M.A. Sociology and Philosophy.

THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE VOLUNTEER IN SOCIAL WORK.

Esther Wilson Kerry.

CONTENTS.

Chapter I.

SOCIAL WORK AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Social work is a new profession and into its function there enter many people who are not professional social workers. Members of the older professions - medical, clerical, legal, teaching - and business men, their wives, their mothers, their daughters and sisters, meet with professional workers around conference tables, budget and are responsible for income, and give special services to particular social agencies.

The term volunteer is older than the term social worker, and there is difference of opinion as to its scope. In some cities those people who serve on boards of management, restrict that designation to the younger people who have definite duties in the weekly routine of social agencies. Elsewhere it applies to both types of service. In this study it is used in the wider significance to include all those who serve one or more social agencies in any capacity, without financial remuneration.

The volunteer had begun to make social history before he was known as a volunteer. The profession of social work grew out of the interest of nineteenth century people in the administration of charities and of state aid. They went into the poor districts of British cities to meet those who lived there face to face. In considering the poor, not as a class in the abstract, but as individual men and women going short in some way in physical and moral needs, these forerunners began to break down a habit of thought and a social segregation which were centuries old.

When the Mediterranean world became Christian, and the scattered Christian groups lost their identity and apartness, the spontaneous Christian relation of give and take did not expand among the new Christians to make the great communities organically charitable as the little ones had been. Charity became doctrinal. The rich laid up merit to their credit. The poor took their own place and worth in the social order as recipients of charity: their hardships quickened its flow. Later, when the modern nations grew out of medieval Europe, the poor remained a class, receiving legal status, for they came under provision of special legislation, known in England as the Poor Law. For several hundred years, from the 16th to the 20th century, the English Poor Law was in force with revisions and modifications. And all through the period, private charitable gifts and endowments were made as heretofore in the interest of the poor and distressed.[1]

"A profession which did not know its own history, which was indifferent to the memory of the men and women responsible for its making, would still be a shambling and formless thing."[2]

One way to know this history would be to follow the Webbs' plan for the study of a social institution, "to sit down patiently in front of it" and to study in detail its structure and function.[3] This might well be self-commitment

1. Queen, S.A. Social Work in the Light of History. (Philadelphia and London, 1922) pp. 183-7, 215-247.
Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. (London & New York, 1931,) Vol. I, pp. 114, 133-38, 395-6 (Note 109)
Loch, C.S. Charity and Social Life. (London, 1910) pp. 204-9, 263, 304-8.
2. Richmond, Mary E. The Long View. (New York, 1930) pp. 415, 556.
3. Webb, Sydney & Beatrice. Methods of Social Study. (London, New York, Toronto, 1932) pp. 39, 41, 54-57.

to a life-long task. For the present complex of social welfare activity shows the several strains of social work's long antecedents, in social legislation and in Christian charity, in philosophy and in strivings for social justice. But its distinctive character was set in the nineteenth century, and the study of both volunteer and of professional function begins in that period when men and women were bringing new ideas into the workings of a very old interest.

A current classification of social work gives four types, Social Case Work, Social Group Work, Community Organization and Social Action.[4] These types germinated in the settlements and charity organization societies of the nineteenth century. The material available for the study of their origins is principally in biography and autobiography, in letters and reports, in books and pamphlets written to inform the public upon the new movement of upper and middle classes toward the working classes.

To think of social work as a social institution is to use a sociological term of analysis. But the structure and function of a social institution are not so easy to observe as say those of a house. In a house form reflects use. The structure is adapted to local climate and building materials and to simple or complex standard of living. Yet a social institution, in terms of sociological science, is a social fact, something objective which can be isolated and studied. Its parts and proportion have taken distinctive form in the satisfying

4. Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1937 (University of Chicago Press, 1937) pp. 677-678.

of a human need or interest. Groups of individuals held together by some common interest are the units of sociological study.[5] Concretely, the groups are families, schools, churches, business corporations, abstractly, they are social institutions. An individual finds himself a member of a primary group, a family or a neighbourhood. To secondary groups, the school, the church, the factory, or shop, the trade or profession, the individual makes entry to fill some particular need or function of his own.

Because institutions are made up of individuals, and have no life apart from that which goes on through the attitudes and relationships of the persons who compose them, and are modified through the behaviour of members, sociological study goes over from the group to the person.

Observing human behaviour, as men work together in groups, the sociologist sees not a completed object as a house, but a continuous process of social organization.

"Both consciously and unconsciously the larger mind is continually building itself up into wholes - fashions, traditions, institutions, tendencies and the like - which spread and develop like the branches of a tree, and so generate an ever higher and more various structure of differentiated thought and symbols. The immediate motor and guide of this growth is interest, and wherever that points social structure come into being, as a picture grows when the artist moves his pencil."

"Social organization is nothing less than the variegation of life, taken in the widest sense possible. It should not

5. Dawson, C.A. and Gettys, W.E. An Introduction to Sociology. (New York, 1929) pp. 3, 4.

be conceived as the product merely of definite and utilitarian purpose, but as the total expression of conscious and subconscious tendency, the slow crystallization in many forms and colors of the life of the human spirit."

"Any fairly distinct and durable detail of this structure may be called a social type, this being a convenient term to use when we wish to break up the whole into parts for analysis and description."[6]

"The great institutions are the outcome of that organization which thought actually takes on when it is directed for age after age upon a particular subject and gradually crystallizes in definite forms - enduring sentiments, beliefs, customs, symbols. And that is the case when there is some deep and abiding interest to hold the attention of men. Language, government, the church, laws and customs of property and of the family, systems of industry and education, are institutions because they are the working out of permanent needs of human nature."[7]

E.C. Hughes, in a study of the Chicago Real Estate Board, points out another aspect of observing an institution. They represent so many collective attempts to face problems which are never completely settled. The Chicago Real Estate Board is a collective effort to meet, in one particular city and age, problems which present themselves in connection with the ownership of property.[8] It could be classified as a sub-type in the types of institution which have grown up around interest in owning and controlling property. And the studies which have been made

6. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization (New York, 1929) pp. 21-23.
7. Ibid. pp. 313-14.
8. Hughes, E.C. The Growth of an Institution. (Chicago, 1931) Preface, also pp. 11-16.

of marriage, in primitive and in modern communities, are studies of sub-types of a universal and historic institution. Its diverse forms and practices are responses to biological and economic needs, which have been given social and religious sanction.

The altruistic interest is complex. There are elements of natural sympathy, of Christian compassion and of moral responsibility. Yet obviously such long established forms as hospitals, orphanages, almshouses, doles, and the newer ones, settlements, family welfare societies, councils of social agencies, and volunteer bureaus are products of a deep and abiding interest of stronger members of a society in weaker ones and in needy strangers.

The study of an age-old institution, the family or property, offers countless separate studies. The units chosen for this study are the first settlement, Toynbee Hall, the early charity organization societies in England and America, and the outstanding American settlement, Hull House. In reading the records, it is soon obvious to what extent persons, notably Samuel and Henrietta Barnett, Charles Stewart Loch, Mary Richmond and Jane Addams influenced the forms of social work which have come down to us.

"Exactness must not be looked for in all discussions alike" Aristotle wrote at the beginning of his study of society, "the man of education will seek exactness so far in each subject as the nature of the thing admits."[9]

The nature of human behaviour, the complexity of social situations do not allow to the sociologist the controlled experi-

9. Aristotle, Ethics. (Everyman Edition) Book I. Par. III. pp. 2, 3.

ment of the physical scientist. So much of human behaviour is covert that he can only look for consistency in overt and observable behaviour trends, and, finding it, arrange them in sequences, or see them fall into patterns, discoverable perhaps in other institutions and groupings of a similar type.

Suppose one were to study a social agency as for instance the Family Welfare Association of Montreal, in every detail of its structure and function, as the Webbs propose, after the manner of a scientist with a natural phenomenon. You might begin observation anywhere, among secretarial records, at a meeting of the board of directors, in a district office. If in a district office, you would look for function, what the different people were doing, and for indications of why they were doing it, and at structure, office routine, case records, accounts. You would do the same in the other district offices, in the central office and in the board room. And because a Family Welfare Association serves clients and the public, their behaviour and attitudes towards it are also part of the activity under observation. How discover consistency, those threads of behaviour which may repeat in another social welfare institution. You might find a constitutional statement of purpose, and the observed behaviour might, in whole or in part, agree with it, or there might be puzzling deviations. Yet something reconciles all the ways of behaving, in that they somehow hang together and the institution goes on doing reasonably well what its clients and its public expect it to do. Charles Cooley suggests that each institution has its own special

character or function as definite as the theme of a musical composition.

"This intimate and distinctive character of an institution might be compared to the theme of a symphony, continually recurring, and of which the whole organism of the music is a various unfolding. Like that it is a pattern through the web which this particular loom turns out. To ascertain this and set it forth may call for as much imagination and insight as to distinguish and describe the ego of a person. And like that it becomes, when we have grasped it, the focus of our study."[10]

On that suggestion the student of a social institution might look for a theme, as a hypothesis to help him arrange his data. If this theme should be successful also in explaining or giving meaning to the behaviour of all these people acting together, the institution would be taken to have declared to him its purpose, and to have shown that it has organic life. In reading about the early settlements and charity organization societies, it is fairly obvious that they could not have been established without a general interest in the poor of the great cities, increasingly evident in the nineteenth century. But it is unmistakable that certain persons kept arousing, mobilizing, directing that interest. These men and women are not living now. And they are perhaps not history yet. But their recorded activity may well be the raw stuff of history. The motive of this study has been to approach

10. Cooley, C.H. "Case Study of Small Institutions as a Method of Research" Proceedings of the American Sociological Society. Vol. XXII (1928) p. 130.

them and their works, as one might living people and social agencies active in this city at the moment, and to look for themes or idea processes as clues to an explanation of their attitudes and relationships.

Social processes begin in biological ones, in efforts to find food, warmth, shelter, to reproduce, to rear the young. Moral or social life opens at the point where men begin to try to do these things to their greater satisfaction, to work together in family, tribe, community, to think over their doings in the light of the possible approval or disapproval of others, to set standards of economic goods and standards of conduct. Because men share their experience and put it into objective and communicable form, the whole complex of human achieving and achievement, which sociologists call society, has grown out of the use and possession of nature's resources and forces.

Men recall the past, anticipate the future, adapt to the present, as they communicate with one another on a level above animal sound and gesture. The unrecorded and obscure development from cry and gesture to speech and self-consciousness is held by sociologists to be that first and characteristic social process, which distinguishes human life from all other forms of activity.

"Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication."[11]

11. John Dewey in Democracy and Education, quoted by Park & Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology. (Chicago, 1926) p. 36.

This passage not only affirms a fundamental social process, but it makes clear its character. To communicate an experience, something hitherto private and intimate, to pass it over to another or to others, is to put it into form intelligible to the pair of you or to the group. From private it becomes common property, and out of the use made of the common experience there come formal and recommended ways of behaving.[12]

Customs and techniques, learning and laws, languages and ideas are social products. But a custom is also an habitual way of doing things, a technique is a technical process, learning and laws are in continual process of adding and discarding, and languages and ideas are slowly remaking themselves. When Sumner describes the making of folkways and mores as a sequence of act, thought, act, he is expressing the unity of process and product.[13] The conception of communication as a fundamental social process then, discovers a dynamic unity of reflection and movement, in respect to some interest, as a deep-set character of social life. And that is what the moral philosophers have long held characteristic of individual consciousness. Thinking and doing are two aspects of one conscious process which works over a basic and motive force, desire. And the soundness of an individual character is in the consistent, balanced development of these constitutional strengths.[14]

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12. Park & Burgess Op.cit. pp. 36-39.
13. Sumner, W.G. Folkways. (Boston, 1906) pp. 31-33, par. 36, 37.
14. Aristotle, Ethics. Everyman's Edition, Book VI. pp. 130-149; Book VII. pp. 152-173.
White & Stirling. Ethic of Spinoza (London, 1930) Book II. Prop. XLIX. pp. 95-6.
Abbott. T.K. Kant's Theory of Ethics. (London, 1927) pp. 29-30.
Green. T.H. Prolegomema to Ethics. (Oxford, 1883) Book II. Pars. 151-2-3. pp. 156-9.

The parallel is drawn to suggest that to look for a theme, in examining an institution, is to look for thought working out in effective processes and for effective processes crystallizing into useful forms, centring upon an interest and all in a way consistent and balanced enough to give to the institution its own "distinctive character". To put this in another way, a living and effective institution meets the test that its observable structure and function complement, structure shaping function, function modifying structure in delicate balance.

To draw this parallel though between the approach of philosopher and sociologist, the old and the new students of human nature, is not to assume a social consciousness, which functions as an individual consciousness does. Social groupings are made up of men and women. As T.H. Green maintains, "There can be nothing in a nation, however exalted its mission, or in a society however perfectly organized, which is not in the persons composing the nation or society."[15] Or, Cooley, "But it is in men and nowhere else that the institution is to be found." "It is made up of persons, but not of whole persons: each one enters into it with a trained and specialized part of himself."[16]

Sumner and Cooley, respectively, have studied those elementary forms of society, folk groups and family groups in which the individuals, who make or who break institutions, have received their earliest impressions.[17]

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15. Green, T.H. Op.cit. Book III. par. 184. pp. 193-4.
16. Cooley, C.H. Op.cit. pp. 314, 319.
17. Hughes, E.C. Unpublished manuscript.
Sumner, W.G. Op.cit. Chap. I. pp. 1-74
Cooley, C.H. Op.cit. pp. 23-31.

"The folkways are the widest, most fundamental and most important operation, by which the interests of men in groups are served... the process by which folkways are made is the chief one to which elementary societal or group phenomena are due. The life of society consists in making folkways and applying them. The science of society might be construed as the study of them."[18]

"We must see and feel the communal life of family and local groups as immediate facts, not as combinations of something else."[19]

"The mechanical working of tradition and convention pours into the mind the tried wisdom of the race, a system of thought every part of which has survived because it was in some sense the fittest, because it approved itself to the human spirit. In this way the individual gets language, sentiment, moral standards and all kinds of knowledge..... They have become a social atmosphere."[20]

Transmission is often imperceptible, even when it is face to face or contemporary in time. It is also a concentration from the past. The early experiences of a human being come through the experience of the generation before him. The habits, the beliefs, the attitudes, which later give him character, are all in part transmitted. They have invisible roots.

At birth, or, as some say, before it, there begins the action of a single organism with people and things about him, and there

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18. Sumner, W.G. Op.cit. p. 34.
19. Cooley, C.H. Op.cit. p. 30.
20. Cooley, C.H. Op.cit. p. 320.

continues his development as he interacts. These processes are hidden in family life. And only the results can and do to some extent indicate what has been happening. But their strength and efficacy has to be admitted and taken into account. Each and every man and woman acts, in some measure, according to what Sapir calls an unconscious pattern of social behaviour which has been made through the years his family and community have been acquiring definite and peculiar behaviour traits.[21]

In reading about the men and women who have made social welfare institutions, it is remarkable how the institutions grow out of sentiment, knowledge, standards, and atmosphere of the time. To look for a theme is to find and conceptualize a master or dominant process in this growth, to which all other processes relate. That, emphatically, is the student's task, for the appropriate concept is not on the lips of the institution's leaders. They are creating its special character and function, rather, out of their efforts to reconcile an old idea, loved and familiar to them, with a changed social situation. Charles Loch wrestled with the idea of charity. Democracy compelled Jane Addams.

Ideas are social products, collective representations as Durkheim calls them. They have their process aspect, for they are made and re-made through human communication. Group experience is put into communicable form in a word or a concept.[22] They have grown out of daily use and experience as have houses and ploughs and automobiles.

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21. Sapir, E. Unconscious Patterning of Behaviour in Society. (New York, 1928) pp. 114-142.
22. Park & Burgess. Op.cit. pp. 37-39, 195-8.

"Every word is originally a predicate".[23] To take, for instance, the word knife. Its simplest definition is in terms of its use.[24] It is something you cut with. A knife's whole meaning, its relationship to other terms, hand, skin, flesh, is in the fact that it cuts. The word which signifies this fact carries the story of something discovered, communicated, confirmed in common use, become an item in a culture. It holds both a history of cutting and also an acceptance and a promise of dependable performance. It has past, present and future content of meaning.

Courage and charity are abstract terms: we call them virtues. But courage took its meaning because people were brave, it still stands for an indispensable attitude, and it sets a standard of desirable behaviour. Charity, too, has an experiential and anticipatory content. And virtues, courage and charity, have an obligatory as well as an anticipatory content. The expectancy they signify goes beyond natural performance. When you are brave you overcome natural fear, when you are charitable you go beyond natural sympathy.

Many forms which have crystallized out of behaviour processes lose activity as the process of social change goes on. The experience they represent belongs no more to the current civilization, as flint arrowheads or tribal taboos. Yet in the field of ethical, as distinct from technical experience, there are notions and ideals which have moved men and may do so again.

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23. Park & Burgess, Op.cit. Max Muller. The Science of Language. pp. 379-81.
24. Gault & Howard. General Psychology (New York & London, 1925) Chap. X. Conceptual Thought. pp. 277-288.

When John McCrae wrote "In Flanders Field", he took two long familiar symbols, the torch and the poppy, and in poetic expression he combined and gave them new meaning, in relation to contemporary and compelling interest and experience.[25]

The Renaissance and the Reformation brought the moral findings of Hebrew and Greek life to the people of Europe. Ideas, long locked in dead languages, a part of the classical structure, became dynamic in European life. They went on working and taking new meanings from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

It is in their content of use and promise lies much of the power of ideas to move men. The growth of human intelligence is in grasping the meaning of concepts which are structural in one's social surroundings; and, in the case of the exceptional individual, it is in expanding that meaning through discovering new relationships, hitherto unsuspected. The concept may have for him already an emotional force, a transmission from his elders unconsciously received. When he understands its history of use, its hopes for the future, he may make that idea his own, explore new function for it, in the changed environment of his own day, and recommend it to others bright with his own zeal.

There is another factor in human life beyond biological and social experience. Some of the ideas which have moved men have an intuitional as well as an experiential strain. Saint Paul could only describe charity in functional terms - as long-suffering, kind, believing, hoping, enduring.[26] Yet he recognized a

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25. McCrae, John. In Flanders Field. p. 3.
26. I Corinthians. XIII, vv 4-8.

great idea-force still largely awaiting human comprehension. Liberty is a master word of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its content of experience would seem to be negative: men know what it was not to be free. But Kant gave positive statement to the idea of liberty when he acknowledged an idea-force, other than natural, man's conception of his freedom as he recognizes and subjects himself to a moral law. Kant cannot explain freedom, but he shows it in action in the man who sees and does his duty.[27] His metaphysic carries the whole motive and teachings of the Reformation. The moral source of resistance and revolution is in the judgment of the individual conscience. That the commonest man may have insight into spiritual reality and act upon it is the unaccountable factor in human behaviour.

To admit a sphere of knowledge apart from natural experience and active through growing human conception, and through spiritual revelation, is to set social study in the Greek-Christian frame of reference, which considers the long story of human experience as a sure moving forward. This is appropriate, for the people of this study belong in that frame of reference.

Men have always had to adapt to change, changes in light and in darkness, in weather and in season, in vegetable and animal growth, and to their own inventiveness in using natural resources and in controlling natural forces. In the nineteenth century these two last processes were greatly accelerated. In that period of discovery and invention, of experiment and research, of widening and speeding of communication, men and women were

27. Abbott, T.K. Kant's Theory of Ethics. (London ,1927) pp. 13-18, 65-83, 180, 259-60.

energetic, conscious of new opportunity, confident of increasing control of natural and social circumstances. Progress became a dynamic collective representation around which grew the thought and effort of the century.

"There was a living and a general consciousness of progress, not only as a concept of historical interpretation, but as a certainty that the royal road had been entered upon at last, that the human race now had acquired the mastery over things, and, what was more important, over itself, and that it would not again abandon or lose this road, but would follow it forever."[28]

Two other ideas that possessed nineteenth century people were the ideas of freedom and of organization. Croce shows how nineteenth century liberal movements were bound up with problems of national organization. The movements were directed, as in Italy to national independence and federation, or, as in France to experimants in forms of government. In England where free political institutions had grown long and steadily, liberal action was towards a widening of the basis of representative government, and towards legislation in the interests of the industrial working classes. It is, Croce suggests, as if there were a sequence in national progress, constitutional and then social development.[29]

28. Croce. B. History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. (New York, 1933) pp. 243-4.
29. Croce, B. Op.cit. pp. 3-5, 146-7, 159, 206-7.

Chapter II.

NINETEENTH CENTURY INTEREST IN THE POOR: THE INTERACTION OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

The Economic Change in English Life.

In England in the nineteenth century the term poor took broader meaning than ever before. It came to be applied to the entire working class. At the end of that century, Charles Booth studied the population of East London, which is largely a working class district. There were, in round figures, 900,000 inhabitants in the area. In a street by street and house to house investigation, he and his assistants divided the population into sections by types of employment, and then arranged eight classes according to the means and position of the heads of families in each section.[1]

The classification is useful to have in mind in this and following chapters. For although the percentages belong to East London in the nineties, the classes were present in English cities through the century, largely unrecognized and merged in the common term poor.

In Booth's classification, "the poor" are those with "a sufficiently regular though bare income for a moderate family". The "very poor" are "those who from any cause fall much below this standard. The poor live under a struggle to make both ends meet, the very poor are in chronic want".

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1. Booth, Charles, Life and Labour of the People of London. (London, 1892) Vol. I, Chap. II, pp. 28-62.

A.	The lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals.	11,000	1%
B.	Casual earnings, "very poor", a deposit of those who from mental, moral or physical reasons are incapable of better work.	100,000	11¼%
C.	Intermittent earnings, "the poor" seasonal workers and those subject to trade depressions.	75,000	8%
D.	Small regular earnings, "the poor" make both ends meet with a good wife and no illness. May rise above poverty when the children begin to earn	129,000	14½%
E.	Regular standard earnings. Above the line of poverty. Class of trade unions and benefit societies.	377,000	42%
F.	Higher class labour. Foremen and skilled artisans.	121,000	13½%
G.	Lower middle class. Shopkeepers, small employers, clerks, subordinate professional men.	34,000	4%
H.	Upper middle class. The servant keeping class	45,000	5%
	In poverty A,B,C,D.	314,000	35%
	In comfort E,F,G,H.	577,000	65%

Booth's investigation, as will be seen later, was a part of that movement of those who lived amply toward those who lived narrowly out of which social work grew. The people who made social work, began to be active in or just before the last quarter of the century. They were growing up in the years after 1850. The situation which influenced their formative years was in the making 100 to 150 years before. It included a great economic

change in English life at the same time that new political ideas were bringing down old political structure, and religious movements worked from the labouring up to the ruling classes. It was in the early half of the nineteenth century that the term "the poor" came to be identified with the workers. Through political agitation by the educated workers, through riots and rick-burning when people were starvingly hungry, through the literary and legislative work of the thoughtful among the ruling classes, England became conscious of her great uneducated, unrepresented population. Measures to ameliorate the conditions of working class life went on steadily through the century.[2] Its last quarter saw people coming to grips with such general terms as poverty and pauperism, through their practical contacts with individual men and women.

England's population grew rapidly from the year 1700 on. The figures for England and Wales are given in round numbers, as:

5,000,000 in 1700
6,000,000 in 1750
9,000,000 in 1801
11,000,000 in 1815
18,000,000 in 1851 [3]

This population growth associates with a change in economy. For centuries the land, cultivated in small holdings, had fed the people and the common lands had afforded grazing and firewood. In the eighteenth century a new type of agriculture, looking to a higher crop yield, concentrated small holdings in large farms and enclosed the commons; freeholders became wage-earners. At

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2. See Table of Social Legislation, p.25
3. Muir, Ramsay. History of the British Commonwealth. (London, 1922) Vol. II, pp. 213, 312, 354.

the same time, the use of coal and of new inventions changed weaving from a cottage to a factory process and drew thousands of people to live around mine and mill.

The self-supporting village was the unit in the old economy; its hand and home-made industrial products were exchanged in a regulated market of foreign trade. The new economic unit was the town which bought its food. The motive force of the new economy was in the manufacturers. Adam Smith has put down in doctrinal form the conditions of its working, free play of individual effort in the employment of labour and capital and free access to markets. This economy gave England her industrial pre-eminence and her great foreign trade. It also posed a social problem, that of building up wealth in capital goods and at the same time maintaining the health, happiness and energy of the working population.

While England's tariff policy was still protective, the population had long outgrown the food supply. Duties on imported food kept prices high, the landowners prospered, but wages never quite reached a balance with the price of bread. A change in the Poor Law in 1796 met this situation by what was in effect a supplementation of wages paid out of parish rates. It took the form of a tax on the country landowners and a dole to the labourers based on the size of their families. Under this system, which continued until another revision of the Poor Law in 1834, masses of England's working population fell into dependence, that condition of pauperism which shocked the nineteenth century.

The 1834 Poor Law was a hard corrective, stopping out door relief and putting paupers into workhouses, in order that the condition of those on the Poor Law should always be "less eligible" than that of the wage-earners.

The years of the economic change included that long period in which England was fighting Napoleon. The blockade made food scarce and dear, but landowners profited by high rents and returns. The wars held the attention of statesmen and upper classes and the misery and deterioration of the common people went on almost unnoticed.

Before the steam and factory age, the English people had had a settled way of country life in social classes, graded and habituated to each other - farmers and labourers, squire and parson, and the great ruling families. After the French wars, the old upper classes, gentry and aristocracy, with the new middle classes, wealthy manufacturers and traders, appeared to stand together on one side of a gulf. The industrial workers in the teeming urban centres and the impoverished land workers were on the other side. This conception of a realignment was popularized by mid-century novelists.

"There were yeomen then, sir: the country was not divided into two classes, masters and slaves; there was some resting place between luxury and misery. Comfort was an English habit then, not merely an English word."

"Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or

inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws."

'You speak of .....", said Egremont hesitatingly, "THE RICH AND THE POOR"'.[4]

"Don't think to come over me with the old tale, that the rich know nothing of the trials of the poor. I say, if they don't know, they ought to know. We are their slaves as long as we can work; we pile up their fortunes with the sweat of our brows; and yet we are to live as separate as if we were in two worlds; ay, as separate as Dives and Lazarus, with a great gulf betwixt us."[5]

The concept of a gulf between rich and poor persisted. In the middle of the century it was animating scholars and teachers, and, in the last quarter, settlement and charity organization workers. It is interesting to notice how continuously through the century the English novel and the English periodical put knowledge of the conditions of working class life into the public consciousness.[6] The adversities depicted are not fictional, for they can be read in the biography of Lord Shaftesbury and the pages of Hansard.

Until the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832, the power of Parliament was in the possession of those who controlled the old borough seats. Many people lived in the practical servitude of being apprenticed or rented out to work. In the

4. Disraeli, B. Sybil or the Two Nations, pp. 71, 75, 76-7.
5. Mrs. Gaskell. Mary Barton (London, 1848) p. 9.
6. See Table of Social Literature, p. 29

fields in hired gangs, and in coal mines, cotton mills and brick fields, men, women and children had long hours of debilitating labour. The trades union movement was in its infancy. There was housing shortage, families crowded under any roof that would shelter, the poorest in damp and filth incredible today, for principles and practices of sanitation had still to be worked out. Working class education was only at its beginnings in the church and non-conformist schools. In London alone the number of homeless, vagrant children was estimated in the thousands.[7]

Liberal historians have pointed out that men of all classes and of all political opinion worked to pass the laws which made for constitutional and social reform, even though political careers of person or party were lost in the endeavour. Lord Shaftesbury's fourteen year effort to secure adequate factory laws cost him political advance. Sir Robert Peel lost office permanently and split the Conservative party when he repealed the duties upon corn.[8]

The record of nineteenth century social legislation, like the table of literature, shows growing consciousness of the deprivations of a large group of the English people.

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Chap. I. pp. 1-17.
Chap. IX. pp. 142-165.

7. Hodder, E. Shaftesbury as Social Reformer. (London, 1897) pp. 151-2.

8. Muir, R. Op.cit. pp. 318-22.
Croce, B. Op.cit. pp. 154-5.
Trevelyan, G.M. British History in the Nineteenth Century. pp. 18-19, 231-2.
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Vol. II. Book VII. Chap. IX pp. 116-124.
Vol. II. Book VIII. Chap. VI pp. 213-221.
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Tables of Social Legislation and Literature.

