as they choose in their own time; has reduced the hours to nine and a half for men and eight for women on the pay formerly received for ten hours (as one result of which provision the women go to work an hour later, and return a quarter of an hour earlier, than the men, thus avoiding crowds in the street cars); and has established two recesses of ten minutes each, a part of which time is used in winter for calisthenics. It has fitted up for the women a "rest-room" to be used in case of sickness.

books, kindergartens, frequent conference with employés, etc.,

In the way of direct education, the company provides a library, and books travel through the factory at meal time in a sort of hand-car, while in its two large halls lectures are frequently given by noted lecturers, and talks and entertainments of various kinds. An artist is constantly employed in preparing colored lantern slides, of which there are about 6000, on all kinds of subjects. There is a "House of usefulness," presided over by a deaconess, which operates as a sort of social settlement, and is, besides, a model cottage, being such as the working people can provide for themselves and serving as an object lesson of how to make such a place pretty and attractive.

not only help to inspire better homes and home life,

and to educate children in the best way,

In the way of teaching the children, there are boys' clubs, a boys' brigade of two companies, a girls' literary and social club, an industrial school for teaching sewing and millinery, cooking schools, a dancing class, a young housekeepers' class, a choral society, a young peoples' society, "and many other similar organizations," including a Sunday-school which publishes a paper. "A large room in the building is used during the mornings for the 'N. C. R.' kindergarten, one of the best in the community." In this there are one hundred pupils, four teachers are employed, and in summer the work is carried on on the lawn. It is free to outsiders as well as to children of the operatives.

A significant educational enterprise is the laying out of about two acres in patches of ten by one hundred and fifty feet, where forty boys, under the direction of the company's gardener, carry on vegetable gardening, stimulated by $50 a year in prizes.

The object that has especially governed the Dayton manufacturers seems to have been the development of a sense of unity of the worker with the factory. They seem to have tried to make the individual employé feel that the work of the company is his work, that what it achieves is his achievement, that he "belongs," as it were, is a sharer in the

larger personality, the unit by which the article is in fact produced.

but tend to develop a sense of unity between corporation and worker,

Direction is by committees originally appointed by the directors, and filled by them from recommendations made by the other members. Great pains are taken to keep the employés informed as to what the company is doing: there are frequent meetings and discussions of business questions, and annual conventions of salesmen and factory people which are made great events for the whole city, including processions and fireworks; a magazine is published giving important information about the business. The company offers annually a thousand dollars in prizes for the best suggestions and provides an autograph register in which suggestions can be put, so that credit may be bestowed where it is due. During the year 1897, over four thousand suggestions were received, of which 1100 were considered of sufficient value to be adopted by the company.

There are several kinds of prizes, including "monitor boards," a banner which travels around to the different divisions, lighting on the one which has made the best record for the month, and a day's excursion for the division making the best record for the year.

The company advertises that it spends in the manner indicated about three per cent

of the amount of its pay roll, or about $30,000 a year.

When manufacturing industry ceased to be so carried on that the work of the individual artisan was an expression of his own mind and character, there went out of the world an educational factor of enormous value, a factor which, in the same form, is in many industries not likely to reappear. The only way in which reparation for this loss can be made to the worker in the modern factory is by making him in some sense a true sharer in the work; and to make him so is now the most important problem for the reformers of our productive methods to solve.

and to make the latter a true sharer in the life and zest of the business.

The nearest relation which the worker can bear in the literal and legal sense to the personality of the corporation is by owning stock, and some companies have encouraged such ownership. A way of making him share in its success is through the various schemes of profit-sharing, of which Mr. Gilman has written so well. He may be allowed practically to share in its management through boards of conciliation, especially those which meet at regular intervals.

One of the rules adopted at Dayton is that after the year 1915 no application for employment will be considered from any one who has not attended a kindergarten. Note in this connection, that Robert Owen, in

1816, that is to say, during his early period as the great philanthropic manufacturer, opened his "institution for the formation of character," being the first "infant school" in Great Britain, among the exercises of which school were songs, dances, and nature study, carried on by summer excursions. In Robert Owen's school the children were instructed "by the object method, — by means of things themselves or of models or paintings, — and by familiar conversations," and were kept as much as possible in the open air.

It is interesting to compare what has been done at Dayton with the experience of the great and famous model factory town of Pullman (begun May, 1880). The fundamental difference between the two cases is that whereas at Pullman the aim seems to have been to provide model conditions for the employés, the aim of the Dayton people has been to bring out the ideas and the character that are in the employés themselves.

The accounts of Pullman leave the impression that everything was done that a wise despotism, earnestly desirous of benefiting its subjects, could devise. It appears to have been, physically, a miracle of wise planning and capable administration. The sanitary arrangements were such that "the death-rate for the first three years was less than one-third the average for American cities, and

Pullman, where the corporation acted without the coöperation of the workers.

has continued to be very low." Nearly a million dollars was spent on the drainage alone. There was a model market, theatre, library, hotel, a gymnasium, amphitheatre for games, a baseball ground, streets "of a pre-eminently neat and attractive appearance," laid out by landscape architects, houses planned by the best architects, a fine school-house, a fire department run by the company, and a church built by them. The good results were not alone of the physical sort, as indicated by the death-rate; there was no pauperism, and but fifteen arrests among 8500 inhabitants in two years.

If Thomas Carlyle, Kipling, and the other believers in the duty of the strong and the wise to utterly control and manage the weak and foolish, are right, then Pullman was as near heaven as we can get on this earth. The fact that, heaven or no heaven, it was not popular with the employés is, I think, one more example of the fact that man cannot live by bread alone, or even by drainage, theatres, and libraries supplied by an alien will, and that there are some merits in democracy which those who judge government purely by its outward results have not learned, as yet, to realize.

Among the means frequently employed for cultivating the character and independence of employés are encouragements given to saving

and insurance. Prominent instances of the latter are the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads. It is said that one-seventh of the railroad employés of the country are members of the insurance departments. Railroad insurance and savings.

A great deal is done in a large number of establishments for the direct education of the employés. Perhaps the most notable instances are the various libraries provided by Mr. Carnegie, each one of which is a vast institution in itself. The one at Braddock cost $300,000 to build and equip, and receives $10,000 a year from Mr. Carnegie, besides frequent gifts. It includes a club and provides lectures, classes in practical study, talks and concerts, and an annual exhibition of paintings; it sends out traveling libraries to the schools in outlying districts, and publishes a monthly journal.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad furnishes traveling libraries, and the different railroads of the country have supplied some twenty-one homes or club-houses for the young men's christian association, containing reading-rooms, libraries, halls, class-rooms, baths, gymnasiums, etc., and support many other centres of the association. "Over sixty railroad companies interested are appropriating some $160,000 a year for the support of this work." Libraries, club-rooms, etc.

We find at Briar Cliff Manor farm (where the cows are provided with a change of scene and no loud talking is allowed in the stable), a trade school, a church, and a lodging house, with a recreation room, provided by the proprietor.

An important point noted by Mr. Gilman is, that it is better that what the employer provides should be done for the town than that it should be limited to its own workmen. For then it is put fairly and frankly, both as to the giver and as to the recipient, on the ground of good citizenship, a common ground, on which employer and hand-worker can meet. It is then a contribution to the life of the town in which all share alike, to an ideal with a future in it. American companies have, in a large number of instances, adopted this method. The Drapers of Hopedale, Mass., have, among other things, provided six acres for a recreation ground, a church, a town hall and library, and a high-school building. The Ludlow manufacturing company, of Ludlow, Mass., has built a school and a memorial hall, and the Peace Dale manufacturing company of Peace Dale, R.I., beginning as far back as 1854, has organized a number of institutions for Peace Dale as a whole, the use of which is in no way confined to the factory people.

Such institutions best when provided for the whole town.

Recognition is being given to an increasing extent to the fact that hideous surroundings

are not a necessary condition of factory life and work, and that beautiful surroundings go far to make life worth living; as, for instance, in the frequent employment of landscape architects in the laying out of grounds about the factories and of the streets where operatives' houses are built, in the planting of vines and flowers, in the disappearance of the white telegraph pole. The Choral society of Peace Dale, organized ten years ago, and deficit paid by the Peace Dale manufacturing company, gives three concerts a year, including such works as "Elijah," Rossini's "Stabat Mater," etc. The most idyllic conditions found in any factory town in the United States seem to be those reached by the Cheney brothers on their thousand acres of land in South Manchester, Conn., where 2500 persons are housed and employed in their silk-mills.

Ugliness mitigated;

music promoted.

One further remark seems necessary, namely, that when the whole story has been told, so far as it can be set down in black and white, the most important part has still been left out. No amount of machinery or visible appliances are a substitute for the "humane touch"; and the manufacturer who has done the least that appears in the catalogue may yet be among those who have done the most for the real advance and happiness of their employés.

The humane touch is more than the machinery of benevolence.

In some instances, like those of the Cheneys, of the Crane family of Dalton, Mass., of the Whitins of Whitinsville, and of the Drapers at Hopedale, "prosperity sharing" of the sort I have been describing dates back to the middle of the century or before; but in most cases the beginning, often the beginning of the company itself, goes back twenty years or less. The movement, like others of the sort, gains volume in a geometric ratio, and many of its manifestations are very recent.

CHAPTER VII

VACATION SCHOOLS

Consult: Reports of New York school committee "On the vacation schools and playgrounds," 1898–1900; reports of Women's clubs of Chicago on vacation schools. There are scores of other good reports, but the above are remarkable. See also: Sadie American in *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1898, p. 164; Charles Zeublin, same, September, 1898, p. 145; "The battle with the slum," J. A. Riis; *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1898, pp. 293 ff., December, 1898, p. 683; report of Mayor Strong's committee on small parks, 1897; *Atlantic*, April, 1899, pp. 532–536 and 553; *Charities*, September 6, 1902, pp. 222–223.

MUCH of what I have described as being done for the home has been undertaken for the sake of the child. But the child neither is nor ought to be always at home. He has important lessons to learn outside, and I have now to speak of what has been done by philanthropy to help him in the learning of these lessons.

Home life not all of child life.

In 1866, there was started in the old First church of Boston what was, so far as I can learn, by many years the first vacation school in the United States. In this school there was only one teacher, and there were, contrary to subsequent practice, text-books.

The first vacation school.

The school was carried on, from 1868, in a public school building, and the text-books were lent by the city, — a significant omen. The yard was used as a playground in connection with the school. There was singing, but it was before the days of sloyd and nature study, so that the curriculum had little in common with that of the vacation school of the present day.

For many years after this, the movement increased but slowly, the next vacation school, so far as I can learn, having been started in Boston in 1879 by Miss Mary E. Very, a public school teacher, the support being contributed in part by the Woman's education association. In 1881 the Associated charities of Boston started a school, and in the next few years four others were started by the same organization. There are now eighteen to twenty-three such schools in Boston (according to how one draws the line between vacation schools and playgrounds); three of them are public; and in 1899 eleven of these schools had a total enrolment of about 2488 pupils and an average attendance of about 1684.

The first schools in other cities came considerably later than in Boston. Newark started one in 1886; New York began in 1894, Chicago in 1896; Brooklyn, Hartford, and Cleveland in 1897, — the first-named as

the result of the teaching of John Graham Brooks; Baltimore, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Syracuse, and many other places, started in 1898. In a number of instances the school committee has taken over the work; in greater New York there are ten public vacation schools, and in Philadelphia, five; Cambridge has two, and Brookline one. There are, as the century closes, vacation schools in a great many, probably in several hundred, cities and towns throughout the country; I have a list of some sixty in twenty-three cities and towns in Massachusetts. They have been started largely within the last two years, usually by women's clubs.

Some of the present ones.

Vacation schools are carried on from four to eight weeks, in the great majority of cases six weeks, in the summer vacation. The session usually lasts three hours, and many schools have two sets of children, one coming in the morning and one in the afternoon. They are generally located in public school buildings, the use of which is granted by the city or town, and one finds the rooms appropriately decorated for the summer work. Most schools employ regular professional teachers (who sometimes give their services), and it is more necessary to do so than in the regular schools. The cost per child per day, as reported, varies from less than five cents

The term, six weeks, in public schools; professional teachers;

the cost, thirteen cents per child per day;

to more than twenty-five. In the ten New York public vacation schools, the term in 1899 was six weeks, the average attendance in each school was 426; the average class was thirty, the daily cost per pupil present was thirteen and four-tenths cents, total cost of schools, $17,166. The supplies cost somewhat more than the teachers, an exceptional state of things, to be attributed to the large number of experiments in industrial work. (A different industrial occupation was tried in every school, this being one of the many instances of the use of vacation schools as experiment stations.) The ages of the children vary from two to twenty, the great majority are under fourteen.

the ages, mainly under fourteen.

What first led to the starting of vacation schools was a perception of the evils arising from the idleness and emptiness of the long summer vacation, from the effects of which teachers have said that it takes children until Thanksgiving to recover: and the first effort was simply to provide something attractive for the children to do. There was almost always some sort of manual work, usually carpentry; but at first there was but little discipline or regularity. Even at the present time some of those who carry on these schools feel that their mission is simply to supply the resources which are lacking in the city streets, and that they ought to accomplish this with-

out curtailing the child's liberty or taking from the vacation its characteristic feature as an opportunity for spontaneous activity. Some of the schools, accordingly, have provided occupations and amusements, but have left the children to choose their own way of enjoying them. Some schools, on the other hand, have felt that a certain amount of order and systematic teaching for a part of every day, for six out of the twelve weeks of vacation, might be introduced without having either a cramping or a depressing effect on the child; and the majority of the schools now have regular classes, and in fact differ from the ordinary school chiefly in the subjects taught and in the liberty of every child to come or to stay away as he prefers.

The tendency toward systematic occupation,

The schools at Cambridge may be taken as a type of those in which a certain amount of discipline is insisted upon. In these schools, regularity of attendance is required, a child being dropped and another substituted from a considerable waiting list for two unexplained absences, and careful inquiry being made at the child's home in every case of absence. Strict order is maintained, and the intention is to inculcate upon the child the idea not that he is conferring a favor by coming, but that he will be allowed to come so long as he conforms to the regulations of the school. This strictness of discipline avoids an objec-

and fairly strict discipline.

tion that has sometimes been made to the vacation school by teachers in the regular schools, namely, that it gets the children into the habit of thinking that school is merely a place to play.

And whatever objections may be made to it, unpopularity with the children cannot properly be placed among them. The children, in fact, seem not only to get more benefit from regular than from desultory work, but they show more appreciation of it, begging to be allowed to make up for any time that they have lost, and waiting on the steps in the hope "that some other feller will be sick" and so make room for them. A good test of the popularity of a school is the percentage of attendance. As a rule it is found easier to start a vacation school than to keep it full: in the New York schools in 1899, for instance, the attendance fell off for each of the six weeks of the term: the first week averaged 4,850, the sixth, 3,634. At the Cambridge schools, on the contrary, and in others of the same type, the attendance has averaged about 93 per cent of their capacity, promotions being made from a regular waiting list to take the places of the very few who have to be dropped. Childhood is after all the age for learning, and the necessarily vertebrate nature of the organization in which he learns does not seem, in practice, to be felt

The stricter ones show the fuller attendance.

by the child himself as an outrage on the liberty of the subject. It would seem indeed to be the case that a child under fourteen absorbs in about a week as much complete liberty as he can make use of. After that he becomes saturated, feels bored, and craves a certain amount of teaching and control.

For children below six the schools differ but little from the regular kindergarten. For the older children there is, in spite of a great variety in subjects and method of teaching, a certain family likeness among the different schools. No text-books are used, but story books are not uncommon. There is almost always some sort of manual occupation, selected in probably every instance upon the principle, which is one of the great corner-stones of sloyd training, of setting the child to work not upon abstract exercises in making joints, straight edges or square corners without reference to any use or purpose; but upon something of which he knows the use, the making of which arouses his interest, satisfies his love of accomplishing things, and in many instances makes some contribution to the family life; the aim being to set him at such work as is its own criticism and its own reward. In the New York schools in 1898 the children were making string-winders, plant-labels, key-tags, paper-knives, picture-frames, stands for flower-pots, easels, and toy

The schools provide manual work on real things,

horses. Other manual training in vacation schools includes sewing dresses for the child or the doll, cooking, making beds and baskets, drawing, — either with brush, charcoal, or pencil, decorative or from nature, — and clay-modeling, all of it of a sort that is valued by the child for its relation to real life or for its own sake. That constructive work of the sort chosen is in fact felt by the child to be its own reward is amply testified to by the experience of the vacation schools. When a boy will sit for hours upon the steps of a school-house waiting upon the doubtful chance of at last getting in and being permitted to do a little sloyd work he is furnishing notable evidence of a hunger for occupation of that sort. Nature has planted this hunger in him and evidently has ends in view that demand its satisfaction.

which the children feel to be worth making.

