Social Settlements

C. R. Henderson.

HAND-BOOKS FOR PRACTICAL WORKERS

Handbooks for Practical Workers in Church and Philanthropy

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SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE subject of this little book is full of interest, whatever may prove true of the treatment. The publishers have found a public demand for information. The Settlement is something new in the methods of philanthropy. It seems to have elements of great and permanent value. Like all novel and picturesque social movements, its chief dangers come from inexperienced and impetuous interpreters and representatives.

The plan of this discussion is simple. In the first part the characteristic traits of the movement are presented in brief form, the Settlements are regarded as distinct growths, each with features peculiar to itself. In the second part the historic phenomena are surveyed in order to discern the essential ideals which are giving shape and inspiration to the work. In the third part attention is directed to practical methods, and to suggestions for those who wish to establish Settlements or to give their support in money or service. In each part many passages are literally transcribed from the pages of actual workers. It seemed best to let

them speak their own dialect and reveal the local color and flavor of the particular Houses.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the multiplied kindnesses of many English and American residents, and the assistance of my friend and student, Mr. W. L. M. King, M. A., LL. B., of Toronto, whose aid in collecting and sifting material has been valuable. I was fortunate in having help in revising the notes from Professor Graham Taylor, D. D., Mr. Percy Alden, M. A., Miss Hannah Fox, Miss Bradford, Miss Holmes, and Mrs. Mitchell, in a delightful meeting at Chautauqua. None of these must be charged with my faults.

C. R. HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
April, 1898.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE
TO
SECOND EDITION. (REVISED.)

On the occasion of reprinting this pioneer sketch of the Settlement movement, the author is asked to make a few additions. It is not yet time for revision, and the text must stand as it is. Mrs. Montgomery's Bibliography may be used to bring up the facts to date, and the illustrations of the book will still have value as examples, although they may no longer represent present facts in the particular Settlements.

The lists on pp. 31 and 43 were as correct as they could be made in 1898. A comparison with the list given by Mrs. Montgomery is instructive and encouraging, since it furnishes the indications of progress.

The University of Chicago,
February 19th, 1902.

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PART I.

SECTION I.—HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

INDUSTRIAL CHANGES.—Economic conditions determine the possibilities of social development and modify the forms of life. The rise of the Great Industry is one of the most striking and influential facts of the century. Less frequently than formerly do we see the small group of workers carrying on industries in homes and shops, and using simple and cheap tools which belong to themselves; but we now see regiments of wage-workers busy with costly and complicated machines. These machines are driven by tireless steam-engines and electric currents. The operative owns and controls nothing. The employer controls the instruments of production. When the manager closes his factory because profits are not satisfactory, thousands of families face starvation and the door of the world of industry is barred. The artizan of the city has not even a garden-patch on which he can raise

vegetables. He is entirely dependent on the market, and must pay cash for all he eats or wears. A few "belated industries," like plain sewing, are carried on at home, but these are apt to be the most exposed to the evils of sweating. The modern organization of industry has divided the breadwinners into two camps, managers and wage-earners. The division aggravates, if it does not cause, class distinctions and hostilities. The harsher features of the system seem to be yielding to organization, restrictive legislation and enlightened philanthropy, but the contrasts between rich and poor are absolutely greater than ever before.

MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT.—Towns are machine-made. Troops of laborers gather about the steam-engine and build or rent homes near the great factory. Cities are the ganglia of the network of railroads, the points where communication is broken and renewed, where freight and passengers are redistributed. All modern countries witness the rapid growth of large towns. The extension of cities is a curious study. The choice building-sites by lake, park or forest are taken up by successful managers, bankers, merchants and professional people. The less desirable lots, on low damp ground, distant from woods and water, are left to wage-earners. The rejected portions are laid out in narrow lots, many of them fronting on alleys, and the number of children is usually in inverse ratio of space occupied. The worst parts come to be called the slums. The managing and operative classes are separated in the shop and isolated in residence. Their separ-

ation accentuates the causes of suspicion, bitterness, envy and misunderstanding. The city comes to be a huge aggregation of villages, each with distinct and antagonistic ideals. Communication becomes difficult. The very fact that the wealthy approve a measure, and that it is advocated by the "great dailies," is frequently enough to defeat it at the polls.

The following description of the situation about the Bermondsey Settlement might be applied to some portions of the largest American cities.

"All that we are, for the present, striving for is that poorer London should come to have the same advantages as provincial towns of moderate size. The population which our work affects in Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and the river side parishes, is not much less than 150,000. Contrast it with provincial towns of that size. There wealth and poverty are neighbors. The rich worship with the poor; their wealth builds and sustains churches, in which their families work. Institutions—educational, medical and charitable—spring up from the generosity of wealthy and enlightened citizens. Generation after generation, their families contribute to the administration of public affairs and philanthropic undertakings the service which only education, leisure, riches and highly-trained Christian character can give. And hence the solidarity, the *esprit de corps*, the local pride which such towns display. How different is South London, with its churches starved because members and money have removed, almost entirely unblessed by the

benefactions of the rich, with scarcely any young people, of education and leisure, to minister to the people, and with that spirit of distrust and defiance steadily growing, of which Independent Labor Parties and the like phenomena are the manifestation. This state of things is of concern not only to these poorer districts, or to London, but to the whole country, for London now leads the labor movement, and those who are now forming the thought of the industrial classes of England have grown up where churches are weakest, where wealth is least in evidence as the servant of the common weal, where sorely needed redemptive ministries languish and fail because the laborers are too few to carry them on."

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.—Schools in Great Britain and America have developed social and class consciousness. Reading habits are universal. The newspapers pour a flood of detached items upon the bewildered mind. The printed page and the illustrated journal advertize the delights of our civilization, and set before the starved denizen of the tenements visions of balls, feasts and operas. Nothing is hidden. All is laid bare. Impressions are made on millions of men at the same moment. All are reasoning and debating about the same speech or bill throughout the nation. The group of laborers, resting at noon under a bridge, are discussing the same subjects as senators and fine ladies.

DEMOCRATIC FEELING.—The seeds sown by the War for Independence and by the French Revolution have germinated and brought forth fruit. The

Declaration of Independence and of the Rights of Man are taken seriously. Political power has been enjoyed long enough to excite ambition to possess other and more substantial forms of power. Voters are asking whether the ballot may not be a tool as well as a toy. Why have a voice in the federal government, but none in the control of the factory? Political liberty is a mere picture; the reality is economic freedom, the mastery of the materials of happiness and culture. The present passion of the workingman is to have a share in determining the conditions under which society shall use and use up his physical and mental energies. His ideal is economic self-government. Socialism is fascinating because it seems to show him how to transmute political influence into industrial mastery.

In millions of awakened souls the song of the ploughman poet is echoed:—

> "For a' that, and a' that,
> It 's coming yet for a' that,
> That man to man the world o'er
> Shall brothers be for a' that."

K. Francke, in "Social Forces in German Literature," has, in describing Germany, summarized the tendencies of all modern lands.

"On the one hand, the ruling majority, wonderfully organized, full of intellectual and moral vigor, proud, honest, loyal, patriotic, but hemmed in by prejudice, and devoid of larger sympathies; on the other, the millions of the majority, equally well organized, influential as a political body, but socially

held down, restless, rebellious, inspired with the vague ideal of a broader and fuller humanity. On the one hand, a past secure in glorious achievements; on the other, a future teeming with extravagant hopes. On the one hand, service; on the other, personality. On the one hand, an almost religious belief in the sacredness of hereditary sovereignty; on the other, an equally fervent zeal for the emancipation of the individual. And what is most remarkable of all, both conservatives and radicals, both monarchists and social-democrats, inevitably drifting towards the same final goal of a new corporate consciousness, which shall embrace both authority and freedom. . . The end of their conflict will be mutual understanding and liberation as the basis of a new and happier home."

THE QUICKENING OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.—The great revivalist of the last century was a practical philanthropist. John Wesley wrote and preached against slavery and intemperance. He went to the mines to convert colliers. He appealed to the neglected masses. Dead formalism, idle controversy, cold dogmatism, paralytic deism were rebuked by this intense, convinced, sincere herald of the gospel. His influence is still felt in every branch of the church.