Nineteenth Century Social Legislation.

Date	Act	Provisions	People working for enaction	Reference
1802	Factory Act	Amendment to Poor Law which provided for the care and education of children apprenticed to cotton manufacturers.	Sir Robert Peel	H. 21 M. 219 T. 185
1819	Factory Act	Prohibited child labour under 10 years of age or for more than 12 hours a day.	Sir Robert Peel Robert Owen	F. 897 H. 22 T. 184-5.
1824	Trades Unions Act	Repealed anti-combination laws, and allowed workers to organize.	Joseph Hume	F. 899 M. 329-30. T. 200-2.
1832	Reform Act	Re-distributed seats and enfranchised part of the middle class.	Lord Grey Lord John Russell	F. 899 T. 234-43.

Date	Act	Provisions	People working for enaction	Reference
1833	Factory Act	Prohibited labour of women and children for more than 10 hours a day.	Michael Sadler Oastler. Fielden Lord Ashley (later Earl of Shaftesbury.)	H. 22 M. 394-5
1833	First grant towards education	Made to Church and Non-conformist schools.	Lord Grey	F. 897-8 M. 389
1834	Poor Law	Abolished out-door relief. Established centralization of authority and national uniformity.	Edwin Chadwick	T. 249-51 M. 392-4 Q. 192-4
1835	English Municipal Corporations Act	Gave representative local government to the towns.	Lord Melbourne Lord John Russell	M. 391. T. 234-6
1839	Committee of Privy Council appointed to supervise education grants.	Origin of Department of Education.	Lord Melbourne	M. 389
1840	Act of Regulation of Chimney sweepers and Chimneys.	Employment of children not abolished until 1875.	Lord Ashley	H. 75-7 78-81 M. 396
1837 & 1841	Russell's Act	Reformed the Penal Code	Lord John Russell	M. 388
1842	Mines Act	Stopped employment of women and children in mines and collieries	Lord Ashley	H. 83-95 M. 396 T. 279
1833-1847	Factory Acts	Continued regulation of factory labour.	Richard Oastler Michael Sadler Fielden. Ashley	H. 23-43 96-103 M. 396 T. 247-9
1845	Lunacy Acts	The first two of a series which provided for the care and protection of the insane.	Lord Ashley	H. 50-63

ate	Act	Provisions	People working for enaction	Reference
846	Repeal of Corn Laws	Removed duties on imported wheat	Sir Robert Peel Duke of Wellington Richard Cobden	T. 185-6 204-5 266-76 M. 403 R. 124-7
848	Public Health Act	Established central and local boards of health	Edwin Chadwick and Poor Law Commissioners. Lord Ashley	F. 901 H. 128-34 T. 279 M. 394
849	Repeal of Navigation Acts	Established free trade	Lord John Russell	M. 404
850-67	Factory Acts	This series brought all child labour under government supervision.	Lord Shaftesbury	H. 43-4 M. 503
851	Act for Inspection & Regulation of Lodging Houses.		Lord Shaftesbury	H. 134-8
867	2nd Reform Act	Enfranchised the remainder of the middle class, also urban working class.	Lord Derby Disraeli John Bright	T. 342-7
867	Agricultural Bill	Released country children from field labour in gangs	Lord Shaftesbury	H. 107-12
869-382	Series of Education Acts	Opened universities to men of all religious professions		T. 355-6.
870	Education Act	Provided for national education.	Gladstone W.E. Forster	F. 898 T. 352-5 M. 587
871	Criminal Law Amendment Act	Recognized trades unions as legal bodies	Gladstone Ludlow. Neale Hughes	T. 368 M. 589 W. 53-5
875	Employers and Workmen Act	Recognized right to combine for strikes and established trades unions as factors in the national life.	Disraeli	T. 369 M. 593

Date	Act	Provisions	People working for enaction	Reference
875	Workmen's Dwelling Act	Provided for demolition and reconstruction of working class houses.	Richard Cross	M. 593
875	Public Health Act	Coded all former public health legislation	Richard Cross	T. 370 M. 594
876	Factories & Workshops Act	Coded factory laws	Richard Cross	T. 370 M. 594
880	Education Act	Primary education made compulsory		F. 898 T. 352-5
884	3rd Reform Act	Enfranchised rural working class	Gladstone G.M. Trevelyan	T. 389-91
885	Housing of the Working Classes Act		Salisbury Shaftesbury	H. 140
888	County Council Act	Gave representative local government to rural districts and enlarged the existing machinery of urban democracy. Established London County Council.	Lord Salisbury C.T. Ritchie John Burns and Fabian Socialists	T. 401-3 F. 1101
391	Education Act	Provided free primary education	Salisbury	F. 898 T. 354
394	Act Providing for Urban and Rural District Councils and Parish Councils	Completed framework of representative government	Gladstone	T. 390

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. Hodder, E.
. Muir, Ramsay
Q. Queen, S.A.
R. Ruggiero, G. de
T. Trevelyan, G.M.
W. Woodworth, A.V.

Nineteenth Century Social Literature.

Date	Title	Author	Page Reference
1776	Fragment of Government	Bentham, Jeremy	T. 181
1785	Sentimental History of Chimney Sweeps.	Hanway, Jonas	H. 69-74
1790	Reflections on the French Revolution	Burke, Edmund	M. 163
1791	The Rights of Man	Paine, Tom	M. 164,T.161
1793	Political Justice	Godwin, William	M. 165
1798	Essay on Population	Malthus	M.313,R.109-11
1802	Edinburgh Review		T. 180-1,G.379
1816	Political Register	Cobbett, William	T. 186,M. 319
1817	Reform Catechism	Bentham, Jeremy	T. 181
1825	Observations on the Education of the People.	Brougham, Henry	F. 898-9
1827	The Christian Year	Keble. John	R. 119
1838	Oliver Twist	Dickens, Charles	C. 146,T. 250
1844	The Condition of the Working Class in England.	Engels, Frederick	Ga.Pref. 8.
1844 about)	Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester.	Kay, Dr. J.P.	Ga.Pref. 8
1845	Sybil, or, The Two Nations.	Disraeli, Benjamin	C. 146, M.416
1848	Mary Barton. A Tale of Manchester Life.	Gaskell, Mrs	C. 146, M.416
1848	Cheap Clothes and Nasty. (The first of the Christian Socialist Tracts.)	Parson Lot. (Charles Kingsley)	K.Pref. 12.21 63.87 Ma. 23
1848-1852	Politics for the People. The Christian Socialist. The Journal of Association.	Periodicals, published by the Christian Socialists	K.Pref. 12.
1849	London Labour and the London Poor.	Mayhew, Henry (In the Morning Chronicle)	K.Pref. 13 Ma. 14 P. 3.302.
1850	Alton Locke. Tailor and Poet	Kingsley, Charles	C.146 M.416
1851	Yeast	Kingsley, Charles	M. 416
1854	Hard Times	Dickens, Charles	C. 146
1859	On Liberty	Mill, J.S.	T. 341
1859	Origin of Species.	Darwin, Charles	T. 342.
1861	Representative Government	Mill, J.S.	T. 341
1863	Man's Place in Nature.	Huxley	M. 565
1868	London: Some Account of its Growth, Charitable Agencies and Wants.	Bosanquet, C.P.B.	P.300,B.57-8
1869	The Subjection of Women	Mill, J.S.	T. 341
1869	The Seven Curses of London	Greenwood, James	P. 3,4,301
1876	Stray Studies	Green, J.R.	P.300,B.12-13
1879	Progress and Poverty.	George,Henry	P. 24, T.402 B. 73.

Date	Title	Author	Page Reference
1883	The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor.	Anonymous. Published by the London Congregational Union	B. 178-80 P. 25.302
1883	How the Poor Live.	Sims, G.R. In The Daily News.	P. 26
1883	Series of Articles upon the enforcement of sanitation and housing laws.	In The National Review Pall Mall Gazette. Nineteenth Century. Fortnightly Review.	B. 178-81
1889-1901	Life and Labour of the People of London.	Booth, Charles	P. 5.300
1890	In Darkest England	Booth, William	M. 683 B. 345
1894	History of Trade Unionism	Webb, S & B.	M. 686

B.	Bosanquet, H.	Ga.	Gaskell, Mrs.	Ma.	Maurice, F.D.
C.	Croce, B.	H.	Hodder, E.	P.	Pimlott, J.A.R.
F.	Fisher, H.A.L.	K.	Kingsley, C.	R.	Ruggiero, G. de
G.	Green, J.R.	M.	Muir, R.	T.	Trevelyan, G.M.

Religious and Political Thought

It would be too simple, and quite untrue, to think of this social legislation solely as a response to economic change. Social study has to take into account those currents of religious and political forces which run down from the preceding century.

The Methodists began a spiritual movement, intense awareness of the progress of the individual soul towards heaven or hell. It was among the common people and it passed outside the established church. It stirred and was followed by what is known as the Evangelical Movement among educated churchmen. Deepened spiritual life made them conscious of moral responsibility. Among eighteenth century men who led the way in service to fellow men were Robert Raikes, who in 1780 made a beginning of educating working children through Sunday Schools, and

John Howard, who spent much of his life in investigating and making known the inhuman and degrading conditions in prisons. Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow established schools and new methods of relief-giving in his parish, using volunteer assistants, and directing the interest of neighbour towards neighbour. Much of the force of the Evangelical Movement went outside of England to establishing foreign missions and to abolishing the slave trade. But the methods, which William Wilberforce introduced, of voluntary organization to inform public opinion and to bring pressure upon governments, have remained characteristic of British reform movements. Lord Shaftesbury's persistent efforts, to liberate women and children from virtual slavery in England, carried on the earlier work of Michael Sadler and Richard Oastler, and were the last great, direct, evangelical achievements.[9]

In the late eighteenth century French liberal ideas had begun to attract Englishmen. Godwin's "Political Justice" and Shelley's political poems and pamphlets descend from them; in economic form, French liberal ideas shaped Adam Smith's doctrine of free competition. Edmund Burke set forth, nobly and convincingly, the native English view of liberties as historical achievements, won, and then guaranteed in English institutions. But he failed to recognize the strain upon old laws and institutions in the new tempo of invention and industry; the ruling classes, in general, followed him.

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9. Muir, Ramsay. Op.cit. Vol. I pp. 701-709.
Vol. II. pp. 129-133
Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 31-2, 51-55, 286-7.
Green, J.R. History of the English People. (London, 1877) Vol. IV. pp. 273-5.
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Woods & Kennedy. The Settlement Horizon. pp. 2, 4-5.
Hodder, E. Op.cit. pp. 3-4, 9-11, 16-19, 163-4

Meanwhile the advanced working men were reading Tom Paine's "Rights of Man" and William Cobbett's weekly "Political Register". And the little chapels and conventicles, which were the Methodist heritage in the English towns and villages gave these workers opportunity, through preaching and discussion, to form and to express political opinions. William Cobbett had no interest in French abstract ideas of rights. He thought of liberties, as Burke did, as national possessions, but of which thousands of people were losing the use in the new ways of living and earning. His weekly paper did much to inform the upper classes of the changes in English life made by mechanical industry.[10]

A member of the new middle class was the greatest single influence of the time upon the English political structure. Jeremy Bentham was French in his rational thinking, but wholly English in his concern for British institutions. He held that their worth lay in their use, and that the criterion of use was in the sum of human happiness they promoted. Englishmen have a long history of considering their institutions in the light of the well-being they assured to English men and women. As far back as the fourteenth century they had begun to question why some people should live easily, others in hardship.[11] In the sixteenth century Richard Hooker wrote into English literature Aristotle's practical view that virtuous life requires some foundation of material goods.[12] In the seventeenth century,

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10. Muir, Ramsay. Op.cit. Vol. II, pp. 161-9; 318-24
Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 63-4, 160, 186-7
Ruggiero, G. de Op.cit. pp. 78-81
11. Muir, R. Op.cit Vol. I. Book II. pp. 140-3, 154-5.
12. Hooker, R Ecclesiastical Polity. Book I, Chap. X, Par. 2, pp. 188-9.
Aristotle. Ethics. Book I, Par. VIII. pp. 13-16.

John Locke named life, health, liberty and possessions as natural rights; to preserve them is the purpose of civil government.[13] Bentham and his associates, James Mill and Francis Plaice, are known as Radicals by reason of their critical attack upon out-grown laws. Admitting, and leaving aside, subsequent criticism of Bentham's principle, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number ", he might also be called radical, because that principle has roots in English social thinking. It fell so well into nineteenth century hearing that it echoed and re-echoed down the century.[14]

As the century went on, social thinking turned more and more towards institutional life seeking forms to meet the needs of a rapidly industrializing people.

Robert Owen, a factory owner, had unusual ideas about the well-being of his workers. He built houses and schools for his mill families. He was interested in trades unions and in factory laws. He even experimented, unsuccessfully, with communal settlement in America.[15] While men of such different religious and

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13. Locke, John. Of Civil Government. (London & Toronto) Chap. II, pars. 6 & 7, pp. 119-20; Chap. IX. pars. 123, pp.179-80.

14. Muir, R. Op.cit. Vol. II. Chap. VII, pp. 376-386. Chap. VIII pp. 387-406.
Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 180-3
Ruggiero, G. de. Op.cit. pp. 93-108
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Selby-Bigge, L.A. British Moralists. (Oxford, 1897) Vol. I. pp. 339-345. 356-9.

15. Muir, R. Op.cit. Vol. II, pp. 321-2.
Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 183-5, 251.
Woods & Kennedy. Op.cit. pp. 2-4.

political convictions as Sir Robert Peel, Bentham and Shaftesbury were changing British laws, the concept of association came to be often on the workers' lips. The Trades Union Movement grew after that form of association was legalized in 1824. Workers opened the first co-operative store at Rochdale in 1844.[16] And the Chartist Movement, which made certain political demands, all with one exception since granted, grew around the concept of association, held to be a sovereign remedy for political and economic disability. After the Chartist Movement, religious thought began to interpenetrate with economic and political. The movement dissolved because it had no real cohesion, Irish and French agitators contending with native British workmen on policy.[17] But it had been alarming to the upper classes, and the interest which the working men aroused was carried over into the third quarter of the century, by a group of educated men, the Christian Socialists.

The third great religious movement, which had followed upon the Wesleyan and the Evangelical revivals, had the national and the institutional trend, of the time. John Keble's sermon on national apostasy, preached at Oxford in 1833, began it, and gave it its name.[18] Emphasis upon the corporate life of the church balanced the earlier emphasis upon individual salvation and moral responsibility. Ancient, neglected fabric was restored and old forms of worship revitalized by renewed understanding

16. Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 277-8.
Muir, R. Vol. II. 505-508.
17. Muir, R. Op.cit. pp. 411-18.
Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. pp. 251-3, 295.
18. Keble, John. Assize Sermon. p. 3.

of their meaning. In the speech of the time it was a "high church" movement, as the Evangelicals were "low church". The Christian Socialists, were moved and inspired by the whole social and religious growth of the time, yet stood apart from the ritualist trend of the Oxford movement, at the source of their own stream of influence.[19]

At the middle of the century the attention of England and Europe was upon organized life. Following Hegel and Saint Simon, other thinkers, Comte, Spencer, Carlyle, Mazzini, all worked in their different ways around such concepts as the state, the social organism, association and organization. The peoples of Italy and of Germany were struggling for national unity, for constitutional and representative government. Carlyle, Ruskin and the Christian Socialists found the English national order defective, because the lives of working class people were so restricted.[20]

The Christian Socialist group had been meeting for discussion at the London home of its leader F.D. Maurice, then chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, when the Chartist movement collapsed in April 1848. They also visited in the poor homes near-by. The first public action of the group was an open letter, written by Charles Kingsley, to the earnest men who were the real Chartists.[21] Irresponsible men had swept the movement to great proportions and left it to dissolve overnight.

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19. Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. 280-1
Woodworth, A.V. Christian Socialism in England. (London, 1903) pp. 78-99.
Ruggiero, G. de Op.cit. pp. 116-123.

20. Woods & Kennedy. Op.cit. pp. 8-16.
Pimlott, J.A.R. Toynbee Hall. (London, 1935) pp. 3, 23.

21. Woods & Kennedy. The Settlement Horizon. (New York, 1922)
Woodworth, A.V. Op.cit. pp. 9-10.
Kingsley, Charles. Alton Locke (New York, 1887) pp. XV-XVII.

The core of the Christian Socialist position is the effort to deepen the meaning of those abstract concepts of liberty and association, which had a wide circulation among the working-men. Maurice was the leader of the group, its thinker and teacher. As professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge he also, like T.H. Green at Oxford, directed the thinking of students, with lasting results, to the social order in which they lived.[22] Other Christian Socialists, J.M. Ludlow, Thomas Hughes, E.V. Neale and F.J. Furnival began to work, after the Chartist fiasco, with the working men, in co-operative production, in strengthening the trades unions, in opening the Working Men's College. Charles Kingsley, a country rector, lecturer in history at Cambridge University, naturalist, poet and novelist, publicized the thinking of the group. He wrote also, on co-operative production, on education and on public health and made conditions of urban and rural labour widely known. His novels "Alton Locke" and "Yeast" continued the theme and disclosures of "Sybil" and "Mary Barton."

The theme of a liberal education for working people runs through Christian Socialist thought and deed, from Kingsley's hope to open the universities to Samuel Barnett's educational program in the first settlement. The aim is to nourish the minds of Englishmen, whether members of the working, the professional or the political classes, at the same sources.[23] John Richard Green,[24] a later follower, writes English history as a

22. Pimlott. J.A.R. Op.cit. Chap. II, pp. 21-43
23. Kingsley, Charles. Op.cit. pp. XCV-XCVIII, pp. 89, 150-2. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 17-18
24. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 11-12.

series of movements of the English people, to civilize, to teach, to protest injustice, to make parliament supreme, and dwells on the work of the educators, Bede, Alfred, Wycliffe, More, Colet.[25]

The Christian Socialist reading of history goes far back of the eighteenth century, when French philosophers formed ideas of liberty and rights from a study of the British constitution.[26] Magna Carta, Habeas Corpus, Hampden's resistance to ship money and the Revolution of 1688 are marks of the maintenance of a freedom which the Anglo-Saxon peoples have long held to be in continued use and possession of things already belonging to them.[27] Interlocking with the demands to secure custom in constitution are demands of individual consciences to be free.

J.R. Green and Maurice, respectively, consider the resistance of Wycliffe and of Luther to the control of the conscience by the authority of the Roman Church.[28] Maurice takes Luther's issue with the Pope on the sale of indulgences as a stand for freedom and law. The sale of an indulgence denied a man his freedom, that is his right to direct relations with God, to hopeful and faithful repentance and amendment: it also established the power of a Pope over the law of a people.[29] It is not difficult to recognize in Kant's identification of the dutiful man with the

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25 Green, J.R. History of the English People. (London, 1877) Vol. I. pp. 64-7, 78-81. 445-448, 487-495. Vol. II, 79-105.
26 Fisher, H.A.L. A History of Europe. (London, 1936) pp. 696-9.
27 Kingsley, Charles. Op.cit. p. 332.
See also Fisher, H.A.L. Op.cit. pp. 301-2, 648-9, 652-3.
28 Green, J.R. Op.cit. Vol. I, pp. 446-494.
29 Maurice, F.D. Social Morality. (London & Cambridge, 1869) pp. 350-365, 368-9.

free man, a later statement, in terms of reason, of Luther's position on the absolute authority of the conscience. It is this Protestant conception of freedom as responsibility which is strong in the consciousness of both Maurice and Kingsley.

The nineteenth century interest is in freedom and organization as complementing each other.[30] Maurice builds his lectures upon social morality, and makes his reconciliation of freedom and organization, around a conception of a world-wide Christian family in the making. He was interested in Rousseau's studies of domestic life and in Maine's treatment of the family and the nation as natural forms.[31] He taught that individual characters are made in families, that individuals make the character of a nation and that families leave their impress upon it.[32] This is interesting because the story of modern social work begins to unfold around the contacts of Octavia Hill and others with London families.

In Maurice's teaching, through the natural form of the family God reveals Himself to man in three-fold aspect. As Father, and as Son, Who entering human life gives to all men His own freedom to learn and to do the Father's will; the work of revelation goes on through the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. Age after age men have taken up sonship and found brotherhood. The characteristic act of sonship is self-offering, sacrifice. In the acts of prayer and of common worship men

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30. Ruggiero. Op.cit. pp. 32, 134, 149-51, 355, 368-9.
31. Maurice. Op.cit. pp. 6-11, Preface p. XII, pp. 34-46.
32. Ibid. pp. 9-11, 19-44, 68-70, 97, 121-37, 398, 432.

learn the Father's will, are strengthened to do it, and know that they are members one of another with a positiveness outside ordinary experience. Maurice suggests that there are great powers of social invigoration, undrawn and latent in the corporate life of Christian people.[33]

The aim of Christian Socialist teaching is to carry the practice of the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity into the life of the world. Their way of life is what Troeltsch calls the heroic, the way Jesus himself lived, in contrast to the ascetic life which later became a model of the Church.[34] The hope is heroic, for it aims at bringing the Christian relations of freedom and brotherhood into every department of human life.

Their industrial guilds were short-lived. But the work of Ludlow, Hughes and Neale strengthened the trades-union and co-operative movement. The Working Men's College which they founded in London lived successfully.[35] Their hope has persisted and grown in three societies, The Christian Social Union, its successor, The Industrial Christian Fellowship and the more recent Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship.[36] But

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33. Ibid. Lectures XX & XXI, pp. 433-483.
Kingsley. Op.cit. pp. 397-99.
34. Troeltsch. Op.cit. Vol. I, pp. 51-59, 101-10.
35. Woodworth, A.V. Op.cit. pp. 1-66.
Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 4, 17, 18.
Kingsley. Op.cit. Preface XCV-XCVIII, PP. 89, 150-2.
Martin, H. Christian Social Reformers. (London, 1927) pp. 143-162.
36. Woodworth. Op.cit. pp. 100-184,
Martin, H. Op.cit. pp. 9, 207-226.

the interest of this study is in influence upon the growth of secular organizations. With the concepts of freedom and brotherhood the Christian Socialists associate four others, character, education, friendship, service.[37] It is these concepts which persist in the early processes of charity organization and settlement work. There is one notable transmitter, Octavia Hill, who through the preaching and conversation of Maurice found new meaning in the services and teaching of the Church.[38]

The minds of the early social workers were influenced too by other thinkers of the period, who reach conclusions as to the complementary nature of freedom and organization, but in different terms. J.S. Mill, Mazzini, who spent periods of his exile in England and had many friends there, and T.H. Green, all hold that a society, nation or state has life through the lives and characters of its members. This humanist view, also valuing character and its spiritual sources, emphasizes the rational and omits the faithful elements. It was Rousseau who notably associated liberty with moral character and with organized social life, and who drew that contrast, which penetrated social thinking, between natural liberty, each man taking thought for himself, and moral liberty, self-submission to the direction of the general will. Rousseau made it clear that social organization is possible because there is a thoughtful as well as

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37. Woodworth. Op.cit. pp. 9, 10, 82-3.
Maurice. Op.cit. pp. 10, 11, 81, 274.
Kingsley. Op.cit. Pref. XV-XVII, 323, 332-6, 400-2, 403-8, 415.

38. Maurice, C.E. Life of Octavia Hill. (London, 1913) pp. 15, 33-34, 62.

an impulsive way of life.[39] Kant's position that reflection opens a world of law, other than the man-made law with which we are familiar, and to be dutiful is to own free allegiance to this law, is a development from Rousseau.[40]

T.H. Green based his teaching on the moral ideal upon Kant. He was arguing that the person, the character, has elements which make it impossible to give man over entirely to the opening field of the natural scientist.[41] Like Kant he reaches through metaphysic, a concept of freedom. Men are free because they are self-conscious, distinct from animals in the action together of mind and will in the interest of well-being.[42] The unit of society is the person, the character made in striving to select from his immediate environment whatever he holds to be his good.[43] Active in municipal duty in the town of Oxford, Green had a practical criterion of moral progress. Direction is right when effort results in some new social institution through which men may become more at home in nature or more helpful to one another.[44] Even so practical an interest as to work for a system of sanitation in a growing industrial city

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39. Rousseau, J.J. Social Contract. (London) pp. 18-19.
Mill, J.S. On Liberty. (London) pp. 114-31, 170.
King, Bolton. Mazzini. (London & Toronto, 1929) pp. 267-81.
Green, T.H. Op.cit. Book III, Pars. 183-4, 191-3.
Ruggiero. Op.cit. pp. 32, 134, 141-57, 348-57, 434-43.

40. Abbott, T.K. Op.cit. pp. 39-49, 117-8, 229-31. See also references on p. 16

41. Green, T.H. Op.cit. Introduction, Par. 8. pp. 10-11.

42. Ibid Book I. Chap. III, Pars. 74-84, pp. 79-89.
Ibid Book II. Chap. I& II. Pars. 85-103, pp. 90-158.

43. Ibid Book II. Par. 108, pp. 111-12; Book III, Par. 180-84, pp. 189-193.

44. Ibid. Book III. Par. 176, pp. 183-4.

can be a step in the progress towards social perfection.[45]

Rousseau's Social Contract and Plato's Republic are allegories. Man comes into the world naked and with the germ of a conscience in his physiological make-up. He is not born into a Republic or into Rousseau's ideal community of the general will. His world is the social organization of biological processes, the stuff on which he has to grow physically, mentally and morally. The political problem, always exigent in the nineteenth century, is in deciding how much latitude is to be given to the individual, to what extent organization is to be controlled in the interest of his growth. But the moral organization of a people is more than a record of useful experience; spiritual insight has worked through that experience. The allegories record insights, truths conveyed in the terms of Plato's and of Rousseau's days; and men and women, looking for something to satisfy the imagination and to give them principles of action, are hospitable to these notions of justice, of freedom, of duty, and hold them as what the nineteenth century recognized as ideals. Nineteenth century ideals look to progress, - whether towards the Kingdom of Heaven on earth or to social perfection, - through freedom self-ordered.

An ideal is an intimate possession, communicable without many words. Although ideals characterize a generation they are not conveyed to succeeding generations in the freshness of their meaning. They become detached from their background - in the case of nineteenth century ideals, the religion and philosophy of that century and the concern for "the gulf between rich and poor" -

45. Ibid. Book III, Pars. 234-245, pp. 250-63. For origin and development of the moral ideal, see Book III, Chap III, Pars. 199-217, pp. 209-230. Chap. IV. Pars. 218-245, pp. 231-263.

and are stereotyped as they circulate in word forms. With some knowledge of the background they can be caught at work, in the records of persons and institutions, as threads of conduct which weave into wider social processes. Nineteenth century ideals are observable as efforts to build good citizens of democratic states.

Chapter III

NINETEENTH CENTURY INTEREST IN THE POOR: THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL WORK.

The field which yields data to social science is world-wide and centuries-deep. And the principle of selection is pertinency to knowledge of some one or more of the relationships, through which those fundamental processes of communication and transmission were or are in action.

The social scientist observes relationships between men themselves, physiological products humanized as they function in a social milieu, and between men and the social product, the houses, tools, practices, arts, laws and records which men have made. Aristotle recognized this when he wrote as complementary works, the "Ethics", a study of the conduct of men and of citizens, and the "Politics", a study of states and of constitutions. The principle of study was thereafter largely neglected until the eighteenth century, when Montesquieu discussed the relation of laws to the character and environment of a people.