Such work as this, connected with real life, and especially with family life, has a double application to the needs of the street boy. It supplants the habitual passive attitude as of one sitting at a continuous performance, which is fostered by the constant drama of the street, and cures the resulting interrupted habit of mind — the habit of never fixing the will or attention for long on the same object — by substituting the habit of doing constructive work toward a definite and more or less distant end. Secondly, it

Such work meets the needs of the city child.

enlists the boy's interest in the home, and so cuts off a main cause for going wrong upon the part of boys whose parents inherit the patriarchal traditions of the old world, while the boys themselves are apt to learn of the new world nothing but the absence of the old restraints.

In a few instances there is definite training for a trade. Besides the manual occupations there is singing; and in some schools, as for instance at New Haven, special attention is given to developing a taste for reading.

A feature of almost every vacation school is nature study. In Chicago, where this side of the work has been carried on most systematically, there are weekly excursions into parks or woods or to farms in the country; these excursions are kept up to an educational standard, — not degenerating into picnics, — and the week's work centres around what has been seen and learned on the excursion. Excursions are an essential part of the teaching in Philadelphia. No form of teaching could be more appropriate to the summer or could meet more accurately the needs of the city child. Every healthy boy or girl at a certain age (as Froebel and Stevenson and the other child-seers have taught us) likes to explore, to dig in the ground for treasures, to climb a tree and discover a new world by looking over into the next yard, to make collections, to

Nature study.

bring home strange and weird specimens and new acquaintances in his pockets. These enterprises cannot be carried on to advantage on a brick sidewalk, and the pathetic and almost startling ignorance of the city child of the simplest facts in regard to growing things and animals reveals a lack of opportunity in this direction that must have its effect upon his mental development.

The schools are careful to relate the work to the home by the sloyd methods already mentioned, by mothers' meetings, the visiting of the parents (before the school begins and in case of a pupil's absence), and by inviting them to the closing exercises.

Vacation schools in the country.

That even the country child, with all Nature's resources at his door, will, in his desire to become acquainted with the meanings and relations of things, voluntarily profit by the skilled direction of a teacher, is shown by the success of the vacation school started by the Andover (Mass.) guild. This school, under the direction of George E. Johnson, superintendent of schools, has not in any way copied its city prototypes, but has taken advantage of the fact that it is situated in the country and not in town. For instance, the boys started out one morning and formed a logging camp, chopping and hauling out the trees to make a log cabin. Their carpentry work on every alternate day after that was

devoted to the cabin, which was used at the end of the year for holding a sale and exhibition of the school work. Wood not being expensive the other carpentry work included furniture as well as the smaller articles usually made. The school had a fishing-class which caught fish from the neighboring brooks and ponds, and the children made drawings of each kind in their note-books. They also made a study of butterflies, and had classes in gardening and swimming, "For," as one of the girls says in the summer school *Record*, "it is nice to be able to swim should one be in danger of drowning." The government of this school was carried on by a committee elected by the pupils, of which the superintendent of schools was the chairman. Similar interesting country education has been conducted at Ashfield, Mass., following a suggestion of Dr. G. Stanley Hall.

Those who have carried on the vacation schools started out with no preconceived idea of what they were to find. Their idea was simply to do whatever was found by experience to be the best for the children, without reference to the question of whether or not it had received the label of education. The fact that so many groups of people, starting independently upon this single-minded quest in so many places, have arrived with practical unanimity at the same conclusions is

Important facts re-discovered by vacation school experience.

remarkable testimony to the value of the occupations and the procedure which they have adopted. I think we may say that the vacation schools have established the following facts: First, that children crave, except for brief vacations of a week or so, some sort of regular occupation (and when one thinks of what twelve hours — 10 A. M. to 10 P. M. — of unmitigated sidewalk, day in and day out for three months, must mean, it is obvious that this must be true of the city child); second, that among the occupations so needed, a very important place is held by creative and constructive work; and third, that nature study of such a sort as may give a sympathetic knowledge of the life of plants and animals, of the action of winds and rivers, fills a natural and abiding need of the child.

Only a beginning.

The vacation school as at present carried on is obviously not a finality. To call together from various parts of the country a set of people with a genius for teaching, — that is, for reaching and stimulating the inner life of the boys and girls, — and to have these people establish, during six weeks in summer, a close relation with a number of children, is indeed an inspiring beginning. It is a good start. But then comes a *non sequitur:* just as we have got going we stop, the school is closed, the pupils are sent away, and the teachers vanish to the four quarters of the

earth, never again perhaps to see each other or any one of the children they have learned to teach. Obviously, such an anomaly as this cannot continue. Vacation schools are, as we have seen, carried on chiefly in public schools, and to a considerable extent by the public school authorities; and it is clear that in the future they are to be a regular part of the public school system, and their teachers members of the regular teaching force. The first thing we shall discover when this consolidation has been effected will be that the period of the summer work must be longer than the present summer vacation. One sees it frequently stated (and I have never seen it contradicted) that the great and well-known summer increase in juvenile law-breaking is a result of the vacation; but this is not the case. As the following table shows, the increase begins not in July, but in March, and continues not merely into September, but to an almost equal degree into October.

Must become a part of the public school system.

Average number of arrests of minors in Boston by months for the years 1889 to 1899, inclusive (from the police reports): —

Month.	Average.	Month.	Average.
December	363	June	448
January	372	July	520[1]
February	326	August	477
March	395	September	456
April	401	October	430
May	434	November	376

[1] Fourth of July has its effects.

The law-breakers are not the most important part of the juvenile community, but the excess of law-breaking in the warmer part of the year is undoubtedly an indication of an effect which the weather has upon all children, not merely upon those who commit the offences. I think there is a desire which is felt by everybody, and by the children most of all, to get out into the country in the spring. I have read in an account of the exiles in Siberia that a sort of madness takes possession of them at this season, and that even where repeated recaptures have proved that there is not the slightest chance of escape, they will annually make the attempt at the call of "King Cuckoo." Teachers record a notable increase of truancy during the month of June.

CHAPTER VIII

PLAYGROUNDS FOR SMALL CHILDREN

For sand-gardens, see citations on vacation schools. Recreation-piers: *Municipal Affairs*, September, 1897, pp. 509–514; *Atlantic*, October, 1899, p. 535. See also leaflets and periodical of the New York outdoor recreation league.

PLAY is the intensest part of the life of a child, and it is therefore in his play hours that his most abiding lessons are learned, that his most central and determining growth takes place. It is, accordingly, a true instinct that has led our philanthropists to seek to improve the conditions under which the play of our children shall be carried on. The boy without a playground is father to the man without a job; and the boy with a bad playground is apt to be father to a man with a job that had better have been left undone.

Play hours the hours of growth.

New England towns founded during the seventeenth century usually had commons, originally used for the pasturage of cattle, and afterwards for the May and October "training," which consisted of a more or less convival assembly of all the freemen under arms. A great many of these commons still survive. I find fourteen, for

17th century commons.

instance, within the present metropolitan park district of Boston. The school history used to tell how the Boston boys appeared before General Gage and successfully asserted their right to play football on the Common, a privilege which they have never lost to this day, despite the protests of property-owners who think that the dust blowing against their windows is the most important factor in the case.

No special provision for play till recently.

Apart from this fortunate survival of an opportunity originally provided for another purpose, our American cities and towns seem to have had little or no provision for play until a very recent time, a neglect which the absence of large cities formerly made a matter of comparatively little importance. The sense of the need of some municipal provision of the sort may be said to have stirred in its sleep during the sixties, when the city of Boston provided (in 1866) ten public baths, free to all the inhabitants, the most important one consisting in the provision of a place to dress at a point on the beach in South Boston where the boys had bathed from time immemorial.

Playgrounds an educational movement.

The commons were made for the cows, the baths were probably a part of the general sanitary movement that followed the civil war; the playground movement proper came from an independent source, the impulse

being from the first an educational one. The provision for the bigger boys and girls, and the provision for the smaller children, respectively, also came separately. I shall take up first what has been done for the smaller children, for those under twelve years of age.

In 1886 Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska wrote to the chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts emergency and hygiene association, saying that in the public parks of Berlin there were heaps of sand in which children, rich and poor, were allowed to dig and play, as if on a mimic seashore, under the care of the police of the city. That year "three piles of yellow sand were placed in the yards of the Children's mission, Parmenter street chapel, and Warrenton street chapel," in Boston. The next year there were ten heaps in the courts of tenement houses and elsewhere and one heap in the yard of a schoolhouse to be used in connection with a vacation school. That year the daily average attendance was 400 and special matrons were employed for the first time. "Since then the necessity for trained teachers has grown with the growth of the work. No yard is now without one or more guardians who have had instruction in kindergarten methods." The number of playgrounds carried on by this society had increased by the summer of 1900 to twenty-one, twenty

The first sand-piles.

of these in school yards. The average attendance was about 4000 and the expense a little over $4000, of which $3000 has, for the last two years, been supplied by the school committee.

The children at first seemed to need a little instruction. Favorite games were playing "house" and "funeral," especially the latter, which consists in carrying out the real ceremony and interment as nearly as possible. (We gather from Sewall's diary that going to funerals used to be the chief amusement of the Puritans, but it seems a little hard that children who are not their descendants should inherit this grizzly form of amusement at this distance of time.)

Philadelphia.

The first city, so far as I can ascertain, to follow the example of Boston was Philadelphia, in which in 1893 two summer playgrounds were started by philanthropic people. In 1895 the city Councils, in response to a petition from the Civic club and a large number of other organizations, opened the available school yards, four of which were equipped as sand-gardens, and appropriated $1000 to carry on these latter. Every year since then Councils have appropriated $3000. Since 1898 there have been twenty-seven public sand-gardens in the poor and overcrowded districts of the city, under the charge of the board of education, which has the coöpera-

tion of the Civic club. Every yard has a teacher and a janitor. Sand-gardens were started in Providence in 1894 by the Children's kindergarten association. Providence.

In 1895 a summer playground was carried on in New York under a wistaria vine in the back yard of the Nurses' settlement. Previous to that year and subsequently, to 1898, there were perhaps some half-dozen other private playgrounds in New York, but the movement in that city really began when in 1897 Mayor Strong's committee on small parks, of which Abram S. Hewitt was chairman and Jacob A. Riis was secretary, reported that "New York has as yet not a single municipal playground, and not yet a school playground worthy of the name;" the only school playground, indeed, "is an old cemetery." The next year, when the school committee took over the vacation schools of the Association for improving the condition of the poor, it established twenty school playgrounds or sand-gardens. In 1899 there were thirty-one places classed by the committee as "school play centres" — ten of these being in the morning devoted to the vacation schools above described — and in the latter year there were also under the charge of the committee five open-air gymnasiums, five "kindergarten tents," six recreation-piers, three "sand-gardens with kindergarten games" in Central New York.

park, seven roof gardens, ten swimming baths, and six "evening play centres," making "some seventy" places in all. As New York is the place where this sort of work has been done on the largest scale a few statistics from there may be interesting. The thirty-one "school playgrounds" were carried on six weeks; the highest attendance was 20,107; the lowest, 5949. The average daily attendance at the six recreation-piers was about eight hundred and fifty. The cost of all the playgrounds of every class was: salaries, including janitors, $20,662; supplies, $8239; total, $28,901. (The total cost of all the summer work in New York, including both vacation schools and playgrounds, was $47,111.)

Elsewhere.

The first summer playground in Chicago was started by a conference of the Associated charities in the year 1897. In 1899 and again in 1900 there were six carried on eight weeks by the women's clubs, all of them in school yards, toward the expenses of which the city council appropriated $1000. Brooklyn and Baltimore began the same year. In 1899 Baltimore had eight of these playgrounds and those in Brooklyn had been taken over by the school committee of the greater New York. Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Denver had sand-gardens in 1898, and these have since been started in many other

places, the women's clubs having in most instances been the promoters.

The sand-garden or summer playground for little children may be said to centre around the sand-box, namely, a box like a hotbed (the width of which ought not to exceed ten feet, because if it is wider it becomes difficult to pick a child out of the middle) with a cover which can be locked at night to prevent the sand from being stolen, and which ought to fold back to serve as a table to make pies on. Experience shows that the one thing the small child likes to do more than any other is to put sand into a pail and turn it out again. In the streets one may see them any day performing this operation with the dirt from the street and a broken bottle or tomato-can, selecting the doorstep or the edge of the sidewalk as a convenient laboratory table. The sand-pile the masons make when a house is going up is always covered with children, and all parents and nurses know that little children enjoy the seashore largely for its sand-digging privileges. In addition to the sand-box the only necessary provisions are a trained and tactful kindergartner with a good assistant, a little shade, and benches.

Founded on sand;

kindergartners and shade also necessary.

There are hundreds of other things which are found in these playgrounds. Games played in New York in 1898 (where, as will

be seen from the list, some of the children were old enough to play those requiring considerable organization) were, in the order of their popularity, basket-ball, shuffle-board, ring-toss, drop the handkerchief, nine-pins, "ball," handball, sack races, hand tennis, and bean-bag. A feature of the sand-gardens in Boston is the express carts in which two children are harnessed and drag about one or two babies as passengers, — a happy recognition of the fact, illustrated on every sidewalk, that children like to drag anything that makes a noise. Minneapolis has croquet. The various games where they stand in a ring are especially popular with the small children; and a game that seems to appeal to an abiding instinct is ring-toss, leading up to quoits, which men of all ages like to play.

Other occupations.

School yards are as a rule too small and become too crowded for the more competitive running and ball games. The games in vogue are, in brief, about the same as those encountered at a Christmas party, with some more reposeful ones added.

With the little children it is a question not so much of what game is played as of how it is conducted. Almost every kind of game and kindergarten apparatus is useful, provided one does not have too many things; and the range, and rank in popularity, of the different ones will be the same as in the home

Leadership essential.

— nothing, of course, being more thrilling to the child than performing some service to the state, such as carting off the loose stones on a new playground, making scrap-books for use in the playground, or sewing the doll's clothes.

In New York and Chicago the playgrounds are open morning and afternoon; in Boston the majority are open about three hours, and that seems to be the rule elsewhere. The expense, under careful management, is ten cents per child per week.

Hours; cost.

An important service of every "play centre" is as a resting-place where the mothers and the little girls who so often have charge of the babies and of children only one size smaller than themselves can come and rest. "Little mothers" in sand-gardens are reported as young as six or seven years old, and a case is mentioned in Philadelphia of one only three and a half. It is said that they often show a strong love for the children in their charge, and feel considerable pride in their attainments, one of them boasting, "My baby swear at his papa and mamma."

Rest for mothers and little mothers.

For the sake of these mothers of all sizes sand-gardens ought always to be supplied with plenty of chairs or benches. They ought also to be much more frequent than they are as yet in any city; the effective radius of a rest-

ing-place for a mother who does not own a baby-wagon cannot be much over a quarter of a mile.

In most school yards the space is too small for swings to be used with good economy, but where they are provided they possess a perennial and extraordinary attraction. I have frequently visited a certain playground on winter afternoons, when it was practically pitch dark, when the thermometer was anywhere from freezing to a few degrees above zero, and when the wind was sometimes blowing twenty odd miles an hour; and I have never seen one of the twelve swings on that playground without its occupant. Iron rings three-eighths of an inch thick were worn to the danger point between the first week in August and the middle of October in spite of the opening of school a month before the latter date. What is the attraction and what are the effects of swinging are questions which have not yet received their answers. I believe that at least a part of it is in the sense of emancipation; the child finds something thrilling in the moment at the beginning and end of each swing when he doesn't weigh anything, the physical effect on the inner man and the pleasing sense of danger combine in producing an emotional experience a little less poignant than that of being tossed in a blanket, but of the same sort. The

Swings — a perennial attraction.

downward motion has the same attraction that belongs to all coasting and falling games, from jumping off a stair to high diving and scientific tobogganing. But, whatever the source of its fascination and its effects, swinging has at all events the advantage of being a great attraction and of furnishing an easy means of discipline through the possibility of withholding the privilege.

In some places the gymnastic side of playground work is emphasized. This is especially true of Chicago, and is, I suppose, due in part to the large German element in her population: the Turn-Verein has loaned parallel and horizontal bars, ladders, etc, there is tumbling, jumping, and a tan-bark pit, and some of the instructors are skilled turners. In New York every school playground has its gymnasium; the St. Louis playground (perhaps owing to the German influence again) has horizontal and parallel bars; and there is gymnastic apparatus also in St. Paul and Cincinnati and, in three yards especially for the bigger boys, in Boston.

Gymnastic apparatus

The question of having gymnastics is in part the same question as whether or not to provide for the bigger boys in the sand-gardens. In Chicago the policy of combining the older boys with the children has been tried, but so much difficulty has been encountered that the committee now favors a

division of the time between the different ages as is the practice in St. Louis. In Boston certain yards are reserved for the bigger boys; in one large yard the two ages are combined. The great majority of sand-gardens in the country are carried on for the little children and the girls, big boys (over twelve years old or so) are either not attracted or are excluded. The right ultimate policy seems to be to provide for the bigger boys of each district one large playground of from three to five acres such as I shall describe later on, and to reserve the school yards and sand-gardens for the smaller children.