The religious revival was closely connected with a powerful movement of reforms. The Friends had studied the slavery question and found it un-Christian because it was immoral. Clarkson and Wilberforce sharpened the conscience of the nation on the same problem. The discussion was carried into

court and Parliament. At last the law declared that the soil of England made man free. The great commercial nation joined European powers to suspress the traffic in slaves on the high seas. At immense cost the slaves of the West Indies were purchased and emancipated.

In the contest with African slavery men learned to detest the slavery of factories and mines. Revolt against the bloody lash and suffocating slave-ship compelled men to investigate the stories of torture and oppression in the factories.

Enlightened employers, factory inspectors, humane statesmen, gifted sons of toil, writers of poetry and fiction, saved the heart of England from petrifaction and kept pity alive. The Earl of Shaftesbury is a type of the Christian humanitarian. He gave his life to help the insane, the miner, the factory girl, the chimney-sweep, the unfortunate of every kind. To carry his measures he was compelled to educate the ruling classes in justice and in a knowledge of contemporary England.

John Howard and Elizabeth Fry touched with healing power the most hopeless and abandoned classes and forwarded prison reform. The dungeon was changed from a fiendish purgatory to a school of reform. The insane have been removed from the crowd of criminals and treated in hospitals for the sick. The debtor is liberated. Youth and children have been given, though tardily, a chance to learn to read.

The High Church Movement. Startled by the inroads of scepticism and secularism, certain Oxford

scholars sought to kindle a new life in the State Church and induce the clergy to earn their stipends. Reactionary as it may seem to us, this movement had elements of spiritual force. It led men to devote themselves to a cause too large for selfishness. Its mysticism and symbolism, impossible as they are to men of rationalistic temper, did imply a vision of a large human world in which self-seeking came to appear mean and unworthy. That which bears the aspect of mere ritualism and mediæval asceticism carried with it the consecration of the spiritual martyr. Hence the missionaries to the heathen, and the self-denying ministers among the poor of London. This spirit brought men of finest æsthetic culture from the charming quadrangles of the old university down to the dives of the "submerged tenth." Years before the settlement idea was thought of these refined children of the ancient mother of learning, were fighting in their own sad way the evils against which allied forces are now gathering for a combined attack. A religious movement of an entirely different kind prepared the way for those who could not, even to save their souls, make the sacrifice of private judgement. Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, and all the school of "Christian Socialists," went among the working men of London with a cheery, manly, valiant message which had nothing of asceticism in it. Among them were men who taught Bible-classes one hour and boxing classes the next, with equal energy and joy, with equal religious devotion.

The sermons and addresses of F. W. Robertson may be taken as illustrations of the combination of spiritual forces with "secular" interests. Soon after the Chartists had shaken England out of moral slumber and suffered pathetic failure of impossible dreams, this fine spirit voiced the best thought of their friends. "There are two ways of improving a nation's state; the one is by altering the institutions of the country, the other is by the regeneration of the people's character. The one begins from things outward, and expects to effect a change in things inward; the other takes this line—from things inward to things outward. The latter is the right plan. If the Chartist got all he wanted—universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, annual Parliaments, paid representatives, and no property qualification, and he should succeed in transferring all power into the people's hands, and yet it were to turn out that the majority were just as corrupt and depraved as the minority had been before them, every honest Chartist will tell us that his Chartism would have been a failure, and was not worth the having." This was said in the memorable year of revolutions, 1848. Four years later Robertson made an address in which he brings out the other side. "Progress means increased opportunities of developing the heart, the conscience, the intellect. It is not each man's born right to be as rich as his neighbor, or to possess the soil. But it is his inalienable right to be permitted to develop all the powers that God gave. If the laborer live so that the death of a child is welcomed by the

thought that there is one mouth less to feed, he cannot develop his heart affections. If he lives in a cottage where brothers and sisters sleep in one room, he cannot develop his conscience. If he comes home overworn, so that he has no time to read, then he cannot develop his intellect. Clearly, therefore, define such a social position for the laboring man as shall give him scope enough to be in every sense of the word a Man. A man whose respect is not servility, whose religion is not superstition, and whose obedience is not the drudgery of dumb-driven cattle. Until that time comes, the working classes are not free. It is the spirit of Christianity that man makes his circumstances, and, besides that, the circumstances make the man. The Scriptures, interested principally with our spiritual nature, are also interested with our physical nature; and the Redeemer of the soul is declared to be the Saviour also of the body. All the outer and inner life must work together, until we have done all that in us lies, not only to preach and teach the truth, but to take away the hindrances which stand in the way of truth."

England, like Germany, has been developing all through the century a vast system of "Inner Missions," philanthropic service for every form of human misery and need. Every science and practical art has been leased for the use of those who are in distress. Invention has been taxed by philanthropy as well as by manufactures and commerce. And at the close of the century the charity worker finds ready a whole arsenal of weapons of modern style

for the assault on the castles of despair. The helper of the poor needs less to invent than to use.

Various as were the types of belief, all earnest souls had this in common,—they all found the service of the Lord in doing good to men. People who could not worship together out of one prayer book, or go through the same ceremonies, or subscribe to the same creed, could face the grim foes of the Son of Man in the dark lanes of the city. There they met in the encounter with the desperate conditions and gradually came to a better understanding and a sweeter temper.

PHILOSOPHY.—Along with this ecclesiastical movement went the steady unfolding of a larger and more comprehensive philosophy and literature. Schulze-Gaevernitz and others have told the story of the intellectual revolution which carried men out of the eighteenth century and Benthamism into the spiritual altruism of Carlyle. The conception of "utility" has not been driven off the seas, but has taken on new cargoes of meaning at every port. Egoism itself seems almost transfigured in the new ethics, and self-interest is regarded as including interest in humanity. Altruism is thought to be necessary to personal perfection and happiness.

The gross caricatures of the Religion of Humanity, as they came from the later vagaries of Comte, have passed from ridiculous symbols to intelligible content in plans for betterment. Frederick Harrison did battle side by side with Hughes. Fantastic and insane as were many of the notions of the French sociologist, he and his disciples have rendered

valuable service to religion, by formulating the idea of a community continuous in space and time, and itself worthy of devotion. Christian Socialists and Positivists meet at the altar of service in the sacred rites of philanthropy, the divine ritual of self-sacrifice.

Mr. Herbert Spencer's influence has been very great with men of this generation. His extreme individualism, his excessive distrust of political agencies of amelioration, his panic of fear of Socialism, are not shared by the modern world. The central current is all against him. His agnosticism, copying the lame metaphysics of Mansel, is a passing phase of bewilderment. But his learned exposition of the solidarity of human interests, his sublime confidence in the ethical order of this world, his deep love of truth and justice, his splendid illustration of the combination of even partial and malign factors for a beneficent result have, on the whole, contributed to the philanthropic movement of the century.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE UNIVERSITIES.—The nineteenth century long since invaded the mediæval cloister and disturbed the quiet of the leisured dons. Physical science, after many a protest of the clerical teachers, found its way into the lecture rooms and compelled attention. With this form of knowledge came a higher estimate of the value of health and a more accurate view of its essential conditions. Scholars found sanitation a suitable subject for a thesis, and microbes as interesting as Duns Scotus. Henceforth science had a mission to the feeble and

the sick, to the workman toiling in dust-laden atmosphere, to the child whose play ground is the vile gutter, to the miner trembling hourly in fear of explosions. Science opened the eyes of men to neglected cruelties and murderous abuses. Wherever the student of chemistry and biology went, he carried with him a penetrating analysis of causes, a scientific curiosity, an accurate method and searching instruments of discovery.