It was in the nineteenth century that social writers began to think of using the methods of physical science in their own studies. Auguste Comte proposed the building up of a science of society, through the discovery and formulation of social laws analagous to physical laws. And Herbert Spencer made this notion of society as an observable social organism current in England.[1] In this century, too German history

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1. Park & Burgess. Op.cit. pp. 1-3, 23-27.

scholars began through examination of documentary sources and objective presentation of results.[2]

In England there is evolutionary treatment. There are a number of English social thinkers who write of social life as evolution. There was also a current romantic interest in national life and its origins. And classical education tended to set the thinking of Englishmen in terms of development. T.H. Green in ethics, J.R. Green in history, Walter Bagehot in politics, Maine in law, Stubbs in constitutional study, all consider social life as moral development, and open a long perspective of social relationships.[3]

In England the growth of social science was associated with the ethical, political and economic problem of meeting the needs of a people in a century of unprecedented material advance and in an industrialized land. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the topics of sanitation and the welfare of the working classes stood with those of jurisprudence, education, health, economy and art upon the agendas of such annual conferences as those of The Social Science Association, (founded in 1857), the British Association, and the Society of Arts.[4] Ethic and practice went along together. To the reformers, to such professional people as clergymen and physicians whose work placed them close to the poor, and to the early volunteers, efforts to observe situations and to search for facts were move-

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2. Muir, R. Op.cit. Vol. II, p. 570
3. Green, T.H. Prolegomena to Ethics. (Oxford, 1883)
   Green, J.R. History of the English People. (London, 1877)
   Bagehot, Walter. Physics and Politics.
   Maine, Sir Henry. Ancient Law.
   Stubbs, William. The Constitutional History of England.
4. Bosanquet, Helen. Social Work in London. (London, 1911) pp. 16-17.

ments towards standards of what social life ought to be. They were very morally earnest and they worked in strong moral expectation of the working people's response. But social work practices of observation and treatment, which are both psychological and sociological, have grown out of their work.

Direct Observation.

Lord Shaftesbury was moved by his sympathy for distressed, burdened and neglected children, and by the promptings of his Christian conscience, to arouse the consciences of other men and women until public opinion forced liberating laws through Parliament. He stands in social history on a devoted career of legislative achievement. Yet he never asked for state action without full investigation of the situation of the people concerned. He drafted, and spoke for legislation, always on a basis of needs which he had ascertained through direct observation.

"He made a tour in the cotton districts to put himself in personal communication with the various societies and to investigate the actual conditions of the operatives. 'I made it an invariable rule,' he says, 'to see everything with my own eyes; to take nothing on trust or hearsay. In factories, I examined the mills, the machinery, the homes, and saw the workers and their work in all its details. In collieries, I went down into the pits; in London, I went into lodging houses and thieves' haunts and every filthy place. It gave me a

power I could not otherwise have had. I could speak of things from actual experience, and I used often to hear things from the poor sufferers themselves which were invaluable to me. I got to know their habits of thought and action, and their actual wants, I sat and had tea and talks with them hundreds of times."[5]

Carlyle, Ruskin and the Christian Socialists saw that the liberation of the working classes was more than a legislative problem. It was the service of Carlyle and Ruskin to present the metaphor of the gulf between rich and poor as a philosophical statement of moral disorganization. The unity of the old English social system, a hierarchy of graded classes, each with its duties and responsibilities, had gone. The new economic system, while it gave great freedom to business men, had taken from the working people their traditional English independence of person and property. To the minds of the thinkers, the moral life of the nation was disintegrating through the separation of classes, the impersonal economic relationships, and the exclusion of a large proportion of the population from anything but mechanical participation in the national economy.

There were reactionary trends in the proposed treatment of disorganization, in the Christian Socialist Guilds, in Carlyle's authoritarian state, in Ruskin's reliance upon handcrafts. But the movement to liberate the working classes had struck a new stride.

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5. Hodder. Op.cit. pp. 30, 76-7.

Person and Pauper.

Shaftesbury's emphasis was on what the State could do through laws.," the State has a deep interest in the moral and physical prosperity of all her children.....I speak not now of laws and regulations to abridge but to enlarge his freedom; not to limit his rights but to multiply his opportunities..... and which shall place him, in many aspects of health, happiness and possibilities of virtue, in that position of independence and security, from which, under the present state of things, he is too often excluded."[6]

Emphasis swung round from legislation to the individual. Out of the philosophical statement of disorganization, out of closer knowledge of particular economic situations, an ideal of citizenship came to the fore. In this ideal the individual becomes a person. Green showed him as free and self-conscious. The Christian Socialists showed him as free and a brother. The state becomes an organization of persons, exercising citizens' privileges. This late nineteenth century ideal demanded the good life for all citizens, and service, of the state to its members, and of individuals to their fellows.

The ideal took continued strength from the social situation. You could even say the situation called into action, old ideals which had been set in educated men and women through reading and teaching. It grew stronger as the people whose occupations kept them close to the poor, or who deliberately went to live

6. Ibid. pp. 119-120. From a speech moving an address to the Crown upon education, in 1843.

in poor districts, began to break up the general problem of disorganization into its details. Their methods were first hand observation and direct contacts.

C.P.B. Bosanquet, in 1868, made a survey of London's charitable agencies and proposed a plan of co-operation.[7] In the same year, there appeared some studies of poverty and pauperism in his own parish of St. Philips, Stepney, written by J.R. Green the historian. The Charity Organization Society grew out of the discussion upon a paper presented before the Society of Arts in 1868 by the Reverend Henry Solly. Dr. Hawksley, in the same year, recommended a plan of action.[8]

Inherent in the problem of disorganization, as these people saw it, is a distinction between the person and the pauper. The person grows by selection and absorption from his environment; the pauper shows impairment or loss of that vital energy. It is this distinction which gives consistency to the approach of the early charity organization societies and settlements to situations of urban, industrial life. They promote conditions which favour physical and moral growth; they attack conditions which hinder or arrest it. Similarly, the course of their contacts with individuals is determined by the effort to differentiate between a person, temporarily distressed, and a pauper, chronic applicant for relief, which he regards as his right.

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7. Bosanquet. Helen. Social Work in London. (London, 1914) pp. 57-58.
8. Ibid. "How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London and with its 'Roughs' and Criminal Classes". p. 17.
Ibid. "The Charities of London, and some Errors of their Administration, with suggestions for an Improved System of Private and Official Charitable Relief." p. 21.
See also Ibid. pp. 12-14, 17-23.

There is a double theme then in their workings, positive interest in persons and negative reaction to paupers and to pauperizing influences. The negative theme is stronger, as will be seen, in charity organization than in settlement work.

The steps by which the Charity Organization Society, and the settlements came into function, are the steps of discovering in the masses of people, in industrial centres, known as "the poor", just such economic and social strata as Booth was to classify later.

Before the Charity Organization Society, commonly known as the C.O.S., came into being at all, there was a split into two factions of the men whose attention had been fixed by Solly's paper.

One favoured a scheme of land colonies, in an effort to reclaim London's homeless, workless, semi-criminal vagrants. That is the population group corresponding to Booth's classes A and B.

The problem of the destitute, the idler, the transient was not a new one. England had it long before the Industrial Revolution, as Poor Law history shows.[9] But during the hundred years of adjustment to industrial life the wastage of human energy was enormous. In those hundred years, besides the thousands who made the barest livelihood, thousands more dropped out of occupation altogether.

In the late eighteenth century there was already "a degraded sediment at the bottom of town life".[10]

9. Queen, S.A. Social Work in the Light of History. (Philadelphia and London, 1922) pp. 168-179, 183-189.
10. Trevelyan, G.M. Op.cit. p. 13.

In 1847 the London metropolitan police report showed that out of 62,181 individuals taken into custody, 28,118 had no business, trade, calling or occupation.[11]

In 1868 Dr. Hawksley stated, "The number of depredators, offenders, and suspected persons at large in the Metropolis, including only those known to the police during the year 1867, amounted to 8,964, while in 1868 they have increased to 10,343."[12]

The second faction, which formed out of those who had heard Solly's paper, founded the Charity Organization Society. The 1834 Poor Law had not arrested pauperization, when it stopped wage subsidies and re-established the workhouses. Forty to fifty years later these institutions were full of the aged, the unemployed, children, imbeciles, sick people, all kept physically alive in a mechanical routine.[13] A network of churches, missions, charities covered the poorer districts of towns and cities. They helped to maintain precarious existence to those who seldom or never worked. They supplemented Poor Law outdoor relief and the small earnings of the low-paid working-men.

It was among the low wage-earners, the people in Booth's classes C and D that the Charity Organization Society found its principal field.

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11. Hodder. Op.cit. pp. 144-154.
12. Bosanquet, H. Op.cit. pp. 3, 19-20. For Booth's classification see p. 18-19 of this study.
13. Barnett, Canon and Mrs. S.A. Practicable Socialism. (London, 1915) "Ethics of the Poor Law". pp. 132-142.
"Poverty, its Cause and Cure". pp. 143-149.
"Babies of the State". pp. 150-166.

The settlements, which began to be founded a decade later, served all classes, but met the particular needs of another group, corresponding to Booth's higher classes E and F. These people were not in physical want; but they lived and worked in unhealthy conditions, seldom left the East London area, and had small opportunity for education and recreation.

At the time the Charity Organization Society and Toynbee Hall, the first settlement, began to function, people interested in problems of poverty and pauperism, were considering the value of three types of social relationships.

Neighbourhood Relationships.

The original Charity Organization plan was to function as a new body which would supply central control and audit to all London's voluntary charitable societies. When the charities refused to co-operate in this scheme, the C.O.S. began its work on the plan of committees, serving districts, which corresponded fairly closely to parishes and to Poor Law areas, and of a central headquarters and council.[14]

The suggestion of neighbourhood organization had been put forward by J.R. Green. In times of unusual distress or emergency it was the custom for a great stream of money to flow from west to east, its sources special appeals. Green cited the experience, in a recent cholera epidemic, of a committee in his Stepney parish, which had raised locally and administered the necessary relief

14. Bosanquet, H. Op.cit. pp. 23-47.

funds. He maintained that a district in a great city had its own sources of relief, and that it might continuously meet needs for charitable assistance through the co-operation of employers, landlords, tradespeople, public and private relief agencies.[15]

The plan is a practical working one with an ideal element. The city parish is not a natural neighbourhood as England's rural parishes had been for centuries. But the hope is that city parishes may become neighbourhoods, as more and more people are conscious of their responsibility towards each other and the common life. Thomas Chalmers had made this neighbourhood ideal active in Glasgow,[16] and had given his experience currency in book form.[17] W.H. Fremantle, rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, under whom Samuel Barnett worked as curate, also thought of the parish as a community, the duty of the church being to minister to all sorts of human needs and to elicit the assistance of all men of good will.[18]

Neighbourhood ideal and practice colour the early charity organization and settlement records. The residents of a settlement aim to live as neighbours to others in the district, to help to make a common life. The C.O.S. worker is not necessarily a territorial good neighbour, but often one by proxy. He bears the goodwill of the ideal neighbour.

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15. Ibid. pp. 12-14. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 7-8, 11-12.
16. Woods and Kennedy. The Settlement Horizon. (New York, 1922) pp. 4-5, 15-16:
Loch, C.S. Charity and Social Life. (London, 1910) pp. 345-7.
17. Chalmers, Thomas. Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. (1782) (New York, 1900)
18. Woods and Kennedy. Op.cit. p. 22.

Friendly Relationships.

The first District Committee of the London Charity Organization Society was formed in close connection with the work of St. Mary's Church, Bryanston Square, in the Poor Law district of Marylebone. Octavia Hill, whose home was in that district, was asked to become a member. She brought to the new undertaking the experience of her housing contacts with families all over London. It is hard to realize now the novelty of the work done then. Octavia Hill made herself a medium of contact for the C.O.S. Committee, the parochial societies, the Poor Law guardians and the School Board. She also supervised the volunteer workers, who visited each a few families. It was through her work of buying old, dilapidated buildings which housed poor families, repairing and putting them under the supervision of volunteer rent collectors, whom she trained, that Octavia Hill became a public character. Ruskin, a family friend, lent the first capital sum for this undertaking. It is in her training of charity organization volunteers that Octavia Hill has contributed to social work.

Her volunteers develop from parochial district visitors. There is a stereotype associated with visitors to the poor, "the Lady Bountiful", which is a survival in the impersonal relations of city life, of the personal responsibility of the higher ranks in the rural social order. The Lady Bountiful attitude comprises natural sympathy and astuteness in recognition of the right thing to do, and it has come to represent the thoughtless wish to help the poor out of private abundance. Over against

this attitude stands that which helps personal growth through personal relationships and through the opening of increased environmental opportunity. The new attitude derives from Octavia Hill's mobilizing of available resources of help, her teaching of volunteers to choose the resource appropriate to the family's need, and her insistence that a gift should come as a part of a friendly relationship and out of familiar knowledge of need. Then it can be given and accepted without feeling of favour or inferiority.[19]

The notion of friendship with the poor is strange to us. Octavia Hill was strongly influenced by the preaching and conversation of F.D. Maurice.[20] This characteristic attitude of an energetically religious woman in her dealings with the poor is close to the Christian Socialist teaching of brotherhood in all relations of human life. From these dealings there is a line of descent to that psychological and sociological process known as social case work. The following passage is quoted now for later comparison.

"Alleviation of distress may be systematically arranged by a society, but I am satisfied that, without strong personal influence, no radical cure of those who have fallen low can be effected. Gifts may be pretty fairly distributed by a committee, though they lose half their graciousness; but, if we are to place

19. Hill, Octavia. Homes of the London Poor. (New York, 1875) pp. 13, 51-78.
Maurice, C.E. Life of Octavia Hill. (London, 1913) Preface p. VII, p. 227.
20. Maurice, C.E. Ibid. pp. 222, 228, 236, 293-4, 307-8.

our people in permanently self-supporting positions, it will depend on the various courses of action suitable to various people and circumstances, the ground of which can be perceived only by sweet, subtle human sympathy and power of human love.....

"By knowledge of character more is meant than whether a man is a drunkard or a woman is dishonest; it means knowledge of the passions, hopes, and history of people; where the temptations will touch them, what is the little scheme they have made of their own lives, or would make, if they had encouragement; what training long-past phases of their lives may have afforded; how to move, touch, teach them. Out memories and our hopes are more truly factors of our lives than we often remember." (Paper read before the Social Science Association in 1869.)[21.]

Institutional Relationships.

Edward Denison, who died in the year the Charity Organization Society was formed, was the first layman to live and work in East London, a forerunner of all the later residents in settlements. He forecast the development, and also the function of the settlement in building the institutional life of East London, when he wrote:

"These bread and meat doles are only doing the work of the poor-rates, and are perfectly useless. The chief use of this Society (The London Society for the Relief of Distress) and of many others, in my view, consists in bringing a considerable

21. Barnett, Mrs. Canon Barnett. (London, 1918) Vol. I. p. 29.

number of persons, belonging to the upper classes in actual contact with the misery of their fellow citizens and so convincing them of the necessity of social reform.....I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake and that the real thing is to let things work themselves straight; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves. Lend them your brains, but give them no money, except what you sink into such undertakings as above."[22]

In reading the records of five people who have made social work, it is the forming of these three types of relationships which distinguishes their work from any other activity of their time.

They and their associates seek to make the primary contact of a neighbour with people, who have lived territorially and socially apart from them. Within the neighbourly relationship they form the relations of friends. The words neighbour and friend seem to be interchangeable. The mark of the relationship is that it stands, not for a giver and a taker, but for mutual giving and taking.

Then these individual and personal contacts, between people of wider and of straitened circumstances in life, reveal the absence, in the districts where the poor live, of social institutions which meet the needs of health, intellect and character. The records show the steady attempt to strengthen family and

22. Woods and Kennedy. Op.cit. pp. 17-21.

neighbourhood life, also to build organizations to promote health, to give opportunity for learning, to safeguard the earning of a living, and to encourage participation in local government.

The recorded work of Samuel and Henrietta Barnett, Charles Loch, Mary Richmond and Jane Addams shows this continuous swing of concentration and purpose from personal to institutional activities. It was by following Cooley's suggestion of looking for a recurrent theme, which, "becomes, when we have grasped it, the focus of our study"[23], that it has been possible to set down in order the processes of that work, and the products in classes and clubs, case work procedure, social legislation and new social institutions.

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23. See page 8.

Chapter IV.

SAMUEL AND HENRIETTA BARNETT LAY DOWN THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

East London.

"'Something must be done', is the comment which follows the tale of how the poor live. Those who make the comment have, however, their business, their pieces of ground to see, their oxen to prove, their wives to consider, and so there is among them a general agreement that the 'something' must be done by Law or Societies. 'What can I do?' is a more healthy comment, and it is a sign of the times that this question is being widely asked, and by none more eagerly than by members of the Universities".

"The thought of the condition of the people has made a strange stirring in the calm life of the Universities, and many men feel themselves driven by a new spirit, possessed by a master idea. They are eager in their talk and in their inquiries, and they ask 'What can we do to help the poor?'"[1]

The Reverend Samuel Barnett, Vicar of Saint Jude's Church Whitechapel, was speaking to a group of young men at Oxford in the year 1883. Trade cycles marked the new economic life of the nineteenth century, and the years of industrial depression were times of bitter hardship for the low-wage-earners of a country not yet geared to meet unemployment. The late '70's and the early '80's were depressed years, and articles in newspapers and journals reported and discussed the situation continuously.

1. Barnett, S.A. Practicable Socialism. (London, 1915) pp.96-97.

"The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" had a wide circulation. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" was read and its measures recommended by those who soon came to be known as socialists.

The universities began to come out of their isolation to economic life. Scholars at Oxford, Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol College and T.H. Green, Professor of Moral Philosophy, led students to think of their responsibility in a new social order. Arnold Toynbee had made that recent period of economic and social development, to which he was the first to apply the name the Industrial Revolution, his special study,[2] and he had lived for short times in East London. Young himself, he attracted other young men, making them aware of phases of English life, of which their homes, their education had kept them uninformed. Men could grow up, as so many Englishmen did, in the country, in public schools and at the universities preparing for the church, law or civil service, with no real knowledge of the life of the people, or the current problems of the government they were to serve.

Barnett proposed that university men, professionally engaged in London, should take up residence together in the East End and learn to know those who lived there.

A year later, money had been raised and Toynbee Hall, named for Arnold Toynbee who had died in the interval, was opened in a converted building next door to St. Jude's Church. Samuel Barnett,

2. Toynbee, Arnold. Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England. (London, 1906)

vicar of that church, became the first warden and for twenty-two years was responsible for both parish and settlement.

The pattern which Toynbee Hall activities followed had been forming for eleven years in the parochial organization of St. Jude's.

As curate at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, working in its schools and among its poor, Samuel Barnett had come under the influence of Octavia Hill. Henrietta Rowland was one of Miss Hill's volunteer workers.[3] It was an unexpected marriage. Samuel Barnett in his west country home and at Oxford had had few contacts with people. Henrietta Rowland grew up in touch with the people, the opinions, the books, music and art of the time. Barnett recognized in her vivid, practical character, the complement to his own, diffident and over-intellectual. She saw the devoted goodness within an unattractive appearance. When Henrietta Barnett brought to her husband the friends that he and their work needed, his intuitive intellect found its strength of expression in discernment and interpretation. He developed the gifts of seeing into men and situations, which made him teacher and organizer, and, in the affectionate title of intimates, "prophet".[4]

Those who knew the Barnetts best, and also Henrietta Barnett herself, acknowledge that it was the fusion of two greatly differing native abilities in a unity of determination, which set and held the expanding activities of St. Jude's and Toynbee

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3. Barnett, Mrs. Canon Barnett, His Life, Work and Friends. (London, 1918) Vol. I. pp. 28-39.
4. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 25, 40, 62, 79, 95, 145, 173, 182-5. 257, 316-18; Vol. II pp. 29, 95-6.
Pimlott, J.A.R. Toynbee Hall. (London, 1935) pp. 45-6.

Hall on their courses.[5] Each had wanted to work in East London before they met.[6] Their marriage was made possible when upon the request of Edmund Hollond, an early member of the Charity Organization Society, the Bishop of London offered to Mr. Barnett St. Jude's "the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles".[7]

The former vicar had had a long illness. St. Jude's stood, empty, on week-days and on Sundays, and in disrepair, on the one main street of the district. On each side of the street stretched a net-work of courts and alleys and of dilapidated buildings, let out in one room or in one night lodgings. The respectable inhabitants of the district were the trades people of the main street and some Jewish families. The rest of the population of some 6000 were casual labourers, criminals, prostitutes, more men than women, all low, coarse and rough.[8]

When the Barnetts came, St. Jude's had been receiving five hundred pounds a year from a west-end parish. It had been given out in small sums. They did away with doles and gave help, as they had been taught, after inquiry into a family's needs. They met abuse and some violence at first, stones clattering against the vicarage door and once about their persons. Their consistent

5. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 82, 348. Vol. II. pp. 96. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 132.
6. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 38, 52, 66, 68.
7. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. p. 68.
8. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 15-16. Barnett. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 68-69. 73-74.

friendly attitude in time brought response, and from the earliest days the Barnetts found neighbours whom they counted as friends.[9] The church schools were re-opened, evening classes and clubs were started, west-end friends came to be parish workers, and recruits were drawn by addresses, by invitation, by one worker bringing another, "all yoked to St. Jude's omnibus, to do or get something done for the public weal."[10]

St. Jude's, on the western fringe of the great stretches of East London, was well situated to be the parent organization of the settlement, which is a channel of communication between separated classes.[11]

The Settlement pattern is difficult to see at first. There are any number of special interest groups, each with its own life, which expand or contract, accelerate, persist, decay or disappear, all within the framework of a larger organization, all interlocking, too, through their outstanding members. Those who write about settlements, as Henrietta Barnett or Jane Addams, recognize that they cannot tell a chronological story but write topically.[12] That is why Cooley's notion of a theme is useful to classify Toynbee Hall material.

Have the processes which go on through the special interest groups any common meaning? Are they variations of a general theme, which working out in various ways gives Toynbee Hall distinct character among East London institutions?

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9. Barnett. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 82-9, 142, 152-7. Vol. II. p. 74.
10. Barnett. Vol. I. p. 218.
11. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 16, 35.
12. Barnett Vol. I. p. x.Addams.Forty Years at Hull House. p. v.

An institutional pattern grows out of the activities of people, related to each other through the part they play in that institution's daily life.

The people of Toynbee Hall are the warden, and his wife, the residents, and those men, women and children who come regularly to the settlement from Whitechapel, Stepney and north-east London.[13] These latter are artisans, dock and factory workers, tradespeople and shop assistants, costers, clerks, typists, elementary school teachers, and the neighbourhood families. The men in residence, some fifteen to twenty at a time, and there have been over four hundred in the fifty years, come as young professional men and civil servants. Some spend short periods, others have lived at Toynbee for years. They lead classes and clubs, Scout and Guide troops. They take part in local government, or serve on C.O.S. committees or welfare councils. The associates serve in the same way as the residents, but live at home in other parts of London.[14]

All these people are related in membership in the institution because the Barnetts had their own idea of how to help the poor.

"The needs of East London are often urged but they are little understood"..... It is impossible but that misunderstanding should follow ignorance, and at the present moment the West-end is ignorant of the East-end. The want of that knowledge, which comes only from the sight of others' daily life, and from sympathy with "the joys and sorrows in widest commonalty spread", is the source of the mistaken charity which has done much to increase the hardness of the life of the poor".

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13. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 154-5.
14. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 322-5, Vol. II, pp. 35-7, 92-5 Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 44-50, 51-57, 95-6, 134-5, 189-92, 203-4, 209, 283-299.

The settlers will find themselves related to two distinct "classes" of the poor, and it will be well if they keep in mind the fact that they must serve both those who, like the artisans need the necessaries for life, and also those who, like casual labourers, need the necessaries for livelihood".[15]

These two passages disclose a theme or master process, the purpose to enlighten. It is a two-way process. The residents, and the workers who come from other parts of London, are enlightened by first hand knowledge of conditions which were a tale to them before. They enlighten working men through opening to them a cultural heritage.[16] When Barnett spoke of the "necessaries for life" he meant that books and art, music and science hold good things that civilization has produced, and by which men live. This double process of enlightenment begins in and depends upon personal contacts made "one by one" in a spirit of friendship.[17]

The characteristic form through which settlement activity goes on is the group. The Toynbee groups, - classes, clubs, associations for investigation and reform, and embryo institutions of art, education, government, - are the products, or formalized aspects, of the process of enlightening, as it works out through five variations or sub-processes, through discussion, through teaching, through informing, through investigating, through

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15. Barnett. Op.cit. pp. 103-4.
16. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 302-3, Vol. II, pp. 94-5. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 204-6.
17. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 184, 218, 307-14. Vol.II. p. 13.
Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. VII, VIII, p. 94.
Barnett. Op.cit. pp. 104-5.

demonstrating. It is these processes and the product groups that make up the functional pattern of Toynbee Hall which, with developments and local adaptations, has been reproduced in other settlements all over the world.[18] And of which there is no trace before the Barnetts went to St. Jude's.

The records of St. Jude's and Toynbee show many experimental undertakings which have become established institutions or practices. Perhaps no one person or group may fully claim the initiation of any one of them. In a sense they grew out of times ready for them. But Samuel Barnett had consistent ideals of human development, and Henrietta Barnett quick adaptability in bringing people and circumstances together in combinations that worked. And both were indefatigable in spite of recurrent ill health.

Pimlott acknowledges the debt of the settlements to the teachings of Carlyle and of the Christian Socialists.[19]

In the plan of the Working Men's College there is the same note of friendship between members of separated classes as appears later in the Barnetts' work in East London. "It was hoped that the smaller classes might serve as a means of forming friendships between teachers and scholars".[20]

Charles Kingsley wrote in a letter to J.M. Ludlow.

"We must touch the workman at all his points of interest. First and foremost at association - but also at political rights,

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18. Pimlott. Op.cit. pp. 223, 252-261.
19. Op.cit. pp. 4, 32, 39-40.
20. Woodworth. A.V. Op.cit. p. 48.

as grounded both on the Christian ideal of the Church, and on the historic facts of the Anglo-Saxon race. Then national education, sanitary and dwelling-house reform, the free sale of land, and corresponding reform of the land laws, moral improvement of the family relation, public places of recreation (on which point I am very earnest), and I think a set of hints from history, and sayings of great men, of which last I have been picking up from Plato, Demosthenes, etc."[21]

It is interesting to place this passage before an analysis of the Toynbee Hall processes.

General References.

Barnett, Canon and Mrs. S.A. Practicable Socialism.
"Settlements of University Men in Great Towns." pp. 96-106
"The Beginnings of Toynbee Hall." pp. 107-120
"Twenty-one Years of University Settlements" pp. 121-3
Pimlott. Toynbee Hall. Chapter II. pp. 21-43.
Woods and Kennedy. The Settlement Horizon. pp. 23-25.

The Functional Pattern of Toynbee Hall.

The Discussion Process.

Samuel Barnett's early associates in parish work write of his interest in good talk. He believed opinion and action grew from the clarifying of ideas through putting them into words, and submitting them to the consideration of other minds.[22]

21. Kingsley, Charles. Alton Locke (New York, 1887) p. XXI
See also Barnett, Mrs. Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, and Friends (London, 1918) Vol. II. pp. 107-8.
22. Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 23-27

Discussion between Samuel and Henrietta Barnett.

That their characters are said to have complemented each other has already been noted. At the core of all the Toynbee activities lay the habit of discussing them between the warden and his wife. "In our common work he saw and pointed out where to go, and I knew how to get there."[23]

Discussion between the Warden and the Residents.

Talks in the warden's study ascertained and lighted up for each resident his own strengths and capacities.[24]

"I remember so well the mixture of enthusiasm and clear-headedness with which one left his study at Toynbee." Harvey Darton.[25]

"We went to him in a tangle hardly knowing what we felt or meant. We came away clear, our decisions focussed by his simple yet profound suggestions." E.J. Urwick.[26]

Discussion between the Barnetts and the Residents.

One evening weekly the warden, his wife and the residents met to talk, joined at times by visitors, specialists in the evening's topic. Sometimes the talk was discursive and fruitless; at other times it carried discovery and purpose.[27]

Discussion at Toynbee Hall Dinners.

At St. Jude's the Barnetts had begun to bring together people unlikely to meet in the ordinary course of events.

"The vicarage dining-room witnessed some daring social blend-

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23. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, p. v, Vol. II, p. 18.
24. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 315-320: Pimlott. pp. 45-46. Woods, R.A. English Social Movements. p. 97
25. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 316.
26. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, p. 317.
27. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 62-3.

ing of East and West. Mr. Jowett, James Russell Lowell, Henry Ward, H.M. Stanley, Rev. Mark Wilkes, Walter Besant, Mr. Asquith, Dr. Abbott, the Duke of Devonshire, Tom Mann, Herbert Spencer, William Morris, Ernest Hart, Ben Tillett, Lady Battersea, John Burns, Lord Goschen, Frederick Rogers, Lord Bryce, Octavia Hill, Emma Cons and my sister made some interesting combinations and produced live talk.[28]

When Toynbee Hall was opened the dinner hour became a planned occasion for discussion. The residents invited friends, those of differing social and political opinion being placed side by side. "What shall we talk about to-night? Give me a subject". Barnett would say to his wife as they were dressing. He sat at the top of the table and she near him, a guest beside each, "then we threw the ball to each other and guided the conversation to big issues, to the consideration of the folks handicapped in life's race."[29]

The Toynbee Societies.