Reserved mainly for children under twelve.

On the general question of apparatus the Chicago committee has concluded that there should be plenty of it, including always a tan-bark pit and of course the sand-box. I think the conclusion is sound. There is, especially on the part of the smaller children, a demand which I can only describe as a demand for things. Almost any kind of thing will do, but there must be something to play with: they do not feel at home on the bare, featureless, unequipped playground. We have in Boston, in Franklin park, thirty acres of the most beautiful turf, level and especially designed for the children; but the children will not go there; I believe that the reason is not in the absence of this or that particular thing that they like, but in the resulting emptiness

Apparatus of some kind essential.

of homesick, unappropriated space; if there were things there of any sort, whether fixed or movable, the children would go there and would find a use for them. What particular use a child will make of a given thing is often difficult to prophesy; benches, for instance, both large and small, have been provided on a certain playground with the idea on the part of the grown-up people that they would be convenient to sit on, their height being the same as that of kindergarten chairs; but the grown-up people did not know. The benches are useful to sit on, but their most appreciated service has been in their adaptability to the purposes of a toboggan slide, the big benches forming the slides, the small ones, turned upside down, serving as sleds.

Another conclusion of the Chicago committee (which has perhaps made the most careful study of the whole subject) is that there should be plenty of attendants, with hours limited to about five a day in order that they may be fresh and aggressive all the time. The hours can, however, be considerably longer on a large playground where there is less necessity for constant control and leadership. Another Chicago conclusion, which experience elsewhere supports, is that there should be a high fence to aid in maintaining discipline.

Lively attendants necessary.

A very instructive experience of the sand-

Quiet occupations.

gardens is the encountering of a demand on the part of the children for quiet games and for constructive work to do, like that which is carried on in the vacation schools. It is obvious that a child cannot play lively games all day long, and equally evident that he does not want to sit still and do nothing; so that it is not surprising to find that games like checkers are always popular at a playground where there is a suitable place for playing them (a bench, to accommodate two checker games, should be eight feet long), that libraries are a regular feature, and that pianos are provided in Providence, Chicago, and New York. But it is not merely quiet games that they demand: the children show a strong desire for some form of constructive work. An interesting and pathetic discovery as evidence of this unsatisfied hunger on the part of the street boy, is that boys up to the age of fifteen, and often the very toughest ones, seem delighted with an opportunity to do a little sewing or to work on a perforated card or the like, and some of the sand-gardens are, by supplying such occupations, performing useful service for boys of this age, pending a more thorough covering of the ground by the vacation schools. A teacher in New York claims to have tamed a gang of young toughs by getting them to glue together some disks used in the playground.

In recognition of this constructive instinct sewing is practically always provided for girls and often for boys, and other simple manual occupations are frequently found. In Providence there is regular sloyd work and nature study, and in 1898 gardens were introduced there and have now become a part of the regular school work also. In Baltimore they have clay-modeling and sewing to which in 1899 basket-making was added, and an instructor in manual training was provided and lessons were given in wood and iron work. In New York, as already pointed out, the ten vacation schools are carried on in connection with the playgrounds (besides which every one of the thirty-one school playgrounds has its piano, library, and reading-room). The National cash register company's playground at Dayton is really also a vacation school, with sloyd work, drawing, modeling, sewing, and choral classes. One of the playgrounds at New Haven includes a regular kindergarten, and the vacation school at that place was itself an outgrowth of the playground, being undertaken to meet a recognized need on the part of the children.

Constructive work.

The great majority of sand-gardens are carried on for ten weeks in summer; but the Outdoor recreation league of New York has shown that the proper season for them is really as many months; I have seen their

children's playground in full swing (I use the word advisedly) as late as December 20. Cleveland's season is May 1 to November 1, the Massachusetts civic league did not close its sand-garden in Boston in 1900 until November 17, and (if I may be permitted a word in regard to the twentieth century) they now carry it on all the year round; even the small children stay into November, and a strong demand for shovels has set in about the middle of February, a sure sign that they are out again in force. I believe the opinion to be growing that all playgrounds ought, in fact, to be carried on all the year round with such indoor provision as may be necessary in winter. The child's need for play is not confined to any season; and there is, besides, the great advantage in continuity that it preserves the personal relation between the children and teachers and makes the influence cumulative.

Playgrounds ought to last all the year round.

A very attractive location during the summer is in a park under the shade of large trees; but there are also great practical advantages in having the playground adjoin a public school. Of the advantages to the school in giving the children a chance to have their recess in the fresh air I need not speak. The advantages to the playground are that the school is situated near where the children live and is a place to which they are in the habit of going, and that the school building sup-

Location by the school building convenient.

plies many things that the playground ought to have, some of them absolutely necessary, others highly important. A shelter from the sun is necessary and has to be built if it does not already exist; the school building frequently affords this shade. It is also necessary to provide a place to keep bats, balls, jumping standards, quoits, and other toys and apparatus; every playground for small children needs sanitary arrangements conveniently near, and there has to be running water to quench the perennial and marvelous thirst of the sand-garden child. A shower bath, such as all our public schools will soon be supplied with, is a very desirable addition; baths are already found in connection with the playgrounds in St. Louis, St. Paul, and New Haven. The school building furnishes, besides, an opportunity for indoor play in winter and on rainy days and for quiet games and occupations. The playground and vacation school are, indeed, during the season of the latter, two sides of the same institution, and the name of that institution is the public school. During the part of the year when the vacation school gives place to the regular school course, the playground is equally necessary as a supplement to the latter.

Similar in object and methods to the sand-gardens are the playrooms for children, of which there are some seventeen in Boston,

ten of them carried on by the Episcopal city mission during July and August for children under fourteen. I have heard of one in Chicago, and there are doubtless others in other places. They merge into the vacation school.

As the dates which I have given will show, the impulse from which the vacation schools and the summer playgrounds proceed is gaining momentum in a geometric ratio. At first the progress was slow, and was for some twenty years confined to the city of Boston; but in the last few years the movement has taken on a remarkable impetus. It is impossible to obtain the facts and figures from all over the country, but I should think it a fair estimate to say that the number of such places and of the children in them was about doubled in the one year 1898, and had doubled again by the close of the century.

The movement spreading rapidly.

It is too early for the sand-gardens to have produced any effects visible in a table of statistics, but there is plenty of testimony from observers that the good results are noticeable. In Philadelphia the police and business men testify to a "marked decrease in youthful crime" in the districts where the playgrounds are located. It is further testified that the children return to school in a better state of discipline and that their moral tone is raised. The New York reports show that the playgrounds are popular with the

Testimony to good moral effect.

parents as well as with the children, and the testimony from the playground teachers as to the good effects upon the children is strong and specific. They say that they become easier to manage, quieter, play more fairly, are more polite, and that the older children become less unkind to the younger ones; also that the playgrounds are a great encouragement to children who are naturally slow at school work.

Besides the regular sand-garden there are other things that we have learned to do for the small children. The most ingenious device for supplying good places for rest and recreation has been the recreation-pier, originating in New York. These piers are built over wharf property and leave the wharf below open for use, thus avoiding a great part of the usual expense of securing such places, besides being, from their situation, peculiarly adapted for the purpose. Mr. Riis reports them a "roaring success." The first one was opened in July, 1897. There are now seven piers in New York and Brooklyn, of which the largest, at the foot of east Twenty-fourth street, is 722 feet long and cost $250,000, of which, however, $150,000 was for the wharf itself, which is still as useful as ever for commercial purposes. The piers are provided with settees, leaving a promenade floor the whole length of the pier, and are lighted

Recreation-piers.

by electricity, the longest one being at night, "next to the Brooklyn bridge, the most conspicuous structure on the East river." They have music every week-day evening. The attendance at the Third street pier in 1897 ranged from 500 to 2000 in the afternoons; in the evenings it averaged from 3000 to 4000, and on hot evenings ran as high as 7000. In the daytime it is used by mothers and little children, the mothers buying luncheons which are sold at low prices by the authorities. There are about sixteen to twenty-five attendants on each pier. There is a reported demand for more soap in the neighborhood.

Philadelphia opened a play-pier July 27, 1898, and the Civic club gave concerts there; and Boston has two piers connected with the North End park and two piers, each 1500 feet long, reaching from City point, one of them leading to Fort Independence.

In Detroit the picnic grounds in Belle isle park are provided with teeters, swings, and "may-poles." (The reader may not know that a "may-pole" is a solid pole about eighteen feet high, with a swivel on ball bearings at the top, from which hang six or eight ropes with cross-pieces on the ends, which the children take hold of and then run round the pole, the centrifugal force taking them off their feet for a consid-

Play-grounds in the parks.

erable part of the circuit — a demonstration of the working of physical laws which is considered highly satisfactory.) In Buffalo there is in one of the parks a space of ground about a pond where children wade, sail boats, and play in the sand and gravel on the banks; there is a "wading pool" in Washington park, Chicago, and one at Worcester; and I suppose toy boat sailing is always allowed in park ponds, as it is in the five in Boston. There is a children's playground in Golden Gate park, San Francisco, without a sand-garden, but with such pleasing features (found also in Central park, New York) as donkeys to ride on, and goats dragging carts to be ridden in. Donkeys and baby carriages can be hired at Franklin park, Boston, and Seward park in New York has a menagerie of great drawing power, consisting of, I think, three rabbits (the number fluctuates) and five pigeons. Of the playstead at Franklin park, Boston, I have already spoken.

Play on the grass.

It is only within a few years that the discovery has been made that children can play on the grass in a large park without doing it any harm, and that, after all, the children are fully as important as the grass. It was only in 1897, for instance, that all the open green spaces in Central park, New York, were thrown open to the children. At present I

think it is the custom with park commissions to make no rules that children shall keep off the grass, unless in small city squares. Any one who will visit Charlesbank will be convinced that such permission does not mean the destruction of the grass and that it does mean a great deal to the children. They have little picnics, play tag, "hi-spi," bring out their babies to play on the grass and dig in the walks, and get, in short, a considerable part of the benefits of country life. The grass at Charlesbank, it is true, covering only four acres and next a crowded population, has to have a rest, in sections, every other season.

School yards should be open all the time.

It is a curious thing that in such cities as New York and Boston (and so far as I can find out, the same is true of most American cities), the school yards are open only during school hours, including recess; as soon as the children are let out we close the yards, for fear, apparently, that they might become of some use. The reason usually alleged is that the children will do mischief if they are allowed inside; but it has not yet been shown either that children can use a playground to advantage if they are not allowed inside or that they wholly abstain from mischief when they have no playground. The real reason appears to be that the janitors do not like the trouble involved in having the yards open; *and, as* everybody knows, the function of the

school janitor is to direct the school committee. Some cities have gone so far as to actually build schoolhouses without any yards at all. In New York, which has been a great sinner in this way, the practice has been put a stop to by chapter 338, laws of 1895 (Mr. Riis's favorite law), which is short and to the point, as follows: "Section 1. Hereafter no schoolhouse shall be constructed in the city of New York without an open-air playground attached to or used in connection with the same. Section 2. This act shall take effect immediately." One more piece of legislation is necessary in New York and elsewhere, namely, that the open-air playground shall contain thirty square feet for every child for whom there is a place in the school, a provision found in the regulations of the English board of education, and more than complied with, even in London.

Skilled attendants are certainly necessary to get the best use out of the yards; if these turn out to be needed in order to make them of any use at all, the natural conclusion would seem to be either to hire the attendants or sell the yards; and as the twenty minutes of recess are already considered to pay dividends on their value, the former seems to be the more rational conclusion.

But, after all, the children in a city, and especially the smaller children, will always

have to find their playground very near their home, usually in the same block, and to a great extent this playground will probably always be the street. Even the bigger boys play baseball in the street all the time, and are arrested for it whenever some crusty neighbor feels that his windows have been broken more than a reasonable number of times.

The street the main playground: it should be developed as such systematically.

It is, therefore, a matter of great importance — which, however, has so far attracted no attention — to make the street a good playground, by having asphalt or some other smooth surface, as has been done in the crowded districts in New York and some other cities, and by regulating the play and traffic in such a manner as to secure the greatest freedom consistent with safety to life and reasonable safety to property. In Boston and neighboring towns it is not uncommon to see such a sign as "coasting allowed on this street between 3 and 8 P.M." The same idea ought to be carried farther. Why, for instance, should children have to wait until a house is being built in order to find sand to play in? If the house-building is a necessary part, some philanthropic society ought to see to it that there shall always be a house in process of construction in every block in a tenement district. After doing this for some time we should probably re-

member Charles Lamb and conclude that it is not necessary to build a house in order to have a sand-pile.

Another resource of the future will be the roof. It is at present the practice of the New York boys to play or carry on depredations by way of the roof; New York school yards have ascended to the roof; and the Charity organization society last year tried to have a law passed that all tenement-house walls should be carried up three feet four inches above the roof on all sides so as to make it a safe place to play. We are apt to think of the area covered by a house as if it had been annihilated. We must learn to realize that there is just as much of the earth's surface there as before, only it is a little higher up.

The roof space.

CHAPTER IX

BATHS AND GYMNASIUMS

References: "Boston municipal baths," W. I. Cole (apply to Boston bath commission); *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, September, 1900, table xviii; *Metropolitan Magazine*, September, 1899, pp. 265–270; *Atlantic*, April, 1899, p. 532, October, 1899, p. 499; *The Sanitarian*, July, 1900; *Municipal Affairs*, December, 1898, p. 688; *Outlook*, September 8, 1900, pp. 126–128; "Public playgrounds and baths in Boston," *Engineering Record*, September 17, 1898; *The Charities Review*, December, 1900, p. 439, same, June, 1899, p. 148; May, 1899, p. 98; January, 1899, p. 495; "The city wilderness" (published by the South End House, Boston), pp. 64–67, 276–278, and 306; reports of the Association for improving the condition of the poor, New York. For baths in factories, see "A dividend to labor," a large number of citations under *baths* in the index; *Engineering Record*, March 6, 1897; report of New York school committee on vacation schools, etc., 1899, pp. 33, 118. Gymnasiums: reports of the park commission and bath commission of Boston. Gymnasiums for employés: "A dividend to labor," index.

THE vacation schools and sand-gardens have been, as I have said, intended chiefly for children under fourteen. I must now give some account of what has been done for those above that age.

Pioneer bath-houses.

The Massachusetts sanitary commission of 1850 recommended the establishment of public bath-houses and wash-houses in all cities and villages. It reports that there were

twelve or more bathing establishments in Boston, most of which charged twenty-five cents, and some twelve and one-half cents, a bath. It says, "On a single Saturday night 220 bathers are known to have been admitted to one of them." (The highest record at Revere beach in 1899 for any one day was 7529.)

What was by many years the pioneer example of baths for the people was the all-the-year-round, small-fee bath-house opened by the New York association for improving the condition of the poor in 1852.

The first public baths in this country appear to have been the ten started in Boston in 1866. The number was slowly increased until 1898, when, under the administration of Mayor Quincy, the bath department was created. There are now twelve beach baths, besides the great metropolitan surf-bathing establishments at Revere and Nantasket beaches outside the city limits, the former used in 1899 by 115,716 persons. The largest of the city beach baths is L street where the total attendance in 1899 was estimated at 318,454. There are fourteen floating baths, — that is to say, floating platforms supporting a row of dressing rooms and surrounding an open space of water; the newest ones are not roofed over in the middle. There are two swimming pools, and there are seven shower-baths in the munic-

The Boston public baths.

ipal gymnasiums, besides three privately conducted bathing establishments with shower-baths. There is also one all-the-year-round municipal bath-house, the Dover street bath (showers), opened in 1898. The larger establishments have separate accommodations for men and women; in the smaller ones the time is divided between the two. There were in 1899, besides the regular (eighty-eight male and fifty-three female) attendants, five special and four detailed police and two special swimming instructors for nine weeks, who went about from one bath to another, and in that year 3089 boys and 2244 girls are reported as having been taught to swim. In 1900 there was some teaching, although less professional in its nature. In the former year swimming was also taught by motions in the public schools, but the practice has been discontinued. In the city baths admission is free; towel, one cent. Suits are five cents, except that at the big North End beach bath they are free; at L street they are not used. At Revere beach twenty cents is charged for room, towel, and suit for adults, fifteen cents for children, and it is practically self-supporting.

The partly estimated total number of baths taken in the public establishments in 1900 (including Revere beach and all-the-year baths) *was 2,537,029*. The expenses for eight months

in 1899, including the summer, but not including Revere beach, were, as near as can be found out, about $70,000, which, however, included $20,000 for expenses in which the baths and gymnasiums both shared.

New York summer baths (floating) were started in 1876. There were one or two baths added about every year down to 1889, when the number reached fifteen, at which it now remains. Lessons are given in swimming and diving; and over five million baths are said to have been taken in 1899.