No account of the Settlement movement can omit the name of Dr. Thomas Arnold. His lectures at Oxford on Roman history gave him an opportunity to unfold his exposition of ethical values, his political conscience, his profound regard for the sanctity of the soul, his belief that Church and State must somehow contribute to the universal kingdom of truth and goodness. His thoughts turned to some "great work" in which he would like to join. "There are works which, with God's permission, I would do before the night cometh; especially that great work, if I might be permitted to take part in it. But above all, let me mind my own personal work,—to keep myself pure and zealous and believing—laboring to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others, if God disapproves of my doing it." Stanley says that the vision he had was of an ideal whole which might be incorporated, part by part, into the existing order of society.

It was at Oxford that Professor T. H. Green wrought upon the minds of some of the choice spirits of the century and turned them to seek the

Holy Grail. His own life illustrated this abstract but all-inclusive formula of what is worth while: "Does this or that law or usage, this or that course of action—directly or indirectly, positively or as a preventive of the opposite—contribute to the better being of society, as measured by the more general establishment of conditions favorable to the attainment of the recognized virtues and excellencies, by the more general attainment of the excellencies in some degree, or by their attainment on the part of some persons in higher degree without detraction from the opportunities of others." He insisted that the ideal of personal excellence could not be reached in a pure void, but only in helpful relations with other spirits. "That standard is an ideal of a perfect life for himself and other men, as attainable for him only through them, for them only through him; a life that is perfect, in the sense of being the fulfilment of all that the human spirit in him and them has the real capacity or vocation of becoming, and which (as is implied in its being such fulfilment) shall rest on the will to be perfect."

The name of John Ruskin is familiar to all who care for art. His position as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts at Oxford gave him access to the leaders of English thought. Mr. R. A. Woods says that he made social services interesting and stirred every department of social activity with his message.

A few sentences of Ruskin will carry us into the heart of the movement we are seeking to understand. Perhaps those very words acted upon the

pioneers of the work for the poor and cheered them at their toil.

"In thought I have not yet abandoned all expectation of a better world than this. I believe this in which we live is not so good as it might be. . . I know there are many who think the atmosphere of rapine, rebellion and misery which wraps the lower orders of Europe every day, is as natural a phenomenon as a hot summer. But God forbid! There are ills which flesh is heir to and troubles to which man is born; but the troubles which he is born to are as sparks which fly upward, not as flames burning to the nethermost hell. . . We can, if we will but shake off this lethargy and dreaming that is upon us, and take the pains to think and act like men, we can, I say, make kingdoms to be like well-governed households, in which, indeed, while no care or kindness can prevent occasional heart-burnings, nor any foresight or piety anticipate all the vicissitudes of fortune, or avert every stroke of calamity, yet the unity of their affection and fellowship remains unbroken, and their distress is neither embittered by division, prolonged by imprudence, nor darkened by dishonor."

"Quixotism, or Utopianism: that is another of the devil's pet words. I believe the quiet admission which we are all of us so ready to make, that, because things have long been wrong, it is impossible they should ever be right, is one of the most fatal sources of misery and crime from which this world suffers. . . Things are either possible or impossible—you can easily determine which, in any given

state of human science. If the thing is impossible you need not trouble yourself about it; if possible, try for it. It is very Utopian to hope for the entire doing away with drunkenness and misery out of the Canongate; but the Utopianism is not our business —the *work* is. It is Utopian to hope to give every child in this kingdom the knowledge of God from its youth; but the Utopianism is not our business— the *work* is."

Section II.—Origin and Progress of the British Settlements.

Summary of the Preparatory Elements.— All the forces mentioned, moving millions of obscure and nameless persons, as well as the great and renowned, contributed to the establishment of the first Settlements, made them a natural, inevitable product of the age. Industrial centralization compels organic social action; municipal development hastens, as in a hothouse, the germination and growth of the idea and feeling of solidarity; educational progress and improvements in communication furnish a sensitive network of social nerves of sensation, consciousness and expression; democratic feeling tends to make patronage charity repugnant on all sides; a quickened religious spirit intensifies the missionary zeal of the church; philanthropy, by its noble history and present enterprises, gives momentum and direction to new endeavors, and furnishes institutions ready made for social uses; ethical philosophy has passed from the

narrow and dark valley of egoistic hedonism up to the sunny highlands of rational and spiritual altruism; positivism has exalted humanity to a place of worship; sociology, in the hands of Comte and Spencer, has formulated the idea of the social organism; the universities have emerged from mediæval pedantry into the world of real life; the Charity Organization Society is unifying the chaotic efforts of benevolence; East London has missionaries and visitors who are acquainted with the people, but who feel themselves cut off from the warm gulf stream of learning, piety and culture. The time is ripe for bringing all these forces into coöperation in some new and vital movement. The Social Settlement is one of the many agencies in and through which the modern philanthropy, charged with the spiritual wealth of all past generations, finds expression. The Settlement does not create itself by spontaneous generation. It does not thrust itself upon the world unbidden. It rises at the divine call. It grows naturally out of all previous movements, draws life from them, completes and expands them.

FORERUNNERS.—The precursors of the Settlement were driven to the discovery that workingmen must help themselves if they are to be helped. They must grow into their inheritance. Friends can assist them only by increasing intelligence and fortifying character. The Christian Socialists, aroused by the revolution of 1848, and by the revelations of London misery, had sincerely tried to improve the economic condition of the poor by

schemes of coöperation in manufacture. Their schemes were wrecked on the shallows of spiritual defect, their own ignorance and the want of moral and intellectual preparation of the working people. Men who had no wealth could not act directly upon the factory system. Political power was an edged tool in a babe's hand. The Christian Socialists turned their attention to popular education.

Frederick Denison Maurice embodied the educational principle in the Workingmen's College established in 1860. Graduates of Cambridge University, who had come down to London for a public career, fell under the influence of the great preacher and enlisted under his banner as teachers. Charles Kingsley, professor of history at Cambridge and rector of a country parish, identified himself with the cause of popular education. He believed in the divine mission of natural science and in the renewing power of search for truth.

Through these fragmentary and occasional efforts to help the working people it was found that a still closer and more continuous labor was necessary; that scholars must learn from the people they would teach; that learning and helping are organic parts of one process; that higher life is communicated only by sharing, by reciprocity.

INDIVIDUAL PIONEERS.—First of all were the educated clergymen who had gone to live and labor among the poor of London. There was a large number of such men; but there are two whose names shine out with conspicuous lustre, Rev. John Richard Green and Rev. S. A. Barnett; the former

the most popular historian of England, the latter still living and writing, the interpreter of contemporary social needs. Nor should we forget the wives of these eminent men.

Edward Denison was an Oxford man of wealth and position, who went in 1867 to Rev. J. R. Green, then vicar of St. Philips, Stepney, London, and offered his personal service for the help of the parish. The clergyman was surprised almost to the point of scepticism by this unexpected and unusual act, but he soon found that the consecration was genuine. Denison made his home among the people and sought most earnestly and tactfully to understand and assist them. He carried his knowledge of their needs and aspirations into Parliament and there pleaded their cause, but his career was soon cut off by death, though his deeds and words have been living seed. A few sentences from his letters may give us light upon his motives and ideals. He saw with entire clearness that residence among the poor is the essential element in successful work for them. "Would indeed that we could have some real Christianity taught. . . Taught—but in the way our Founder taught it, by living it. That is the only way. Those who would teach must live among those who are to be taught. . . I am all for people concentrating their efforts each in some small field peculiarly accessible to himself or herself. Much more work is done with less waste, and the benefit to the doer is greater, owing to the personal exertion required. Still there must always be people whose duties

forbid them to do this, and who must make others their agents."

In another letter we see Denison about his daily work :—

"My opinion about the great sphere of usefulness to which I should find myself admitted by coming to live here is completely justified. All is yet in embryo, but it will grow. Just now I only teach a night school, and do what in me lies in looking after the sick, keeping an eye upon nuisances and the like, seeing that the local authorities keep up to their work. I go to-morrow before the board at the workhouse to compel the removal to the infirmary of a man who ought to have been there already. I shall drive the sanitary inspector to put the Act against overcrowding in force, with regard to some houses in which there have been as many as eight and ten bodies occupying one room."