No one process in the Toynbee pattern is separable from the others. Some of the Toynbee Societies experiment in public welfare, and have been listed accordingly. Others have a teaching function. But there are some which Henrietta Barnett distinguishes as groups meeting for exchange of ideas, and for inquiry into some subject of common interest, rather than for formal instruction. Among these are:

The Natural History Society.
The Philosophical Society.

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28. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, p. 216.
29. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 44, 77-78.

The Antiquarian Society.
The East London Shakespeare Society.
The Elizabethan Literary Society.

The two latter in time drew their membership from all parts of London. J.M. Dent, a member of the Shakespeare Society, published his Temple edition for this society's use.[30]

The Sunday Evening Discussions.

Lectures were followed by a question period. The audience was made up largely of costers and dockers. Among the lecturers have been, Professor John Muirhead, Professor Edward Caird, George Lansbury, G.K. Chesterton, Sir Oliver Lodge, A.V. Dicey and Leslie Stephen.[31]

The Thursday Smoking Conferences.

They grew out of a Literary and Discussion Society. Well-known men and women introduced topics to an audience of working-men, and spoke again at the conclusion of a general debate, which followed the address. These are some of the speakers and their subjects.

1890.	Ben Tillett.	The Future of the Dockers' Union.
1890	H.H. Asquith, M.P.	The House of Lords.
1890	Canon Wilberforce	Total Abstinence or Moderate Drinking.
1891	Miss Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sydney Webb.)	Sweating.
1896	Herbert Samuel	Liberalism and Social Reform.
1896	Sir Edward Grey	British Foreign Policy.
1901	Dadabhai Naoraji	The Condition of India.
1901	Hilaire Belloc.	Co-operation and Collectivism.
1900	J. St. L. Strachey	The Transvaal Crisis and the Future of the British Empire.
1901	Edgar Foa.	International Arbitration.
1902	The Bishop of Stepney	Citizenship in East London.
1903	G.B. Shaw	That the Working Classes are Useless, Dangerous and ought to be Abolished.
1902	J. Ramsay MacDonald	Labour Representatives in the House

30. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 356-7, Pimlott, pp. 60-62.
31. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 99-102, Pimlott, pp. 66, 151-2.

Henrietta Barnett admits that "rank rubbish" was often talked in the open period. The Annual Report of 1898 states that most of the discussions had,"a real educational value, making it clear to those who were present that most questions are many-sided."[32]

The Teaching Process.

"To Canon Barnett", writes R.H. Tawney, "education meant the cultivation of personality through contact with what is excellent in human achievement. What made him an educational reformer was a vivid appreciation of the inspiration which education ought to give to social life and institutions".[33]

"The one thing which Liberals can compel is education because till people are educated they cannot be free or use freedom", Barnett himself wrote to a nephew in the year of his death, 1913.[34]

The teaching process of Toynbee Hall appears to be concerned with moral growth.

"As gold lies hidden in the mine, so qualities lie hidden in the children. It is on working these qualities, on making the children all that is possible, that wealth and happiness depend."[35]

"The workman knows about livelihood; he might also know about life if the great avenues of art, literature and history, down which come the thoughts and ideals of ages, were open to him."[36]

Samuel Barnett had taken honours in law and in history at Oxford.[37] As curate at St. Mary's he had taught a notable history

32. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. 368-371. Pimlott, pp. 66, 153-4, 191.
33. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 105
34. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 342.
35. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 293.
36. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, p. 1.
37. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 12.

class in the boys' school.[38] One of his first actions as vicar of St. Jude's was to re-open the parish schools, to staff them with teachers known to him, and later with those especially trained for work in East London. When elementary education became a state responsibility, Barnett continued St. Jude's schools on private subscriptions. He wanted freedom for innovation and experiment. The records claim the introduction of these practices.

Pictures upon class room walls.
Handicrafts as a part of the curriculum.
Visits to picture galleries, parks and zoological gardens.
Continuation classes for boys and girls, who had reached school leaving age and had entered employment.
The use of school buildings as recreation centres.[39]
Co-operation between school managers, teachers and parents.

The Education Reform League

It was formed to interest parents in this type of school program and to work towards introducing its provisions into the state system of education.[40]

The Toynbee Classes

Ambulance	French Literature	Political Economy
Book-keeping.	Health in the House	Rights of Englishmen
Chaucer	Italian	Sketching
Decoration	Mathematics	Wood-carving
Elementary Science	Natural History	

These are the first one in every ten, of an incomplete list of 134 classes, compiled by Henrietta Barnett in 1910. The classes were begun by volunteers in St. Jude's school-rooms and transferred to Toynbee Hall.[41]

The London Pupil Teachers' Association.

Teachers' University Association.

These two societies were formed at Toynbee Hall in the interest

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38. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 25.
39. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 284-301
40. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 292-5. Pimlott. p. 67.
41. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 326, 330-1. Pimlott. pp. 48-9.

of the education and character of teachers.[42]

University Extension Courses

The East London branch was formed in 1887 and its lectures were given at Toynbee Hall.[43]

Barnett's hope was that universities should play integral parts in the life of industrial towns and cities, and his vision saw Toynbee Hall as an East London University. The opening of university education to the working classes came about in another way, when the government, through scholarships, made it possible for elementary school children to proceed on through secondary schools to universities. But Toynbee Hall, through Barnett's life-time and to date, has made liberal education accessible to adult working men and women.[44]

The Workers' Educational Association

This was organized at Toynbee Hall in 1903. Formal lectures gave place to tutorial courses, and the students began to take part in planning the curriculum. The association now has nation-wide membership and branches in other British countries. The members themselves plan and administer an educational and re-creational program.

The average enrolment in Toynbee Hall classes, in the years 1930-33 exceeded 650 persons.[45]

Music, Art and the Drama at Toynbee Hall.

The teaching process at Toynbee Hall does not stop at class instruction. Charles Aitken, the first director of the Whitechapel

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42. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, pp. 342-355. Pimlott, pp.68-9.
43. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, pp. 332-338.
44. Pimlott. pp. 51-71, 142-164. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 170, 339-40. Vol. II. pp. 13-18, 105-114.
45. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 338. Vol. II. p. 108, Pimlott, pp. 142-151, 220-1, 229-232.

Art Gallery, wrote of Samuel Barnett, who was colour-blind, and had come to an appreciation of the educational value of pictures and music through his wife's knowledge of both.

..."though he could not personally feel the authenticity of much that art is impelled to reveal, his liberal many-sided intellect told him that art was, together with literature and music, one of the great main means of communication for men, and that through it ideas could be spread and enthusiasm for the progress of humanity be engendered".[46]

At St. Jude's the Barnetts built up a library, had oratorios sung in the church and borrowed pictures from private collections to show at exhibitions held in St. Jude's school rooms. Artists gave their services and the organization and work were done by volunteers led by the Barnetts.[47]

Out of these origins grew:

The Whitechapel Public Library.	Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, pp 4-7.
The Whitechapel Art Gallery	" " " " pp. 171-9.
The People's Concert Society	" " " I. p. 96.
Sunday Afternoon Concerts	Pimlott p. 55, 173-4
Toynbee Musical Society	" pp. 221-2, 232

The Toynbee Dramatic Society is a development of the current interest in the amateur theatre. Pimlott pp. 220-1, 232

The Toynbee Travellers' Club

The original idea was Henrietta Barnett's, conceived one day in St. Peter's, Rome. The club was formed in 1887 to introduce

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46. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, p. 178
47. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, pp. 92-96. Vol. II, pp. 1-3, 151-171. Pimlott. pp. 165-174.

English working people to the culture and civilization of other peoples. It forecasts the twentieth century conducted tours; but the preparation was intensive. For many years the members followed a winter program of reading and study of the history, art and politics of some European centre, and then made a summer holiday visit to it.[48] Its lineal successors are:-

The Workmen's Travel Club. Pimlott, p. 161

The Workers' Travel Association " pp. 218-220.

Toynbee Scouts and Guides.

Scout and Guide Troops have taken the place of the Boys' and Girls' Clubs of St. Jude's and Toynbee. Pimlott recognizes the affinity of Baden Powell's ideals of the building of character and of citizens, with those of the founder of Toynbee Hall.[49]

The Process of Informing.

At Toynbee Hall the process of enlightening works in two directions. It opens education to East Londoners; it opens situations, formerly obscure, to those who live outside East London. This is done through making information on a particular situation as complete as possible, and then giving it currency.

The Residents.

"Teachers, citizens, hosts "were the roles Barnett suggested to the residents.[50] It was as citizens, undertaking public and private duties, school board managers, Poor Law guardians, vol-

48. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, pp. 255, 359-365: Pimlott, pp. 155-60.
49. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I, p. 122, Vol. II, pp. 70-3.
Pimlott, pp. 48-9, 77-80, 178-187, 249-251.
50. Pimlott. p. 48

unteer sanitary inspectors, hospital almoners, committee members, that they got first hand knowledge of East London living and working conditions.[51]

The Inquirers' Club.

This club was composed largely of civil servants. They met regularly at Toynbee to inform themselves upon current social questions through talking with men expert in the subject under discussion.[52]

Trade Unions.

There is another and an important aspect of informing with which Toynbee Hall has been continuously concerned. It relates to the aim of bringing socially separated classes to appreciation of their interdependence.

The Barnetts' interest in industrial organization was constant. The Trades Unions had been recognized as a factor in the national life before Toynbee Hall opened.[53] But the unskilled workers were still unorganized. Toynbee showed a friendly interest in the efforts of John Burns and Tom Mann to form these new unions. During the strikes of match girls and of dockers in 1887 and in 1888, relief was given and assistance in organization, also interpretative and mediatory services between strikers and public opinion. In the general strike of 1926, Toynbee Hall took a similar attitude. East London branches of Trades Unions have their headquarters there.[54]

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51. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 322-3. Vol. II. p. 61-3, 92. 94.
52. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, pp. 55-56, Pimlott, p. 233.
53. See Table p. 27
54. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II, pp. 65-8. Pimlott. pp. 82-7, 210-15, 247.

Informing through Addresses, Articles, Books.

This is a means of enlightening special groups or the general public. Henrietta Barnett first recognized its value.[55]

Samuel and Henrietta Barnett both made frequent addresses, stressing appropriate points, to institutional groups. Letters to the press gave timely information on questions of current interest. Articles in journals served the same purpose as did the books the Barnetts published from time to time.[56]

Informing Visitors.

"One had to go to the West End to remind it of the East End."[57] Those who lived at Toynbee Hall visited and talked in other parts of London, in England and abroad. The names in the indices to "Canon Barnett" and to "Toynbee Hall" show the extent to which this settlement has engaged the interest of men in public life. The present Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the young men who met at Oxford prior to the founding of Toynbee, and owns Barnett's influence. Clement Attlee, the present leader of the Opposition, was a resident.[58]

Toynbee Hall has hundreds of visitors each year from Great Britain and from foreign countries. Many of them come to live there for a time. In 1900 people came from Paris, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg, Madrid, New York.[59] Jane Addams made two visits in 1887

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55. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 208.
56. " " Vol. II. p. 397.
57. " " Vol. I. p. 215
58. Pimlott. pp. VII. VIII. p. 30, 204, 290.
59. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 44.

and in 1889.[60] Henry Lloyd and G.E. Hooker, organizers of the American Federation of Labour, made Toynbee Hall their headquarters while in London.[61] Clemenceau came from France "to be instructed in the condition of the poor and in poor relief."[62]

The Study Weeks.

Begun in 1921, they offer to Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates a program of lectures, conferences and opportunities for observation.[63]

The American Seminar.

It was held first in 1920 to offer the same type of experience and over a longer period of time to mature, overseas visitors. It has expanded, and is now known as,
The Institute of International Affairs.[64]

The Process of Investigation.

The processes of investigation and demonstration are directed to enlightening public opinion upon living and working conditions of East London, with the intention of bringing to pass changes in those conditions.

Informal investigations were a part of the Toynbee program from the beginning. Charles Booth, who lived at Toynbee Hall over periods of time while preparing his "Life and Labour of London", was assisted by the residents. The Inquirers' Club also undertakes investigations.[65]

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60. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 30
61. " " " " p. 66
62. " " " " p. 45
63. Pimlott, p. 237.
64. " pp. 234-7.
65. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 52-5. Pimlott, pp. 88-90, 102-5. 210-11. 222.

The Toynbee Trust and the Barnett Memorial Fellowship have made possible the following studies.

Inquiry into the Unemployed	Woodsworth & Fitzharris	B.II. 53
The Jew in London	H. Lewis & C.E.B. Russell	B.II. P. 104
Problems of Unemployment in the London Building Trades	H.B. Dearle	B.II P. 104
Unemployment; a Problem of Industry	W.H. Beveridge	P. 136
Studies of Boy Life in our Cities	E.J. Urwick (edited by)	B.II.53 P. 104
The London Police Courts To-day and To-Morrow	H.R.P. Gennon	B.II. P. 136
Norwich, a Social Study	C.B. Hawkins	P. 136
Railway Study of Wages and Hours.	Walter Layton	P. 136-7
Social Progress and Educational Waste	Kenneth Lindsay	P. 222
New Survey of London Life and Labour	H. Llewellyn Smith	P. 222
Inquiry into the Law on Hire Purchase	E.S. Watkins	P. 240
Investigation into the Decentralization of Industries	E.H. Rutland	P. 233.
Juvenile Unemployment	In preparation	P. 233-4
Chronic Unemployment	In preparation	P. 233-4

The Process of Demonstration

No one process of enlightening is separate and distinct from the others. The teaching process at Toynbee also demonstrates. It shows East London's lack of books, music and pictures and the appreciation with which they are received. There is another type of demonstration which goes on continuously in settlement activities. The Barnetts, and those who worked with them, believed, as did Aristotle, Hooker, Locke and Green, that moral progress depends upon physical endowment.[66] So they worked to disclose and to supply certain needs of the working people, then the concern of no private or government agency, needs of home, health and employment.

66. See page 33 and 41

The following practices and institutions were begun experimentally at St. Jude's or Toynbee.

Sanitary Aid Committees	Volunteer inspection and report upon bad sanitary conditions	P. 49, 76.
Housing	Houses condemned. Funds raised to demolish and replace them by blocks of modern dwellings	B.I. 129-40
Shoreditch Housing Association	Built new blocks of flats after housing inquiry in 1930	P.244
Children's Holiday Committee	Children placed in country homes.	B.I. 177-92
Playgrounds	Playground opened near St. Jude's	B.I. 141-3
Recreation Centres.	Opened in School buildings	B.I.288
Medical Club	Forecast panel system of medical care.	B.I. 221
Nursing Society	Forecast work of public health nurses.	B.I. 358
Pension Committee	Preceded the national system of Old Age Pensions	B.I. 88
Poor Man's Lawyer Tenants'Defence Committee	Made legal services available to those unable to pay for them	B.II.64 P.245
Insurance Department of Ministry of Health	District Headquarters at Toynbee Hall	P.241
Juvenile Employment Exchange of Ministry of Labour	District Headquarters at Toynbee Hall	P.242
Stepney Skilled Employment Centre.	To place juveniles in skilled trades	P. 242
Grith Fyrd Camps	For unemployed young men	P.243
Stepney Council for Voluntary Occupation	For the unemployed	P. 242

Growth Through Communication

Processes of communication have degrees of self-consciousness, from all but mechanical reaction to purposeful contacts. The settlement processes, discussion, teaching, informing, investigating and demonstration are purposeful. Barnett expressed the ethical aim of his work when he wrote that a sense of duty is needed in social problems, and not only pity or a desire to help.[67] The theme of enlightenment, which is common to the processes, is deliberate, to give knowledge of new things to minds ignorant of them. And the processes enlighten to promote human growth, overcrowding, lack of sanitation; or to build new agencies to further physical and moral growth, institutions of health, vocational training, employment placement, education and recreation.

"I know, and no one better", writes Mrs. Barnett, "the countless servants of the people who are toiling to relieve the sorrows of the poor and their children; but until the conditions of labour, of education and housing are fearlessly faced and radically dealt with their labour can only be palliative and their efforts barren of the best fruit."[68]

"The first practical work is to rouse the Councils of the towns to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political but social, that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people."[69]

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67. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 311.
68. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 191.
69. Bosanquet, H. Social Work in London. (London, 1914) p. 180. (Samuel Barnett, in "The Nineteenth Century", at a time when settlement and C.O.S. workers were pressing for enforcement of sanitary legislation.)

"There is truth in the old evangelical teaching that the chief object is salvation of souls, but "salvation" must be understood to mean the full development of human nature".[70]

The settlement processes of communication work to help human growth through two types of relationships. A centre is established in a disorganized district. Those who live at that centre offer the primary contacts of a real neighbourhood to those living about them.[71] In time they begin to offer opportunity for secondary contacts. The settlement people build institutions, - play centres, libraries, art galleries, - which have had a part in their own growth. By these means they make available to the people of a district the relationships of institutional life. The records of both Toynbee Hall and Hull House show this expansion from friendly, intimate contacts with the neighbours to building the institutions which the district has lacked.

The identification with a derelict area, the hope of organizing neighbourhood life through establishing primary contacts, was natural to people to whom the disorganization of the industrial change was new. There is, too, a native British philosophy which holds the sympathetic process basic in social life.[72] The duty to the neighbour had also sounded in parish churches since the Reformation. All this helps to explain the efforts to close the "gulf between rich and poor" by means of primary contacts.." The

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70. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 186.
71. See page 63, note 9.
72. Selby-Bigge, L.A. British Moralists. (Oxford, 1897) Vol. I. pp. 252-4, 273-4. Matthews, W.R. Butler's Sermons. pp. 40-1.

nostaglia for an earlier and past way of village life may also be taken into account.

The concepts of friend and neighbour have dropped out of social work terminology. It is admittedly a heroic task to organize city life outward, from the neighbourly attitudes of a few devoted people, in districts which have no natural communal life. Pimlott recognizes that Toynbee and other settlements are only oases in East London life to-day.[73]

But these concepts of neighbour and friend were real to the first settlement workers. "All can do such a simple thing as make friends",[74] Barnett wrote in describing the possibilities of settlement life.

At St. Jude's and Toynbee there were Victorian parties, conversation, games, photographs. Pimlott represents the tension and artificiality of those occasions when people from East and West London were set side by side to make friends.[75] But he seems to miss this point that the Barnetts saw the interaction between two persons, each learning from the other, as dynamic, the power moving personal and social development.

"They have not come as "missioners", they have come to settle, that is, to learn as much as to teach, to receive as much as to give.....The friendship of one man of knowledge and one

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73. Pimlott. p. 224-5.
74. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 218.
75. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 152-7, Vol. II. p. 84, Pimlott, p. 72-5.

man of industry may go but a small way to bring together the Universities and the working classes, but it is such friendship which prepares the way for the understanding which underlies co-operation".[76]

"Each resident takes up some citizen's duty which brings him into contact with others, and puts him into a position both to learn and to teach. The aim of all..... is first to form friendships, and then through friendships to raise the standard of living and of life."[77]

To enter into such friendly relationships was the primary activity of Toynbee Hall.[78] Through complete focus upon it the Barnetts could step out of class habit to an attitude which was practically a professional one. They were of course wrong in expecting that objectivity in all their guests.

It is interesting that at the genesis of case work there is the notion of a process of interaction, as held by Octavia Hill and Samuel and Henrietta Barnett. As case work developed in the C.C.S. districts it took on investigatory character through the attempt to distinguish hopeful from hopeless, deserving from undeserving cases. For a long time the case worker had a dual attitude, hoping to find the person, on guard against the pauper. Now the concept of a personal relationship as a condition of individual growth and development is again to the fore. With a psychological, in place of a religious and philosophic content.[79]

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76. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 312.
77. " " Vol. II, p. 93.
78. Barnett. Practicable Socialism. pp. 104-6.
79. Robinson, Virginia,P. A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work. (University of North Carolina,Press, 1934) pp. XIV, 127, 133, 166.

Barnett's faith in friendship is also at the genesis of group work, the modern lineal descendant of the early settlement processes. He develops the Christian Socialist idea of brotherhood farther than Octavia Hill does. Like Aristotle, who made the outstanding study of friendship as a relation working towards personal and communal development, to the good life for individuals and for states, Barnett, in building the settlement program, recognizes ethical and political ends to friendship. Group work still defines its function in terms of personal growth and social action.

"Group work may be defined as an educational process emphasizing (1) the development and social adjustment of an individual through voluntary group associations; and (2) the use of this association as a means of furthering other socially desirable ends. It is concerned therefore with both individual growth and social results. Moreover it is the combined and consistent pursuit of both these objectives, not merely one of them, that distinguishes group work as a process."[80]

"Group work involves certain means of consciously affecting the social experience of persons in groups for educational, personality and social growth, and the guidance of group experience as a means of furthering other socially desirable needs."[81]

Samuel Barnett is said to have been a mystic, to have lived as in the presence of God.[82] He was a man of humanity,[83] sympathy,[84]

80. Newstetter, W.I. Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work. (1935) p. 291
81. National Conference of Social Work. Proceedings. (1937) p.296. See also, Hall, Helen. National Conference. Proceedings, (1936) pp. 234-41.
82. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. IX, XIII. 272-4.
83. " " " " p. 24
84. " " " " p. 82. Pimlott. p. 130.

personal magnetism, a liberal by profession and practice.[85] He had a gift of inspiring and directing men.[86] He was depressed at times when men and events did not move at the pace he could. Yet, quoting from Pimlott, he "did not simply mould individuals. He helped to mould a generation."[87] Clemenceau is reported to have said after his visit to England. "I have met but three really great men in England, and one was a little pale clergyman in Whitechapel."[88] He was criticized at times for inconsistency,[89] but as G.K. Chesterton wrote of another mystic, Saint Francis of Assisi, "what seems inconsistency to you does not seem inconsistency to him."[90]

Barnett wrote of his work. "My one object is to make the Church serve the needs of the soul, the need which all have for the wider, fuller life, which is called "eternal life."[91]

The two types of relationships, personal and institutional, through which the settlement process works, are, in the last analysis, Samuel and Henrietta Barnett's means of helping spiritual growth. There is little formal statement of purpose; the theme discloses as the purposes of the man are disclosed.

He became warden of Toynbee Hall because he was ready-made for the job. But although he is best known as a social reformer, Poor Law administrator, educationalist, his consistent purpose was a religious one.[92] "His one never-sleeping desire was to

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85. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 22-3, 383. Vol. II. pp. 63, 199, 336, 342. Pimlott. pp. 98, 130.
86. Pimlott. p. 45
87. " p. 129
88. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. p. 45.
89. " " " I. VIII. Pimlott. p. 131.
90. Chesterton, G.K. St. Francis of Assisi. (London) p.11.
91. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 97, 273-4.
92. " " " " pp. 24, 76.

help people to live their lives in relationship with God"[93] and he never relinquished a working-place in the Church of England. From his curacy at St. Mary's to his last office as a Canon of Westminster Abbey, his heart and mind were with the working people, bent on their stronger physical, mental and spiritual life.[94]

Barnett looked for a "buried life" in each individual, to be raised and made active through knowledge and love of God and through effort towards a Christ-like character.[95] "The end that we have in view", he wrote in his first parish report, "is that everyone may know God as Father"[96] To him each individual was a child of God and worthy of reverence.[97] The approach, "one by one", man to man, friend to friend was intended primarily to reach this "buried life"; "good can only be done one by one..... it takes a man to help a man".[98] "All can do such a simple thing as make friends. I only ask that such friend-making may be done in faith that it is one means of reaching the deepest needs".[99]

The parish organization and its later developments at Toynbee Hall grew around this primary motive. The Barnetts brought the masterpieces of creative effort, in music, books and pictures to East London, and opened new forms of institu-

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93. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 198-203, 343-4.
94. " " " I. pp. 22, 97, Vol. II. pp. 346-7, 356-7, 368-9.
95. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. pp. 272-4, 300-1, Vol.II. p. 40 Pimlott. p. 131-2.
96. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 75.
97. Barnett, Mrs. " " p. 100, Pimlott. p. 128.
98. " " " II. p. 73.
99. " " " I. p. 218.

tional life, because they believed that the good products of human workmanship carried and communicated ideas which the people took over less by intellect than by absorption.

"The Gospel of the higher life is not to be conveyed in any set phrase or by any one means. It now reaches men through the thousand influences of literature, art, society which have been touched by the spirit of Christ. A man must, it seems to me, go to the people of the East End not as to heathens, not as to people morally worse than the rich, but as to those who are out of reach of many influences powerful to make life fuller and higher".[100]

Similarly, national occasions, a Jubilee, a Coronation, had value to him as forms holding ideas, which the people took over by participation.[101]

His life-long interest in education was the expression of his belief that education increases spiritual insight and understanding. He thought of social progress as moved by the life of the spirit. For these reasons he saw the unfilled social, educational and religious needs of the people as one single problem, to which he believed a settlement, through the relationships it fostered, had the key.[102]

"Infection is the fact of life. Everything passes by contact, ... A settlement-ugly as is the word - is the solution of all social problems."[103]

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100. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. I. p. 225, also 94-6. Vol. II. pp. 109, 151-171.
101. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 75-6, 359-60.
102. " " " I. pp. 273, 300-1, 340.
103. " " " II. pp. 95-6.

The settlement pattern was laid down by the Barnetts, and has continued to develop, out of selective use of processes of communication. The principle of selection is an ethical one, to aid human growth, materially, morally and, in the hope of its originators, spiritually. But through Barnett's insistence that the settlement should function without ecclesiastical control, it has remained, with a few exceptions, a secular organization.[104] Toynbee Hall gathered up and translated into action many threads of the growing democratic consciousness.[105] The pattern shows the influence of the nineteenth century democratic ideal of opening opportunity to all men to be citizens and legislators. And its twentieth century pattern retains that function.[106]

Jane Addams, taking over the settlement pattern, worked at Hull House in the same way through processes of communication active in personal and institutional relationships.

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104. Pimlott. p. 34. Barnett, Mrs. Vol. II. pp. 29-30, 90-99
105. Woods & Kennedy. The Settlement Horizon. (New York, 1922) p. 363.
106. Pimlott. p. 265.

Chapter V.

CHARLES LOCH DEFINES CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

A Working Plan.

"There was rarely a day in our forty years work together", writes Henrietta Barnett, "when the claims of the poor, or the hopes for the children, did not take time and demand output of thought and feeling."[1]

But the settlement pattern shows no thread of relief-giving. The Charity Organization Movement was, however, conceived to change existing methods of relief-giving.[2]

The settlement movement meets opposition and breaks down prejudices; but it keeps on expanding and taking on new activities in a sort of snowball growth until it has international interests. The Charity Organization Society's efforts to break down old social habits of giving and taking, its persistent opposition to certain forms of State aid give to that movement negative characteristics.

Its early history was, as has been noted, one of defining issues through conflict. First the advocates of employment colonies separated from those who wanted to organize the charitable societies. Then the refusal of the charities to be organized, caused the initiation of a new plan. District Committees were formed to co-ordinate the work of the relief agencies within local areas. A Central Council was formed to unify the District Committees and to work for measures of reform.

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1. Mrs. Barnett. Canon Barnett. Vol. I. Introduction p. x.
2. Bosanquet, H. Social Work in London pp. 1-27.

The notion of charity organization persisted however, and its proponents made continuous efforts to define it in relation to the working plan of districts and council set in motion in 1869.

That working plan is adapted to London ecology. London is not a city, grown out of a pioneer business and residential centre into surrounding areas of homes, shops and services, within each of which people of the same economic class are fairly well segregated. London is a growth together of villages, a taking in of intervening spaces. Each local area is distinguished by some natural feature or occupational interest. And the English system of local government, as enacted in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, seats municipal responsibility in parish, district and county councils.

The C.O.S. District Committees had then to their advantage in seeking to use and to co-ordinate neighbourhood sources of relief, the presence of church and of municipal officers, as well as some thin tradition of community, even if only in place names of ancient origin. In many districts, Marylebone for instance, where Octavia Hill taught the Barnetts, the squares, streets and terraces of good homes had their proximate little streets, courts and alleys, and so a territorial basis, at least, for a good neighbour role.