There are now municipal summer baths in New York, Philadelphia (number of baths about 3,500,000 a year), Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago (1901–2), Minneapolis, St. Paul, Detroit, Washington, Worcester, Cambridge, Hartford, Wilmington, New Bedford, Des Moines, Springfield, Mass. (opened in 1889), Hoboken (1888), Providence (1875), Utica, Holyoke, Taunton, and Waltham (started in 1877). Municipal summer baths.

All of these are either beach baths, artificial swimming pools, or floating, so that in all there is a chance to swim. Most of them were first opened during the last three years of the century. The hours are generally as many as twelve, from eight or nine A.M. to nine P.M.; at Hoboken the hours are from five A.M. to ten P.M. The season in every instance begins somewhere from June 1 to July 1, The season.

usually about the middle of June, and it ends anywhere from August 31 to October 1. There is sometimes a charge of ten cents on certain days, and there is usually a small fee of five or ten cents for bathing suit or soap and towel. The size of the attendance is a proof of popularity, and the cost is usually very moderate. At Holyoke, for instance, in 1900–1901, 30,000 baths were given at a total cost of $383.

There is in America, so far as I know, no such bold and satisfying embodiment of a robust common sense in popular usage as that which, in London, permits men to bathe in the Serpentine, in Hyde park, after a certain hour of the evening, without bathing clothes.

The summer baths are perhaps the most excellent form of exercise that the municipality provides, but as a means of cleanliness the closed period from the middle of September to the middle of June renders them somewhat inadequate. The first all-the-year-round municipal (swimming and shower) bath that I can learn of was opened at Milwaukee in January, 1890, and a second was opened in February, 1894. Chicago opened the Carter Harrison shower-bath in 1893, a "natatorium" in connection with the gymnasium at Douglass park, in 1896, added two more shower-baths before the century closed, and another in February, 1901. All these are free.

All-the-year baths.

In 1896 Boston (in which a private company had been carrying on a small bath with small fees since 1890) opened the shower-bath at Charlesbank in winter, and began the erection of the Dover street shower-bath. In the same year Yonkers started a large (shower) bath-house and in 1898 added another.[1] In 1897 Buffalo erected public spray-baths, and Brookline, Mass., opened a fully equipped bathing establishment, with plunge, shower, and slipper baths. In 1899 Rochester opened a free shower-bath. Baltimore, on June 1, 1900, opened a shower-bath and public laundry, and later purchased the land for a second, — the money being the gift of Mr. Henry Walters. In 1900 Syracuse started a bath with steam, showers, pools, and tubs, and Albany, in 1901, started a bath with pool, showers, and tubs. There is usually a charge of one to five cents for towel and soap. As the century closes New York is building a shower and tub bath, and our gift of prophecy enables us to state that this bath will open March 27, 1901, will bathe 2000 men and 900 women a day, and will be followed by three others two years later. There is an all-the-year public bath at Newark, and there are private bath-houses in Philadelphia, Salem, and Pittsburgh.

[1] New York state has a law requiring cities of the first and second class to have as many all-the-year baths as their board of health says.

The Brookline bath.

The Brookline bath-house is one of the most perfect in the country. It contains two swimming pools. The main tank is eighty feet long and twenty-six feet wide and has an average depth of four and one-half feet of water, with a high spring-board and a sort of adjustable toboggan slide, of great emotional power, at one end, and averaging the most fearful din possible outside of a boiler factory. Regular classes are provided for the school children. There are fee days and free days.

An interesting practice in Brookline is that of giving a certificate for attaining a certain standard in swimming. "Ability to swim one mile, using chest, side, and back stroke, the distance to be covered in no specified time; also, diving, treading water, picking up objects from the bottom, and swimming length of tank under water, as well as a practical knowledge of life-saving and the proper method of resuscitating the apparently drowned," are among the requirements. In addition, each pupil is expected to swim two lengths of the bath in a suit of clothes and then undress in the water at the deep end; swim the length, carrying another swimmer, and two lengths in forty-five seconds. A boy who can do this may be called a swimmer; and he receives a certificate to that effect. The plan has this advantage over giving prizes that it sets a standard which boys are supposed to be able to attain instead

of merely making one boy a "big Injun." The idea has been followed by the New York board of education in its summer teaching of swimming in connection with the children's playgrounds.

What I believe to have been the first school bath in the United States was a shower-bath opened in the spring of 1889 (ten showers and dressing rooms for girls, ten showers for boys), in the Paul Revere school in Boston. This boys' bath, like most of those in gymnasiums, has much dressing space for each shower, an economical arrangement, as one shower will keep many boys dressing and undressing. St. Louis, Springfield, Washington, and Lynn each have a school with baths; New York has several.[1]

School baths.

Many employers are providing baths for their help.

I think one can trace in the growth of public baths, as elsewhere, two distinct impulses: first the great wave of sanitary reform that followed the civil war, and second, the educational movement of the last five or six years. Since the coming of the latter the two have, of course, to a great extent blended, but I think the chief motive has shifted from a

Sanitary motive for baths supplanted by the educational motive.

[1] I have received schedules of statistics from almost every city whose baths are mentioned above. I have omitted baths that others have credited to Lawrence, Grand Rapids, and Salt Lake City, because local authorities deny their existence. Baths have been started in Kansas City, Louisville, Troy, and Portland, Me., since the century closed.

sanitary to an educational one. Probably a majority of the public baths in the country owe their existence to the latter impulse.

A fairly successful modern provision for the bigger boys has been the outdoor gymnasium. The first one in this country was the Charlesbank gymnasium of two acres in Boston, first opened August 27, 1889, beautifully situated, with a view of the Brookline hills, and a breeze across the salt water of the Back bay. The gymnasium provides not only apparatus for exercise, but regular training for athletes (usually about 200, who include not only poorer boys of the neighborhood, but students from Harvard college and elsewhere), and also regular classes in gymnastics for boys and men. The attendance there in 1900, exclusive of the skating, which will be spoken of later, was 159,835.

Outdoor gymnasiums.

A small gymnasium for women was started at Charlesbank in 1891, at which the attendance in 1899 was 30,374. The gymnasium is protected from public view by a board fence masked by trees and shrubs, which also surround a small lawn, with a running track around it, that is used in summer for a kindergarten. Classes of about seventy-five or eighty are carried on two evenings a week in winter.

These two gymnasiums at Charlesbank are separated by about seven acres of grass and

shrubs with a path along the water's edge and other paths as needed, a beautiful outing place for mothers and children, already mentioned.

Boston has another large outdoor gymnasium at Wood island park, opened in 1895, where the men have four days and the women two. In 1899 the Charlesbank opened April 10 for men and May 17 for women; Wood island park, on May 3. They closed, respectively, on October 12 and 31, and November 30. The attendants were four men, four women, and two boys, including one instructor at the head of each gymnasium, and one for all. The expenses of the three, exclusive of the central administration, were $11,714.31, which included skating in winter and a playground at Wood island park. Most of the apparatus is very little used. The things that really are used, in Boston or elsewhere, are those employed in class work and those in which the element of falling, as in swinging or coasting, comes in. To the boy play is the object, exercise is only incidental, and gymnasiums are successful only so far as they are carried on as playgrounds, the apparatus adding to the kinds of play that are possible, not being regarded as a substitute.

What apparatus is actually used.

During the latter half of the century a most beneficial provision for the young men

and boys who can pay for it ($10 a year in Boston, "payable in instalments when desirable") has been the Young men's christian association gymnasiums, and the playgrounds which are now also being provided by this association.

Municipalities are now beginning to profit by this example, with the difference that they charge no fee. Boston has five indoor gymnasiums. The first was opened in 1897. The next, opened December, 1899, was the first large municipal gymnasium in the country. All the gymnasiums, outdoor and indoor, are open in the evening, the former being lighted by electric lights. There are regular instruction classes, no fees; hours for men, women, boys, and girls.

Indoor gymnasiums.

Gymnasiums, both outdoor and indoor, have sprung up within the last three years all over the country, provided by employers, by boys' clubs, and by municipalities. There were seven outdoor gymnasiums, including two private ones, more or less under the charge of the New York school committee last summer; there are municipal gymnasiums, for instance, at Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Paul; and gymnastic apparatus is included in many of the playgrounds, both large and small, in other cities.

CHAPTER X

PLAYGROUNDS FOR BIG BOYS

Consult reports of park commissioners in cities mentioned. On skating, see *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, March, 1901, p. 99.

THE weak part of our playground system, especially for boys between ten and seventeen, is in the playground itself. What playgrounds we have, large enough for baseball and similar sports, apart from the surviving seventeenth-century commons, have chiefly been, like the playground facilities of the commons themselves, the incidental results of civic enterprise undertaken for another purpose, being situated in parks, and not being as a rule in locations especially accessible to the great mass of those by whom they are needed.

Playgrounds often incidental to other purposes, and inaccessible.

The earliest park playground of which I have found a record is Washington park playground of sixty acres in Chicago, opened in 1876. It now has twenty-eight tennis courts, ten baseball diamonds, three football fields, and one cricket ground. The tennis courts are used up to their full capacity, the baseball

Many in public parks.

diamonds to about sixty per cent, and the football fields, during the season, to about fifty per cent of their capacity. There is one shelter and one restaurant on the grounds. They are not lighted in the evening.

There are in Chicago several other playgrounds of this class. Lincoln park has ten acres of ball field and three acres of tennis. Jackson park has four tennis courts, and a golf course of nine holes. The park commissioners supply the tennis nets free and let balls and rackets; no other charge is made for any game in the park. Football fields and tennis courts are kept properly marked. Fields are reserved in the case of football, and the use of the tennis courts in crowded times is limited to one hour. Gymnasiums for men and women are to be equipped in Jackson park.

In Philadelphia the park commission has set aside, since 1897, tracts of nearly fifty acres in the east park and sixty acres in the west park, for baseball and football, and throughout the park are numerous places for lawn tennis, croquet, etc., and there are baseball grounds for small boys. The baseball grounds are laid out in diamonds with iron bases but without backstops. No tennis nets are supplied, but there is a place set aside for their storage without charge. No attendants are provided other than the park

guards preserving order generally. There is no charge for the use of any of these grounds.

The Parade ground in Brooklyn, forty acres in extent, is used for baseball, and tennis is played in Central park, New York. In Franklin park, Boston, there has been, since 1894, a beautiful glade set aside for tennis playing and there are now about thirty tennis courts there. The city furnishes nets. Since 1896 a golf links of one and one-half miles has been provided.

St. Paul has a playground of twenty acres on Como park in the suburbs, first opened June 15, 1897. There is a shelter. The games played, in the order of popularity, are baseball, football, handball, tennis, and croquet. The park is used during vacation and after school to about sixty per cent of its capacity. In Belle isle park, Detroit, purchased in 1879, there are about ten acres where they have three baseball diamonds with backstops and canvas bases, and a tennis court, for which the park board furnishes balls, nets, and rackets, free of charge. There is also a half-mile bicycle track. In Cleveland there is a playground of six acres in Brookside park, with one attendant and a policeman detailed to it. The game mostly played there at present is baseball. Cleveland has also in contemplation a much larger playground at Woodland hills park. In Buffalo there are

large spaces of lawn in the parks where people can play ball, tennis, croquet, and golf. Baltimore has in Clifton park an athletic and baseball field, with two diamonds, a football field, places for tennis and croquet, and a golf links. San Francisco has a place for baseball and football in "Recreation valley." Indianapolis has a playground in Garfield park. In St. Louis baseball is played in the parks, and croquet and tennis in Forest park. I have seen eighteen of our cities reported as having ball grounds as a part of their park systems, but I think the number must be somewhat higher. Only two or three of the parks themselves go back to 1870, and the majority are a development of the last decade.

The playgrounds in the parks are chiefly of use for match games between high school and other teams made up of boys and young men of sixteen years and over. Even for the majority of these more accessible playgrounds are needed; and for boys below that age, except for those living in their immediate neighborhood, the park playgrounds are of but little use. It is the boy between ten and fifteen who, more than any other human being, needs a chance for active play and exercise; and it is he who is at present peculiarly neglected, being as he is too old *for the* sand-gardens and not yet able to make

Of little use to the boy ten to fifteen years old.

much use of the parks. For this forgotten boy special provision in the way of playgrounds situated where he can reach them, and adapted to his use, is necessary if he is to have anything approaching a fair chance to develop in the way in which nature intended him to, or even to develop his physical and moral powers at all without coming in conflict with the police.

The first specific provision of a public playground that I know of was by vote of a town meeting in Brookline, April 10, 1872, confirming the buying of two pieces of land for that purpose. This example was not followed, so far as I can find out, until in 1894 Mayor Matthews induced the city of Boston to take Franklin field (a piece of land of about seventy acres near Franklin park), of which forty acres are suitable for a playground, and which now contains five baseball diamonds with backstops, and eight or nine other places where the game is played, three football fields with goals, and a dozen tennis courts provided with back nets. Even in this case the immediate objects were to provide a place for public meetings and a training-field for the militia.

Places bought on purpose.

In 1898 Mayor Quincy, among the many progressive measures of which he secured the adoption, got the legislature to pass a law (chapter 412, Massachusetts acts and

resolves, 1898) which permitted the park commission of the city of Boston to spend not over $200,000 a year, up to the sum of half a million dollars, to establish "a comprehensive system of playgrounds." Under this law ten playgrounds have been taken, making, with other playgrounds taken by special acts or provided by the park commission, a total of twenty-four public playgrounds. The number of acres of playground in Boston, exclusive of the golf course and of the summer sand-gardens, but including the seventeen acres of tennis courts and the playstead in Franklin park, is about one hundred and ninety-seven. Of this amount, thirty-one acres are as yet ungraded or otherwise unfit for use and about thirty-eight acres are especially reserved for the small children. In most of the grounds little is done beyond the leveling of the surface, but in some there is special provision for games. There were, in 1899, thirteen baseball diamonds with backstops, six football fields provided with goals, one cricket crease, four running tracks, and forty-six tennis courts. The use of all these places is regulated by a system of permits.

Josiah Quincy's playgrounds.

In New York the playgrounds for the bigger boys seem to have come as one of the results of the general anti-slum agitation. One finds, for instance, in Mr. Riis's dramatic accounts of that fight, no separation made

between the two kinds of achievement. The first appearance of that branch of the general movement which has since resulted in playgrounds and gymnasiums for older boys is in Mayor Hewitt's recommendation made in 1887 and adopted the same year by the legislature (chapter 320), that land be taken for small parks in the lower part of the city. This law allowed a sum not to exceed a million dollars a year to be spent by the board of street opening and improvement for such parks south of 155th street as it thought best. The million dollars a year was not cumulative, and nothing visible was done under this act until, in 1894, the city took possession of the land (about three acres) now known as Mulberry park. In 1895 it tore down the buildings, but did nothing further until Jacob A. Riis complained of the city before the board of health for maintaining a nuisance upon its premises. That same night some children were crushed by a truck rolling down into one of the cellars, and the next morning preparation for making the place a park began.

Mayor Hewitt's beginning.

Even after the parks at Mulberry Bend and Corlears Hook had been established, there was no provision, and there is still no provision, made on either of them for play. They still belong to a class of open spaces, of which we have many in America, the sort of place in

which one finds asphalt paths bordered with little posts with curly wire nailed along the top and grass between. Places of this sort are well called breathing spaces: you can go there and breathe, but there is very little else you can do. At Corlears Hook park, however, there is a building where you can sit and look across the harbor at the view, which is a broad and beautiful one, and the ground slopes down toward the water in an attractive way.

"Breathing places" in New York.

Meantime, a playground was opened in 1890 under the "Society for parks and playgrounds for children." It contained sixteen city lots (or about an acre) in a tenement neighborhood. It was fitted up with "apparatus for exercise, play, and comfort," and had an employé in charge.

The movement for small parks was gathering momentum, and in 1894 the demand for these on the part of the good government clubs was a feature in the campaign which terminated in the election of Mayor Strong. During Mayor Strong's term the legislature of 1895, to cure the lack of any provision for playgrounds and other deficiencies in the law of 1887, and following the recommendation of the Gilder commission, passed several laws (chapters 69, 293, 911) directing the board of street opening, etc., to go ahead and complete the parks already laid out, and to lay out others "to be finished in part as public play-

The Gilder commission.

grounds" and to get the latter done within three years. Five million dollars were provided for these purposes in these various bills.

In obedience to these laws very important action has been taken in the creation of playgrounds in the tenth, eleventh, ninth, and twentieth wards, of which Seward park, in the angle between Division and Canal streets, and in the densest east-side quarter, is the most famous. The first of these was opened in 1899. As a result of this whole agitation there are now in New York some half-dozen municipal playgrounds open all the year round and used by the big boys as well as by the smaller children. The three principal ones are under the charge of the Outdoor recreation league, which is a sort of playground and gymnasium trust, formed from a considerable number of other societies, who pool their stock in this particular matter. These playgrounds will be dealt with more in detail.