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT started at Cambridge about the same time that Denison, an Oxford man, went to take lodgings in an obscure quarter of London. Eminent men enlisted in this cause, among them Professor Seeley, author of "Ecce Homo," who was made president of the "Workmen's Social and Educational League." The extension movement was a manifestation of a social conscience in the universities. It trained men to study the economic, æsthetic and intellectual needs of wage earners and dependents. It tended to cure them of pedantry and vanity, and gave them respect for the powers and qualities

of the leaders of the workers whom they met in discussion.

THE LONDON CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY (C. O. S.) was established in 1869. The founders of this organization had experience among the poor. They sought to introduce order and system into the defective and conflicting methods of relief, and to send among the people a large number of friendly visitors who might contribute a higher degree of intelligence and devotion to the study of causes and to more adequate methods of help. The transition from occasional visits by non-residents to daily life with the people in their own territory was natural and easy. And yet the Settlement has far wider and higher aims than those commonly associated with the C. O. S., and it appeals more directly to democratic ideals of development within the "working classes."

FORMULATION OF THE PLAN OF SETTLEMENTS.—The architect precedes the contractor and mechanic. Before 1873, at Oxford, there was a group of teachers and students who were thinking out the ideals of democracy and trying their theories on bits of local experiments of real work for their own town. Ruskin set young men to build a piece of road. Among his helpers was an enthusiast whom we are to meet again, Arnold Toynbee. Professor Green was shaping the raw materials of fancy into definite action. These men were thinking and talking of personal residence as the necessary means of carrying their higher life to the people. Discussions did not end in talk. One of the m[illegible]

brilliant members of the group, Arnold Toynbee, went to London in 1875 to seek a field for personal service. He confided his dreams and hopes to Rev. S. A. Barnett, a clergyman resident in Whitechapel, Vicar of St. Jude's, and sought from the man of experience counsel and direction. During several summer vacations he lived and worked in this region and became a trusted intellectual leader. He held the position of tutor of Indian service students at Oxford, and won many admiring and attached friends. His London work was chiefly lecturing on economic subjects. He died March 9, 1883.

The date is important. Out of his ashes sprang into life the Settlement movement. The friends of Toynbee resolved to erect for him a suitable memorial. They were thinking of endowing a lectureship for Extension teaching. But several events turned their thoughts in another direction. In the year of Toynbee's death the heart and conscience of England was stirred by the publication of "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." It was a revelation of domestic, economic and political evils which alarmed patriots and demonstrated by description of facts that there was a sore which would never heal itself, a disease so deep and terrible that it threatened civilization. Another event was the visit of Rev. S. A. Barnett to Oxford and his address to Toynbee's friends. He had now been working for ten years in Whitechapel and spoke with the authority and weight of conviction based on first hand knowledge. "He told them that it

would be of little use merely to secure a room in East London where University Extension lectures might be given, as they were thinking of doing. He said that every message to the poor would be vain if it did not come expressed in the life of brother man."—(R. A. Woods). The University Settlement Association was formed to provide necessary funds and to foster the interest in other ways.

PARTICULAR BRITISH SETTLEMENTS.—At this point we may take up the account of the origin, development and characteristic activities and institutions of various Settlements in Great Britian. It will be seen that varying conditions of the communities and the different gifts and resources of the workers have produced houses of widely different forms. While they have some things in common they have moved out freely in many directions of experiment. Comparison of these experiments will lead to certain generalizations as to theory, and to certain principles of organization which will occupy the latter part of this discussion.

It will be impossible to do more than give illustrative examples of methods. To describe all the Settlements in detail would involve much repetition. Those houses have been selected which supply the most abundant material and which have distinctive features.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, WITH LOCATION OF SETTLEMENTS.

1860—F. D. Maurice establishes the Workingmen's College in London.

1867—University Extension starts from Cambridge.

1867—Edward Denison goes to assist Rev. J. R. Green in East London.

1869—Charity Organization Society founded.

1873—Ruskin, T. H. Green and others talk of the idea of Settlements.

1875—Arnold Toynbee goes to Whitechapel to assist Rev. S. A. Barnett.

1883—"Bitter Cry of Outcast London" published.
Toynbee died.
Rev. S. A. Barnett addresses Toynbee's friends at Oxford. He had already been ten years in Whitechapel.

1885—Toynbee Hall founded, 28 Commercial street, E. London.
Oxford House, Mape street, Bethnal Green, E. London.
Pembroke College (Cambridge) Mission, 207a East Streets, Walworth, S. E. London.

1886—Toynbee House, Glasgow, 130 Parson street.

1887—Women's University Settlement, 44 Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, Southwark, London.
Chalmer's University Settlement, Edinburgh, 10 Ponton street, Fountainbridge.

1889—St. Margaret's House, Ladies' Branch of Oxford House, 4 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, E. London.
Leighton Hall, Neighborhood Guild, 8, 9, 10 Leighton Crescent, Kentish Town, N. W. London.
Mayfield House, Cheltenham Ladies' College, Old Foad Road, Bethnal Green, E. London.

1889—Cambridge House (before 1897 called Trinity Court), 131 Camberwell Road, S. E. London.
The Rugby House, 292 Lancaster Road, Notting Hill, W. London.
Students' Settlement, Glasgow, 10 Porsit Road, Garscube Cross.

1890—Mansfield House, 167 Barking Road, Channing Town, E. London.
New College Settlement, Edinburgh, Free Church, 48 Pleasance.

1890—Friends' New East End Mission, Bedford Institute, Spitalfields, E. London.

1891—Newman House (R. C.), 108 Kensington Road, S. E. London.

Passmore Edwards Hall (formerly University Hall), Tavistock Place and Little Coran Street, St. Pancras, N. W.

1892—Canning Town Settlement of Women Workers (affiliated with Mansfield House), 461 Barking Road.

Bermondsey Settlement, Farncombe street, Jamaica Road, S. E. London.

Women's House of Bermondsey Settlement, 149 Lower Road, Rotherhithe, S. E. London.

1892—College of Women Workers (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth Row, Blackheath Hill, S. E. London.

York House, Ladies' Settlement for Parochial Church Workers, 27 Holloway Road, London, N.

1894—Robert Browning Hall, York street, Walworth, S. London.

1895—University Settlement, Ancoats, Manchester.

RECENT ADDITIONS.

Lancashire College Settlement, Hulme, Manchester.

Sheffield Settlement, Neighborhood Guild.

Allcroft Road Neighborhood Guild, 140 Allcroft Road, N. W. London.

Eton Mission, Gainsborough Road, London.

Chalfont House, 20 Queen Square, W. E. London.

Gonville and Cains College Settlement, Battersea, S. E. London.

Christ Church Mission, 53 St. Leonard's Road, London.

Wellington College Mission, 183 East street, Walworth, London.

Harrow Mission Association, 91 Latimer Road, W. London.

Charterhouse Mission, Fabard st., Southwark, S. E. London.

Broad Plain House, Bristol.

Ipswich Social Settlement, Fore street, Ipswich.

Women's Settlement, Aigburth, Liverpool.

Hoxton Settlement, 280 Bleyton street, Wile St. N. London.
Lady Margaret House, Kensington road, Lambeth, S. E. London.
St. Mildred's House, Millwall, E. London.
Owens College Settlement, Manor st., Ardwick, Manchester.
Divinity Student's Residence (Established Church), 14 George Square, Edinburgh, Scotland.
University Hall, Outlook Tower.

TOYNBEE HALL.—The first home of the movement was Toynbee Hall, soon followed by Oxford House.

Toynbee Hall was opened in 1885, and Rev. S. A. Barnett was the first warden. Naturally the educational work has taken a large place. The Hall is one of the most prominent centers of Extension lectures. A valuable library has been collected. Classes in many subjects have been conducted. The people have been led to provide a free public library for themselves through local government. The university men have raised the quality of primary instruction in neighboring schools by stimulating and guiding the teachers who are generally persons of limited experience and knowledge. By means of a Political Economy Class a number of workingmen have been trained to take part in civic movements on behalf of the community in connection with Board Schools, charitable and educational administration. The residents and visitors are free to choose their own party in politics and their sect in religion, while a generous spirit of citizenship becomes the expression of patriotic and religious devotion.