An extract from a C.O.S. annual report indicates that the people whom the society served belonged to Booth's classes C and D.[3] It also indicates a characteristic process, to encourage individuals and families to self-maintenance.

"In London below the large independent artizan and tradesmen class, there may be said to be on a day count, a population of

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See pp. 18

about 600,000 or 700,000 people, or about fourteen or fifteen per cent. of the population which is in receipt of Poor Law relief or lives on the verge of dependence, and lies in scattered groups and masses among the general population. The prosperity of the country as indicated by large imports and exports, does not greatly affect this class, until it reaches so high a level that it brings into the current of demand the less capable and less industrious grades of the people. There are thus reaches of social existence over which the normal tides of prosperity do not sweep; and hence there arises the general problem how, if by any means, this class may be drawn into social conditions in which the natural forces of invigoration and self-support that lie within our national life may have further play; and it may fairly be pleaded that many measures that, directly or indirectly, add security to those who live according to a higher social scale may have little effect upon this class. With them to a large extent, the question is their start and initiation in self-support.[4]

The leaders of the C.O.S. Movement were members of the nobility, the gentry, the army, the professions of the church, law and medicine. Some of them were brought in daily work close to the poor and destitute. But many of the leaders and of the active members were men and women of leisure time, who made what was later called social service their occupation and interest. At the opening of the twentieth century there were estimated to be 10,000 such C.O.S. members and supporters in London and other

4. Bosanquet, H. Op.cit. pp. 101-2.

centres.[5] They worked as friendly visitors in the districts, sat on the Central Council, worked on its sub-committees. The Council's function was consultative, deliberative and reforming.[6]

The office of Secretary, a key post in an organization so territorially separated, was at first an honorary one. Soon a paid secretary was appointed, and from time to time other secretaries for special purposes.

Charles Stewart Loch became Secretary, five years after the society was formed, chosen from some twenty candidates for the position.[7] For thirty-seven years his efforts co-ordinated and extended C.O.S. work, his personality pervaded and marked it. Loch, born in India, son of a judge, educated at a Scottish public school and at Oxford, was honorary secretary of the Islington District at the time of his appointment, and was then reading law. He was also a trained statistician. On the imaginative side he loved books, especially poetry, sculpture, country life, gardens and woods. Off duty, he relaxed entirely in these pursuits, a charm of manner and of personality active to the full. On duty he fought, devotedly, thoughtfully and with every weapon of logic at his command, for C.O.S. principles.[8]

Loch wrote in 1912: "Many years have passed since Mr. Charles Booth's first map of East London was published and the black spots of that day were marked on it. Then to the writer of this article, it seemed that there could be no more splendid task for the religious and social chivalry of our people than to redeem those

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5. Ibid. pp. 86, 103-5, 147-156.
6. Ibid. pp. 53, 56, 94.
7. Ibid. p. 32.
8. Richmond, Mary. The Long View. (New York, 1930) pp. 557-73. Reprinted from The Family Vol. V. March and April. 1924.

who lived in these bad places of our city."[9]

But Loch's genius was systematic more than redemptive. In 1905, twenty-five years after his appointment, when he received the honorary degree of D.C.L., from Oxford University, the Oxford magazine wrote:

"Mr. Charles Stewart Loch is one of the most surprising facts of the present day. Here is a man with no official position, no letters after his name, not even a ribbon, whose name is known everywhere, whose influence is felt everywhere. That he was educated at Glenalmond and Balliol means comparatively little: his life begins with his appointment as Secretary to the Charity Organisation Society, and even more, the life of the Society dates from his appointment. He has formulated a principle and created a type. The Society, when he joined it, represented a praiseworthy, if somewhat Utopian, effort to bring about co-operation in the Charitable world, and unity among its workers. It has since become the repository of wise counsels in all matters concerning the relief of the poor. It is widely disliked and universally trusted. Its friends are few and they are "voces in deserto", but they win a hearing. That independence is among the most valuable of the goods and chattels that a man possesses; that to wound independence is to do grievous harm; to foster independence is true Charity; that character is nine-tenths of life; that the State shares with indiscriminate Charity the distinction of being a mighty engine for evil - these and kindred precepts are summed up under the name Charity Organisation Society principles. Now the

9. Bosanquet. Op.cit. p. 187.

source and fount of all these is Mr. Loch. He resembles the oracle at Delphi more than any modern institution, inasmuch as to him come all those who are in doubt about their charitable conduct and the effect of action. To all such from his shrine in Buckingham Street, he gives appropriate answers. More than that, the world outside, or at least the wiser part of it, postpone decision in social matters till Mr. Loch has spoken out. Year by year the public debt to him has been rolling up. The University of Oxford is to be congratulated on the fact that it is among the first to recognize the debt, and to do something to discharge it."[10]

It was under Loch's direction that the working plan of the London C.O.S. became a pattern of Charity Organization Societies in many cities of Great Britain and America, at the close of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth centuries.

The pattern in any one city is, like the settlement pattern, an expanding one. It centres on personal contacts with poor people and spreads out to influence public opinion towards reform. The master process which relates all the other processes, set in motion by district and council workers, is to encourage independence, economic and moral, of individuals and families. Unlike the settlement theme, which was not readily discernible in the records, this theme has clear and decisive statement.

"Charity Organization Societies were formed after 1869, with the object of 'improving the conditions of the poor', or in other words to promote independence, by an ordered and co-operative charity."[11]

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10. Ibid. pp. 98-9.
11. Loch. Op.cit. p. 344.

"That all cases which belong properly to the Poor Law should be handed over to the guardians, and that only cases in which temporary aid is likely to prove of permanent benefit to the recipients should be left to the operation of private charity."[12] (From the first Annual Report).

"Our intention was to cut off charity from the worthless and divert it to the deserving."[13]

"Thus the question turned on the continual acceptance of the Society's principle of independence and the policy which it entailed, namely the policy that people should support themselves by their own earnings and efforts and that they should depend as little as possible on the State."[14]

The Case Work Process.

The theme of encouraging independence works first in a process of selecting families to help. This process, which the Charity Organization Society early named case work, operated in the districts. As the district committees received applications, friendly visitors went to the homes and through inquiry and investigation selected for encouragement those families or individuals who showed intent and capability of self-support. Assistance was given through sources already available or newly-found. Money relief was outside the original plan, but it was provided later, through funds raised within the well-to-do districts, or granted from a general fund to the poorer districts.[15]

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12. Bosanquet. Op.cit. p. 267
13. Ibid. p. 41.
14. Ibid. p. 25.
15. Ibid. pp. 32, 41, 48, 53-56, 64, 94.

In Octavia Hill's plan, a "referee", corresponding somewhat to a modern supervisor, directed volunteers and acted as a medium of contact between the relief agencies of the district.[16] Early case work shows two other features which have persisted. Octavia Hill taught her volunteers to keep records in a note-book. Case records are an integral part of modern social case work.[17] Registration of cases, an early form of co-operation, was slowly accepted and used. Its modern form is the Social Service Exchange.[18]

Octavia Hill emphasizes the building up of a personal relationship, through which a dynamic process, psychological and sociological, - in modern terms, - comes into play. The family's past achievements, "memories", and its plans for the future, "hopes", enter into the choice and use of sources of help.[19] The case work of the Charity Organization Society comes to be so bound up with the selection of "hopeful" or "deserving" applicants,[20] that the positive aspect, inherent in Octavia Hill's teaching is obscured.

Mrs. Bosanquet gives samples of case work. Summarized and tabulated here, they show the C.O.S. principles of selection and treatment, both in the Society's own cases and in those in which it co-operated with hospitals or with Poor Law and School Board officers.

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16. Hill, Octavia. Homes of the London Poor. (New York, 1875) pp. 56-58, 62-64,
17. Ibid. pp. 64-5. Loch, C.S. Op.cit. p. 401, Richmond, M. Op.cit. p. 561.
18. Bosanquet. Op.cit. pp. 390-2. Loch. Op.cit. pp. 398, 401-2.
19. See p. 55
20. Bosanquet. H. Op.cit. pp. 41, 267.

District Cases

Page ferences 21	Occupation	Inquiry showed	Disposition and Treatment.
61.	Three sisters, gentlewomen, self-maintained by teaching and sewing.	Physical disability	Pension obtained.
61.	Sawdust dealer, asking subscriptions to replace dead donkey.	Donkey alive and working. Man known drunkard.	Unassisted.
62.	Bill-sticker and Carrier. Loan to buy horse.	Steady, honest man. Horse hire took too large proportion of earnings.	Loan made.
108.	Labourer, imprisoned for theft. Wife applies for relief.	Man, confirmed drunkard and thief. Wife, of bad character.	Unassisted.
108.	Bricklayer, out of work through illness.	Some income from other sources. Cheerful and civil people, but husband and wife both drink.	Unassisted.
109.	Represented as mechanic out of work.	Appearances of destitution. Further inquiry showed misrepresentation of circumstances.	Relief for a few weeks, then discontinued.
110.	Rubbish car man.	Record of convictions of house-breaking, burglary, larceny, assault. Wife had left him. Supported by his mother.	Unassisted.
113.	Labourer.	Weak heart. Need for light work. Clean house. Respectable wife. Healthy children.	Convalescent care. Efforts to find suitable employment. Advice and assistance during this period.
114.	Daughter of low-wage earner. Neurotic.	Need to separate girl from her mother	Assistance in finding country home where girl could work in garden, and in paying board

Page References	Occupation.	Inquiry showed	Disposition and Treatment.
114	Old woman. Pensioner of a Blind Society.	Neglected, and terrorized by landlady.	New home found. Regular visits.
114	Low-wage earner. Wife and two children consumptive.	Referred by Municipal Health visitor.	Treatment arranged for three patients. Care for younger children.
353	Worker, irregularly employed.	Man and wife had been known to drink, but had given it up.	Allowance made, pending re-employment with former firm. Subsequent employment fairly regular and no evidence of drinking.
353	Blacksmith, out of work owing to trade depression.	Children in irregular and poor employment.	Emigration to Canada. Family independent and successful.

School Board Cases.

The C.O.S. administered a special fund for poor school children, and stood for constructive help to the family, as against supplying clothes or footwear only.[22]

Page reference	Occupation	Inquiry showed	Disposition and Treatment
35	Shoemaker, out of work. Had deserted family.	Two of the older children were earning.	Employment found for others in the family. School-children outfitted
36	Tinker.	Small money-lender. Drunkard.	Unassisted.
38	Father, out of work	Temporary illness.	Family supported through his convalescence. Father helped to re-employment.

21. Bosanquet, Helen. Social Work in London. (London, 1914)
22. Ibid pp. 234-6.

age rence	Occupation	Inquiry showed	Disposition and Treatment
	Father, out of work.	Temporary illness.	Two pair of boots given. No family assistance. Family later in want.

Hospital Cases.

The principles of discrimination in relief-giving and of constructive services were put into practice, at the request of physicians, in the over-crowded out-patient departments of hospitals. A Medical Committee of the C.O.S. initiated the services of hospital almoners.[23]

age rence	Occupation	Referred by	Disposition and Treatment
	Country girl, in city for outdoor hospital treatment.	Physician.	Almoner refers to Travellers Aid Society who find a room for her in a Girls' Home
1	Man, fracture patient, returning for daily massage.	Massage nurse.	Weekly allowance made.

Poor Law Cases.

The C.O.S. early reached an agreement with the Poor Law authorities as to division of cases between public assistance and private charity.

Later, C.O.S. workers and Poor Law guardians co-operated in special cases.

age erence	Occupation	Disposition and Treatment
80	Widow, nearly blind	Taught automatic knitting and given machine. Country visit to improve health.

23. Ibid. pp. 205-21
24. Ibid. pp. 266-8, 279-80. Loch. pp. 406-7.

Page Reference	Occupation	Disposition and Treatment
280	Wife, unfitted to care for her children.	Children placed in country home, where father maintained them.
280	Blind man.	Board of Guardians paid for his training. C.O.S. bought tools.
280	Three girls. Infirmary cases.	Outfitted and placed in situations
280	Old woman. Case considered more suitable for charity than for public assistance.	Small pension arranged, relatives, church, and former employers contributing.

The Reform Process

In urban social work there is a characteristic play of forces, a concentration on the poorer districts of a city, then movement outwards, which directs to informing the general public, to changing social attitudes and to enacting legislation. In the Charity Organization Society the concentrative process goes on through the case work of the District Committees. The Central Council, with the Secretary and with sub-committees appointed for special purposes, direct the expanding processes which aim at reform of conditions harmful to family life.

"On matters of detailed development, and particularly as to the best means of remedying the aggravated pauperism of the time, the Council of the Society have not as yet been closely occupied, but the daily experience of their committees in the various districts of the Metropolis shows that the great questions of Sanitary Improvement, Emigration, Education, Provident Societies, Improved Dwellings for the Poor, and other collateral subjects must at an early date engage their most earnest attention." (Extract from first Annual Report.)[25]

25. Bosanquet, H. Op.cit. pp. 29, 30.

The reform process, as Shaftesbury knew, depends upon the collection of pertinent facts and the arousing of public opinion. In the C.O.S., the work of members in the districts discovered situations and provided facts. In influencing public opinion its reforming process had two main trends.

The C.O.S. worked for a good foundation of physical life, better conditions of sanitation and housing, special care for defective and tubercular persons.

Its other objective is not so simply set down, and is the one which involved the society in conflict. The C.O.S. members fought all influences which in their belief fostered dependent attitudes. These ranged from thoughtless gifts of food or money to forms of State assistance.

Housing and Sanitation Reform.

London and other great cities had grown with people pushing into whatever shelters were available. As these old shells disappeared in improvement schemes and railway developments, it was no one's business to re-house the poor people displaced. Overcrowding grew worse, families lived in single rooms; impure water and proximate filth were commonplaces of daily life.

Parliament had enacted legislation, but much of it was permissive. The C.O.S. took a characteristic share in a compaign for enforcement. In the Districts, visitors noted bad conditions, formed Sanitary Aid Committees, and were appointed voluntary sanitary inspectors. On a basis of collected facts, renewed appeal went out to public

opinion, through press and publications and through speeches in Parliament. When the London County Council was formed in 1889, a long series of efforts for more effective housing and sanitation laws began to have successful issue. London became a clean city. But because cities grow, and leave derelict low-rent areas, housing reform remains a perennial problem to social workers.[26]

Health Movements.

In the districts of the C.O.S. visitors found cripples and epileptics, blind, feeble-minded and tubercular persons. Special committees were formed to convince the community at large of the special needs of some of its handicapped members, and to open private and public provision for treatment. The method of treatment, new then, familiar now, was to minimize the personal handicap and to help the defective individual to come out of isolation and dependence into community life.[27]

Movements concerned with fraud, vagrancy and unemployment.

These movements show repressive and conflict features. But like the case-work process, their aim is positive. It is economic and moral independence. The movements contest social attitudes, acquiescent to routine giving and acceptance of charity. They are a part of a general trend to break down the problems of poverty and pauperism into human elements, to release the poor from sentimental abstraction.

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26. Bosanquet. Op.cit. pp. 14-17, 159-189.
Hodder. Op.cit. pp. 134-143.
27. Bosanquet. Op.cit. pp. 190-204, 223-7.

Booth's and Rowntree's studies of poverty belong to the same general movement. They attempt, through observation of individual families, to give to the class term poor, concreteness in standards of material possession and deprivation, and also to set down causes and characteristics of poverty.[28] Consequent to the revelations of working class life made during the century, there was an easy, ignorant sympathy which had no interest in casual factors.

Fraud.

When the C.O.S. was formed there were numerous fraudulent charitable societies, and men and women who wrote begging letters, to exploit kind-hearted, unworldly people. The society cleared up a good deal of this type of imposition by giving it publicity. It prosecuted the societies and exposed the methods of the letter-writers.[29]

Vagrants.

London was a centre which attracted homeless poor, vagrants and unemployed. In 1881 it was estimated to have shelters and lodging houses to accommodate 50,000 men, exclusive of casual wards in the work-houses. The C.O.S. proposed that, through individual contacts, the men just slipping into vagrant habit should be selected from the others in these refuges and helped to re-establish themselves.

"All particles of human nature, wherever found, should be treated, not as mere pieces of material, but as living forces capable of recuperation."[30]

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28. Booth, Charles. Life and Labour of London. (London, 1892) Vol. I. pp. 1-27, 131-155.
Rowntree, B.S. Poverty. (London and New York, 1922) pp. xvii-xx, 34-180
29. Bosanquet. Op.cit. pp. 116-121.
30. Ibid. pp. 301-305, 333-337.

Unemployment.

Beggars and vagrants were an old problem. Families without work or wages, in times of seasonal layoffs and depressed trade, made a new one. The C.O.S. opposed emergency appeals and special relief works.

The proposals made by their members who studied the problem of unemployment are well-known now. They all depend upon approaching the question from the individual instead of the general view of the situation. They recommended:

1. Distinguishing unemployed men from unemployable.
2. Distinguishing seasonal workers from men out of work through trade depression.
3. Expansion of the work of experienced social agencies in times of industrial depression or of seasonal hardship, through larger staffs and increased subscriptions.
4. Distribution of funds raised by emergency appeals through such existing social agencies.
5. Increased efforts toward individual placement instead of public relief works.
6. The opening of nation-wide Labour Exchanges to record available employment and to register applicants.
7. Industrial training for children upon leaving school.
8. Unemployment insurance.[31]

State Aid.

Towards the end of the century the C.O.S. began to run counter to the opinion of the Socialist group, then becoming a force in social policy, and to skirmish a bit with the Socialists on particular

31. Ibid. pp. 305-7, 316-18, 322-28, 357-60, 366-67.

issues. One was a question of the School Board giving dinners to underfed school children. The C.O.S. stood out for cost payments by parents, arguing that to lift family obligation impaired family function.[32]

The Society had early experimented with old age pensions. When government pensions were proposed, the C.O.S. went on record as opposing "all plans for granting a stereotyped form of relief to large numbers of persons, where needs are very varying, and only capable of being met by individual attention."[33]

Co-Operation between Public Departments and Private Committees.

The controversy over school children's dinners caused the C.O.S. to form School Care Committees to visit children in their homes.

This committee work led on to some general health and employment measures for young people in which voluntary committees worked with public servants. These were:

School Medical Centres

Skilled Employment and Apprenticeship Committees

Juvenile Labour Exchanges[34]

The Publicity Process.

This is important in the function of a society which was introducing new principles, policies and programs in the expectation of reforming old social habits. There is a notable difference in the informing processes of Toynbee Hall and of the Charity Organization Society.

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32. Ibid. pp. 230-9, 243-6, 255-6. Loch, C.S. Op.cit. pp. 334-6.
33. Bosanquet. Op.cit. p. 295. Also, pp. 281, 287-8, 294-6, 299-300
34. Ibid. pp. 294-261. Mattuck, C.W. The Family Vol. XVIII, No. 3. May. 1937. pp. 97-99.
See also p. 80 of this study.

Toynbee Hall keeps opening up one situation after another of East London life, and building new relationships, through which the situations are changed. You have to look for a principle which relates all the activities. The C.O.S. publicity builds around the exposition of its principle.

For members, and other people already interested, the publicity process carries on through annual reports, periodicals, conferences. For a wider public it uses addresses to meetings, letters in the press, special articles in journals and reviews, pamphlets publicizing the results of committee work and investigation, and books.[35]

The Training Process

The publicity and the training processes are a part of the reform process, because the Charity Organization movement is a reform movement and they extend its scope.

The work of the C.O.S. and the Settlements was done largely by volunteers. Through the influence of such teachers as Jowett and T.H. Green, social service in the nineteenth century came to be considered as part of the function of a citizen. The training process was begun in order to give to the second generation the knowledge of economic and social history through the latter stages of which the first generation had been living, and out of which both movements had grown. The universities, the settlements and the C.O.S. co-operated in giving knowledge and practice to students who took seriously their duties as citizens.[36]

35. Bosanquet. Op. cit. pp. 58-61, 76, 177-183, 392-400.
36. Ibid. pp. 101, 400, 405. Loch. Op.cit. pp. 402-3. McAdam, Elizabeth. Social Work and the Training of Social Workers. (London, 1925) pp. 23-32.

Charity Organization and the Family.

The book literature of the Charity Organization Society is interesting because intended to idealize a cause, it objectifies a social unit, the family.

It was written for a new generation. The nineteenth century closed with constitutional, educational, health and factory reform accomplished facts. In the twentieth century the government assumed new responsibilities. Contingencies of sickness, accident, unemployment and a destitute old age moved outside the family function and were met by social insurance.

The tensions, within the C.O.S., and in relations with the public, had always pulled upon its principle of encouraging family independence. A selective policy laid the society open to recurrent accusations of harshness to the poor. The central office, the secretaries and the clerical workers, were attacked as absorbing money which might have been expended upon direct relief.[37] Then within the society there were always members who, approving the work among families, objected to the reform policy. They saw no reason to follow causal threads from individual case histories back into the fabric of society, and to disturb that well set fabric.[38] As time went on Samuel Barnett, who had learned from the C.O.S., took issue publicly with the society on the grounds that it had grown dogmatic in the classification of families into deserving and undeserving. In this and in opposition to social legislation, he held that the C.O.S. was in a backwater,

37. Bosanquet. Op.cit. pp. 117-9, 122, 125-6, 137
38. Ibid. pp. 94-97, 165-6, 177-180.

losing opportunities to guide and to use the interest of the second generation.[39]

The Royal Commission on the Poor Law reported in 1909 after three years of work. The majority report was representative of C.O.S. opinion. It proposed what was in effect a legalization of the C.O.S. system of giving temporary charitable assistance to families capable of self-support and of leaving chronic applicants to public relief. The Minority Report, submitted by the socialist members, recommended that the Poor Law be abolished, and that persons, in need of assistance, be dealt with through the appropriate government department of health, education, labour, or of new departments to be created as needed.[40]

In its opposition to new legislation in which the state entered into function once individual and private, the C.O.S., as Barnett saw, was fighting a whole social trend. The positions taken by the two reports and by subsequent publications, are interesting and revealing. But the point of importance for this study is that the C.O.S. leaders really believed, even to the weakening of their institution, that their proposals gave scope to charity, and that social life depends upon those relationships which the collective representation charity expresses.

Loch attempted to revitalize an old collective representation. He would have liked to see an "outworn" word, charity, "re-minted and re-issued". He fills that word with present, past and future

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39. Ibid. pp. 142-3, 8, 295.
Barnett, Mrs. Op.cit. pp. 263-8.
40. Queen. S.A. Social Work in the Light of History. (London, 1922) pp. 202-7. Webb. S & B. English Poor Law Policy (London and New York, 1910) pp. 274-319. The Prevention of Destitution. (London and New York, 1911) pp. 1-11.
Bosanquet, H. The Poor Law Report of 1909. pp. 144-168.

content.[41] He surveys its past association with kindred practices, love, friendship, kindness, justice, and mutual service.[42] He gives it current meaning, a present tense, as "a new devotion to the duties of citizenship"[43] and as a habit of mind and an endeavour "in which the mind is considerate of the welfare of others individually and generally, and devises what is for their real good, and in which the intelligence and the will strive to fulfil the mind's purpose".[44] And again he finds an ethical, forward-looking content. "Whatever proposal we may make must be considered primarily in the light of completing the social ability of the family and the individual as self-adjustive, self-expansive parts of the social organism."[45]

He also associates charity with family life and rudimentary social principles.

"Charity is concerned primarily with certain elemental forces of social life..... The basis of social life is also the basis of charitable thought and action."[46]

"The family is the source, the home and the hearth of charity."[47]

When Loch finds the elements of the social within the family life, his thinking parallels Cooley's.[48] In Cooley's primary social unit, the we-group, perception of behaviour approved and

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41. See page 13
42. Loch. Op.cit. pp. 110-131. 183-209
43. Ibid. pp. 345
44. Ibid. pp. 1, 4,
45. Ibid. p. 391
46. Ibid. p. 9
47. Ibid. p. 7
48. Ibid. pp. 389-90. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization (New York, 1929) pp. 3-5.

to be arrived at, comes through the self-consciousness of individual members. Cooley sums and classifies his primary social principles as loyalty, lawfulness, freedom.[49] Charity, in its primitive form, comes close to Cooley's loyalty. Loch notes customs and relationships in the records of pre-Christian European life. Within and without the family group there are duties, mutual obligations of the members, prescribed hospitality to the guest, prescribed aid to the suppliant.[50] With Loch too, law is a discipline, necessary in the common interest when group ideals and controls fail.[51] And Loch finds freedom, or the play of individual energy, fundamental in family and social life. His argument against careless philanthropy and state provision for primary needs is that they close opportunities to work towards primal objectives.

That argument rests upon Roman history, the growth of a great dependent populace as the government made successive provisions of food in economic crises, and upon the history of the English Poor Law.[52] In Loch's view human energy drives first to self-maintenance and must use nerve and muscle, fore-thought and skill to maintain full organic vitality.[53] "The pressure of life makes for the strength of life."[54] To meet crises of physical want by provision which supplants normal family function impairs moral energy.

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49. Cooley. Op.cit. pp. 32-35, 38-48.
50. Loch. Op.cit. pp. 13-19
51. Bosanquet. H. The Poor Law Report of 1909. pp. 1-2.
52. Loch. Op.cit. pp. 81-109, 295-8, 309-17, 348-351.
53. Ibid. pp. 368-9, 388-95.
54. Ibid. p. 392.

Loch's argument against state socialism is another aspect of the philosophy that liberty and organization complement each other. But he bases his argument upon family life. For both Loch and Cooley seem to imply that the forces which make for group loyalty and for individual freedom arise in family experiences. Loyalty and freedom stand to each other in a circular cause and effect.

It is not important which comes first. But it is important to Loch's definition of charity organization that he believes that attitudes formed in primary experiences carry out into secondary contacts as social forces.

From the notion of a family as a social unit, shaping the individuals, who through interaction make a society, to the notion that, if natural forces within the family are failing, they can be renewed through the operation of kindred forces playing through the wider community, is Loch's line of thought.

"The community thus makes itself responsible for endeavouring to the best of its ability, to raise the necessary relief, and acts as trustee for those who co-operate with it from the outside, in such a way as to keep all the natural obligations that lie within the inner circle of a self-supporting community intact and to give them full scope."[55]

The friendly visitor comes from outside the primary neighbourhood group. Moved by a desire to help, he uses thought to make the help effective. You have to remember Loch's classical

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55. Ibid. p. 399.

education to appreciate his assurance that thoughtful action is good action. To him thoughtful force is organic force. The visible structure of council and district committees makes opportunity for the play of that force. "Charities represent so many endeavours made to meet social needs; and they concentrate a definite amount of force. They draw together groups of friends and fellow-workers. They are not mere material units that can be cut and divided and glued together.....But the most valuable organization is that which grows out of case-work."

"In this way new relations are continually created between charity and charity, and there is a growing unity of endeavour and an increased usefulness of which most people are usually quite ignorant."[56]

The theme of the C.O.S. is not slowly disclosed as is the settlement theme. It is down in the records as an organizing principle, to which the relations of the two processes, case-work and reform, are fairly obvious. But under Loch's leadership, the theme expands and can be stated more completely as to encourage independence by thoughtful giving. The structure of social work takes form around it. The family as a unit of society is set firmly in the public consciousness. So much so, that in time, charity organization societies have found it easy to slip over in name to family welfare societies.

It can fairly be said that Loch's ideal self-maintaining family belongs to the patriarchal age, when families did live off

56. Ibid. pp. 404-5.

the land by strength, endurance and skill. The London family, which he knew, seldom had productive property and frequently no skill. The case work tables show trades and occupations, vanishing out of nineteenth century life.[57] The conflict within the C.O.S. then and since, has been to reconcile the ideal, physically independent family, with the family dependent upon the workings of an industrial economic system.

But the ideal of encouraging family independence through friendly and thoughtful relationships was close enough to the American, democratic ideal, and attractive enough to possess American citizens. And the organization through which the ideal worked was vital enough to be transplanted and to grow and develop tremendously in the new world.

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57. See pp. 98-101.

Chapter VI.

MARY RICHMOND INTRODUCES AMERICA TO THE FAMILY

Balanced Processes.