Real playgrounds.

Buffalo has a playground opposite the public bath, and among the philanthropic provisions in our model factory villages are a large number of playgrounds and gymnasiums.

Of the uses to which city playgrounds, and especially these in-town ones, are put, by all odds the most profitable — except in the instances in which they are carried on as model playgrounds (see the next section) — is that of a skating field in winter. Municipal skat-

Skating the most popular use.

ing, however, is not confined to these, being also provided on ponds and rivers, both in parks and elsewhere.

Taking Boston (for which I have the exact figures) as an example of what is being done, the first interest (with the exception of an occasional spasmodic clearing off of the snow on one or two ponds) began to be shown in 1892 when the two acres of men's gymnasium at Charlesbank were flooded by the park department. At present there are fourteen municipal skating places, nine being specially flooded for the purpose and ten of them regularly planed with a horse-plane (a process first introduced in Chicago), and all except Jamaica well lighted in the evening. About 130 acres of surface are thus kept in order; seven rinks for hockey, on various of these grounds, are surrounded by a movable plank border one foot high, and their use regulated by permits; and curling has made its appearance. The total attendance for the winter is estimated at about half a million. The season at Charlesbank for eight years has averaged twenty-five days (varying from fourteen to forty-seven) of actual skating.

Many of our larger northern cities now make some provisions for skating, clearing off the snow, planing the ice, lighting it in the evening, and often providing shelters. Chicago has fifteen acres cleared and planed,

and sixty or seventy days' skating. In addition the fire department floods some one hundred empty lots every winter, of a total area of about 300 acres, the neighbors taking care of the ice. St. Paul has five acres and a season averaging eighty-two days, with a crowd sometimes as big as 8000; Milwaukee has seven acres on the river; Detroit twelve acres. Fourteen cities in all are reported as having skating as part of the park system, among them Minneapolis, Cleveland, and New York.

Skating is a close competitor with bathing for the first place in popularity and value among municipal provisions for play and exercise. The ponds in the middle of a city — even those whose surface is planed every morning — are often worn by afternoon or evening until their surface is a mixture of gravel and soft snow; and with their crowds of skaters they look, from a little height, like flypaper at a summer hotel.

Coasting is allowed in Boston on certain streets and on one of the hills on the common, sometimes on other parts of it. There was a time, in Mayor Prince's administration, when some of the principal walks were iced by the city and bridges built across them, which the solid men of Boston had to climb on their way to business and back, but one or two fatalities resulted in the giving up of the experiment. Coasting.

CHAPTER XI

MODEL PLAYGROUNDS

Playgrounds provided by employers are mentioned in Mr. Gilman's "A dividend to labor."

THE most striking fact, and the one of cardinal importance in the whole playground question, is that, apart from the skating, our unsupervised city playgrounds are comparatively little used. What games are carried on there are apt to be mere disorganized running about, — different in no respect from what the boys are doing in the neighboring street, — varied by shooting craps and other gambling games. In short, the unsupervised city playground has so far not been a success; and — what is especially surprising — it is the playgrounds in the crowded districts, where one would expect them to be of the greatest value, that have been the least successful. The comparatively large suburban places like Franklin field and the ballgrounds in the parks are, as I have said, of use for regular match games of baseball and football between high school and other teams of the bigger boys and men; but the unsupervised playground in a crowded

Unsupervised grounds little used.

district has so far been a failure, and especially does it fail to afford any opportunity for play to the younger boys.

It is important to bear in mind that the great majority, including almost all of the better class, of big boys and young men are at work, leaving the less desirable class, made up of those youths of elegant leisure who live on their mothers' washing, to act the part of the petty tyrants of the local playground, stealing the little boys' bats and balls, breaking up their games, threatening them with dire penalties if they come there again, and enforcing these penalties when their commands are disobeyed. It is this same class of young men who have leisure to devote to the affairs of government; and their political influence with the police and other officials is apt to be as potent as their physical power over the boys. An interference with the prerogative of some dozen or twenty of these young men, at North End park in Boston, on the part of the Massachusetts civic league, had the effect of arraying against the league the most august and influential newspaper reporter, the officials of the bath department, the councilman from that district, the local congressman, and the police.

The petty tyrant monopolizes them.

Possibly another reason why the unsupervised playgrounds in crowded districts are so little used may be because the demand is so

Or the space is too small.

far in excess of the supply. Boys interfere with each other, find organized games impossible, and get discouraged. It may be something like trying to fill a tumbler with a fire-engine hose. At all events, whatever the reason, the unsupervised playground in a crowded district has not so far shown itself a successful institution. In one instance, indeed, — that of a much advertised "model playground" started in Philadelphia in 1898, of which glowing descriptions have been written, — the place became such a nuisance as the resort of a disorderly set, that neighbors complained of it, and the city has turned it into a park. It is true that our city playgrounds are comparatively new and untried, and it may possibly be that in the course of time some sort of local tradition might spring up, under which law and order would be maintained by the boys themselves; but I believe that, at the very least, a man to keep order and to govern, by a system of permits, the right to baseball grounds, and other fields or courts set aside for special games, is a minimum requirement in the way of supervision.

Model playgrounds valuable as pioneers.

The ascertaining of precisely what supervision is necessary or desirable, and what apparatus and what methods are most effective, is the function of the model playground, of which a number exist.

The first model playground in this country, outside of the sand-garden type, was the Hull house playground in Chicago, 300 by 100 feet with an L about 50 by 50 feet, opened in 1894. It is a neighborhood ground combining big and little children. The apparatus is for the little children, consisting of swings, a "may-pole," a sand-pile, paving blocks, and benches. The attendants consist of an experienced kindergartner and a policeman detailed by the city, who usually captains one of the ball nines. The games that take hold and are played spontaneously are handball and indoor baseball, the latter being a most important adaptation of baseball for city conditions by the substitution for the regular ball of a soft ball five inches in diameter, which diminishes the diamond to about one-third of the usual size and dispenses with the out-field. This game has not yet become a success further east.

The Hull-house ground.

In 1896 a larger playground was started under the auspices of the Northwestern university settlement. Here too the police officer was "a father to the boys," but the playground has since been converted to other uses. In June, 1898, the University of Chicago settlement on Gross avenue started a playground about 300 by 125 feet, with a bad clay soil and much smell from the stock-yards. There is fifty dollars' worth of appa-

Others in Chicago.

ratus, including various kinds of swings. The shelter for the mothers and "little mothers" is furnished with benches, baby carriages, and baby jumpers, and is a good deal of a social centre where fathers come with their children on Sundays. The bigger boys play, as usual, nothing but baseball, and prefer, as is also usual, the "league" to the big "indoor" ball. There is one kindergartner in charge, and last summer there was a special teacher with a class for little children. The settlement has charge until 5 P.M.; after that the policeman gives the older boys and girls and grown people the right of way. The ground is lighted until nine o'clock. There is a public bath opposite the playground where the children bathe several times a week, "making a tremendous difference in their condition, tempers, etc." The season is June 25 to October 1. The expenses, "exclusive of the gymnasium," which is a nine thousand dollar plant for indoor work, are about $125.

Outdoor recreation league, New York.

In 1899, the Outdoor recreation league of New York took charge of Seward park, Hudsonbank, and other playgrounds, and put in apparatus and regular instructors. At Seward park a great attraction, always surrounded by a large crowd of grown men, is the kindergarten platform. One of the matters about which the league has taken special

pains is to provide for the spectator, in order that fathers and mothers may come there, and that the playground may be a neighborhood affair, and not merely a place for the boys. This is done with an eye also to the loafers of the district, who can thus be all watched at once. The league has also introduced basket-ball, medicine ball, and quoits, and it has athletic competition between boys from the different grounds.

The college settlement at Buffalo, known as Welcome hall, has a playground fairly well equipped.

At North End park in Boston the playground was in 1900 under the supervision of the Massachusetts civic league. The league has made it its leading purpose to develop the boys' natural spirit of loyalty, and to turn it into better channels, through the great national games which have the deepest hold on their will and imagination. The league has done everything it can to modify the game of baseball by using lighter and softer balls so as to economize space. But Boston boys have not as yet been brought to feel that the big "indoor" ball of Hull house fame represents real life, and the game is still, in Boston, a country game ill adapted to city use, but yet our best summer game, simply because it has, both by its nature and by force of tradition, the greatest hold on the boy.

Boston: games of loyalty.

The most successful game in Boston is football. One of the instructors for the Civic league writes in the *Church Militant* for December, 1900: —

"It was most interesting to see a group of boys, new boys, Jews, blacks, Italians, and Irish, poring over a code of signals or trying to master a new play with the zeal of collegians. It was evident that they were deeply interested in the new game and that they thought it superior to any they had ever known before. The papers which some of the boys sold contained pictures of the famous football players, and the conversation of those who had been active in athletics on their own field was about these men, some admiring one favorite and others another. A large part of the interest they had formerly given to degrading influences was now expelled by legitimate and wholesome interests." Fifty of these boys were taken to the Harvard-Indian game.

Football.

Boys do not merely play football, they think and dream football. It is a game peculiarly adapted to appeal to the spirit of heroism and to the sense of loyalty, — the two great moral powers which have their growth in boyhood, and which are, by the absence of opportunity for such games, at present being forced into the directions of law-breaking and "the gang." It is not

for his bad but for his heroic qualities that the boy admires and copies the young tough. Give these qualities their legitimate means of expression in hard, organized play, and breaking and entering will be abandoned as an inferior form of sport. Football is, moreover, though originally a country game, the most economical of space of any game we have. For match games, it is true, a large field is required; but for the regular practice it requires no more area and less head-room than either handball or basket-ball, which are its closest rivals as space-economizers. The best boy football team in Boston, outside of the school teams, does all its practising in the basement of St. Andrew's church in a space fifty-two feet long by thirty-one feet wide, obstructed by six brick pillars, each fifteen inches square, and a stairway.

The Civic league playground also includes a children's corner, and one hundred yards of bleachers, three rows deep, and it supplies quoits especially for the men, thus aiming to be a neighborhood, and not merely a boys', playground. Handball also, for which six courts are provided, is very popular with the longshoremen who live in the neighborhood.

Experience shows that a certain amount of apparatus is valuable, especially for boys between the ages of ten and fourteen. At that

Apparatus helps;

age the arboreal instincts of our respected progenitors are still strong, so that climbing in any form is a natural means for the expression of that imperative need of demonstrating his personal prowess, by the doing of feats and "stunts," which is characteristic of the boy. That part of the ground on which the apparatus stands is, in practice, found to be used by more boys to the square foot than any other. Moreover, apparatus affords the shy boy who comes to the playground for the first time, and does not belong to any particular gang, something which he can do.

especially that for swinging or sliding.

Certain kinds of apparatus are especially popular with the boys. Traveling rings will be used to the full extent of their capacity. Another thing the boys are fond of doing is to stand on some steps, jump, and catch a swinging trapeze, and then see who can swing and jump the farthest; — *vide*, Charlesbank and Columbus avenue playground in Boston. And they are also very fond of going up on a ladder and sliding down on a pair of poles. It is very important that there should be plenty of sand or tan-bark under the apparatus. At North End park a committee, of which I am a member, with a modest supply of apparatus without sand under it, succeeded, in two weeks, in breaking a total of seven arms belonging to

six boys, besides probably other casualties not reported. The city boy has plenty of daring, but does not seem to know what he can do and what he can't, and needs to have more looking after than people brought up in the country can readily realize.

Class work on the horizontal and parallel bars and in tumbling adds greatly to the popularity and usefulness of the apparatus; it gives a quasi-military discipline that fills an empty place in some of the boys' lives; and in such work there emerges a very interesting phenomenon, namely, the vitality and importance of the series game, the game in which boys stand in a line and take their turn, as in "follow my leader," "leap frog," and the like. This is the most primitive form in which the instinct of social organization seems to be felt, after the kindergarten age with its ring games has gone by. Next come games in which the boys are divided into sides; first, "hill dill," in which the taking of sides is merely formal, a matter of the shape, not of the essence of the game, then "prisoner's base" or "red rover," and finally the great organized games of baseball and football of which I have already spoken.

Classwork.

Plays of citizenship: baseball.

In this connection it may be observed on any playground that baseball, — besides its other remarkable qualities in appealing to the boy and in affording to the older boys an

opportunity, second only to football, for the development of the social and political instinct, — has this also to recommend it, that it affords in itself a complete and graded course from the scrub game, with its unlimited opportunities for self-exhibition, in which the individual is everything, up through the game of sides to the game as played by regularly organized teams, in which each player has his regular responsible position which he fills as part of a permanent organism.

Constructive work.

The model playgrounds, like almost every other institution which has tried to deal with children, has encountered the hunger for constructive work which testifies to the great neglected moral force that runs constantly to waste in the city child. In the University of Chicago settlement playground that I have spoken of there is manual training and dressmaking, and last summer parties of boys were taken on nature excursions twice a week. Also they tried growing corn and grass, and after many vicissitudes, succeeded in keeping their flower garden going, which, considering that their fence "is the kind that does not keep people out," is a not unimportant achievement, signifying as it does that the flowers have taken root not merely in the ground.

Gardens.

The Civic league in Boston has (if I may reveal another secret of the twentieth century) started 400 gardens, each about two and a

half feet wide and eight feet deep, which stretch around two sides of the playground, a total distance of about 400 yards. (There are paths between.) I shall speak more fully of the objects of this gardening work below, under school extension.

Also these playgrounds are apt to have libraries and quiet games. In short, although the normal activities of children over ten years old become more clearly differentiated into sedentary pursuits on the one hand, and active games on the other, than is the case with children of the kindergarten age, — so that there is no longer the same necessity for the playground and the school to be adjoining, — it is nevertheless beginning to appear that the two institutions are still essentially one. A commission on small parks created by the city council of Chicago in 1899, which is engaged in laying out and equipping five playgrounds, of which four will be in the immediate neighborhood of public schools, reports that there ought to be a well-equipped playground attached to every schoolhouse; and the Civic league in Boston is encouraging football and other teams that represent the grammar schools in the neighborhood, requires the master's certificate that the players are in good standing in deportment and studies, and his consent to their playing on the teams; gives the prizes, not

Playgrounds combining with the schools.

to the team, but to the school; and holds gymnastic exhibitions in the hall of one of the neighboring schools.

In short, the model playgrounds are drawing nearer to the schools, and I think are approaching the point at which the teachers of the regular school will begin to appear on the playground, and when the playground teachers will be the regular athletic instructors for the schools. An experienced boarding-school teacher has said to me, "Where the teacher meets the boy on the playground the problem of discipline disappears." The combination will also bring about a gain on the mental side. Education is not a matter of teaching this or that, but of kindling the spiritual life. When a boy who could not be reached by lessons has at last been aroused, for instance, by the appeal to the heroic qualities made by the game of football, his schoolmaster ought to know of the start thus made, and the boy on his side ought to feel that it is his school that has brought to him this new sense of power, of being good for something after all.

The approaching ideal.

With a sand-garden attached to every school, a larger playground in every ward, and sufficient ball fields and tennis grounds in the parks and suburbs, a city might be said to have not merely a sufficient number, *but* a system, of playgrounds, in which chil-

dren of every size could find their appropriate opportunity; and this is the ideal toward which our cities are beginning — though as yet unconsciously — to approach.

The girls are still a weak point everywhere. We give them baths, skating, sewing, and gymnastics, and on the playgrounds we are beginning to give them — besides the children's games and the manual occupations — basket-ball and a few other of the livelier games; but in these matters the Spartan young woman is still far in the lead. Girls.

It is interesting to know what is done by people who have gone into the playground business for what there is in it. The Wilmington, Del., street railway company has, since 1890, carried on Shellpot park for the purpose of increasing travel. The twenty-six acres are arranged for baseball, tennis, rowing, dancing, vaudeville, and other amusements, and there are three pavilions and a restaurant. The park is lighted in the evening and everything is free but "the show." (The American park and outdoor art association has a list of 176 "street railroad parks," eighty-eight of which have an area of 27,004 acres.) Grounds for revenue.

Of the actual effects of playgrounds, etc., we have, as yet, no significant statistical indications. Valuable testimony has been given by Boston police captains in answer to ques- Effect of the playgrounds.

tions put to them by the police commissioners on two separate occasions, to the effect that the baths do have a considerable effect in diminishing juvenile law-breaking; and the master of a Boston school reports that in boys holding responsible positions, such as captain or manager of the football team, the good effects are distinctly visible, while the number of complaints of law-breaking by his boys have fallen from one or more each week to practically none since a neighboring model playground was started.

CHAPTER XII

OUTINGS

References: Ufford, "Fresh air charity in the United States," pp. 14–27; "Poor in great cities," Willard Parsons on p. 131; *The Charities Review*, March, 1899, p. 7. A very interesting summary of the New York work may be found in the *Outlook*, June 15, 1901, p. 381. Boston municipal camp, *Harper's Bazaar*, September 30, 1899. Chicago outings: *Charities*, October 4, 1902.