OXFORD HOUSE.—Oxford House was founded frankly and positively upon Christianity. One of its most successful features is its clubs for men. The Federation of Working Men's Clubs, embracing forty-three non-political and non-alcoholic clubs, with a total of nearly 4,000 members has been an increasing power for good. In these clubs no intoxicants are sold or used. This does not alienate very many of the men and their wives are naturally favorable to such a plan. No political test is enforced, so that all sides are represented and any useful civic task may be taken up. Religion is free to all, urged on none. "It is," says Rev. A. F. W. Ingram, "an impossible thing that any one with strong Christian faith can be knit up with a body of men year in and year out, through happiness, through trouble, in the midst of all the ups and downs of life, without interpreting in some measure his faith."

These clubs are self-governing. They have taught men to rely on themselves, to treat each other with consideration and courtesy, to hear contrary opinions and weigh them. With a higher standard of life the young men are less inclined to marry at a prematurely early age. Home life itself is made more rich and attractive by the conversation which club discussions and reading are sure to start and sustain.

ST. MARGARET'S HOUSE (begun 1889) is the Ladies' Branch of the Oxford House. Its distinctive purpose was "to provide a center from which ladies—with time, talents, and experience at their

disposal—could work, to do for the women and girls of Bethnal Green what the Oxford House was doing for the men and boys. They aid the parish work and carry on enterprises of their own, girls' clubs, hospital visiting, work-house visiting, children's country holidays, school management, assistance to domestic servants, factory girls, etc.

THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT—Women entered the field in 1887. The Women's University Settlement, (founded 1887), has come into touch with the tenement house work conducted by the famous Miss Octavia Hill. In 1895, the residents assisted in the management of seven courts or small streets of cottages. They collected rents, looked after repairs, sought to prevent overcrowding and visited the tenants for various purposes. They seek to train workers among the poor by means of lectures and practical work and by visits with those who have experience. The residents acquire influence as school managers, assist local charities, help sickly children to country outings, and organize clubs for girls and boys. The Association declares its objects to be: "To promote the welfare of the people of the districts of London, and especially of the women and children, by devising and promoting schemes which tend to elevate them physically, intellectually or morally, and by giving them additional opportunities for education and recreation. The non-resident workers, not necessarily University women, are admitted by application to the Lady Warden. The residents are received after a probation of three months.

The charges for residence are stated to be £30 to £35 a year.

The Women's Settlement has entered upon a systematic effort to give thorough training to workers. The ordinary course extends over one year and is intended to give an outline of general principles and methods. The student may pursue some special branch in a second year of study. Theoretical instruction is given by lectures, papers and reading for thirteen weeks. Technical training is given by practice under other workers. Two or three days a week may be given to charity organization committee work. Visits to various institutions in London enable the students to become acquainted with the methods and resources of philanthropy.

MANSFIELD HOUSE. — The Congregationalists joined forces in 1890 with Mansfield House, Canning Town, East London, and Robert Browning Settlement, Walworth, South London, in 1894.

Mansfield House comes close to the wage earning people and the very poor. It was established from Mansfield College, Oxford. Mr. Percy Alden, the Warden, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Will Reason, have gained a remarkable influence. The house has earned and deserved confidence by actual service. When thousands of men were out of employment they gathered supplies and fed from six to eight thousand persons each day. They secure aid for the poor; send feeble children to the country for health; provide baths and other means of comfort; organize public opinion in favor of better schools

and sanitation, and aid in raising the quality of local government. Mansfield House is a standing proof that a positive Christian testimony, if it is thoroughly unsectarian and does not seek proselytes, is not a bar to cordial relations with workingmen. This remark is also true of the Robert Browning Settlement.

The Directory of Mansfield House shows the following organization and range of activities: Percy Alden, M.A., Warden; Will Reason, M.A., (since resigned to enter a pastorate,) Financial Secretary. Some responsible person is in charge of the Men's Club, Indoor Games, Chess Club, Harriers, Federation Delegates, Social Subjects, P. S. A., General and Benevolent Committee, Sunday Union Worship Hour, Orchestral Society, Brass Band, Cycling Club, Cricket Club, Fairbairn House Youth's Institute, Wave Lodging House, Children's Sunday Evening, Mansfield House Brotherhood, Sick Benefit Society, Loan Society, Penny Bank, Glee Society, Classes for Study, Coal Club. For legal advice to those unable to pay fees they have the service of the "Poor Men's Lawyers."

The residents have taken an active share in local politics. In 1896 Mr. Alden was Chairman of the Public Libraries and Technical Instruction Committee; was a member of Public Health Committee, the Hospital Sub-Committee, and the Housing of the Working Classes Committee. Mr. Reason has also been chosen to positions of influence and opportunity through the efforts of the men in the clubs.

SETTLEMENT OF WOMEN-WORKERS IN CANNING TOWN.—The basis of work: "The settlement has been founded upon a distinctly religious, though unsectarian, basis. It is intended that the management shall be entirely independent, but the work carried on will always be in close coöperation with the Congregational and other Churches of the district; and workers from any denomination are heartily invited." The scope of work is indicated in the following specified forms of ministration which have been found suitable for women-workers: "Work among factory girls; pleasant Sunday afternoon services for women; mothers' meetings and sewing classes; the provision of happy evenings for school children; coöperation in arrangement of children's cheap dinners in winter, and country holidays and house missions in summer; formation of educational classes; the nursing and visiting of the sick and poor; the management of old clothes missions, boot and blanket clubs; coöperation in school board work; charity organization work; temperance work; rescue and preventive work; a training home for domestic work; a crêche; a work-room."

PASSMORE EDWARDS (formerly University) Hall, representing the extreme of "liberalism" in religion, was founded in 1891. The name of the gifted Mrs. Humphrey Ward is connected in an honorable way with its history. The story of Robert Elsmere may be regarded as an interpretation of the motives of the institution. Papers

issued by this house declare its purpose to be religious. "Its founders seek to take part in deepening and purifying the springs of the religious life, and giving direction and guidance to the practical manifestations of a new spirit of Christian discipleship." Residents are not required to make any declarations or pledge in regard to their religious opinions. The study of social movements and educational work by lectures and classes are very prominent in the weekly programme.

The Roman Catholics founded NEWMAN HOUSE in 1891. This House was established as a centre for Catholic lay work in Southwark. Catholics in schools, colleges and universities are looked to for help and support. The residents have formed a club, a Student's Union, a Boy's Home as the beginning of a work similiar to that of Toynbee Hall, Oxford House and other Settlements.

BERMONDSEY SETTLEMENT, South London, was organized by the Wesleyans in 1892.

The evangelistic ministry has developed into many forms: a lantern service for women and children; a Sunday-school; Guild of Christian Endeavor; mothers' meeting; pleasant Sunday afternoon; popular work-night services; apologetic lectures. The educational departments offer numerous classes in art, commercial instruction, history, literature, languages, mathematics, music, politics, physical science, technical studies, theology. The social work shows a club, with club house for men and women [illegible]ch excludes

intoxicants, Sunday games and partisan politics. There are clubs for working girls and a Boys' Brigade. The residents seek to engage in local administration and philanthropy, by poor law visiting and board membership, Brabazon employment scheme, board school management, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants (M. A. B. Y. S.), charity organization society, friendly visiting, relief of special cases of distress, Invalid Children's Aid Association, district nursing, free legal advice.

The general aims of Bermondsey Settlement are thus stated in the Third Annual Report:

1. To bring additional force and attractiveness to Christian work.
2. To become a center of social life, where all classes may meet together on equal terms for healthful intercourse and recreation.
3. To give facilities for the study of Literature, History, Science and Art.
4. To bring men together to discuss general and special Social evils and seek for their remedy.
5. To take such part in Social Administration and Philanthropy as may be possible.
6. And so to do all this that it shall be perfectly clear that no mere sectarian advantage is sought, but that it shall be possible for all good men to associate themselves with our work."