The Charity Organization movement crossed to America. The relief pattern there had followed the English one. American states had poor laws, almshouses, out-door relief. Soon after the middle of the century, states began to appoint State Boards of Charities with powers of supervision or powers of control over public charitable institutions. There were also, endowed private charities, religious and national charities, and societies for improving the condition of the poor, similar to one which Lord Shaftesbury had founded in London.[1]

In the nineteenth century, America reached the stage in social life of a class of very rich, and a class of very poor, with a great middle class between. Cities had grown at centres of water-borne trade to serve a hinterland of farming, lumbering, mining. They grew larger with the development of manufacturing, construction, transportation, utilities, and finance. Great private fortunes were made in this expansion. Immigration from Ireland and European countries supplied the labour it required. As in England, there was crowding into cities and over-crowding

1. Warner, Amos J. American Charities. (New York, 1930) pp. 90-113, 169-202.

in inadequate dwellings. The less efficient among the American born became impoverished, competing with workmen of a lower standard of living. There was sickness, accident and periodic unemployment among Americans and immigrants, and segregation of the less successful in slum areas.

The great private wealth of the nineteenth century in England and America had made quick responses to public charitable appeals, and it also made possible the new types of social service initiated by the men and women who set the forms of social work. An emergency relief appeal in London in the winter of 1885-6 shortly raised 72,000 pounds.[2] In an earlier hard winter the C.O.S. asking special subscriptions, received 3,300 pounds a week.[3] The Barnetts raised money among friends for their schools and housing schemes, and later formed an incorporated housing company, its capital 36,000 pounds.[4] The Whitechapel Art Gallery was built by private subscription. When Henrietta Barnett planned and carried through the extension of Hampstead Heath and the building of a model garden suburb, she herself collected 22,000 pounds of the total amount required.[5]

The American records also, make no mention of difficulty in raising money.[6] There are great private endowments. And there are the nineteenth century foundations, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Russell Sage, holding money in trust for educational and philanthropic purposes.

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2. Barnett. Vol. II. p. 235. Bosanquet. p. 324. See also p. 319.
3. Barnett. Vol. II. p. 232.
4. Barnett. Vol. I. p. 134, Vol. II. p. 174-5.
5. Barnett. Vol. II. pp. 320, 376-7.
6. Warner. pp. 183-185.

It was to regulate the flow of money from rich to poor, after the manner of the English experiment, that the first charity organization societies were founded in American cities. Citizens realized that their subscriptions to charity were not reaching those in accidental poverty, but were assisting idlers and petty criminals to continue to live off the community. The objects of American Charity Organization Societies are given by Warner in the following order of importance:

1. Co-operation of all charities in a given locality, and the best co-ordination of their efforts through a clearing-house function.
2. Accurate knowledge of all cases treated through investigation and registration.
3. To find prompt and adequate relief for all that should have it. (Note that many of the American charity organization societies had no relief funds of their own.)
4. The exposure of impostors and the prevention of wilful idleness.
5. The finding of work for the able and willing.
6. Friendly visiting. Its object was to establish relations of personal interest and sympathy between the poor and the well-to-do; also to lead the friendly visitor to an interest in all branches of city, state, and federal government.
7. The prevention of pauperism by enccuraging educational and thrift schemes.

8. The diffusion of knowledge on all subjects connected with the administration of charities.
9. The survey of the whole field of charity, the determination that the field should be covered with some measure of adequacy, and that charitable forces should not be wasted in competitive and misdirected efforts.[7]

Notice in Warner's summary of American charity organization that the negative aspects are fading out, that the constructive have the larger emphasis. There is only one repressive clause. Positively, the societies stand for:

1. Knowledge of situations, in families and in communities.
2. Encouragement of industry and thrift through direction of the charitable forces of a community.
3. Co-operation between visitor and visited, charity and charity.

In 1889, a young woman, not of robust health, orphaned, and supporting herself as a bookkeeper and office assistant, answered an advertisement which "looked interesting". Mary Richmond became assistant treasurer of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, a position which included both financial and publicity work. Two years later she was elected general secretary, and for nine years, the work and the income of the society increased under her direction. In 1900 Miss Richmond went, as general secretary, to the Philadelphia Society for

7. Warner, A.S. Op.cit. pp. 203-214. See also Richmond, Mary. The Long View. pp. 131-143, 580-582.

Organizing Charity, faced with the task of revitalizing a big institution, gone mechanical. In Philadelphia she re-organized the society, built up an able board of directors, case work staff, and body of volunteers, took some part in local politics, and "originated or was otherwise closely identified with every sound movement for social betterment and progress undertaken in this city and state during the nine years of her incumbency."[8]

In Philadelphia, too, she began to teach. She visited England and renewed an acquaintance with Charles Loch made in Baltimore. Her systematizing of charity organization material, letters, record forms, registration, and the exchange of such material with societies in other cities, brought Mary Richmond to the editorship of the Field Department of Charities in 1905. And in 1907 to be the first director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York. To this period in New York until her death in 1928, belong Miss Richmond's activities of teaching, writing, publicizing, and professional organization. They made her the outstanding authority on what changed over in her life-time, and largely through her efforts, from charity organization to a new profession, Social work.[9]

To the profession she gave much of what she had absorbed in Baltimore, when American conceptions of charity and charity organization were still close to the English source. Her work was animated by the principle of charity as an organizing force, Tensions and self-examination are not in the records of American

8. Rupert, Ethel. The Family. Vol. IX. February, 1929. p. 331. Quoted in Richmond, Mary. The Lond View. p. 180.
9. Richmond, Mary. Op.cit. pp. 175-185, 271-284, 417-430, 627-630, 422.

charity organizations, as they are in the English ones. Socialist opinion was negligible, social legislation comparatively undeveloped, the pauper question much less weighty. Mary Richmond and her contemporaries could keep charity quite simply in the public consciousness as knowledge, by personal contacts, of the problems of the poor, and as intention to solve them by means suggested by this direct experience.

"Love working with discernment" is the definition of charity Mary Richmond took over from Loch.[10] She made her own in the final year in Baltimore.

"Charity is a great spiritual force.... the message of charity organization is the message of the undeveloped possibilities of charity."[11]

"The charity of a city is a living, breathing thing, not to be poured like plaster into a mold imparted from without, but to be developed reverently from within."[12]

"Charitable co-operation begins and ends in an intimate knowledge of the needs of individual poor people, and in the patient endeavour to make them permanently better off."[13]

The profession was built out of day by day work, making the forces inherent in the C.O.S. heritage, knowledge and co-operation, active in services to individual families. The family was set in the public consciousness. The professional material assembled centred on family case work.[14] And special studies were made to

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10. Ibid. p. 36
11. Ibid. pp. 131-2.
12. Ibid. p. 175.
13. Ibid. p. 202.
14. Richmond, Mary. Social Diagnosis. Chap. VII. "The Family Group" pp. 134-159.

collect and to present exact information upon certain conditions inimical to family life, desertion, non-support, widowhood, child marriage, poorly drawn and administered marriage laws.[15]

Mary Richmond was a liberal. She stood for an "enlightened and unselfish individualism", and she stood in a middle position.[16] "The radicals think I'm a conservative, and the conservatives think I'm a radical, and they're both surprised that I somehow manage to keep in the procession."[17] She had the liberal notion of progress as "slow orderly development of the human character and human destiny", effective through the contacts of those living, with those who had made the present in the past.[18] In her own absorption, through books, of great lives, discoveries and ideas, she was a living example of what the Barnetts and Jane Addams hoped past culture could do for the living, who had had no formal education.[19] And she shared their views.

She loved and depended upon the poets. Poetry to her was a rhythmic and natural record of human experience. The poets offered her apt and lovely presentation of ideas, and she drew upon them frequently in speaking and in writing. She had too the poetic appreciation of unity in life processes. Mary Richmond also turned all her life to those who were gifted in poetic expression

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15. Richmond, Mary. The Long View. (New York, 1930)
Married Vagabonds. pp. 69-76.
Housing Reform. pp. 320-325.
Motherhood and Pensions. pp. 271, 350-364.
Child Marriages. p. 621.
Marriage and the State. pp. 621, 424-5.
Emergency Relief in times of Unemployment. pp. 510-525.
The Concern of the Community with Marriage. pp. 602-616.
16. Ibid. pp. 45, 417.
17. Ibid. p. 15.
18. Ibid. pp. 20, 21, 48-9, 54-5.
19. Ibid. pp. 145, 152-3, 156.

because poetry "brings us around after the day's work is done to the other and more lasting side of things, and so preserves in us that sense of proportion which is said to be the essence of wisdom."[20]

This feeling for proportion is a clue to her own life pattern and to the professional patterning which she gave to charitable processes. Miss Richmond's thought fell naturally into patterns and diagrams.[21] She wrote early in her life:- "If you feel a hearty interest in any subject, procure the best authority upon that subject and make it your own; then let all your further investigations group themselves as a handful of needles would centre towards a magnet."[22]

Mary Richmond educated herself and drew material for building a profession, reading around her own interest in charity, as an intensely individual and personal type of social relationship, finding its communal strength when charitable people associate and plan, for individual and social betterment.

The social processes she set in motion are not difficult to observe, once it is realized that certain words, balance, proportion, rhythm, unity are characteristic.[23] The organizing theme of her work has been taken as <u>to balance</u>. The processes observed balance each other in three pairs, "Case-work and Reform", "Professional and Volunteer," "Diagnosis and Treatment."

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20. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 147-50, 231, 504-509.
21. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 187-194, 589.
22. <u>Ibid</u>. p. 22
23. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 147-50, 157-61, 421.

Reform - Wholesale and Retail.

In her years in Baltimore, Mary Richmond absorbed the meaning of the English processes:- case-work in the districts, leading to social action, initiated by the central council. That social reform begins in, and has to be checked for its effectiveness, in contacts made family by family, is one of Miss Richmond's most characteristic tenets.[24]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, great national organizations were beginning to select and to cover specialized fields of social betterment - labour legislation, child welfare, recreation, public health, immigration and so on. Mary Richmond asked then for co-operation between these new societies and the family and neighbourhood workers, in keeping the institutions flexible in service, to allow for individual differences in the people they helped.

Out of many statements of her position upon the essential unity of case-work and social action, here are two very clear ones. She first used the metaphor of wholesale and retail methods of reform in a Philadelphia address in 1905 to the Ethical Culture Society of that city.

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

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24. Ibid. pp. 569-570. See Chapter V. of this study, pp. 90, 96, 101.

to it again, forming in the two curves of its upward push and downward pull a complete circle."[25]

"First, you begin to care for a small group of burden-bearers, and then, before you know it, you have acquired definite convictions as to the means of their emancipation and are committed to a program. Your generalization grows upon you, you begin to see its larger bearings and ally yourself with others who are like-minded, You secure a new law or a new interpretation of an old one; you make some impression upon public opinion; and then, if you are in earnest, you do not stop there, you are pushed onward by the force of your convictions back into the retail method again, to see that your generalization does its full work,that it is effectively and completely applied."[26]

The second was made in 1915 to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, now the National Conference of Social Work.

"By the none too happy title of social case work we mean that half of social work which has to do with the social treatment of individuals, individual by individual, as distinguished from all those processes of social reform which deal with individuals in masses..... Social case work does different things for and with different people, it specializes and differentiates; social reform generalizes and simplifies by discovering ways of doing the same thing for everybody.[27]

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25. Ibid. p. 216.
26. Ibid. p. 218.
27. Ibid.p. 374.

"I did not attempt to say all of these things to my new acquaintance on the street corner, or I should have missed my train. But I did say, in reply to her question as to where social case work "came in" that it seemed to me that it came in before and after the mass movement for any given social reform. The whole is greater than any of its parts, and no one essential part can be described as "more important" than any other, provided the other is really essential."[28]

Elsewhere she shows the developmental rhythm of social work in diagram. A series of spirals, swing up out of charity organization and settlement work. Over to one side, they represent societies engaged in mass betterment, over to the other, societies centred upon individual contacts.[29]

There are also special applications of the metaphor of balance. In social research, to the interplay of the clinical and the laboratory methods of investigation.[30] In social legislation, to the need for drafting measures on a competent appraisal of facts, and for providing competent, detailed administration.[31]

This theme of balance, in work towards individual, or mass betterment, runs consistently through Mary Richmond's writings.[32]

Case work, as Mary Richmond saw it, combines the "letter" of investigation and the "spirit" of thoughtful kindliness. As she herself owns, there is a philosophy underlying the case work

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28. Ibid. p. 379
29. Ibid. p. 589. The Rhythm of Social Work.
30. Ibid.pp. 309-319.
31. Ibid. pp. 217-8, 271-2, 346-64, 587-8.
32. Ibid. See also pp. 221, 238-40, 285-91, 296, 320-5, 330, 337 375, 472, 586-7.

practices she systematized. These practices express, in the circumstances of her daily duty as a charity organization worker, the liberal philosophy which recognizes freedom and organization as complementary conditions of human growth. She sets forth that philosophy in terms of a current psychology of individual differences and of the growth of a "wider self" through social relationships.[33]

Philosophy and practice relate to her conception of a democratic way of life. "As democracy advances there can be neither freedom nor equality without that adaptation to native differences, without that intensive use of social relationships for which social case work stands."[34]

The Volunteer and the Professional

If you draw a line to represent the balanced processes of case-work and reform, and cross it at a point equidistant from each end by another line representing the processes of professional and volunteer work, the point where professional and volunteer meet stands at the place where case-work and reform meet. Social work had some such equilibrium in Mary Richmond's day. The volunteer and the professional worker had both developed from the friendly visitor, and they had kept, in Miss Richmond's thinking, a basic common function, - to know poor families and to work for individual and social betterment.[35]

33. Richmond, Mary. Social Diagnosis. (New York, 1917) pp. 365-70.
34. Richmond, Mary. The Long View. p. 401
35. Ibid. pp. 38, 220-290, 446, 480, 584-92.

The friendly visitor crosses the "gulf between rich and poor" to form personal relationships with a few families and to teach moral habits.[36] In time there is an adjustment to be made, as some of them become trained, full-time professional workers. Some volunteers advance to become case-workers too. But as friendly visiting falls out of social work practice, the function of the volunteer comes to be defined more as interpretative than technical. She is a member of a "participating audience". She explains social work to the community and the community to the social workers. It is emphasized that the participation has distinct educational value to her as a citizen; likewise, that her participation is important to social work if it is to progress and develop.[37]

On the other side of the scales, a profession is shaped. Mary Richmond claims that charitable work should advance on its own performance, dropping the emphasis on good intent, to the status of a scientific, liberal profession.[38] She begins to build the body of organized fact in which the practice of charity was deficient. She plans training courses, and takes a share in teaching.[39] She examines and assembles techniques.[40] She considers social work terminology, ethics and professional organizations.[41]

Throughout the charity organization phase of social work, its function, to the interested observer, was obviously that of a clearing-house or middle-man. It gave little promise of

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36. Ibid. pp. 39-42, 141-142, 252-253, 177, 254-261.
37. Ibid. pp. 468-473, 292, 299.
38. Ibid. pp. 98, 100-101, 99-104.
39. Ibid. pp. 183, 275-6, 402-5.
40. Ibid. pp. 281-4, 316-18.
41. Ibid. pp. 385-6, 422, 444, 474-8.

professional content. Mary Richmond, in the thick of charity organization, in the throes of developing social work, was able however to distinguish certain personal services.

"First, skill in discovering the social relationships by which a given personality had been shaped; second, ability to get at the central core of difficulty in these relationships; and third, power to utilize the direct action of mind upon mind in their adjustment."[42]

"The highest test of social case work is growth in personality."[43]

The organization she brought to social work held professional and volunteer workers in equilibrium. Although their function separated, they kept a common ethical purpose. After the publication of "Social Diagnosis", the professional manual, there followed a lay literature,[44] which describes and illustrates the case work process of helping and the skills that helping process requires. This lay literature shares with the professional, a common philosophy of growth in personality through absorption from environment. "The intelligent use of community resources, of recreational, educational, and co-operative associations, is the case worker's best indirect means of developing personality."[45]

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42. Ibid. p. 399
43. Richmond, Mary. What is Social Case Work? (New York, 1922) p. 260.
44. Richmond, Mary. What is Social Case Work?
DeSchweinitz, Karl. The Art of Helping People out of Trouble. (Boston and New York, 1924)
45. Richmond. Op.cit. p. 224.

Diagnosis and Treatment

Case work, as Mary Richmond taught it, has two processes, diagnosis and treatment. They are a unity because inquiry is directed to planning help. The germinal idea of these professional processes is in the English philosophy and practice. But the superficial classification of "deserving and undeserving" became so arbitrary that its use obscured the "sincere, unbiased searching for the whole truth, including not merely the dry facts, but that setting of circumstances and opportunity in which the facts exist."[46]

When Mary Richmond set out to give to the prospective profession of social work an intellectual basis of operation, a body of organized knowledge, and specialized skills, she turned to various sources. She considered how to apply the methods of other professions towards systematizing charitable practices.[47]

"Social Diagnosis", the result of years of such study, in relation to case records, lays down the method of a scientific approach to the problems of those who deviate from the norm of reasonable adjustment to their life situations. This means an attempt to bring in all factors, personal and environmental, active in a given situation. The procedure is tremendous. Treatment begins in the first interview, consequent upon establishing a basis of mutual understanding with the client. Simultaneously, in this and in following interviews, the process of finding, assembling and testing facts continues, also the development of

46. Mary Richmond. The Long View. p. 138. See also pp. 105-7, 137-8, 317-319.
47. Ibid. pp. 145, 282-4.

a plan of action, based upon the facts, and acceptable to client and case-worker.[48] It is obvious that the entry of new facts may at any time change the whole diagnostic treatment situation.[49]

In Social Diagnosis Miss Richmond suggests that insight is a factor in the complex diagnostic procedure.[50] "What Is Social Case Work?" published for lay readers five years later, makes it much clearer that in the development of personality, through the conscious and comprehensive adjustment of social relationships, insight orders diagnosis and shapes treatment. Developing her liberal philosophy of interdependent and individually different human beings, Mary Richmond gives to social treatment the aim of discovering and releasing "the unduplicated excellence in each individual."[51]

As this third balanced process comes into form and practice it signalizes several things. The individualization of "the poor" advances. The poor man, woman or child steps out of the mass; his personal needs are ascertained and steps taken to meet them. Further, social workers claim a skill and knowledge peculiarly theirs, adapted not only to service to the dependent, but to all who find themselves involved in situations beyond their own powers of straightening. Then the charity organization movement changes its name to indicate its field of family work, rather than its philosophy of function.[52]

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48. Richmond. Social Diagnosis. See Table of Contents, pp. 25-363.
49. Ibid.p. 56.
50. Ibid.pp. 138-9, 157-8.
51. Richmond. What is Social Case Work. p. 158. See also pp. 90-174.
52. Richmond. The Long View. pp. 420, 471, 589-90.

The organization Mary Richmond brought to social work is within a philosophical field of reference, familiar more or less to both professional and lay workers schooled in democracy. Very soon the development of mental hygiene and psychiatry made it possible for social case work thinking to proceed in terms of psychological instead of philosophical processes.

Case work practice came then to be based upon an analytic study of human behaviour using the current Freudian concepts of psychology and psychiatry.[53] Concurrently, social case work which had been running over into specialized forms re-affirmed its generic character.[54] Subsequent case work procedure has been affected by the concept of relativity and shaped by principles derived from the will psychology and therapy of Otto Rank.[55] Mary Richmond's diagnostic-treatment procedure, adapted from inductive scientific method, had looked for cause and effect sequences in a case situation and worked to control environmental factors. Discarding causal inquiry, the case worker now seeks knowledge of immediate factors in a client's problem situation, as they relate to the client and constitute his reality.[56] Through the setting up of a controlled relationship of interaction between case worker and client the latter is encouraged to work to solve whatever problem has brought him for help to the agency.

53. Robinson, V.P. A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work. (Chapel Hill, 1934) pp. 53-67, 81-93.
Marcus, G.F. "The Status of Social Case Work To-day." National Conference Proceedings. 1935. pp. 132-140.
Lee and Kenworthy. Mental Hygiene and Social Work (New York, 1929) pp. 9-16. 104-6.
54. Milford Conference Report. pp. 3-4, 11, 15-55.
55. Robinson, V.P. Op.cit. pp. 120-122, 127.
Marcus, G.F. "Some Implications for Case Work of Rank's Psychology" The Family. Vol. XVIII. No. 8. Dec. 1937. pp. 272-277.
Pennsylvania School of Social Work. Journal of Social Work Process.
56. Robinson. op.Cit. pp. 140-3.

In this its most recent development, case work appears to possess itself of those dynamic possibilities which the C.O.S. emphasis upon inquiry and the Richmond inductive diagnosis had somewhat overlaid. The personal relationship which Octavia Hill and the Barnetts advocated has become the medium of a skilled, controlled and technical process in the interests of individual growth, a process that requires a high degree of professional self-awareness on the part of the practitioner.[57]

Definitions of social work and of social case work have been cumbersome, in terms of adjustment, personality, environment. The newer case work has this advantage to the layman that its exponents conceptualize the purpose in the simplest of terms, "to help".[58] Professional skill is "a way of helping through an agency's function and resources".[59] Also the social agency, incorporated and maintained by laymen, comes to explicit recognition as a factor in the case work process.

What has happened is that the various activities, begun by the charity organization and settlement workers in response to their perceptions of unmet human needs, work with families,[60] hospital almoners,[61] school care committees,[62] juvenile protective associations,[63] have become established as apecialized community services. For each of them, organized groups of people or government departments have assumed responsibility. In the

57. Robinson. Op.cit. pp. 132-7, 145, 151, 164-6, 167-81, 188.
58. Journal of Social Work Process. pp. 1, 3-4, 127.
59. Ibid. p. 19.
60. See p. 96 of this thesis.
61. See p. 100 of this thesis.
62. See p. 106 of this thesis.
63. See p. 144 of this thesis.

Journal of Social Work Process the helping process is described as it is carried on by professional workers, in a family agency, agencies for child placement, child guidance, adoption, probation and a hospital department of medical social work.[64]

The therapy based upon Freudian psychology is concerned with the client's inner life and unlimited in its exploration of emotional problems. The newer case work is concerned with the way the client meets specific problems in reality.[65] An agency with a specialized function, family welfare, child guidance, medical social work, acts as a fixed and limiting factor in the helping situation into which a client enters. The dynamic factors are in the case worker's control of the interacting relationship through which the client finds what the agency offers, in respect for a client's initiative in coming to the agency, and in continued recognition of a client's responsibility as he makes a series of decisions through which he uses or rejects the agency's services.[66] The new interest in the value of a defined, restricted function as a factor in case work practice is due in part to the influence of Rank's psychology, in part to the experiences of social workers in relief departments and agencies since 1929.[67]

In respect to these developments of diagnosis and treatment, the third in Mary Richmond's balanced processes, it may be said that a balance obtaining in each of the other two has been

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64. Journal. pp. 148-150.
65. Marcus. G.F. "Social Case Work and Mental Health". The Family. Vol. XIX. No. 4, June 1938, pp. 103-5.
Journal of Social Work Process. pp. 11-17.
66. Journal. pp. 8, 20-1, 26-7, 34-5, 44-46, 30-31, 94, 103, 104-26. See also. Towle, Charlotte. "Factors in Treatment". National Conference Proceedings. 1936, pp. 179-91.
67. Marcus, G.F. "Some Implications for Case Work of Rank's Psychology". p. 276. Journal. p. vii.

disturbed. The current case work interest in individual growth appears for the present to exclude an interest in reform or in the growth of those institutions which shape personal growth. As Miss Robinson notes, there is an "essential conflict between the emphasis on the relationship with the individual and the relationship with the community to which the agency is to some extent responsible.... Among case workers themselves there is great confusion as to whether the ultimate aim of their efforts is to increase the sum total of human happiness, to further social welfare, or to give to the individual client a sincere and objective understanding of his problems. As the latter aim seems insufficient to some workers the next decade will see a resurgence of active treatment methods and of advocacy of social reform such as old age pensions and health insurance, the latter a wholesome corrective for the intensive concern with the individual's inner life in which, I believe, one group of case workers will remain increasingly absorbed."[68]

For the time being also, the balance in volunteer and professional roles is disturbed. Professional practice based upon psychological principles and upon understanding of cultural processes and patterns,[69] calls for explanations in terms other than those of a democratic ethic of individual and social betterment.

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68. Robinson, V.P. Op.cit. pp. 184-5.
69. Kardiner, Abram. "Cultural Restraints, Intrasocial Dependencies and Hostilities". Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1937, pp. 97-111. or, The Family. Vol. XVIII, No. 6. Oct. 1937 pp. 183-196.
Boie, Maurine. "The Case Workers Need for Orientation to the Culture of the Client." Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work. 1937, pp. 112-123, or The Family. Vol. XVIII, No. 6. Oct. 1937, pp. 196-204.

The advanced case worker has areas of thought and practice with which the average layman is unfamiliar. The Richmond role of interpretation now appears beyond the scope of the volunteer; but it is being seriously considered by the professional worker.[70]

In contrast to the modern case worker, the group worker is still considering group work function as closely related to education and to social action.[71] While Mary Richmond was developing social case work around her work with families and while other branches of social work were adopting the methods of "Social Diagnosis", the American settlements were working out and adapting the Toynbee pattern in American cities. The Hull House records present very clearly the continuity between the personal relationships into which the early neighbourhood workers entered and the wider institutional processes which they set in motion out of those experiences.

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70. Marcus, G.F. "Case Work Interpretation: an Area for Professional Exploration". The Family. Vol. XVII. No. 5, pp. 169-74.
Marcus, G.F."The Case Worker's Problem in Interpretation." National Conference Proceedings. 1936 pp. 133-145.
Tousley, C.M. "Case Work Principles in Interpretation." The Family. Vol. XVII. No. 5, pp. 174-176.

71. See p. 85 notes 81 and 82.
See also Coyle, Grace L. "Group Work and Social Change" National Conference Proceedings. 1935, pp. 393-405.

Chapter VII

JANE ADDAMS ON THE FRONTIER.

The Personal Process.

When Jane Addams was a very little girl her Father wept because Lincoln had died. And again, she found him solemn over a newspaper which told of Mazzini's death. Lincoln and Mazzini, the liberators, were impressive to Jane Addams before she knew the significance of their actions.[1]

She grew up in an Illinois village, just one generation off pioneer life, in a natural village democracy, physical independence in tillage of the soil, neighbourly interdependence in communal activities.[2] In a slum district of a young, overgrown, industrial city, Chicago, she tried to enter again into the primary contacts of village life.

The sight of the hardships under which poor people lived had always stirred Jane Addams to sympathy.[3] She wanted, too, to understand life,[4] and her position of educated idleness had given her book knowledge, familiarity with European culture, and was holding her in a narrow social stratum.[5] She and her friend, Ellen Gates Starr, decided "to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who had been given over too exclusively to study, might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life

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1. Addams, Jane. Forty Years at Hull House. (New York, 1935) Vol. I. pp. 21-23, 28-32, 34-42, 77.
2. Addams. Vol. I, p. 1. : Linn, James Weber. Jane Addams. (New York, London, 1935) pp. 1-21.
3. Addams. Vol. I. pp. 4-5, 14, 60-61, 66-9, 73-5.
4. Linn. Op.cit. pp. 10,24,34,41, 427, 435, 437.
5. Addams. Op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 64, 69-73, 118-121. Linn. Op.cit. pp. 33-34, 76-87.

from life itself; where they might try out some of the things they had been taught and put truth to the ultimate test of the conduct it dictates or inspires".[6] All her life there she was working, mentally, to reconcile her native and philosophic conceptions of democracy with the life around her in Chicago.

The processes of that work fall into order around a theme to build. "One item added to another" was her characteristic way of doing things.[7] They show the same continuity of purposive effort, from personal service to individuals to building institutions to serve personal and communal life, as has been remarked in the work of the Barnetts, of Loch and of Richmond. Like Samuel and Henrietta Barnett, Jane Addams identified herself with the life of a slum area, and so involved her self in wider civic and national issues that her name and work went out into the world.[8]

On their first Sunday evening at Hull House, Jane Addams and Ellen Starr sat on the piazza, and a group of small boys told them "about things around here".[9] The fine old homestead had stood at first in the suburbs, but it was then in the midst of immigrant colonies, Italian, German, Polish and Russian Jews and Bohemian. There were also Greeks, French Canadians, many Irish, and some native Americans, obliged by economic or social disability to live cheaply.