THE life of a boy ought not, however, to be all strenuous, particularly in summer. *Non semper tendit arcum Apollo:* even Mr. Roosevelt cannot "play ball" all the time. Base-ball is not a boy's play, but his work. In summer we have all of us a desire to go off somewhere and see something new, and it is especially advantageous to the city boy to see something of the life of trees and plants and something of the care of crops and animals. The vacation school may establish a visiting acquaintance with nature, but you must stay with a person if you want to really know him. There was some beginning of the sending of children to the country by charitable people as early as 1849, but the first organized work was started in the early seventies. At the present time the amount of this that is done

Outings an important factor in the city child's summer life,

is making it a very considerable factor in the summer life of the city child.

Mr. W. S. Ufford, in his valuable study of the statistics, gives a list of charities which in 1895 sent a total of 356,531 persons out of town, of whom 334,630 were sent for one day, the average stay of the other 21,901 being 9.27 days. The total cost was $122,438. Most of these were still sent to "homes" (in the sense which does not mean home), a good many to private families. Many churches and other organizations, and some factories, now have summer camps and cottages to which children and others are sent.

as shown by the statistics.

An investigation made in two fairly representative schools, one for boys and one for girls, in Boston in the summer of 1899, showed that of 546 boys answering, 121 were at home all the vacation, while the remaining 445 were away from one to twelve weeks, their average stay being two and one-quarter weeks. Of these 445, thirty-nine went on the "country week," sixty-seven to the municipal camp down the harbor, and 211 to friends and relatives. Of 533 girls answering, 208 were at home all the vacation, and the remaining 325 were away from one to twelve weeks, their average stay being three and two-thirds weeks; sixty-three went on the "country week," and 262 visited relatives. The Boston municipal camp, carried on by Mayor Quincy,

in 1898 and 1899, is, I think, the only instance of a municipality undertaking this work.

"The chairman of the local committee of the New York fresh-air fund in one village community weighed every child in the party on arrival, and again after fourteen days in the country. The average age was ten years. The least gain was shown in a four-year-old boy, who added only one pound to his weight, the greatest by an eleven-year-old girl, who gained nine pounds. The average gain for the entire party was four and nine-tenths pounds."

Physical advantages.

These children come to the country with a more complete ignorance than is easy to imagine. One boy, after watching a large herd of Alderneys, asked, "Say, mister, do you have to buy gum for all them cows to chew?" But familiarity breeds mutual affection between the country families and the children; sometimes, though not in a large percentage of cases, resulting in the settling of the child's family in the country.

A great problem of summer charities is that of Sunday-school picnics. Of the above-mentioned 533 girls, 363 went on from one to ten picnics each. Those who did not go were mostly the younger ones. These picnics are the great interrupters of vacation school work; some of them justify the inter-

Moral pitfalls.

ruption, but when a boy belongs to half a dozen or more Sunday-schools of different denominations, for picnic purposes only, the question arises whether the churches, in extending their religious influence, ought not to have more regard for the morals of the children.

In Boston there are excursions down the harbor, paid for with the income of the Randidge fund, left to the city for the purpose. An investigation of the favorite summer amusements of the girls in the Boston school above alluded to show that at the head came "going to the beach." (The Boston park system now includes about four miles of surf-beach, accessible, some of it by electric cars, and some of it by steamers down the harbor, within an hour from the heart of the city.) Car rides and bicycles stand high, and for those of the right age the vacation school came next to the beach.

The beach.

Perhaps the most important part of the summer exodus is that which takes form in the little "shingle palaces" erected along the beaches accessible from large cities, where a family can go and keep house for a month or six weeks. The extension of this form of outing is chiefly a question of rapid transit. Nothing has been done with philanthropic intention to promote or regulate it except in cases like Nantasket beach in Boston, where

an important public recreation place could only be preserved by being dealt with as a whole; — by the public owning the beach with its chief accessories, such as the approach and the main bathing establishments, and by restrictions upon the use of adjoining property, such as the prohibition of rum selling and of other sins against the æsthetic or moral sense.

CHAPTER XIII

BOYS' CLUBS

References: "The boy problem," W. B. Forbush, containing an excellent bibliography; Evart Wendell in "Poor in great cities"; *Puritan*, February, 1900, pp. 665 ff.; "How to help boys" (published by the Men of To-morrow, Charlestown, Mass.); "Boys' clubs," W. A. Clark (published by Lincoln House, Boston); *Atlantic*, May, 1899, p. 655.

Boys' clubs shade off into industrial and other schools and classes, and often include such classes. They may, perhaps, still be called clubs wherever the purely social element is an essential part. Classes and reading-rooms have existed from an early day. The first boys' club is said to have been the one at the Wilson mission at 125 St. Mark's place, New York, started in 1878. The principal object of this club has been "to provide quiet and innocent amusement sufficiently attractive to draw the boys away from the danger of the street." It began with a mere handful and now counts some 5000 members and is seeking a place to build a home of its own.

The social element the distinguishing characteristic of the club.

It is impossible to give in figures any idea of the growth of the movement since this

beginning, because boys' clubs vary so much in size and organization that figures mean very little. Some are really groups of clubs. In general it may be said that practically every protestant church that does work among the poorer people has one or more clubs attached to it, that the St. Vincent de Paul society has started clubs in New York, that every settlement has a group of clubs, and that there are many others unattached. The movement has been going on with accelerating rapidity. I find that in Boston the year 1887 seems to mark the beginning of the acceleration: there are now about thirty clubs in the city.

The size of a boys' club varies from several thousand down to five or six. In most of the present club work the small group of about a dozen is being more and more taken as a basis. The clubs usually meet in the evening, generally once a week, sometimes three or four times and sometimes every evening. It is now thought best that clubs for boys under twelve should meet not in the evening, but after school or on Saturday. The ages of the boys at the time of admission range from eight to eighteen, but members usually continue to belong after they are grown up. Most of the clubs have libraries, and many of them have stamp-savings; all have games, and many have debating societies; many, if not

Size, time of meeting, occupations.

most, of them now have gymnasiums, and some have baths. Taking groups of boys to camp, usually for about ten days, is becoming an important part of the work in many instances, and some clubs are making a speciality of country excursions and of the nature study —for instance of plants or of birds—for which these furnish the opportunity. A few clubs now have buildings of their own. The large one in Fall River, for instance, has a building containing a swimming-tank, twenty-eight by thirty feet, with shower-baths; a gymnasium, where five cents a month is charged and where two competent trainers are employed; a reading-room, a playroom, a theatre, seating six hundred; rooms for classes, and also a farm out of town of 140 acres where a sort of George junior republic is carried on in summer. The membership of this club is two thousand. The average attendance is 250.

Under public control.

A new departure is the carrying on of clubs by public authorities. In the winter of 1899–1900 there were five large "play centres" carried on every week-day evening by the New York school committee in school basements on the lower east side of the city. There are six this year. The experiment was begun by the New York educational association, which carried on clubs one evening a week in one of the schools in 1897–8 and demonstrated that the boys did not damage the

property, the amount of damage done that year being to the value of $3.75. There is a club carried on in a public school in Pittsburgh, and one at Staten Island.

The older clubs are always to some extent self-governing. In some of them special encouragement is given to the practice of parliamentary procedure, but as a rule they find that the boys are apt to pay too much attention to the machinery of government (and to who holds the offices) and too little to its object, and therefore try to discourage excess of zeal for parliamentary forms and contests. The need of some outside control, at least in the beginning, in order to give the little boys a chance, is illustrated by the following letter written by members of a boys' club in New York which had fallen into a disorderly condition:

Self-government not without difficulties.

"DEAR MRS ——:

"Would you please come and see to our Wayside boys' club; the first time it was open it was very nice, and after that near every boy in that neighborhood came walking in. And if you would be so kind to come and put them out it would be a great pleasure to us.

"Mrs. ——, the club is not nice any more, and when we want to go home, the boys would wait for us outside, and hit you.

"Mrs. ——, since them boys are in the club we don't have any games to play with, and if we do play with the games, they come over to us and take it off us.

"And by so doing please oblige,

"(Signatures)

"Please excuse the writing. I was in haste. ——

"Treasurer."

The degree of self-government usually increases with the age of the boys, and sometimes one of the older clubs outgrows the state of tutelage and insists upon maintaining a wholly independent existence. Such clubs do not generally last long, but this is often because the boys outgrow the need for this special form of social expression.

The development of the boy's great capacity for loyalty is the keynote of the most successful club work.

An interesting question in this connection is what attitude to assume toward the "gang." The opinion held by such organizations as the South End house, in Boston, and the University settlement, in New York, is that it is best to recognize the gang and develop it, turning its instinct for organized achievement in good directions and widening the spirit of loyalty, of which the gang is the kindergarten, into a larger loyalty for the group of clubs that

The gang.

meet in the same house. In many instances, all the different clubs meet together once a week. Sometimes a group of clubs meet in separate rooms on the same night and then meet together at the end of the evening. One advantage in such grouping is that it brings the small boys into contact with the larger ones under the club's influence, and experience shows that the larger boys can lead the younger ones more effectively than any grown person can do. An important method of increasing the sense of loyalty is by inter-club contests. These are sometimes in athletics, such as baseball, football, and basket-ball, sometimes in debating, and sometimes in checkers or chess.

The model playgrounds have adopted this method also. The "Charter oaks" in the blue and white of North End park in Boston defeated all rival ball nines last summer to the great edification and firmer enlistment not only of boys but of solid citizens of the North End.

It is not what you do for him, but what he does for you and for the crowd that makes the boy loyal; and sweeping a room, putting up swings, and the like are a very real means of grace. A college settlement Shakespeare club works hard to give an annual entertainment through which about $200 every year is contributed to the settlement work.

Hard work attractive.

The people who carry on the boys' clubs, like all the other practical workers for boys, have encountered and made use of the superior interest of occupations that include some sort of hard work, either constructive work with their hands or competitive athletics for boys over twelve; the latter is especially effective when it involves organization, as in the case of football or basket-ball. The consequent tendency to supplement the purely amusement features with manual training in some form and with violent athletics is very marked. We find St. George's church, in New York, holding a championship of basket-ball, and in a long series of contests defeated only by the Yale team; and we find the same church proud of its record in wrestling, of the record of its military company in Cuba, and of the success of its hare-and-hound runs across country on Thanksgiving and Washington's birthday.

Work on real things.

Manual training, in the clubs as elsewhere, shows a marked tendency toward the selection of such work as shall mean something to the boy when it is done — the making, for instance, of useful household articles. Besides the usual sloyd models in the carpentry work, such as coat-racks, rulers, picture frames, etc., there are tables and morris chairs, tool and window boxes, there is dressmaking and cooking for the girls, cobbling of the boys'

own shoes, care of flowers. One finds the boys making toy yachts and the like, and I have read of one case of a double-runner. The printing done often includes a small club paper and usually includes tickets for entertainments and "business cards" for the members.

An ingenious device frequently used where there is not money enough to introduce the regular sloyd is the cane-seating and repairing of chairs brought from the boys' own homes. It is easy to see that the mending of a chair which has long been a part of the boy's home surroundings is of an entirely different educational value from the mere shaping or fitting of pieces of wood not connected in any other way with his life.

Amusement features are retained in all of the clubs; if for no other reason, in order not to lose the good work which many persons not specialists at football or industrial pursuits can do. But even in the play it is found that what the boys want is not to be amused, but to amuse themselves, and that a certain amount of hard work conduces to this end. The hard work, be it said, is not confined to the boys: the constructive ability of street boys is very undeveloped, and if they are left to themselves their games are apt to disintegrate; a steady hand is necessary in order to give to their playing the coherence

Strenuous amusement popular.

necessary even to successful play. One of the best means of amusement as well as of discipline is found in theatricals, and the boys show great zeal and often considerable talent in this direction, the frequent entertainments ranging from Shakespeare to song-and-dance and club-swinging. A number of Boston police captains, in answer to the question why juvenile law-breaking in that city has apparently fallen off during the last ten years (in the face of a gain of twenty-five per cent in our population, and of an increase in the total of juvenile law-breaking in the state), have given a prominent place to dramatic entertainments in which the boys themselves take part.

Theatricals diminish law-breaking.

In this matter of the value and success of amusement as compared with hard work, it is very necessary to discriminate between different nationalities. The two extremes are the Irish on the one hand, to whom the social features and athletics make the strongest appeal, and the Jews upon the other hand who never seem to be thoroughly happy unless they are engaged in some kind of hard manual or intellectual work. A Jew boy, who has been at school morning and afternoon and worked hard at selling newspapers before and after school hours, would rather spend his evening in wrestling over algebraical problems than give his time to frivo-

Some racial distinctions.

lous pursuits that make no contribution to his power of achievement.

A most interesting example of the application of the new educational ideas to club work is the City history club of New York, whose object is to teach boys and girls what their own city is and what it means. The club was started in 1896 and now contains about two thousand members, mostly boys and girls, divided into classes of about twenty each, which meet once a week or once a fortnight, usually at public or private school buildings. The meetings consist of a short talk followed by discussion, maps, pictures, excursions, exhibitions, and prizes; and stereopticon lessons are used as a means of teaching. Membership, including a badge with a motto "for the city," costs five cents, and one cent a week is charged, "besides local dues." History clubs.

The club has seven traveling libraries of sixty or more volumes each, and is going to start a newspaper.

This New York club is the only large one of the sort that I know of, but the idea that in order to love a thing a person must know it, and that the historical or dramatic sense — the sense of growth and movement — is essential to the understanding of any living organism, has been adopted by other clubs in their civic teaching. They seek to make patriotism a living, real emotion, with definite

and rational objects, and not a mere vague sentiment, finding its appropriate expression only in tin horns, fire-crackers, and a willingness to kill people of another race.

The teaching of citizenship is sometimes also of the active sort. A boys' club that I know of subscribed $65, and with it started a free reading-room. Another has fitted up an empty lot as a public playground. A girls' club visits the almshouse once a week and reads to the old women, and takes flowers to sick neighbors.

The visiting of the children in their homes is becoming a more and more important part of club work, which is seeking in this as in every other way to relate itself with the family life of the members. If there are two boys from the same family reached by the work of a college settlement, it is considered an advantage to have them members of the same club in order that they may talk of the club at home and get the family interested. Many clubs, as for instance those in churches and settlements, meet at the same place where the mothers and fathers also meet at other times, and clubs sometimes invite the sisters or brothers and other members of the family to certain of the entertainments. It is characteristic of the boys' club work, and generally of the constructive philanthropy of the last ten years of the century, that it has recog-

Relation to the home.

nized the fact, so long insisted upon by organized charity, that you cannot save the child without saving the home; that the child is not a complete individual, not a social atom, but a part of a family, and spiritually, as well as physically, dependent upon the family for his success in life.

I have written entirely of the boys' clubs, leaving out the girls, but they are not left out in the work itself and much of what I have said about the boys is true of them also. An important discovery has been that they take as much interest in carpentry and in such of the other sloyd work as has been given them as the boys do. The boys also, be it said, seem, where the experiment has been tried, to be almost as much interested in the cooking as the girls. The instinct of club loyalty is much weaker in the girls than in the boys: their natural sense of membership is not easily enlarged beyond the family. What has been said, in this chapter, about athletics does not apply at present to girls. How far their lack of athletic zeal is conventional and how far it is a genuine decree of nature can hardly as yet be determined: I know of very zealous basket-ball teams, but am inclined to think that these will always be exceptional.

The girls

CHAPTER XIV

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

References: Eighth annual report of United States commissioner of labor, 1892; *Journal of Social Science*, November, 1896, pp. 27–67; same, December, 1897.

School gardens: "School gardens in cities," Helen C. Putnam, Boston *Transcript*, April 23 (foreign), and April 30 (United States), 1902; republished in Rhode Island school reports for 1901 (Gives other citations).

Medical inspection of schools: *American Physical Education Review*, March, 1900, p. 111; *Atlantic*, May, 1899, p. 660.

The critical step from play to work.

IF there is one corner in life more difficult to round than another, it is the one that takes the boy from the playground to the shop. The change is not merely from play to work — indeed, so far as that is concerned, the vital play of a boy, the part of it which he considers imperative, his baseball, football, and the like, is his real work, his life, and is carried on more strenuously than are most of the things that are called work by grown people. The change is a harder one to make than would be the case if it were a mere increase in pressure and in persistency of effort; it is a change not in intensity of work, but in aim and conception of life, not merely in occupa-

tion, but in point of view. The boy in his playground days belongs essentially to the pre-industrial or barbaric age. To him all useful pursuits appear humdrum, base, and derogatory. He looks on them as the savage in all ages has regarded the occupations of peace — as being fit enough for girls and such, but below the dignity of noble minds. For him to pass from the barbaric world in which he has been living into our workaday world of bourgeois and industrial ideals is a perilous and painful business. It is not an easy thing to set up in his mind the image of the staid and sober, steady-going and unpicturesque, young mechanic or business man where so lately the picture of Chimmie de Kid has reigned supreme.