RUGBY BOYS' CLUB is an effort to bring the members of a great "public school" into touch with outside life. Military drill, cricket, football, seaside camp, bamboo and cobbler's shop, debating society, classes and religious instruc-

are described in the reports of work. The work is primarily for boys, but the homes are reached through the visits of leaders and teachers.

CAMBRIDGE HOUSE (formerly Trinity Court) represents the old University in South London. This House is the center for workingmen's clubs and civic movements, Odd Fellow's lodge and various mutual benefit schemes and charities. It has a clerical head and enjoys the countenance and support of bishops and university professors.

SCOTCH SETTLEMENTS.

Scotland was only one year behind Oxford and London. The TOYNBEE HOUSE (Glasgow) was established in 1886, in a poor quarter not far from the cathedral. The poor neighbors were invited to social gatherings and thus friendly relations were established between them and the University people.

The STUDENT'S SETTLEMENT, of Glasgow, has brought the students into fruitful work on behalf of the laboring population. While young men can spare only fragments of time for such efforts they can be of use in introducing good books and scholarly ideals among the poor. The nation is made one by the formation of personal friendships of men of all callings.

The EDINBURGH COLLEGE SETTLEMENT has been very successful in making over and beautifying several old courts in the old part of the city.

SECTION III.—SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

No attempt is made within the restricted limits of this book to describe minutely all the Settlements of the United States. There is no complete list of them and new institutions are constantly springing up. The few which are here described with some fulness of detail are among the most fully developed and those in respect to which the most material is available. The local conditions and the inclinations of the residents have set a peculiar mark on each House, and the attempt is here made to indicate these characteristic differences, and the variety of methods of applying the central principle of residence.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1887—Neighborhood Guild, named University Settlement since 1891, 26 Delancey Street, New York City.

1889—Hull House (Chicago), 335 South Halsted Street.
New York College Settlement (College Settlements' Association), 95 Rivington Street.

1891—East Side House (New York), 76th Street and East River.
Northwestern University Settlement (Chicago), 252 West Chicago Avenue.

1892—Association House (New York), 259 West 69th Street.
Community House (New York), 153 Essex Street.
Philadelphia College Settlement, 617 Carver Street.
St Peter's House (Philadelphia), 100 Pine Street.
South End House (formerly Andover House) (South Boston), 6 Rollins Street.
Epworth League House (Boston), 34 Hull Street.

Clybourne Avenue Settlement (Chicago), 279 Clybourne Avenue.

1893—Princeton House (Philadelphia), 505 Pine Street.

Minster Street Neighborhood Guild (Philadelphia), 618 Minster Street.

Boston College Settlement (Denison House), 93 Tyler Street.

Darothea House (Boston), 13 Warrinton Street.

Maxwell Street (Chicago), (Jewish), 270 Maxwell Street.

Whittier House (Jersey City), 174 Grand Street.

Kingsley House (Pittsburgh) 1709 Penn Avenue.

1894—The Church Settlement House (New York), 329 East 84th Street.

Alumnæ House Settlement (New York), 446 East 72d Street.

Phelps Settlement (New York), 314 East 35th Street.

University of Chicago Settlement, Ashland Avenue, near 47th Street.

Forward Movement (Chicago), 219 South Sangamon.

Chicago Commons, 140 North Union Street.

Westminster House (Buffalo), 424 Adams Street.

Lucy House (St. Louis), 1835 Carr Street.

The Manse (West Oakland, Cal.), 1730 8th Street.

Welcome Hall (Buffalo), 437 Seneca Street.

Community House (New York) 153 Essex Street.

1895—Social Settlement of Cincinnati, 300 Broadway.

Union Theological Seminary Settlement (New York), 210 East 104th Street.

The Nurses' Settlements (New York), 265 Henry Street, 279 East Broadway, and 312 East 78th St.

All Soul's Friendly Aid House (New York), 248 East 34th Street.

Hale House (Boston), 6 Garland Street.

Medical Missionary College Settlement (Chicago), 744, 47th Street.

Helen Heath Settlement (Chicago), 969, 33d Court.

Elm Street Settlement (Chicago), 80 Elm Street.

Social Settlement of Hartford (Conn.) 15 North Street.
Log Cabin Settlement (Grace P. O., Buncombe Co., North Carolina).
College House (Grinnell, Iowa), 615 Pearl Street.
Tabor College Settlement (Iowa), 1510 South 3d Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
South Park Settlement (San Francisco), 15 South Park.

Among the more recent additions to the list in America are:

Hiram House (Cleveland, Ohio), 183 Orange Street.
Kirkland School Settlement (Chicago).
Hartley House (New York), 413 West 46th Street.
Ben Adhem House (Boston), Mall Street, Roxbury.
Bowne House (Lincoln, Nebraska).
University Settlement (Lincoln, Nebraska).
Roadside Settlement (Des Moines, Iowa).
Goodrich House (Cleveland, Ohio), 368 St. Clair Street.
Amity Church Settlement (New York City), 312 West 54th Street.
Orange Valley Institute (Orange, New Jersey).

Neighborhood House (Chicago), 1550, 69th Street.
Delano Settlement, (Evanston, Ill.), Foster Street and Myrtle Avenue.
Social Settlement (Terre Haute, Ind.), 28 North First Street.
Neighborhood House (Louisville, Ky.), 324 East Jefferson Street.
Elizabeth Peabody House (Boston) 156 Chambers St.
Lincoln House (Boston), 116–122 Shawmut Avenue.
St. Stephen's House (Boston), Decatur Street.
Willard "Y" Settlement (Boston), 11 Myrtle St.
The Berean Mission Settlement (Detroit, Mich.), 642 Russell Street.
Bissell House (Grand Rapids, Mich.), 425 Ottawa St.
Unity House (Minneapolis, Minn.), 1620 Washington Avenue, North.

Commons (Saint Paul, Minn.), Jackson and 8th Sts.
St. Louis Settlement (St. Louis, Mo.), 2d and Victor Streets.
St. Stephen's Home (St. Louis, Mo.), Rutger and 6th Streets.
Graham Taylor House (Lincoln, Neb.), 945 North 8th Street.
Dundee House (Passaic, New Jersey), 20, 2d Street.
Neighborhood Settlement (Brooklyn, New York), The Astral, 184 Franklin Street, Greenpoint.
Association House (New York), 259 West 69th Street.
Calvary House (New York), 335 East 22nd Street.
East Side House (New York), 76th Street and East River.
Gospel Settlement (New York), 211 Clinton St.
Grace Church Settlement, (New York), 417 East 13th Street.
Phelps Settlement (New York), 314 East 35th Street.
Union Settlement (New York), 237 East 104th Street.
Young Women's Settlement (New York), 163 Ave. B.
Eighth Ward House (Philadelphia), Locust Street. near 9th Street.
Neighborhood Guild (Philadelphia), 618 Addison St.
Happy Home Settlement (Milwaukee, Wis.).

Houses doing a work similar to that of Settlements, but not having residents:

Neighborhood Guild, 245 Concord Street, Brooklyn.
West Side Settlement, 453 West 47th Street, New York.
The Prospect Union, 744 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridgeport, Massachusetts.
San Francisco Boy's Club, Association.
Los Angeles Settlement Association.

The Beginning in New York City.

The "Neighborhood Guild" was opened at 117 Forsyth Street in 1887. It was transferred to the University Settle-

ment Society in 1891, and was opened at 16 Delancey Street in 1893. It is now called the University Settlement. The aims and methods of the earlier work are described and explained in a book written by the founder, Dr. Stanton Coit, and entitled "Neighborhood Guilds."

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT, 26 Delancey Street, New York, Mr. James B. Reynolds, Head-worker. The chief work of this pioneer house, within its own walls, is done through the usual classes and clubs. The city night schools make provision for most of those who can study, but supplementary classes in book-keeping, drawing, dressmaking, electricity, French, hygiene and stenography are organized. The clubs provide musical concerts, dancing, gymnastic exercises, literary culture, sociable intercourse and study of reforms.