The foreigners worked in sweated industries, newcomers pushing continually into the places of those who moved out into better occupations and life. They were housed, several families to each one of the old wooden cottages, which often had no drainage, and

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6. Addams. I. 85.
7. Addams. I. 58.
8. Linn. pp. 193-5, 237-40, 258-60, 283, 348-9, 355-6.
9. Addams. I. 384,

which had been built there in suburban days or moved in from other sites, or in brick tenements. Sanitation was neglected by city authorities and was strange to the people. There was little street lighting or paving, and not nearly enough schools for the great child population.

It was to the people of this neighbourhood that Hull House opened its doors. Jane Addams and Ellen Starr shared the daily routine of hospitality and teaching, the mental anxiety of balancing the budget, and took part in the physical labour of keeping the house clean and in order. They began to know their neighbours and to answer calls to trouble and sickness, to child-birth and to death-beds.[10]

The number of residents grew to fifteen in five years, to twenty-five in ten, to forty in twenty. And Hull House was the first settlement to have both men and women residents. Most of them have been professional and business people who give their leisure time to the work of the settlement. Among the forty who lived there in 1908, there were physicians, attorneys, newspaper men, business men, teachers, scientists, artists, musicians, social workers and civil servants. They came because they had "a genuine preference for residence in an industrial quarter to any other part of the city because it is interesting and makes the human appeal."[11]

"If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young, comfort the aged and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social response that all men feel."[12]

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10. Addams. I. 93-101, 109-112, 145-150, 154-158. Linn. 118-121.
11. Addams. I. 111
12. Addams. I. 109.

"We believed that the settlement may logically bring to its aid all those adjuncts which the cultivated man regards as good and suggestive of the best life of the past."[13]

Hull House was opened in 1889. Before the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, a group of buildings covered a a city block.[14] This was a development possible in a young city where great fortunes had been made. The Culver family, heirs to Charles J. Hull, became interested, as did other wealthy people of Chicago.[15]

Each of these buildings is the response to a need or interest, which was disclosed to the residents of Hull House as they came to be on intimate terms with their neighbours.

The Beginnings of Hull House Buildings.

A. In Service to Children.

"The dozens of younger children who from the first came to Hull House were organized into groups which were not quite classes and not quite clubs. The value of these groups consisted almost entirely in arousing a higher imagination and in giving the children the opportunity which they could not have in the crowded schools for initiative and for independent social relationships. A.I. 105.

"The first three crippled children we encountered in the neighbourhood had all been injured while their mothers were at work." A.I. 167-8.

The Kindergarten.
A. I. pp. 101-3.

The Day Nursery
A.I. p. 169

The Children's Building
L. 209. 1895.

The Mary Crane Nursery
L. 209 1907

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13. Addams. I. 94.
14. Linn. 209
15. Addams. I. 92-94, 148-50, 371-399.
Linn. 92-95, 122-6, 140-44, 147-8, 190-3, 209-11, 352.

B. In Clubs and Classes.

"From the early days at Hull House, social clubs composed of English speaking American born young people grew apace. So eager were they for social life that no mistakes in management could drive them away."
A.I. 342

"The entire organization of the social life at Hull House, while it has been fostered and directed by residents and others, has been largely pushed and vitalized from within by the members themselves."

The Hull House Men's Club.
L. 209 1901-2

The Hull House Woman's Club
Bowen Hall. 1904
L. 209

The Hull House Boys' Club
L. 209 1906-7.
A.I. 104-5, 442.

Country Club at Waukegan.
L. 142.

The Clubs fall into three main divisions. A.I. 365.

(a)	Recreational.	
	Dances, organized games, tournaments	348-50, 442.
(b)	Self-improvement.	
	Teaching of English to immigrants.	436-8
	Debates.	342
	Discussion Clubs.	178-9
	Public lectures	429-431
	Literary Clubs	435
	Physical development	442-4.
	Extension courses and summer school	346-7, 428-9
	Cooking, dressmaking and millinery classes	438
	Trades and crafts shops.	439-40
(c)	Companionship and Interpretation.	
	People find themselves and their abilities, and discover common social and civic responsibilities.	365-70

C. In Neighbourhood Experience in Co-operative Effort.

"An investigation of the sweat shops had disclosed the fact that sewing women during the busy season paid little attention to the feeding of their families."
A.I. 129

Hull-House Public Kitchen

To supply nourishing food at lowest prices.
Neighbourhood appreciation has been slow, owing to national food habits and individual preferences.
A.I. 130-1, L. 123-4.

"Better food was doubtless needed, but more attractive and safer places for social gatherings were also needed."
A. I. 132

Coffee House and Gymnasium. 1893

"The Coffee House became something of a social center to the neighbourhood as well as a real convenience."
A.I. 131-2

Both originally in the same building.
A. I. 131. 150

New Coffee House. 1899
L. 209

"At a meeting of working girls held at Hull-House during a strike in a large shoe factory, the discussions made it clear that the strikers who had been most easily frightened, and therefore first to capitulate, were naturally those girls who were paying board and were afraid of being put out if they fell too far behind. After a recital of a case of peculiar hardship one of them exclaimed: "Wouldn't it be fine if we had a boarding club of our own, and then we could stand by each other in a time like this?"
A.I. 136.

The Jane Club. 1898
In
A co-operative boarding club for working girls.
Began in two rented apartments near Hull-House and became at once self-sustaining.
A. I. 136-9. L. 124-5.

D. In Art, Crafts and Music.

"It was more characteristic of Miss Starr, perhaps, than of Jane Addams that art should have been the first Hull-House activity to have a building of its own."
L. 122.

The Butler Gallery 1891
A.I. 148, 371

"The first exhibit in June 1891 was opened by Mr. and Mrs Barnett of London."
A. I. 371

"These exhibits were surprisingly well attended and thousands of votes were cast for the most popular pictures.
A. I. 371.

"The exhibits afforded pathetic evidence that the older immigrants do not expect the solace of art in this country".

"The work of the studio almost imperceptibly merged into the crafts and well within the first decade a shop was opened at Hull-House."
A. I. 375

Hull-House Studio
A. I. 373

The classes held in the studio were filled "not only by young people possessing facility and sometimes talent, but also by older people to whom the studio affords the one opportunity of escape from dreariness."
A. I. 373-4.

"This shop is not merely a school where people are taught....but where those who have already been carefully trained may express the best they can in wood or metal."
A. I. 375.

"The Hull-House shop affords many examples of the restorative power in the exercise of a genuine craft."
A.I. 375-6.

"From the very first winter, concerts which are still continued were given every Sunday afternoon in the Hull-House drawing room and later, as the audiences increased in the larger halls."
A.I. 376-7.

Hull-House Music School
1893
A.I. 378.

"From the beginning we had classes in music."
A.I. 378-381.

"The very first day I saw Halsted Street a long line of young men and boys stood outside the gallery entrance of the Bijou Theater".
A. I. 383.

Hull-House Dramatic Association
A. I. 390. L. 211

"The theater, such as it was, appeared to be the one agency which freed the boys and girls from that destructive isolation of those who drag themselves up to maturity by themselves, and it gave them a glimpse of that order and beauty into which even the poorest drama endeavours to restore the bewildering facts of life."
A. I. 384-5.

"The dramatic arts have gradually been developed at Hull-House through amateur companies."
A. I. 390.

"The development of the little theater at Hull-House has depended upon "the genuine enthusiasm and sustained effort of a group of residents, several of them artists."
A. I. 393

Hull House Theatre. 1899
L. 209 A.I. 387

"An overmastering desire to reveal the humbler immigrant parents to their own children lay at the base of what has come to be called the Hull House Labor Museum.
A. I. 235

Hull House Labor Museum.

It illustrates the evolution of factory spinning through an arrangement of spindles, spinning wheels and skills all found in use by immigrants in the neighbourhood. Demonstrations and lectures on industrial history explain the exhibits.
A. I. 235-45.

"It seemed to me that Hull-House ought to be able to devise some educational enterprise, which should build a bridge between European and American experiences in such wise as to give them both more meaning and a sense of relation."
A. I. 235-6

It has grown to include shops for weaving, pottery, basketry, book-binding, cabinet-making and metal work, the textile department being self-supporting.
A. I. 245-6. L. 181.

"It has made Americanized children look upon the old-world accomplishments of their parents with something better than the eye of scorn".
L. 181-2.

The Political Process.

The development of Hull House parallels in Chicago, on a greater scale, the opening of new institutional life to the people of East London and the assuming by residents of citizens' duties. In addition to the Hull House Buildings, new civic and state institutions came into being which were related in origin to Hull House. And Jane Addams and others took positions of responsibility in established institutions.

Some Civic and State Institutions Related in Origin to Hull House.

The Nineteenth Ward Improvement Association. Met at Hull House.	A.I. 321
The Municipal Voters' League. A Hull House trustee was active in its organization	A. I. 322.
First Public Baths in Chicago. Opened by the city upon suggestion and aid from Hull House.	A. I. 313-4
First Public Playground in Chicago. Established and managed by Hull House for ten years and then turned over to the City Playground Commission.	A. I. 289-91. L. 126-8, 253
Cook County Juvenile Court. Hull House was continuously interested in the delinquency of immigrant children and its residents were active in the movement to establish this court, the first of its kind in America.	A.I. 251-2, 316, 324-5. L. 143, 187.
The Juvenile Protective Association. Co-operates in the work of the Juvenile Court and has headquarters at Hull House.	A.I. 250, 323-7, 364, 386, 442. L. 143
The Medical Clinic. The Psychopathic Institute. They have become associated with the Juvenile Court through the public interest aroused by the Juvenile Protective Association.	A.I. 327.

University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration.
Hull House residents associated with its early days as the School of Civics and Philanthropy. It is now headed by two former residents. A.II.406

Rosenwald Industrial Museum.
Founded by Julius Rosenwald, Hull House trustee, it follows the purpose of the Hull House Labour Museum to show the development of industries. L. 108

Federal Post Office, Branch Station.
Administered at Hull House for the benefit of the immigrant population. A.I. 302

Some Civic and State Appointments Held by Hull House Residents.

Nineteenth Ward Garbage Inspector. A.I. 285-9.	Jane Addams.
Chicago Board of Education, Member and Chairman of its School Management Committee. A.I. 327-39. L. 234-7. 254.	Jane Addams.
Public School Art Society, First President. A.I. 313.	Ellen Starr.
Cook County Juvenile Court, First Probation Officer. A.I. 323-4.	Mrs. Stevens.
League for Protection of Immigrants. Superintendent. A.I. 222.	Grace Abbott.
Illinois State Board of Charities. Member. A.I. 312.	Julia Lathrop.
Chicago Civic Federation. Member of committees on unemployment and labor legislation. A.I. 160-3.	Jane Addams
Chicago Association of Commerce. Honorary membership, first woman to receive it. L. 237	Jane Addams
Chief Factory Inspector, State of Illinois L. 137	Florence Kelly.

In the Hull House pattern personal experiences were directed towards institutional growth through the activity of a group of women. This group of residents stood at a point where the threads of experience through personal contacts came together, and whence new threads of effort ran back into the personal or out into the institutional field. They suggest a concept of a focal group which concentrates and transforms energy. They came to Hull House "primarily because they were genuinely interested in the social situation and believed that the Settlement was valuable as a method of approach to it."[16] Ellen Starr, the co-founder, led clubs and classes, and drew to her assistance wealthy young women of Chicago who had been her pupils; she also worked to bring good pictures to the neighbourhood people.[17] Julia Lathrop, legally trained, passed from neighbourhood services and investigations, to state and finally to federal service, as the first head of the Children's Bureau at Washington.[18] Florence Kelly was a motive force in the Hull House fights for regulation of industrial hours and labour,[19] and Dr. Alice Hamilton's interest was also industrial. She made studies of occupational diseases. Like Julia Lathrop both stepped from Chicago into the American scene. Florence Kelly was chief factory inspector for the state of Illinois, and for thirty years head of the National Consumers' league. Alice Hamilton became professor of industrial medecine at Harvard.[20] Mrs. Bowen, (Louise de Koven) and Mary Rozet Smith

16. Addams. I. 151. See also. pp. 114, 126-7, 196.
17. Linn. 122-3, 130-1.
18. Linn. 132-136.
19. Linn. 136-40. 152-4.
20. Linn. 144-146.

members of old Chicago families both came to the settlement in its early days. Both led clubs and classes and both gave money and buildings to Hull House. Mary Smith's activities stayed within settlement and neighbourhood. Mrs. Bowen worked to bring into being the Cook County Juvenile Court, the first in America, and organized the Juvenile Protective Association.[21]

The Hull House group was also interpretative. It introduced bewildered immigrants to American public services and institutions.[22] It informed native Americans who came to direct clubs and classes of situations, new and surprising to them, in the industrial life of their city.[23] It mediated, too, between the first and second generations of immigrant families, split wide apart in adherence to old and new cultures.[24]

In the records of those men and women who made social work a common pattern has been appearing. The concept of a focal group which generates and transforms energy is important in seeing the pattern as a whole. Historically, social work has had personal processes, case work, and communal processes, reform, interdependent through the action of focal groups of energetic, devoted people working in settlements and charity organization societies. At Toynbee Hall the two processes are scarcely differentiated, just two aspects, personal and institutional, of one process towards moral growth. In the charity organization structure the personal process became known as case work, the communal was often directed towards reform, that re-shaping of the social environment in

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21. Linn. 140-4, 147-150.
22. Addmas. I. 167.
23. Addams. I. 366.
24. Addams. I. 235-7.
    Linn. 190.

response to growing consciousness of human needs. Mary Richmond emphasized the interdependence of the two processes if either were to be effective, and gave case work professional form. The Hull House group kept the case work process informal, and as they widened the institutional process out from Chicago into American life, they showed its scope and range and re-affirmed the unity and the ethical character of both processes.

The institutional process at Hull House may fairly be named a political process, using that word in its original sense. For it appears to be directed to the good or happiness of men, women and children in health, in mental and physical competence, in recreative arts, in citizenship.[25]

"It is the legislator's task to frame a society which shall make the good life possible", A.D. Lindsay writes in his introduction to Aristotle's Politics.[26]

Jane Addams and her friends took it upon themselves to share with the legislator","the function of the craftsman whose material is society and whose aim is the good life".[27]

They came to learn that there are different goods to different people whose attitudes have been set in their life experiences.

When Hull House campaigned against its alderman for laxity and corruption, the residents found that sanitation and honest administration were objectives with little meaning to the neighbourhood, The alderman's kindly interest in trouble or festivity, his many little services in job-finding were goods they valued and voted to retain.[28]

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25. Aristotle. Ethics. Everyman Edition. Book I. pars II-IV. pp 2-4. Also Note. p. 263.
26. See Everyman Edition. p. VII.
27. Ibid. p. VII.
28. Addams. I. 315-318. Linn. 167-175.

Hull House residents entered state politics, because they saw women and children debilitated and injured in sweated labour. They held protective legislation highly desirable; while the manufacturers held to the robust ideal of free competition. So the residents saw disappointing reverses of policy and met discouraging set-backs.[29]

They learned in time that real reform is in slow growth; that although there may be visible reform in ordinance, law, code or appointment, it is not real reform unless people are conscious that it is needed and willing to make it work; and that the political process, in civic and state reform, is in slow enlightenment, in the changing of time-set attitudes, in assimilation of new standards, in action "preceded by full discussion and understanding.",[30] in "the new dove-tailed into the old".[31] Jane Addams wrote later, "Premature reforms fail. Doctrinaire reforms fail. We must find the folkways. Reforms to be effective must be routed through the social consciousness".[32]

To find the folkways, means that social reforms must meet a people's sense of moral rightness. To change a good alderman, long established food habits, or obstetrical practices were reforms which did not pass this test.

The feeling of rightness is the prime factor in successful reform, and it is to be distinguished from the wave of sympathetic feeling on which reform measures often do pass, and which carries

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29. Addams. 198-230. Linn. 151-158.
30. Addams. I. 204.
31. Linn. 228.
32. Linn. 323.

no assurance of successful administration. The collection of social facts is the secondary factor in reform. They inform, convince and indicate remedial measures. The predilection of the settlement and C.O.S. workers to produce facts to support proposed social legislation and to enlighten obscure situations, has come out already in this study. And Hull House early began to make investigations.

Civic and State Investigations and Reports.

Subject of Investigation	Made by	Results.
Violation of law on garbage disposal.	Residents and members of Women's Club.	Improved sanitary conditions and lowered death rate in nineteenth ward. A.I. 284-5, 288-9
Tenement Housing.	Residents and City Homes Association.	Tenement Housing Law. A.I. 289-295.
Plumbing and lack of plumbing in houses adjacent to or sheltering typhoid cases.	Two residents.	Used as basis of another study. A.I. 296-7.
Typhoid infection as fly-carried.	Dr. Alice Hamilton.	Accepted as scientific data. A.I. 297-8.
Chicago milk supply	Jane Addams and Professor Grindley Illinois College of Agriculture.	Higher standards of production and marketing. L. 128.
Sale of cocaine to minors.	Regulation asked by Hull House in co-operation with other agencies.	New law passed, 1907. A. I. 299-300
Midwifery.	Hull House and Chicago Medical Association.	Showed need for state regulation, but also opposition to changes in custom from those to whom benefit was intended. A.I. 300.

Truancy	Residents in co-operation with Board of Education and Visiting Nurses Association.	Better administration of truancy laws. A.I. 300-1.
Sweated labour.	Florence Kelley for Illinois State Bureau of Labour.	Recommendations incorporated in first factory law of Illinois. A.I. 201-210.
Immigrant employment agencies.	Hull House in co-operation with others working for free State employment bureaus.	Law authorizing state bureaus and control of private agencies. 1899. A. I. 221-2.
Employment Bureaus.	League for Protection of Immigrants with co-operation of Hull House.	Civic and State efforts showed need for national organization. A.I. 221-2.

There is another aspect of the political process as observed in the Hull House records. Liberal movements started by any one institution meet and unite with other movements of the same aim and of independent origin.

Jane Addams gives the natural history of a woman's club, founded at Hull House for the mothers of the neighbourhood. The members were interested first in self-improvement and then in help to sick or distressed neighbours. Later, out of neighbourhood experience of child labour and of juvenile delinquency, the club, many members having prospered and moved away yet still retaining their interest, - began to associate with other Chicago public welfare bodies moving towards the same objectives. It how has county, state and national affiliations with other women's associations.[33]

33. Addams. I. 284-5, 302-5, 355-65. II. 94-99.

Early in the twentieth century, Hull House became conscious that the field of its investigations was becoming the ground for social surveys and research undertaken by university departments and welfare foundations; also of a common interest with the charity organization societies, in studying economic conditions, poverty, disease, industrial fatigue and low standards of living. When Theodore Roosevelt formed his Progressive party in 1912, that party incorporated into its program the greater part of a report upon standards of living and labour, which had been prepared quite independently of any such purpose by a special committee of the National Conference of Social Work.[34]

The woman's suffrage movement showed many apparently spontaneous beginnings in countries all over the world, in the early years of the twentieth century, and all generated in hopes for better conditions of living and working. Jane Addams was a worker in the American movement. The grounds of all her activities were two life-long tenets. One was that men could live together in brotherhood through continued exercise of their power to understand and to tolerate; the other, that human achievement is built upon responses to common primal human needs, and that no society is good or stable, which has stones missing in that foundation. She worked for woman's suffrage because she believed that "political action should concern itself with genuine human needs,"[35] and that women, wanting a better world for their

34. Addams. II. 10-48.
35. Addams. II. 92.

children had peculiar insight into the political measures that were needed. This led her into international affairs.[36]

National and International Organizations in which Hull House Residents have been active.

The Consumers' League.	Organized by Florence Kelley and headed by her for thirty years. A.I. 210. L. 138
The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.	Organized at Hull House. A. II. 290.
Dorcas Federal Labor Union.	Organized at Hull House. A.I. 212.
National Woman's Trades Union League.	First President, Jane Addams A.I. 213. See also National Conference Proceedings, 1935. p. 4.
American Association for Labor Legislation.	Vice-president, Jane Addams. A. II. 20.
National Conference on Social Work.	First woman president, Jane Addams. A. II. 24-7. See also National Conference Proceedings, 1935. p. 4.
Progressive Party. 1912	Delegate to party convention, Jane Addams. A.II. 28-45.
Federal Children's Bureau, 1912.	First chief executive officer Julia Lathrop, succeeded by Grace Abbott. A.II. 22. 325-6. L. 136, 211.
National American Woman's Suffrage Association.	Vice-president, Jane Addams. A.II. 84.
International Suffrage Alliance.	Delegate, Jane Addams. A. II. 80-88.

36. Addams. I. 205. II. 33-34, 80-112. Linn. 262-283, 322.

International Conference of Women at the Hague. 1915	Jane Addams presided. A. II. 124-5. L. 299.
Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom. 1919.	President, Jane Addams. A. II. 146. L. 299.
American Civil Liberties Union. 1920	Member of national committee, Jane Addams. A. II. 159-161.
Pan-Pacific Union, 1928	Jane Addams presided. A. II. 100-3.
Institute of Pan-Pacific Relations	Organized through efforts of the Pan-Pacific Union. A. II. 217.
The League of Nations.	Members of its Child Welfare Commission, Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott. Member of Commission on Health and Sanitation, Alice Hamilton. A. II. 216-7.

The political process, as it worked at Hull House, erected buildings, formed societies, moved for reform, found liberal movements with which to co-operate. Finally this political process influenced individuals who had never seen Hull House. It played upon American citizens far and wide, building up attitudes of social responsibility.

Jane Addams, at the source of the energy, kept drawing upon day by day incidents of the neighbourhood, to illustrate her talks, formal or informal, her books and her articles. She knew how to set down her conclusions in thoughtful, readable form, and she was intimate with men and women themselves forces in American life.

Jane Addams' Publications.

Articles in The Forum.
North American Review.
Atlantic Monthly. L. 242-3.

	American Journal of Sociology.	
	International Journal of Ethics.	
	The Survey.	
	Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work.	Nat'l Conference Proceedings, 1935. pp. 11, 20.

Books.	Democracy and Social Ethics.	1902	L. 242
	Newer Ideals of Peace.	1907.	"
	The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets.	1909.	"
	Twenty Years at Hull House.	1910	"
	A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil.	1912	269-71
	Women at the Hague.	1915	299
	The Long Road of Woman's Memory.	1916	321-2
	Peace and Bread in Time of War.	1922.	299. 336-7
	The Second Twenty Years at Hull House.	1930	299. 377
	The Excellent Becomes the Permanent.	1932	244. 396-7
	My Friend Julia Lathrop.		397-8.

American Men and Women Influenced by Jane Addams.

Presidents.	Theodore Roosevelt	L. 260, 272 293-4.
	Woodrow Wilson	319-21
	Calvin Coolidge.	371
	Herbert Hoover	431
		Nat'l Confer. Proc 1935. p. 19.
	F.D. Roosevelt.	Ibid. p. 19.

Men and Women Holding State Appointments.

John P. Altgeld,	Governor of Illinois.	L. 153
Newton D. Baker,	Secretary of War in Wilson Administration.	328-30
Julia Lathrop.	Chief Executive Officer. Federal Children's Bureau.	211
Grace Abbott.	" "	"
Justice Brandeis,	Supreme Court	138
Justice Holmes.	Supreme Court	138
Judge Hugo Pam.	Born of immigrant parents near Hull House	371-2
Frances Perkins.	Sec'ty of Labor. F.D. Roosevelt Administration	386-7.4 412.
Harold Ickes.	Sec'ty of Interior. F.D. Roosevelt Administration	220,415

Professional and Business Men.

Gerard Swope. President, General Electric Co. of America.	414-5
Sydney Hillman. President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.	414-5.
Henry Hart. President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx.	240-1
Clarence Darrow	432
Dr. Richard Cabot.	378
Oswald Garrison Villard.	414-5

Teachers and Publicists.

William James.	243, 293, 438
John Dewey.	178, 235, 254 375-6.
Walter Lippmann	86, 426
Dr. Graham Taylor	190-1, 208, 423.
William Allen White	371-2
President W.R. Harper. University of Chicago	160, 225
President Robert Hutchins "	378
Professor Albion W. Small. "	160, 190-1
Professor Charles E. Merriam "	369-72
Professor George Herbert Mead "	160
Professor George E. Vincent "	191, 439
Edith Abbott. School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.	409

The Content of an Ethic.

The political process which originated at Hull House has not gone forward without conflict. In Great Britain the mutual interpretation of rich to poor was that of one homogeneous people, economically separated by the requirements of new industrial life. In America those requirements have been met by European immigrants, and under the economic cleavage there is a further separation, that of Anglo-Saxon from European peasant culture. Jane Addams had more difficult ground, and without the religious, political and literary preparation which had harrowed the British soil.

America had pushed her physical frontier to the Pacific, before she was conscious of a social territory to be explored and subdued for human needs. Spatially, it was found first in the poor quarters of the cities. Jane Addams opened, and showed to the American people, this new frontier, not of physical but of social adventure.

While England in the latter half of the nineteenth century was swinging away from free competition, the resources and industries of the United States were being developed, with great individual profits, with no government restrictions and through the use of Irish and European labour. American upper and middle classes were not prepared for Jane Addams. The situation she opened is still prejudicial and inflammatory, for it is racial and economic. Not deliberately, but inevitably, Jane Addams' ideals and her neighbourhood experiences brought her counter to public sentiment, in Chicago, and later at the time of the world war, in the United States. In 1889 Chicago had a population about thirty per cent American, and seventy per cent low-waged immigrant. When Jane Addams asked for protective legislation and the rights of civil law for immigrants, she lent herself to association, in the minds of Chicago's first families, with the menaces of trades unionism, of state interference in private business and with the doctrines and dangers of anarchism.[37] And in the war period and the years just after, her activities in Europe brought to her at home accusations of pacifism and of lack of patriotism.[38]

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37. Addams. I. 183-4, 198-230, 292-5, 400-15. Linn. 100-9, 151-8, 188, 217-224.
38. Addams II. 113-187. Linn. 284-351.

It has just been suggested that Jane Addams pioneered upon a new American frontier, and began to build, not only institutions, but new attitudes of social responsibility in a rapidly grown and industrialized American civilization. A consistency of aim towards better ways of living and working characterizes her work. There is a thought of Plato's which served her frequently, "the excellent becomes the permanent".[39] The excellent to which Jane Addams worked, her moral ideal, was the democratic way of life for all Americans.

It was not without her own personal conflicts that she became convinced that the way of that ideal was in working from the bottom up among the newest Americans. She had known a simple, practical democracy in her own village of Cedarville.[40] Her education brought her the ideals of liberal and humanitarian philosophy.[41] Experience in Chicago was at variance alike with village life and with accepted philosophy.

Loch had tried to charge charity with meaning, through an historical review. Jane Addams wanted to re-vitalize the collective representation, democracy, by finding its fuller meaning in expanding American civilization. She is distinctive, because in her young maturity, she saw democratic beliefs as sentiments unpractised.[42] And because, as she worked in Chicago, - herself a person of the classical ethical type, in which thought, feeling and will are balanced, - she could recognize that ethical standards

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39. Addams. I. 53. Linn. 178, 243-4, 433.
40. Addams. I. 37-42
41. Addams I. 45-47, 77, 82-83.
42. Addams. I. 113-127, 270.

have grown out of experience, that what people think of as good may be something that gives simple emotional, rather than considered and reflective satisfaction, and that an ethic is a way of life before it is a standard. And she became convinced that America has yet to declare its ethic.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of great population growth and of incessant temporal, spatial, physical and technical change, - as for instance the changes from old to new world civilization and from rural to urban economy, - she realized that the faiths and creeds of the original north-western European few were not commanding the respect of the many.

"In his own way each man must struggle lest the moral law become a far-off abstraction utterly separated from his active life",[43] Jane Addams wrote in her diary in the years before Hull House was opened.

She would have liked the peace that comes from the literal practice of a conviction or a precept, - Christian missions, socialism, Tolstoyism.[44] Successful democratic life meant to Jane Addams, not conventional adherence to, or literal practice of, an inherited sentiment or a creed, but flexibility, adaptability, the thoughtful working out of rules of living in all departments of modern civilization.[45]

She wrote respectively, of education, of the function of the theatre, of industrial relationships," -

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43. Addams. I. 66.
44. Addams. I. 48-51, 186-7, 259-280.
45. Linn. 245-6.