A change of ideal

In preparing the way for this change, the sloyd and gardening work of schools and clubs and playgrounds is doing much by keeping alive that love of workmanship that seems to be a constant passion of the human soul. In helping at the crucial moment of the change itself, by offering a clear and practical road, leading toward success in the newer sort of existence, the trade school and other forms of industrial training are doing, or learning to do, a further service, and a great and timely one. Since the disappearance of formal apprenticeship the boy has been confronted at the most critical moment

Manual training prepares the way.

of this turning-point in his life by the difficulty of getting work or of even taking practical steps toward doing so. At the door of many kinds of occupation stands the trade union with a club, not merely forbidding immediate employment but limiting the number that may be permitted to learn. To set before the boy a way in which he can learn, and so make himself wanted in this world for which he has so little sympathy and which seems to have so little need of him, may often be to supply a determining factor in his life.

Trade teaching helps at the crucial moment.

It is interesting to see how invariably the men who take up the whole subject of what can be done for a given class of people, — whether they be the blind, the deaf-mutes, deformed children, or youthful criminals; or whether they are the boys of a particular parish or club; or whether they are a whole race, like the negroes or the Jews, — are at the present time including industrial training among the things which they find themselves called upon to provide.

Of the increasing attention given, both in boys' clubs and vacation schools, to sloyd and other manual training undertaken with a purely educational purpose, I have already spoken. In some instances there is added to the educational motive a purpose to give to the training a direct bearing on the pursuance of a special trade, and in very many instances

boys will enter trades in which the training received in their clubs or sloyd classes is of direct use to them.

A somewhat nearer approach to the regular trade school is in the work carried on by such leaders as General Armstrong was and as Booker T. Washington is to-day. The problem which these men have set themselves is the whole problem of the advancement of a race, not merely how to teach them, how to make them prosperous, or how to make them moral. The closest analogy to these men is in such prophets and leaders of their people as Moses or Mohammed, or in King Alfred writing his spelling-books in the intervals between his law-making and his victories over the Danes. Tuskegee and Berea.

Another example is that of Berea college, leading out of the wilderness of the Appalachian mountains into the current of American life the old Scotch race which still dwells there with its old testament and its shot-gun, its loyalty and its whiskey-still, its feuds and its ballads, and also with the sturdy fibre that has, upon the whole, made that race the most respected of any on this planet. It is significant that such leaders as these include industrial training in their plan.

Colleges like Tuskegee and Berea shade off into our regular "agricultural colleges" founded by the land grant act of 1862.

These latter, however, partake for the most part much more of the nature of regular academic institutions than of trade schools.

Trade teaching as a part of culture.

Similar in aim, though utterly different in external form, to what I may call the industrial colleges of the Berea type, are the great institutions of which the Pratt institute in Brooklyn (started in 1887) and the Armour and Drexel institutes in Chicago and Philadelphia, respectively, are the prominent examples. These institutions include regular trade-school work, and they have the great advantage of making such work a part of general education by allying it with manual and scientific training.

Coming next to the trade school proper, a very interesting sort of institution is a school with a three or four year course like the California school of mechanical arts. This school aims at giving a thorough trade education; but at the same time it is designed to turn out a superior class of mechanics, and for this purpose a considerable part of the time is devoted to scientific and academic courses. With this school should be compared those of a similar type noted below as aided or supported by public money. We have thus on the one hand institutions of the Pratt institute type which include trade education because it is felt to be a necessary part of general culture, — inasmuch as a man can-

Culture as a part of trade teaching.

not get the best moral results out of his work unless he takes a professional attitude toward it, — and on the other hand we have such institutions as this one in California where general education is included in trade training because the best trade results cannot be got without it. The one says that a good man should be a good workman, the other that a good workman must be a good all-round man. The two are not, in the long run, going to be very far apart. Culture in specialization.

But there are some boys who have not the time nor money to take a long scientific course for whom it is, nevertheless, a great advantage to have a knowledge of some particular trade. To supply their need the exclusively trade school is necessary.

The man whose name will be increasingly honored as the years go by as the father of trade schools in America is the late Colonel Auchmuty. His great New York school was founded in 1881, and aims to teach practical mechanical trades, chiefly building trades. The courses are usually either three or four evenings a week for six months. The annual attendance now is something over 500, and there are about 7000 young men who have attended. As long ago as 1890 the union men and even union officers were already sending their sons to Colonel Auchmuty's schools — a notable moral triumph on the The Auchmuty school.

part of both the schools and the union men. Schools similar to Colonel Auchmuty's have been started in various parts of the country, some of them by philanthropists, others by manufacturers to train men for their business. See U.S. report cited at the head of this chapter, pp. 88 to 112. To those there enumerated others should now be added. I know of two, for instance, in Boston. In many cases courses of instruction, not amounting to what may be called a regular trade school, are given in the evening to persons already engaged in mechanical trades, a notable instance being the evening school of design — three years' course three evenings a week — carried on with public funds by the Boston school committee.

Schools subsidized by the state.

I believe that the first expenditure of public money for a distinctively trade school (if we except normal schools, military and agricultural colleges, including those of the Tuskegee type, and professional teaching in the state universities) was the appropriation by the state of Pennsylvania, in 1887, of $10,000 toward the support of the School of industrial art in Philadelphia, generally known as the Philadelphia textile school, established in 1883 by textile manufacturers for the purpose of giving thorough education to workmen and designers, partly to make their own mills more profitable and partly from motives of patriot-

ism and philanthropy. A characteristic of this school, and one more interesting recognition from an independent source of the great sloyd principle that the pupil should see a finished product as a result of his efforts, is that "the pupil has continually to carry his individual design to completion, performing or assisting in every process in its progress from the preliminary sketch to the dyed and finished fabric. Whatever this last presents of taste, of knowledge, or of skill, whatever calculations are involved, the commercial ones as well as those possessing artistic and technical significance, all must be the pupil's own." The course in technical study lasts three years and "a very large proportion of the graduates become designers, draughtsmen, dyers, architects, or manufacturers."

Similar in plan to the above is the Textile school at Lowell, opened January 30, 1897, as a result of legislation by which the state subscribed $25,000. The example has since been followed in New Bedford (school opened October 14, 1899), and Fall River is likely to make the third. These are "textile universities" for a few, with evening classes for working-men. They each graduate about fifteen specialists a year and were attended by 331 and 307 persons, respectively, in 1899–1900.

What I believe to be the only distinctly

trade school carried on under a public school committee and as a part of the public school system is the evening trade school carried on in a high school building since October, 1899, at Springfield, Mass., at which there is teaching in plumbing, pattern making, and tool making, also general machine-shop practice, mechanical drawing, mathematics applied to the mechanical trades, and technical lectures on electricity.

In a public school.

The expenditure of public money for trade teaching is a recognition of the fact that specialization, even to the profession degree, is not inconsistent with general culture, but a part of it; that nothing can contribute more to the total power of mental and æsthetic assimilation than mastery of some particular form of serviceable work, and a professional attitude toward it.

That practically every boy must so specialize in order to become a good citizen and the supporter of a successful home is obvious. In this very practical and evident sense such specialization leads to a widening and deepening of life. Without it a man can hardly live at all as living is understood in civilized communities; and where the state can aid in such specialization, it is as in all its educational work aiding simply in the formation of good citizens.

Trade training makes good homes and good citizens.

Less obvious is the service of the trade school in making his trade profitable to a man

not only in money but in life; or rather not only in his life as a consumer, but in his life as a producer also. A man's best years and his best strength, — the main force with which his character and his life are to be built up if he is to have any character and live any life worth living, — are spent upon his daily work; and if that work fails to make him a return in life and character, or if such return is meagre and inadequate, his best chance for the reward that we all are dimly striving for is lost. In some trades as now carried on it would seem that adequate or even decently satisfactory return is impossible: a fact which constitutes the deepest tragedy of the present time and indicates the most important work for the philanthropy of the future. But there is no trade in which the reward will not be greater for the understanding by the worker of his work and for his sympathy with its purpose; for only in proportion as he is able to make his work expressive, to put himself into it, will he be able to get a greater and a stronger self in return. And not only will understanding and sympathy illuminate the work itself, but the work so illuminated will add a zest to all the rest of life, to home pursuits and studies, to reading, music, play. Teachers have been surprised to find that the boys at the manual training high school take more interest in Shakespeare than the boys in

Mastery of the daily task the best means of vital development.

the academic branch; but it would be very surprising if the fact were otherwise, if greater intensity and reality of life did not result from doing the work that appeals most powerfully to the boy's nature, or if such intensified vitality did not show itself at whatever point the test is applied.

Trade teaching has in truth, in addition to the preventive, and, as it were, antiseptic, properties noted at the beginning of this chapter, the vitalizing, illuminating function in a preëminent degree.

Associations which stand by the public school system.

Perhaps the most important form of philanthropic work at the present time is done by the associations that make a business of supporting and improving our public school system in their respective towns. Their central idea is information, a word which ought to be written in letters of gold over the desk of every social reformer. They consist of a number of cultivated people who keep themselves and the community informed of what is going on in the schools in the different lines of teaching, and who hold sympathetic intercourse with the teachers. School decoration and hygiene have been special subjects taken up.

The work in New York has been a development from that of the Good government clubs (separate organization, 1895), and the effects in that city have been especially marked and

valuable. One of the ideas which these associations stand for is that it is poor economy to provide an expensive place like a schoolhouse and to leave it idle the greater part of the time, and that the public school has a great future as a neighborhood centre, — an idea which has found expression in the six play centres in school buildings in New York already mentioned.

It was about fourteen years ago that the Philadelphia public education association was started. There are now organizations of this kind in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Newark, Princeton, and Yonkers, and in six or eight Massachusetts cities and towns. Similar equally important work is done by women's organizations of various kinds, such as the Wednesday club of St. Louis and the Chicago woman's club.

The Boston public school association is an organization of a somewhat different sort, being formed purely with the purpose of electing decent people to the school committee. In the election of 1900 it polled 25,000 votes, against 28,000 by the democrats and 10,000 by the republicans. The following year it polled more than either.

The individual experimenter responsible for many improvements.

The most important improvements in our school curriculum since 1880, such as the kindergarten and manual training, have been due to experiments first tried by individuals.

On the development and present position of the kindergarten in America, see a valuable monograph by Miss Susan E. Blow, who may be called the mother of the kindergarten in this country, — as Mrs. Shaw may be called its fairy godmother, — written for the Paris exposition.

School gardens.

The contribution at present in process of being made is that of the school garden in which every child has a small patch of his own to cultivate; usually of from nine to thirty square feet, while there is a larger plot for the grade or for the school as a whole. Kindergartens have, of course, always had gardens, of which probably one or two hundred are out-doors. These other gardens have been started within the last five years of the century in normal and other schools. One of the best normal school gardens is at Los Angeles. Others are at Salt Lake City, Willimantic, Worcester, Hyannis, Mass., and Boston. The best and oldest regular school garden was started in the George Putnam school in Boston, in 1891. An important educational garden outside of school grounds is the one at Hartford, and gardens in the back yard, in playgrounds, or in window boxes are becoming a most important feature of children's work.

Such gardens have been promoted chiefly by horticultural societies and agricultural col-

leges, and with the combined and increasing influence of Froebel, Pestalozzi, General Armstrong, and Booker T. Washington, their rapid increase in town and country is assured. The nurture of a living thing has an educational value somewhat different from that of sloyd training. As Booker Washington has said: the letter that I leave on my desk in the evening I find in the morning just as I left it, but the flower that I watered at night is not the same; something has happened. The work was going on while I slept. There is in the cultivation of plants an experience of coöperating with the vital forces of nature that gives a new insight into life and a new sense of power. Gardening gives expression and development to the nurturing and protecting impulse toward life wherever found, a sympathy with all living things, with the habit of aiding in their development.

It also, in common with sloyd work, gives a much needed and most valuable experience of the sense of ownership and of the institution of private property as seen from the inside. A boy who has made a tool-box for himself, or who has watched his own nasturtium grow from the seed until it is a vine covered with flowers, has acquired a new insight into what it is that makes people care for the work of their hands. He could not formulate this insight, but he begins to feel

that property is something more than mere material things transferable by the right of the strongest, that it is in its essence an expression of character, a part of the life of the person who has made or earned, and who values it.

Medical inspection in schools.

Regular medical inspection of schools began in Boston in 1892. The schools are visited every morning, and all pupils who show any symptoms of being ill are examined. In 1899–1900, Boston was employing fifty doctors, and in that year 3000 pupils were sent home. The system also exists in Brookline and Waltham, and is likely to be introduced in Worcester; it was adopted in New York, March, 1897. Chicago established the system last spring and employs fifty physicians; in the first two days 1600 children were examined and 175 were excluded.

A beginning of the treatment of other than contagious diseases and defects has been made in a vacation school in Boston (here again we are speaking in the spirit of prophecy, for this happened in the second year of the twentieth century), where thirty children were examined, and their eyes, ears, and teeth were treated at the Eye and ear infirmary, and adenoid growths were removed at the City hospital. The introduction of similar examination and treatment in the public schools

is only a matter of time. There is, I suppose, no doubt that an hour given to the removing of an adenoid may contribute more to a child's intellectual development than years spent in any course of educational treatment. Investigations made in the last two years of the century by the department of child study and pedagogic investigation, acting under the Chicago school board, form an important step in this direction.

CHAPTER XV

FOR GROWN PEOPLE

On the general subject of social and educational resources for grown people, see articles by C. M. Robinson, *Atlantic*, April, May, and June, 1899; Municipal lectures: *Municipal Affairs*, September, 1899, p. 462, article by Dr. Leipziger. Parks: *Atlantic*, June, 1899, pp. 778–780; *Bulletin of Department of Labor*, September, 1899, table viii, gives full statistics. See, also, statistics and summary in *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, March, 1891, pp. 98–99; *Municipal Affairs*, December, 1898; "Boston metropolitan reservations," Charles Eliot, *New England Magazine*, September, 1896. Zoölogical park in New York: Illustrated articles in *Scientific American*, January 6, 1900; *Metropolitan Magazine*, December, 1899. Tree planting: *Atlantic*, June, 1899, pp. 776–777. State reservations: *The Forester*, May, 1899; same, October, 1899, p. 245. This magazine is published by the American forestry association, and may be profitably studied for a knowledge of what similar associations, and the people as a whole, are doing to preserve what is left of our forests. Limitation of the height of buildings: *Atlantic*, June, 1899, p. 773. Laws against putting signs along parks, etc.: see *Atlantic*, June, 1899, pp. 776–777; J. DeW. Warner, *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1900, p. 269. Parks carried on as business enterprises: *Municipal Affairs*, December, 1898, p. 678. Labor regulation: "Labor in its relation to law," F. J. Stimson; report of senate committee on the sweating system, 1892 (52d congress, 2d session, report No. 2309), *American Journal of Social Science*, volume 30, pp. 105–137 (appendix); reports of factory inspectors, for instance, Illinois, 1894, New York, 1890. On the success of the New York law, see Riis, *Atlantic*, August, 1899, p. 158; *Outlook*, August 25, 1900, p. 948.

The Cambridge instance: "The Cambridge idea in temperance reform" (Massachusetts board of World's fair managers, 1893). Effects of building reform on crime: *Atlantic*, October, 1899, pp. 495–496; same, p. 500, and report of committee, pp. 2 and 13. See similar account of the effect of the Corlears Hook and other parks, same. "How the other half lives," Riis, pp. 150, 227, 272.

Of the social and educational resources provided for grown people, — our evening schools, art museums, the recreation and reading-rooms and other opportunities supplied by church and other societies; of our coffee houses, our municipal music; of the free municipal lectures in which New York has taken so remarkable a lead; of the Young men's christian association opening to homeless young men in its stations, in navy yards, army barracks, and in almost every city in the country, the way that leads not to destruction, — I have room for only one or two examples.

Our park systems which form so prominent a feature in practically all American cities at the present time are, like most of our preventive measures, a very recent growth, chiefly of the last fifteen years. Our park systems.

I have read reports from all the leading cities in the country, and I think any one who will look even at the illustrations in these reports will be struck with the good judgment and the artistic sense shown in the selection and treatment of the sites. The

only feature of our parks of which I can speak, apart from playgrounds, is the attention which is being paid to wild animals. Sometimes this attention is confined to the destruction of predatory creatures so as to encourage the song-birds; but also, besides the regular zoölogical parks like those in New York and Philadelphia, it is not uncommon to find native animals like deer and elk, and even moose, roaming around in much their natural state over large tracts. The parks of Buffalo, Detroit, Minneapolis, and San Francisco may be cited as especially prominent in this way. The last mentioned has also a beautiful aviary.

Wild animals in parks.

In many, probably in nearly all, of our great city park systems, picnicking is allowed, with more or less restriction as to place. I find this to be the case, at least, in the following cities: Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Omaha, St. Louis.