This Settlement has had remarkable success in influencing the physical, economic, and political environment of the community. In this work the House is simply the centre of activity whose force is felt afar. It has aided in the formation of habits of thrift by its penny savings scheme; has sought prudently and conservatively to aid the sweated garment workers in time of strike; has held art exhibitions, at one of which the average attendance daily for four weeks was 3,200 persons.

Mr. Reynolds has been actively associated with municipal reform movements, efforts to secure small parks and better tenement-house conditions, and to improve local government by non-partisan methods. He emphasizes the conviction that political reform conditions the moral and spiritual pro-

gress of the young people of our cities. "A careful study of the social conditions of our city has convinced me that no evil is so potent, and none works so much to undermine the best efforts of social and religious reformers as the political corruption which has flourished so long in our city. . . . When I consider the amount of money that is spent annually for religious and moral training of the children, and see how little of it is directed at more than the narrowest needs of the people, I have felt that there is a special need for us to emphasize this point."

The House has collected and presented evidence before a Tenement-House Committee; has coöperated with various organizations which were seeking to provide small parks for the crowded neighborhoods; and has given aid to the movement to improve the condition of girls in mercantile establishments. The Head-Worker was appointed a member of the local Board of School Trustees and so gained power to assist the educational forces. The information furnished by the Head to the Municipal and State Legislatures was a material part of the basis of important new measures.

The Sanitary Union attempts more than its name suggests, for it acts with various departments of the city government—Police, Fire, Street Cleaning, Health and Public Works—to inspect street cleaning, enforce ordinances, abate nuisances, clear encumbered fire escapes, examine unsafe buildings and watch the operation of the Sanitary Code. This Sanitary Union does not attempt to en-

force laws, but to bring information and encouragement to the police, foremen of gangs, and others whose duties are executive. In this way there is less danger of open rupture and conflict, and the officers of the city are more likely to be prompt and cheerful in the discharge of their public duties.

HULL HOUSE was established in Chicago in September, 1889, by Miss Jane Adams and Miss Ellen G. Starr.

It is sometimes said that a Settlement must not start with a fixed programme and assume an iron form. It must not dictate to life, but must adjust itself in adapted service to the needs which are discovered. It is said, with justice, that the residents come first of all to learn the wants of the population, and not to impose impracticable schemes conceived in a different social environment. This is one side of the truth. But the founders of Hull House did not enter their work without principles and equipment. They attracted friends and won confidence just because they knew life and could give clear expression to their thoughts. The substantial assistance given by persons of wealth could never have been won by persons of confused minds. It is not necessary that all residents should have the same plan, but it is essential that they should possess gifts. Merely moving one's boarding-place will not make one useful. Working-people are quick to detect shams, and their estimates of neighbors are shrewd and candidly expressed. Insignificant ability will not suddenly blossom into genius by virtue of lodging in a tenement district. Settle-

ments succeed through the character, force and insight of sane and informed residents. The remarkable success of Hull House can be traced to intelligible causes.

"The original residents came to Hull House with a conviction that social intercourse could best express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. They wished the social spirit to be the undercurrent of the life of Hull House, whatever direction that stream might take. All the details were left for the demands of the neighborhood to determine, and each department has grown from a discovery made through natural and reciprocal social relations."

The educational work is carried on by college men and women, and by lectures of the University Extension Department of the University of Chicago and other institutions. The service is gratuitous, the small fees being used to meet incidental expenses of printing, reference books, etc. A Summer School at Rockford, Illinois, has given many young women the privileges of life in the college for women at the nominal expense of three dollars per week. A reading-room and branch of the Public Library, with an excellent sub-station delivery, are found near the House, and they bring the resources of a great collection of books to their doors. Small and choice selections of pictures are exhibited each year. The walls of the rooms always show fine photographic copies of noble works of great artists. Beautiful works have been placed in the neighboring school-house, and a society has been

formed to carry this work into other cities. Musical choruses and classes are taught by competent persons. Concerts are given in the gymnasium on Sunday afternoons.

Hull House Residents.—"No university or college qualification has ever been made for residence, although the majority of residents have been college people. The organization of the Settlement has been extremely informal; but an attempt has been made during the last winter to limit the number of residents to twenty . . . Applicants for residence are received for six weeks, during which time they have all privileges, save a vote, at residents' meeting. At the end of that period, if they have proved valuable to the work of the House, they are invited to remain, if it is probable that they can be in residence for six months. The expenses of the residents are defrayed by themselves on the plan of a coöperative club under the direction of a house committee. A limited number of fellowships has been established, one of them by the Chicago branch of the Inter-Collegiate Alumnæ Association."

For three years all the residents were women; but after that some young men came to reside near the House, and gave their assistance as far as consistent with their professional and business life.

The citizens of Chicago have furnished much of the money and many of the occasional workers, and it is counted an honor to have any share in the admirable work. The owner of the property has given the use of it rent free until 1920. The new buildings have been provided by generous friends.

The superintendence and teaching are volunteered by residents, and are unpaid.

Hull House has assisted the Labor Movement by aiding the organization of trades unions among the more helpless workers; by investigations and agitation for improved factory inspection; by arbitration of one strike; by discussions in the Social Science Club of Working-People. The Nineteenth Ward Improvement Club stood for street-cleaning and free public baths. A local council of the Civic Federation met at the House to consider and promote the interests of the ward in local government. Social fellowship is fostered in connection with educational schemes of clubs and classes. Relief work for the destitute is not overlooked, and coöperation with the Associated Charities has marked all the Settlements of Chicago. A Coffee-House and Kitchen provide wholesome food at reasonable rates. Thrift is fostered by a Penny Savings Bank. But a mere list can give only a faint notion of the richly varied ministries of this Settlement.

College Settlement Association.

Pres't—Mrs. Caroline Williamson Montgomery.
Vice-President—Miss Vida D. Scudder.
Sec'y—Miss Susan G. Walker, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Treasurer—Miss Cornelia Warren.
Fifth Member—Mrs. Jean Fine Spahr.

The officers are elected annually by the Electoral Board. The movement which led to the organiza-

tion of the Association was one of the earliest Settlement movements in this country. It started among the students of Smith College in 1887. The original purpose was to secure support entirely from colleges, but as the work enlarged other helpers were enlisted. The Association was formally organized in 1890, and incorporated in 1894. Its function is to induce competent students to assist in Settlement work, to unite alumnæ in social service and to promote investigation. To encourage the combination of theoretical knowledge with practical works the Association has awarded a limited number of Fellowships to such workers as show themselves fitted to collect material that is of permanent scientific value.

The organization of the Association is simple. Any College raising a subscription of $100, or one which represents at least twenty members, is entitled to membership and to send two representatives called Electors to the meeting of the Electoral Board. This Board meets semi-annually to do the general business of the Association, to appropriate funds, and is responsible to the Association for the general policy of the Settlements. It appoints three members of a local Executive Committee for each Settlement, and these then elect, subject to approval, the remaining members of the committee. This committee appoints the Head-Worker and is responsible to the Electoral Board for the management of the Settlement. A large body of non-collegiate members are represented by two Electors. The Colleges at present represented are:—Welles-

ley, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Mills, Packer Collegiate Institute, Cornell, Swarthmore, Elmira, Woman's College of Baltimore, Barnard. The Association is assisting in the support of three settlements, one each in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

THE NEW YORK SETTLEMENT works for better schools and more schools. The population of the neighborhood is 700 persons to an acre, and grows more dense. A little boy appeals to one of the residents: "Take me to school, lady," as if she were clothed with municipal powers. The Head-Worker has been appointed School Inspector, and can urge progress with all the force of one who knows the people. The young teachers come to tea, and are stimulated and guided by lectures. Girls are taught sewing by the best methods. The Women's Home Improvement Club makes mothers intelligent concerning questions of tenement-house reform and good city government. In Spring, after the night schools are closed, classes are organized for study. Girls are taught music and a new form of pleasure is introduced into their lives. One child said, "The days that I wake up and remember that it is my lesson day, I am so glad." The workers teach the children the right use of books and promote the circulation of the public and private libraries. The Kindergarten teaches the meanings of nature and trains in helpfulness. "When the children came to us they knew nothing of the processes of nature and very little of the processes of work. They have no idea where the

flour or the milk or the nuts and apples come from, and the seasons are hardly distinguishable to them except by the differences of temperature. They know very few animals and scarcely any flowers. One little girl called a cow a horse, and on being told the name called it 'cow-horse.' Rabbits and squirrels were quite unknown, and all birds were pigeons." But they are taken excursions to Crotona Park, and the woods are made to tell a real story of violets, buttercups, acorns and chestnuts. Many of the children are taken to the country for a week or so in summer and come back healthy, cheerful, their minds full of pictures, their hands full of flowers for mother. The residents say: "There are now coming to us in an ordinary day in winter two hundred people and there is much to be done. It has been our earnest endeavor to live in the midst of our work in as quiet and healthy a fashion as possible, and several of the residents, we are glad to say, have improved steadily in health. It seems to us a great privilege to be among so many friends, when there is so much to do and so much to learn."