"the educational efforts of a Settlement should not be directed primarily to reproduce the college type of culture, but to work out a method and an ideal adapted to the immediate situation."[46]

"much of our current moral instruction will not endure the test of being cast into a life-like mold, and when presented in dramatic form will reveal itself as platitudinous or effete."[47]

"justice will have to be established in industrial affairs with the same care and patience which has been necessary for centuries in order to institute it in men's civic relationships."[48]

Jane Addams' statement, "We may have to trust our huge and uncouth Democracy in our ethics"[49] rested upon her neighbourhood intimacies and perceptions. The campaign against the corrupt alderman gave her insight into the active emotional satisfaction an ethic must yield to have any effective rule.[50] The trades union movement had the sympathy and support of the Hull House residents as it had those of Toynbee Hall. And she saw it as an ethical effort, the natural and native endeavour of man to better himself and his circumstances.[51]

In ethical thought, considered historically, there are constants which appear and re-appear, and which are not simply cool, intellectual premises, but warm hopes and faiths, which

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46. Addams. I. 436.
47. Addams. I. 391
48. Addams. I. 60
49. Linn. 175.
50. Linn. 170-177.
51. Linn. 164-7, 196-9. Addams. I. 208-230.

take hold of men and women and influence their conduct. There are two of these constants in Jane Addams thinking. The insistence upon ample bread, and all that it stands for in the way of physical provision, for every human being, as the basis of moral life. The insistence that the good society, in her thinking, democracy, depends upon the reciprocal understanding and services of the men and women who compose it.

She had a high sensitivity to physical deprivation. Inequalities perplexed her as a child.[52] The sight of famished people in East London shocked her permanently.[53] The only time she doubted the worth of the Hull House program was during a hard Chicago winter when "the desperate hunger and need" made her own activities seem "futile and superficial".[54] She went to live in Chicago to find "primitive and actual needs"[55] Her interest in stirring responses to those needs made her active in the woman's suffrage movement.[56] It also determined her choice of war work.[57]

Early making her own the conviction that "the people themselves were the great resource" of a country committed to democratic ways,[58] that "the very existence of the State depends upon the character of its citizens",[59] Jane Addams was highly sensitive, too, to the condition of a democracy, - apparently

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52. Addams. I. 3-4, 14.
53. Addams. I. 67-8
54. Addams. I. 259-60
55. Addams. I. 85.
56. See p. 153, note 36.
57. Addams. II. 144-5, Linn. 335-8, 342.
58. Addams. I. 35.
59. Ibid. I. 229.

falling away from democratic principle, - in which so many could live restricted in ease and ignorant of the disadvantaged ones who were short on bread and long on labour. Her position was in effect a re-statement of the point of view that a gulf between classes disorganizes a people. Some are too protected, others too burdened to find a mutual ground of common opportunity on which real democracy rests.[60] "Her democracy was one of equal opportunity for health, labor, service and understanding", wrote her nephew biographer.[61] And again, "Life was her occasion, and the possibility for progress that lies in mutual understanding and common opportunity was invariably her text."[62]

She herself gives the simple positive grounds for the faith that brought her to live and work among the new Americans in Chicago, in words taken from Canon Barnett, "the conviction....that the things which make men alike are finer and better than the things that keep them apart, and that these basic likenesses, if they are properly accentuated, easily transcend the less essential differences of race, language, creed and tradition."[63]

Two kinds of knowledge enter into the making of an ethic. There is the recorded wisdom of the race. There is experiential knowledge, such as the Hull House residents acquired day be day. The old knowledge, told them of two constant human wants, bread and understanding. And the new knowledge confirmed and expanded the old.

It may be that as Jane Addams kept putting these two wants into the American consciousness that she was defining the content

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60. Addams. I. 270, 115-122.
61. Linn. 338.
62. Linn. 117.
63. Addams. I. 111-12.

of a twentieth century democratic ethic. Its making would be through the increasing sensitivity of men and women to these wants, and their acknowledgment of an obligation to meet and fill them.

Chapter VIII

VOLUNTEER ROLE AND FUNCTION.

This study has gone a long way back from the volunteer and professional workers, seated around a board room table. It has been examining one small phase of social organization, looking for characteristic and consistent processes. To set down themes, as they hold processes around them in pattern, may seem arbitrary. Actually these themes did sound, and the patterns grow, out of the records. Discovery went farther. The themes appeared to be variations of older ones, recurrent in history and philosophy.

The purpose of observing a phase of social organization, which appeared to have taken form around an altruistic interest, was to see if in that complex of welfare activities, known as social work, there were common and repeating strains which unified and gave character to the activities. If there was a common social work function, that was a point of departure for distinguishing the volunteer from the professional participation in it.

The study went into the past, because social work practices to-day seem to root in what a few outstanding people did, a generation or so back. Their attention was fixed on the city districts where the classes of lowest wage earners dwelt. And they showed a common conviction, that life was pretty cramped for the people who lived in these districts, and that something better was due them.

Notice that the concepts and themes that reduced the mass of detailed working and thinking to order, are all constructive

in purpose and in meaning. To enlighten, to encourage, to balance, to build. These themes work, through the establishing of human relationships, personal or institutional, which further human growth. They work because at the focus of the activity of each social welfare agency observed there was a group of energetic individuals, moving now towards personal help, now towards environmental change, yet never isolating one movement from the other. In the natural history of social work it appears to be these two movements, one concentrative on people in need of help, the other expansive in finding sources of help, and both issuing out of certain focal positions in community life, which have given to social work its distinctive character. Developmentally, social work has had a personal and a political function; and the existent structure on this continent, as the National Conference of Social Work builds it, - case work, group work, community organization and social action, - reflects that historic dual function.[1]

Before turning to specific volunteer function, there are some general implications for social work in its historic processes and in the themes they express, which affect both volunteer and professional participants.

The themes, to enlighten, to encourage, to balance, to build, dominants in the life organization of men and women who shaped the beginnings of social work, appear to be variations of ideas in which liberal and humanist thought has long expressed its

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1. See page 3.

ideals for men and for society. It has been possible only to indicate this connection. The records suggest that the thoughtful working of individual energy which in the minds of these makers of social work is personality, is the freedom, discussed by Rousseau, Kant and T.H. Green. And that the complementary idea of organization derives from the educational and legislative institutions, which Plato, Aristotle and Rousseau would set up for the development of growing citizens. The interaction of persons and institutions, to the higher development of each, is progress, which was an article of faith in the nineteenth century.

The difficulty of a study of the intellectual origins of social work is freely admitted. There is no technique for isolating the transmission of ideas. But it would broaden and secure the basis of professional social work, which is now seeking common terms with psychology and sociology, to find origins in philosophy and affiliations with humanist thinking in education and political science.

Again, the developmental history of social work is a topic of more than academic interest. There is still misunderstanding in respect to the distribution of funds collected by "federated charities". Subscribers expect to give and applicants expect to receive, material relief in money, food and fuel. Whereas the budgets cover also appropriations for trained services, capable of touching people handicapped or in trouble at all points of their lives.

It was Loch who began to disassociate the term charity from material relief, the context into which it had slipped from the earliest Christian meaning, that bond between individuals of a common spiritual attitude which expressed itself in physical care as needed. He gave to charity a content of effort towards the moral independence of individuals and of families, of helping handicapped people into communal life through the thoughtful interest of the better-fortuned. His emphasis is on the potential citizen, and upon environmental factors which promote or hinder growth.

The charitable intent still moves Christians to social service, as it did the Christian Socialists, Octavia Hill and the Barnetts. But the Christian Socialists and the Barnetts were practising humanists, as were Loch, Richmond and Jane Addams. And the humanist emphasis upon the individual ability to grow through assimilation of human culture has governed the processes of a young profession and has set its forms and attitudes. This development is not fully understood by those people who are thinking of charity in terms of material help only.

There are other practical values to modern social work in knowing intellectual origins. Social work appears to stand historically with those who hold that representative government and other social institutions are the workings of responsible individuals, and are modified through individual influences. As against a philosophy of authoritarian rule, to promote what the individual is told are his interests. It is important

to have that position clear to-day, when authoritarian philosophies of social life, whether of dictator or bureaucracy, offer solutions of social problems, attractive in their quick effectiveness. The very speed of modern communication and transportation, the impact of news and of new situations, acts against the working of that slow influence of mind upon mind, which the people of this study believed to be the essential factor in a democratically ruled state. Social work has practitioners of all shades of political opinion; but historically it occupies the middle ground of liberalism.

The beginnings of social work, as noted earlier, lie close to social scientific study in the nineteenth century.[2] There was deep concern for the individual and social demoralization, held to be resultant to that fundamental change in British economy known as the Industrial Revolution, and then active experiment in new types of social contacts and relationships. The perspective is longer now. The advantages and the advance of that economic change are accepted. Disorganization is recognized, too, as a const constant aspect of social organization: there are always old forms of collective behaviour in process of breaking down while new ways come into use and acceptance. Social workers and social scientists are now realizing the extent to which interest in individual and collective behaviour has been pathological. Studies have been made in dependency, delinquency, unemployment, individual and family disorganization; the normal individual and the normal social situation have had less attention.

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2. See pp. 45-58.

In an address to the Family Welfare Association of America, Professor Mark A. May has suggested that "social case work is the applied aspect of a science which does not yet exist".[3] He states the objects of study of that new science as "the relations that individuals bear to each other in a cultural setting".[4] "From the moment of birth until death every human being, with very rare exception, is faced with the perpetual problem of establishing and maintaining living and working relations with the existing surrogates (individuals and institutions) of his culture".[5]

Case workers have been thinking for some time of how to convey to the lay public, the meaning of the work they are doing in personal therapy. Interpretation is recognized by them as a professional necessity, for, until the nature of the new case work is set and accepted in lay consciousness, the profession is only a nominal one. What is to be conveyed to the layman is actually the last movement in the release of the agency client from abstraction. They are no longer the poor, mass objects of formalized charity, nor under suspicion of pauper habit, moral weaklings. Those individuals and families suffering accidental disability from environmental causes, identify in modern case work findings with normal members of the community. "Under the mask of poverty", Grace Marcus wrote

3. May, Mark A. "Is There A Science of Human Relations?" The Family. Vol. XVII. No. 5. July 1936. p. 139.
4. Ibid. p. 141.
5. Ibid. p. 142.

after a study of one hundred relief cases in a family agency, "are the unsolved problems of all of us".[6]

"Above all we would think it desirable for the layman to develop an increasing awareness that the problems with which we deal are common among all members of society, that they are not incontrovertible evidence of personal inferiority, failure, and degradation, that there is no stigma involved in the inability to solve them unaided, and that expert help with them might be legitimately sought by persons from all ranks of life".[7]

"Except in periods of such crises as war and severe economic depressions precipitate, the community has habitually regarded the problems with which we deal as alien to its own direct interest and experience, and peculiar to people who are constitutionally different and inferior. It has entertained mixed feelings of pity, fear and disgust for maladjustments it needed to believe derive from individual defect, abnormality and degradation; therefore, it has been able to grant them only the grudging consideration exacted by traditional concepts of charity or civic duty..... the problems of the client group are not specific to them but rather are inherent in life as it confronts all human beings in our society."[8]

The men and women of this study, - Shaftesbury, Maurice, Kingsley, T.H. Green, J.R. Green, Edward Denison, Octavia Hill,

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6. Marcus, G.F. Some Aspects of Relief in Family Case Work. p. 4. See also Ibid. pp. 2-5.
7. Marcus, G.F. "Case Work Interpretation: an Area for Professional Exploration". The Family. Vol. XVII . No. 5. p. 171.
8. Marcus, G . F. "The Case Worker's Problem in Interpretation". Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1936. p. 135.

Samuel and Henrietta Barnett, Loch, Mary Richmond and Jane Addams, - thought of the poor as free, spiritual, responsible human beings. But this essential faith was often obscured in recorded revelations of daily work among the poor. The people met and helped were frequently so degraded, their living and working conditions so oppressive, that they were, and continued in public opinion as, a class apart and different, ignored, deplored or sentimentalized. The focus of social work now is upon the normal individual, his needs and his difficulties, and through the individual upon the communal and institutional life of which he is a part.

Social work has been working itself, more or less, into the perspective of social study. But social workers have been, primarily, practitioners and their attitudes to psychology, sociology, economics and philosophy have been those of the borrower not the disciple.[9] Leaving aside the proposal for a new social science, there is a search to be made for the principles and concepts which social work holds in common with those branches of learning which investigate, explain and record individual and collective behaviour. The advantages in interpretation to the layman may not be direct; but the situations to be interpreted are at least better defined when conceived in a common frame of reference.

There is a deep-set problem of social work, which tends to sink into lower levels of consciousness through immediate pre-

9. Marcus, G.F. "Rank's Psychology". The Family. Dec. 1937.pp. 276-277. "Social Case Work To-day." Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1935, p. 130.
Boie, M. "The Integration of Family Case Work and a Science of Human Relations". The Family Vol. XVIII. No. 5, July 1937, pp. 159-161.

occupation with means and mechanics of every-day work of social agencies. A fundamental question, arising in the economic change known as the Industrial Revolution, was stated in the second chapter of this study, as the problem of how" to build up wealth in capital goods and at the same time to maintain the health, happiness and energy of the working people".[10] It has not been answered yet. It gets overlaid by all its developments which have demanded attention ever since; and by perennial problems of human behaviour, ante-dating the Industrial Revolution, and finding new forms of expression in a less well-knit society. Social work has grown out of some of the responses made to these demands. It has grown through being in conflict with negative tendencies in people and with negative parts of the social structure, by reason of a strong faith in the positive, creative forces in human beings. The social-economic problem of production and distribution is outside the field of social work; but the workings of these economic processes still appear as causal factors in the dislocated lives of people who come to social agencies. There is little honesty in social workers, lay or professional, who assume responsibility for the functioning of social agencies without regretful admission of this continuing phase in social work's natural history.

To continue the study of volunteer function, pursuant to the developmental analysis attempted in this thesis, means particular observation of what volunteers are doing. And that is the point of

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10. See page 21

departure for another study, a new undertaking, a study which would leave the back-ground for the foreground of social work. There is a harvest of professional social work literature, but the sheaf of volunteer records is a scanty one. A detailed study of volunteer work means changing from the library to the social agency as a field of observation, to living people, to current records.

This study of social work function has used sociological method. It has been made through observing processes of communication, active through deliberately formed relationships, as the processes work around a somewhat complex altruistic interest. It has found that the processes observed fall into two chief groupings which have been distinguished as personal and political; or which may be conceptualized in terms of space and direction as concentrative and expansive.

It is only recently that social work leaders have begun to consider their activities in terms of process. Some fifteen years ago, social work was presented to laymen and volunteers as the art of helping people out of trouble.[11] But the notion of "helping" as a technical process basic to the exercise of every social work function is new, and appears to originate in that school of professional workers who have taken working principles from Rank's psychology.[12]

In a study then of volunteer function, to be made through direct observation of a community's "constellation"[13] of social

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11. See p. 128.
12. Journal of Social Work Process. p. 1. See also Marcus, G.F. "Rank's Psychology." The Family. Dec. 1937. p. 275.
13. Dawson and Gettys. Op.cit. p. 38.

agencies and of the volunteer's part in those agencies, the modern volunteer may be assumed to share with the professional in a process of helping. The process is possible because a community is equipped with an indefinite number of specialized, welfare agencies. Speaking very generally, the personal and concentrative process of helping is the responsibility of the professional workers who are in direct contact with the agency clients. In the expansive process which works towards the widening interest and support of public opinion, financial provision and new social legislation, volunteers still have a large share. Again speaking generally, volunteer participation in the whole process of helping appears to fall into several broad divisions; the term volunteer being taken, as stated at the beginning of this study, "to include all those who serve one or more social agencies in any capacity, without financial remuneration".[14]

1. Agency Volunteers, under direction of professional workers, take part in the day by day routine of an agency. It may be in contacts with people, driving case workers, special services to clients or leading recreation groups. These volunteers, who have some share in the concentrative process of helping, may in time make the term volunteer their own. Usage is tending that way. It is through their initiative that Volunteer Bureaus for recruiting, training and placing have been coming into existence in the last decade.

2. Professional Volunteers. These are professional people, other than salaried social workers, who, like the agency volunteers,

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14. See p. 1.

take part in the concentrative process. Physicians, clergy, lawyers, dentists, teachers, musicians, artists give professional services to clients of social agencies.

3. Board Members take responsibility for the continued function of social agencies, and, in consultation with the executive professional workers, make an agency's policy and program. They also make the policy and program of central agencies, - Councils of Social Agencies, Financial Federations or Community Chests. They consider, again in consultation with professional workers, community problems and needs which are within the present or possible scope of social work, and make contacts with public welfare organizations and municipal, provincial or federal governments. They approve agency budgets, and raise and administer the funds on which private agencies operate.

4. Campaign Workers help to collect the funds to maintain social agencies in an annual campaign. They are not necessarily board members and some of them have their only knowledge of what individual social agencies do through publicity material prepared for the campaign. Theirs is a temporary share in the expansive process.

4. Club Volunteers. All through the community there are service clubs, women's clubs and church groups which give material help to social agencies. It ranges from gifts of clothing and food to

providing for trained services, new buildings or pioneer undertakings. Their members have no direct participation in either concentrative or expansive process, but indirectly their contribution to both is considerable and to be likened to an unmeasured reservoir of help.

These broad divisions cover a wide range of volunteer activity; first, that of agency and professional volunteers in immediate contacts with people who come to social agencies; secondly, that of board members through knowledge and direction of social work processes; thirdly, the helpfulness of people who have neither direct contacts with nor direct knowledge of the situations they ameliorate.

It may be noted here that board members, each supposedly familiar with the workings of one particular agency and with its working relations with those agencies giving kindred services, stand at the point in social work function where the concentrative and the expansive processes touch and give motive force each to the other. It was suggested that a group of people standing at the point where the threads of experience through personal contacts come together, and whence new threads of effort run back into the personal or out into the political field, may be thought of, for purposes of social study, as a focal group which concentrates and transforms energy.[15] A board of management is not necessarily such a focal group, but one which includes members of its professional staff, does stand as the focal groups in settlement or in charity

15. See pp. 146-148,

organization district stood. Through the deliberations of volunteer and professional workers, experience in agency and in community can interplay, and be productive in improved services to clients and in moving public opinion towards changing oppressive circumstances.

In a study of volunteer function in any one city it would not be practicable to cover the members of all these five classes. The basis of selection, in Montreal, might be one or more of the federations of social agencies, together with hospital social service departments and other organizations related to these federated agencies in daily function. Within these limits, an exact and particular description of volunteer function may be made through careful examination of what individual volunteers are doing and compilation of results. Putting together results from a number of cities would give a fair picture of volunteer opportunities and activities in social work.

In that picture, emphasis upon special forms of volunteer service will vary from city to city. In Cleveland group work has made extensive use of volunteers.[16] In the state of Washington, a plan of friendly visiting has been developed in connection with the administration of old age pensions.[17] In Montreal, hospital service has drawn the largest proportion of volunteers known to its Central Volunteer Bureau.[18]

The problem for investigation which arises under the title of this thesis, "The Role and Function of the Volunteer in Social

16. Dabney, Mrs. John. "A Volunteer's Preparation for Group Leadership", Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work. 1936, pp. 226-233.
17. Ernst, Charles F. "The Use of Friendly Visiting", Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1936 pp. 517-522.
18. Central Volunteer Bureau. First Annual Report. Jan. 1939.

Work", is the question of what are the distinctive things volunteers can do, abstractly in the helping process, concretely for the social agencies of any one city. It is not an academic problem. The helping process is the expression of an old and constant human interest. Volunteers have felt the loss of much of their earlier performance. They do not fully understand the nature of the trained services which have replaced theirs, nor have they criteria by which to judge them.

This statement of the problem introduces the question of volunteer role, not yet considered. Role is simply the part a person sees himself as playing in respect to any one of the many interests of his life.[19] It is attitude towards function. To discover the modern function of a volunteer in social work is not a matter only of observing opportunities open to him to serve. The manner, and degree of competence, of his performance depends upon his conception of social work and the adjustment he is able to make between conception and actual situation.

Finding a role is a personal discovery and there have to be many of those made and played out before one general volunteer role can be distinguished. There is a distinction to be made between what a role means to a volunteer subjectively, and that objective understanding of volunteer role, as distinct from professional, which will come eventually if the two groups continue to share in social work function. For the present, as volunteer services run

19. Dawson and Gettys. Op.cit. pp. 618-632. 648-9.

in a series, - from responsible work upon a board of management, to supervised work serving a weekly period in an agency, and then out through the activities of all those who help social agencies, campaign workers, church and club workers, unattached individuals, - so volunteer roles grade in a series too. Each of these helpers has his own attitude to social work and his own conception of himself as a helper, transitory or continuing. It may be said that a volunteer himself places his role in the series, according to his nearness to or distance from focal positions in the structure and function of social work. His interest is strong enough to make him want real understanding of and participation in motive forces of social work; or he is content to be busy and helpful.

Discovery of a role is determined in other ways than by current social experience. Local tradition and history enter into the conception of social work. Here in Montreal, there are old social welfare institutions which were direct responses to the specific needs of distressed people. Responses made and continued in charity. There are later ones which reflect the interest in education and in personal growth aroused by the charity organization and settlement movements. There are others which belong to the period when the community organized to survey the whole field and to take action to meet its charitable and social-educational needs. Survivals and strains of all these altruistic interests are active in people to-day, and helping to set attitudes towards social work through the influence and example of elders. Transmitted and

accepted, often unconsciously, are ideals of service, Christian, humanitarian, civic.[20] There are personal attitudes, native and developed, which pre-dispose towards social work. It is not likely to satisfy the mind that works towards mathematical solution; nor the temperament that works creatively through clay or colour. It requires an imagination, disciplined, and a capacity to work with, not on, people. It calls on the thoughtful sympathy that would see one's fellows in possession of those things held to be good for oneself. It requires responsibility, to the agency served for the best administration of means, and to the clients for help as adequate and thorough as those means can compass.

Social work has been taken, for purposes of study, to be a social institution facing its own particular selection of "problems which are never completely settled."[21] As Cooley puts it,"It is made up of persons but not of whole persons; each one enters into it with a trained and specialized part of himself"[22] Early specialization and training may be much the same for volunteer or professional, but the latter eventually brings to the institution a much greater "trained and specialized part of himself".

All volunteers are not responsibly minded citizens. All salaried social workers are not professionally trained; some are practical workers self-made; some have adapted themselves to social work from the teaching and nursing professions. But professional

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20. See pp. 12-15.
21. See p. 5.
22. See p. 11.

function, through the efforts of Mary Richmond and her successors, is defined, as the volunteer residue of a former common association has never thought, until recently, to define its own activity. The Volunteer Bureaus, come into existence in the past decade, are perhaps indicative of some definitive thinking under way.

As social work is presently organized professional and volunteer workers appear to be indispensable and interdependent. While social work has an intellectual basis in philosophy and social science and a practical basis in its own recorded and continuing experience, its financial basis, unlike those of the private practices of medecine or law, or of the tax-supported health and education services, has rested in large part on charitable endowments and subscriptions, made through incorporated societies. The lay board member acts as trustee, accepting obligation for the continued maintenance and usefulness of these societies. The professional worker has been trained to use with skill and judgment the resources they afford and to discover gaps in the social welfare structure, where it fails to meet new needs or those hitherto unnoticed.

There is a division of labour then between volunteer and professional workers. And volunteer role and function are to be studied not only through observation of what volunteers are doing, through knowledge of local history and individual predispositions to social work. They are to be studied as they are being worked out in this division of labour, from day to day, within the frame-work of a city's social agencies, and in the focal groups where

volunteer and professional meet to decide what is to be done by each in order to give the best service possible. The stage of development that professional social work has reached in any one city, and the understanding that lay people have of that development, are factors in building up volunteer role. For his own satisfaction and to do his part in keeping an agency in community use and maintenance, the volunteer needs to have knowledge of the practical basis of his agency's work, in a family welfare district, a hospital department of social service or a recreation centre. And to understand that the intellectual basis of modern social work practice is in psychological and sociological principles. Helping the volunteer to this knowledge and understanding is what the professional workers are now discussing as their function of interpretation.[23]

The working out of a co-operative division of labour bears upon social work function in general, as well as upon helping to clarify volunteer function. If the working and financial policies of social agencies are not made on an understanding of situations, - which are revealed by case work and group work, - through close collaboration of professional and informed lay people, and convincingly presented to public opinion, there is an eventuality that the old unity of personal and political processes will be broken. If case workers and group workers fall out of policy making and concentrate upon professional practice, and policies do not come naturally from within agencies,

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23. See pp. 169-70, 184

these will tend more and more to be shaped from without, in respect to available funds. Or certain features of an agency's program may be selected and advanced for their popular appeal by a federal or provincial party.

The pattern of social work's developmental years may not prove to be its continuing pattern. It may pass from private to public support. Its practices may become professional, its policies a public concern. But, as constituted at present, agency boards of management are still focal points in its working. They bring together members of a community who acknowledge an obligation to help, and members of a profession skilled in helping. There are places other than boards of management, where decisions which affect social work are now taken, in financial federations, in public welfare departments, in professional associations and conferences, in university departments of social research. But these decisions can have respectively an administrative, political, professional or academic slant. In boards of management, discussion is by people whose immediate duty is to the clients of agencies and their present situations. In community councils, representatives of those member agencies interested in a particular situation, come together in another form of focal group, to exchange experiences and to make plans.

The concept of the focal group is stressed then as a key concept in a study of volunteer function. It keeps historic continuity. It offers points of departure for practical, detailed

observation. It is the place where tensions pull. Out of tensions a real, working understanding of volunteer role and function is possible, to be reached by volunteer and professional workers together, in relation to specific decisions upon specific needs, in what Clare Tousley calls "a joint thinking process".[24]

The medical profession realizes that it has an interpretative work to do in the public health field. The teacher is working out problems with the parent. Social work does not have to build relationships to inform the community of what it is qualified to do; it has the intelligent layman already close to the scene of its activities.

The strength of social work in the past has been that it has gone ahead and experimented in difficult situations and has always found support for such experiment. It has the human interest and the ethical aim that makes the paths it opens worth following.

Professional workers have been busy thinking through their job with some of the self-preoccupation necessary to accomplishment in a new field. Lay workers have been intimidated by the apartness and the terminology. The realistic view is that they are a good deal dependent each upon the other to get the job, that historically they have been doing together, and that the community has come to expect them to do, done with real satisfaction to themselves, and more importantly, to the people who come to the social agencies in trouble and over-burdened.

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24. "Case Work Principles in Interpretation". The Family. Vol. VII. No. 5. p. 175.

It is suggested then that the volunteer function of the present and the future will be defined in focal groups where volunteer and professional take stock together of situations of common interest. It is suggested too that the role of the volunteer is individually determined by his nearness or farness in respect to the thinking of focal groups. Because those groups are thinking of the social process of growth through communication and of how to make it more fully effective. So there will be a whole series of volunteer roles, from those who want to be understandingly close to the motive powers of the process, to those who only ask to be given something definite and helpful to do, and who in a great city often miss that opportunity.

Mary Richmond wrote, "A profession which did not know its own history, which was indifferent to the memory of the men and women responsible for its making, would still be a shambling and formless thing".[25] That is why it has seemed important to study the history of social work, - not as events but as processes, impelled by interest and ideals and crystallizing into forms. There is a cycle in social organization, forms in the making, forms alive with meaning, forms mechanical and poor in meaning. The men and women responsible for the making of social work saw the cycle's first two stages. It has seemed that understanding of their purposes helps to keep the forms they set in full meaning. And because those whose interest lies in social work to-day,

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25. See p. 2.

whether they be lay or professional people, have this common heritage, it has seemed worth while to seek out and set down some account of its growth.

The study has possible service, as a preface to a study of that modern, volunteer function which has been taken to be in the making. Or, it may simply clear understanding of present volunteer role and function through opening up perspective in the past. The local traditions which influence volunteer attitude to social work are a deposit in the collective life of people, settled and occupied for some time in one place, of some parts of a wider tradition of social responsibility, of many phases, and centuries old. The study has been occupied with one particular trend of activity, taken as a phase having its own unity, in that it shows in a number of persons, over a period of years and through several generations, a consistency of interest, of method and of ideal.

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