A most interesting survival from colonial times in New England is the right-of-way along the shore, or to certain parts of the shore, possessed by the people of a town or district, a right which is brought out most strikingly at Newport, where the multi-millionaire must still allow the common citizen to come between the wind and his nobility, —

Shore rights.

across the front lawn unless he provides some more convenient way. Where the right has not survived, towns are beginning to buy back a portion of it, because of a growing perception of the absurdity of a situation where even the millionaire, with his expensive summer cottage, has not the right, unless he drives a great distance, to go near enough to the ocean to get his feet wet without permission granted by some one owning a piece of the shore. In fact, people are learning that public access to the seashore is an essential part of a seashore town just as much as the town hall or the post-office. By having a few rods less of private beach, we secure to every inhabitant within walking or driving distance a great part of the advantage that the single owner of the private beach would have had.

Our new attention to the social value of scenery is shown also in more and better tree-planting (as, for instance, in the growing celebration of Arbor day); in the vitally important matter of restrictions upon real estate which establish building lines and prevent, for instance, the spoiling of a whole residence section or the blackmailing of its inhabitants by the introduction of hideous or incongruous structures and kinds of business; in our increasingly close enforcement of the laws against the pollution and choking up of

Protection of scenery.

streams by sawdust and other refuse; and in our more strictly enforced laws against the wanton setting of the fires which annually devastate so many thousands of acres. A Massachusetts law (chapter 463 of the acts of 1898) gives the metropolitan park commission of Boston power to take by eminent domain what may be described as an "easement of scenery" in land on a part of the Charles river, the right, namely, to forbid the erection of buildings, the breaking or cutting of trees, or the doing of anything else which the commission forbids, as being in its opinion an injury to the scenery. Such a restriction as this is of great value, and in a residence district increases rather than diminishes the value of the land to the owners, because it applies to your neighbor's as well as to yours. And closely allied with this attention to scenery, looked at from the vacation point of view, is our growing tendency to act upon the perception that free fishing and shooting is only another name for no fishing and shooting at all; that no law, however liberal, enables one to shoot birds when there are no birds to shoot.

A valuable restriction.

Neither are our cities the only public bodies that provide parks. We have state reservations, which in Massachusetts include our two principal mountains (yes, we call them mountains), and we have the great national

parks, Yellowstone, taken in 1872, Yosemite, 1890, and recently — thanks to Mr. James Bryce — Mt. Ranier, 1899, besides a dozen others, one taken in 1880, the rest since 1888.[1]

A little is beginning to be done to limit the height of buildings, with an eye partly to health and partly to the "skyline," dear to The skyline.

[1] The following is a list of the national parks in the United States in chronological order. For the sake of completeness the list has been brought down to 1902.

No.	State.	Name.	Acres.	Established.
1	Montana and Wyoming.	Yellowstone National Park.	2,142,720	Mar. 1, 1872.
2	Arkansas.	Hot Springs Reservation.	912	June 16, 1880.
3	District of Columbia.	The National Zoölogical Park.	170	Mar. 2, 1889.
4	Georgia and Tennessee.	Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.	6,196	Aug. 19, 1890.
5	Maryland.	Antietam Battlefield, a Military Park.	43	Aug. 20, 1890.
6	District of Columbia.	Rock Creek Park.	1,606	Sept. 27, 1890.
7	California.	Sequoia National Park.	160,000	Oct. 1, 1890.
8	California.	General Grant National Park.	2,560	Oct. 1, 1890.
9	California.	Yosemite National Park.	967,680	Oct. 1, 1890.
10	Arizona.	The Casa Grande Ruin (created by Executive order).	480	June 22, 1892.
11	Tennessee.	Shiloh National Park.	3,000	Dec. 27, 1894.
12	Pennsylvania.	Gettysburg National Park.	877	Feb. 11, 1895.
13	Mississippi.	Vicksburg National Park.	1,233	Feb. 21, 1899.
14	Washington.	The Mount Rainier National Park.	207,360	Mar. 2, 1899.
15	Oregon.	Crater Lake National Park.	159,360	May 22, 1902.
		Total acres,	3,654,198	

the artistic mind. The regulations have not been so far such as to entirely dwarf our business structures: in Chicago, the limit is 130 feet; in Boston, 125; but in the latter city the buildings in Copley square, where the library stands, have been limited to 90 feet. There is also a limit in Washington.

There are laws in Chicago and New York against putting up hideous signs along parks and boulevards.

Historical sites.

An interesting phase of our new attention to scenery is in the preserving and proper marking of places of historical interest. One can now go on a bicycle over the route taken by the British reserve, on April 19, 1775, from Boston to Lexington, and find every important occurrence of that memorable day marked with an appropriate tablet and inscription, until, on arriving at Concord, one finds the old bridge restored and French's minute-man standing on guard where imperialism was given the most effective blow that it has so far received; while on the hither side of the stream, between the "Old manse" and the river, is preserved the grave of the first British soldiers to fall in that struggle.

People's music.

On October 17, 1892, Mr. Frank Damrosch, armed (presumably) with a tuning-fork and (certainly) with a great faith in the musical capacity of the people, appeared upon the platform of the Cooper union and began the

first lesson of the 1500 people who had come there in singing part-songs. The people's singing classes, of which this was the first meeting, come together at a price of ten cents each on Sunday afternoons to study the reading of vocal music. The centre of this organization is now the People's choral union, composed of those who have regularly attended the singing classes for a year and presumably become more or less expert. Of the attainment of the choral union, it is enough to say that Mr. Damrosch has deemed it fit to sing a chorus at a concert of his Musical art society, which society has probably the highest musical standard of any in the country. There are many branches in different parts of the city to which beginners can come and be taught. When Admiral Dewey arrived at New York, the People's choral union hired a steamer and went out and sang choruses to him across the water, reminding one of the occasion, coming about a thousand years earlier in our history, when—

> "Merrilie sang the monks within Ely
> When King Canutë came over the waters,"

and if we ever have a national music it will be written for such classes as these. There is also a class in Boston, started in February, 1898, by the Emergency and hygiene association.

Bettering of working conditions.

In the way of modifying conditions under which people may work, much has been done since the early days of Lowell above described. The two most marked features of our recent efforts in this direction are the anti-sweating laws of Massachusetts and New York, and the city ordinance of Chicago, and the work of the Consumers' league. The Massachusetts and New York "anti-sweating" laws at least have been effective.

The Consumers' league.

The Consumers' league (organized in New York, May, 1890) operates chiefly by two methods, the obtaining of needed legislation and the philanthropic boycott. The league has secured, for instance, restriction of the hours of women and children in stores in Massachusetts to fifty-eight hours per week, as in factories. The boycott is operated by means of a label attached to goods made under conditions which the league is able to approve, and withheld, of course, from all others. The league's work has been widely approved by manufacturers; and the cases in which it has secured proper and humane conditions, especially for women, are very many.

On the subject of measures aimed not directly at the encouragement of successful living, but at the repression of what interferes with such success, as much might profitably be said as would fill the whole of this volume.

It would be most interesting, for instance, to trace the steps by which the philanthropists, as the century closes, are bringing public opinion to a focus upon the necessity for the repression of crime, instead of its encouragement, by the police in New York city. It is especially interesting to observe the extent and success with which the appeal is being made to the home-preserving instincts of the people; but I must confine myself to two instances of successful repression which appear to me to be characteristic.

Some instances of repression.

One instance is the demonstration in Cambridge, Mass., that the sale of liquor can be successfully prohibited even in a city of 80,000 inhabitants. The question of prohibition is often discussed as though every man were born with a certain number of drinks written on his forehead, the only question left for the law to decide being the circumstances under which those drinks shall be taken. Cambridge has been a prohibition town since May 1, 1887, and the evidence is simply overwhelming that the sale of liquor has been greatly restricted. The direct evidence is strong, but the indirect evidence, in the comparative emptiness of police stations, in the turning up of men regularly for work on Monday mornings who had never done so in their lives before, in the gratitude and support on the part of the women, the better appear-

Prohibition in Cambridge.

ance of children in the schools, and the improvement in the retail business in the poorer districts, is unanswerable. It is true that many Cambridge men still come to Boston to drink, but the facts show that the total drunkenness of Cambridge people has greatly diminished, and that the presence or absence of instant temptation and suggestion does count. It was an essential factor in the Cambridge case that two or three men were determined to make the thing work.

Crime stopped by destruction of its haunts.

The destruction of the old buildings to create Mulberry park (about three acres) has, according to the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Riis, had a great effect in diminishing crime. "For eleven years I never knew a week to pass without a murder, rarely a Sunday." When Mayor Strong's committee sat in 1897, after the wiping out of the old buildings and the creation of the park, the police captain testified, "The whole neighborhood has taken a change, and decidedly for the better." Mr. Riis adds: "Two years have passed since it was made into a park, and scarcely a knife has been drawn or a shot fired in all that neighborhood. Only twice have I been called as a police reporter to the spot. It is not that the murder has moved to another neighborhood, for there has been no increase of violence in 'little Italy,' or wherever else

the crowd went that moved out. 'The Whyo gang' has disappeared."

What the reason is for the better behavior of these people is not so easy to say. The buildings themselves were undoubtedly foul and unsanitary, but ill health and crime are different things; nor were these buildings materially worse than others in the neighborhood. As for the ground plan, the only peculiarity, as revealed by Bromley's map, was the existence of two alleys (or an alley and a gap), such as we have hundreds of in Boston, each of them 104 feet long, one about ten feet wide and the other about five feet wide, apparently with communication from one to the other across the back of two tenement houses, and with a possible way out behind other buildings into another street. Mr. Riis says, "The worst of all the gangs, the Whyos, had its headquarters in the darkest of its (Mulberry's) dark alleys," and it may be that these two alleys (a rarity in New York) contributed to the evil conditions; but it would hardly seem as though their importance could be such that the existence of the gang, and of the crimes of which it was a part, would depend on them. Nor has any playground been made there to explain the change; the little children are allowed to play on the grass, but these are not the ones who committed the crimes.

The most reasonable explanation seems to be found in the analogy of a lamp-post which, I have been told by high authority, once existed in Paris, upon which it became the fashion for people to hang themselves. When the authorities finally had it taken down the hangings ceased, no other lamp-post seeming to possess the required fascination. When a man lives in a place called "Bandit's roost," "Thieves' alley," "Hell's kitchen," or the like, it may well be that he feels resting upon him a certain obligation not to disgrace its traditions, and the mental suggestion may be destroyed with the physical surroundings. If this explanation is correct, it must also be the case that criminal association, like the pneumonia bacillus, though very destructive in its operation where its thrives, is of a feeble vitality and does not easily survive a change of environment.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

On what the settlement stands for, see: Jane Addams in "Philanthropy and social progress," and R. A. Woods in "The city wilderness"; *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1896, pp. 67–72. Facts and statistics about the settlements: "Social settlements," C. R. Henderson (Lentilhon, New York, 1899).

A MARKED characteristic of the last ten years has been the wonderfully increased activity of the churches. In preventive work there is hardly any kind that I have mentioned in which the churches do not now take a part. The number of pages devoted to religious societies in the charities directory of Boston in 1891 is seven; the number in 1899 is forty-two, in spite of the fact that in the latter year the number of "references to full descriptions elsewhere" is thirty-four as against only twelve in the former.

The share of the churches.

The disbursements on parochial account of St. Bartholomew's episcopal church, New York, for the year ending November 1, 1900, were $192,536. The disbursements for various missions and theological education brought the total up to $219,206.56. The

schedule of meetings, classes, etc., for each day of the week occupies seven pages of the year-book, and the philanthropies carried on at the parish house and elsewhere included boys' and girls' and men's and women's clubs, baths, a gymnasium, a library, physical and industrial training (the latter on a large scale with many departments both for boys and girls), a kindergarten with a playroom on the roof, another playroom on the ground, an employment and loan bureau, a penny provident fund, three separate clinics every day, lessons to the girls in "first aid to the injured," a cadet battalion, a drumming class, dancing classes, and glee clubs.

The settlements.

Diffidence as well as full treatment of the subject in other publications prevents my attempting any account of what the social settlement (beginning in 1887 with the University settlement, New York, first called the "Neighborhood guild") stands for, further than to say that it furnishes a place where almost all possible philanthropic activities may be, and a great many of them are, carried on, *plus* a something else. The social settlement occupies in philanthropic work for a neighborhood somewhat the same position as that of the friendly visitor in what is done for an individual. The best specialists may contribute each his peculiar service to a person's life, and yet that life

may be left with the greatest need unsatisfied, the most painful void unfilled. In supplying this one thing most needed of all, the friendly interest or "humane touch," the settlement finds, I think, or will find, its peculiar mission. Of the New York university settlement at least, I think it may be said that it is, in any social crusade, like those football players who are usually to be looked for at the bottom of the pile when the whistle blows.

The sixty years from the beginning of the century to the civil war was the period in which of all others the American genius took form and declared itself. Politically freed by the revolution, socially weaned from English tutelage by the war of 1812, and not yet distracted in its ideals by the great immigration, the American people during that period became a nation, or rather realized that they had already become a nation, with a distinct national character. It was this period — to take literature as a single example of what I mean — that produced Channing, Emerson, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Prescott, Motley, and Hawthorne. And one of the forms under which the distinctive national bent was made manifest was in the philanthropy that grew up at that time. The public library and the lyceum were the natural expression, on the philanthropic side, of the soul of a people

The philanthropy of the early century characteristically American and idealistic.

profoundly convinced of the truth that man cannot live by bread alone, and very fully determined that every man, and not merely the rich and fortunate, should have it within his power to command the necessities of the higher life. The lyceum succumbed to a variety of influences, and is, perhaps, yet to receive its second incarnation in a form suited to modern conditions. The public library not only survives, but its popularity is to-day greater than ever, and is apparently increasing in a geometric ratio. Its service to the spiritual life of the people is, as I have said, twofold. It not only furnishes the means of culture to every citizen, but is also a means of expression of a common national ideal on the part of the subscribers, rich and poor, and of a higher civic consciousness on the part of the towns which vote money to its support: it expresses and ministers to the same spirit that created the public school, and that will eventually judge and deal with each social institution with sole reference to its value in the development and expression of character; its continued and increasing popularity is a good augury of the vitality of the American spirit.

When the smoke cleared away after the civil war the philanthropists in our eastern cities began to realize how serious a problem the great volume of immigration was bring-

ing with it. The America of the first half of the century was composed almost wholly of descendants of those English people who had come to this country before the year 1640, there having been practically no immigration for nearly two centuries after that time, and was made up of a race that had been in the actual practice of self-government since Tacitus first studied it in the days of the Roman empire. Now our population had received large accessions from among the oppressed of other lands, from peoples who had shown themselves practically incapable of carrying on strong and beneficent social institutions.

The influx of immigration changed the problem.

The first determined attack upon this new problem was made from the sanitary side. Our sanitary development had, since the first settlement of this country, under the salutary teaching of the small-pox, and afterward of the cholera, been reasonably continuous and progressive, and the first realization of the problems which the immigrants brought with them was shown in a vigorous demand for enforced cleanliness, and for light and air.

The first attack was sanitary.

But we have not been contented with the protection of the physical life. Our courage has risen, and our humanity has expanded, to feel that these new-comers are Americans, and that, whether they are or not, they must be. And we are going to make them so. The

striking thing about our philanthropic history during the last quarter of the century has been the extraordinary acceleration of effort and achievement during the last few years; most of what we have done has been since the year 1887, and half of that, I should think, since the year 1897; and the fact that crops out in every single instance, in every form which the new spirit has taken, is that the impulse behind this accelerated progress has been educational. Just as a knowledge of bacteria has given fresh life and popularity to sanitary reform, so the dawning of the light of the new education, opening out bright vistas of the things of which human nature is capable, if we will only supply it in childhood and youth with the food that it needs, has given a fresh and wonderful impulse to all our philanthropic work. Since education has learned that its task is not the teaching of facts, nor even the training of powers, but the nurture and intensifying of life, its principles have become the inspiring and unifying force in all our philanthropic work. The prophets and leaders of our time, the people in whom the national genius is visibly present, giving them an inextinguishable faith and an apparently inexhaustible power of work, are the teachers. The public school teachers are working after hours and during vacation, often without pay, inventing every day some new means by which,

Since then philanthropic effort has expanded extraordinarily in every direction.

The new impulse educational.

at the expense of an additional effort on their part, they can reach and illumine the lives of their pupils, whether in the schoolroom, in the home, or elsewhere; and those who carry on our other great educational institution, the public library, are not behind the school teachers in devotion and enthusiasm. What we have done so far has been practically nothing in actual achievement, but it has raised a little corner of the curtain, given us a glimpse, a foretaste, of what can be done. And this little beginning is to be followed during the century which has just opened by a development of constructive philanthropy which gives promise of making that century as remarkable in its social results as the last has been in its material development.

The possibilities of social growth, guided by philanthropy, so far just touched upon.

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