THE PHILADELPHIA SETTLEMENT is developing "specialists" in work and yet extending the range of service for those who can give only fragments of time. The Kitchen and Coffee-House is designed to furnish the neighborhood nutritious food at low cost and a clean, cheerful place, free from all objectionable features, where a comfortable meal may be had at reasonable rates. There is a branch of the Free Library in the rooms of the

Settlement, and it supplies special books on topics discussed in clubs, lectures or classes. This form of coöperation is very fruitful. The Circulating Picture Library sends out mounted photographs of great pictures into the homes of the people. A printed slip giving a sketch of the artist and a description of the subject is pasted upon the back of each. The art section of the Civic Club of Philadelphia assists in this undertaking. "Even among our Hebrew friends the madonnas are favorites with both mothers and children. It is, of course, the human interest that attracts them." The Mothers' Meetings are arranged to bring the Kindergarten leaders into friendly relations with the mothers. The educational work is carried on by means of clubs, classes and library service.

The Coöperative Coal Club had in one year 321 members, eight centers for deposit and ten club visitors, and sold $2,712.39 worth of coal. "This means a considerable saving to club members, as the rates are from 40 to 80 cents per ton cheaper than retail prices and from $2.25 to $2.50 less per ton than when purchased by the bucket, the customary thing in our neighborhood." For drawing and manual training the Settlement relies on a public school and helps to secure regular attendance. This Settlement sets a high value on military drill and summer encampment for one or two weeks for boys.

In relation to training of workers the report of 1896 gives interesting details. "To our minds the growing recognition of what is good in the Settle-

ment idea is shown in the effort made by churches and philanthropic institutions to come into close touch with the people they wish to serve, by planting homes with residents in their midst, instead of expecting, as of old, that the people will come to them. We are constantly in receipt of letters from such organizations asking for young women with settlement experience to come and show them how to work." In order to meet such calls this Settlement has begun to provide lectures on economic, political and other social subjects, along with the daily practical experience. It has been found that workers connected with various city charities are ready to join with the residents in attending these lectures and assisting in the discussions. The University Extension lecture-study method, lecture, syllabus, discussion, is found the most profitable. Some of the topics considered have been: Social Economic Legislation, Labor Programmes, Child Labor, Woman Labor, Factory Inspection, Sweating System, Industrial Circulation and Arbitration, Labor and Social Insurance, Training in Social Citizenship, Study of Foods, Medical Relief, the Tramp Problem, the Relief Agencies of Philadelphia, Child-Saving Agencies, Coöperation, the Housing of the Poor, Popular Recreation, Public Baths, the Settlement Movement.

It is only by reciting multiplied illustrations of actual achievements that we can see the range of usefulness open to Settlements. The College Settlement in Philadelphia found in their neighborhood a space covered by old tenements unfit for

human habitation. Streets and inhabitants went down together. The miserable houses reeked with filth and disease and were the nests of all kinds of vice and disorder. Foul odors defiled the close summer air. The residents could not silently tolerate the conditions. They went before Mayor and aldermen with a request to have the property purchased by the city and made open space for fresh air, wholesome sunshine, room for play and chance for beauty. Persistent effort was crowned with success.

The Philadelphia workers made a house-to-house canvass for a desirable school board candidate.

THE DENISON HOUSE, Boston, shows the following programme of regular engagements in its report for 1896:

MONDAY,
Club of Boys (Jewish), 4 P. M.,
Dante Class, 4 P. M.,
Residents at Home,
Settlement Conference, once a month,
Travel Class (women over 20) 7.45 P. M.,
Gymnastics (girls over 16), 7.45 P. M.,
Federal Labor Union, once a month.

TUESDAY,
Stamp Saving, 4 P. M.,
Home Savings, 3 P. M.,
Club of Girls from 14 to 15, in French and sewing, 4 P. M.,
English Literature (young men), 7.45 P. M.,
English Grammar (women), 7.45 P. M.,
Social Science, conference, twice a month.

WEDNESDAY,
Busy Bees, two clubs in sewing, 4 P. M.,

Women's Cooking Class in the homes,
Writing Class (women), 7.40 P. M.,
Young American Club (boys), 7.30 P. M.,

THURSDAY,
Social Science Club for Students, 11 A. M.,
Young Massachusetts Club (boys of 10), 4 P. M.,
Class of Young Men, 7.30 P. M.,
Residents' Neighborhood Reception, evening.

FRIDAY,
Mothers' Club, 3 P. M.,
Kitchen Garden (girls of 14), 4 P. M.,
The Fortnightly Club (girls over 16), 7.45 P. M.,
English Literature Class, 7,45 P. M.,

SATURDAY,
Kitchen Garden (girls of 8 to 10), 10 A. M.,
Drawing Class, 2 P. M.,
Franklin Club (boys), 3 P. M.,
Class in English Language, 7.30 P. M.

Some of the characteristic forms of social ministry at Denison House are the Federal Labor Union, coöperation with the Women Clerks' Benefit Association; investigation of sanitary condition of school houses, assistance to flower missions and Country Vacation Societies and a Vacation School. The Vacation School is coming to be an important addition to the educational appliances of a crowded neighborhood, whose inhabitants do not go to Europe nor even to the suburbs for rest and variety. Children who would be greatly injured, if not ruined, by roaming the streets, are delighted to busy themselves with carpentry, sewing, cooking, elementary science, drawing, reading and short excursions to the sea shore or wooded hills.

SOUTH END HOUSE (formerly Andover House), Boston; R. A. Woods, Head-Worker.

The district is occupied by working class people, living in crowded tenement houses, laboring for low and uncertain wages in factories and on the docks. "Organized vice has its haunts not far from the homes of honest poverty, adding a baneful source of evil and distress. But there is yet little of dull and sodden pauperism. There are many strong, saving elements among the people themselves. And in nearly every neighborhood throughout the district there is now some useful agency for social improvement."

The statement of the aim of this Settlement deserves particular attention. "Our Settlement has for its aim to bring about a better and more beautiful life in its neighborhood and district; to develop through study and action in this single locality new ways of meeting some of the serious problems of society, such as may be applied in other places; and to draw into this effort the finest available powers of heart and mind. It is no part of the plan to build up an institution complicated, self-contained. The Settlement is rather, in its truest meaning, a center of personal forces which become involved with the interests of the neighborhood without, and spread themselves through every healthful channel of the local life."

The residents take hold of the kind of service to which they seem called by personal choice and fitness, and by outward need and opportunity. There is a marked tendency to prolonged Mr.

R. A. Woods has been Head from the beginning. Others have been in this form of social work for years. All live together in a modest but comfortable house, conveniently located for their purposes. At some distance from the home of the residents, the association controls a building three stories high, fitted up for kindergarten, clubs, and reading room.

The Settlement does not lack the usual features of "institutional" work of its own,—kindergartens, clubs, classes, lectures. But it seeks especially to influence in the right direction the existing associations of the district. "It is not our final object to center the life of the neighborhood about the Settlement, but rather to discern and incite individual initiative and mutual aid among the people themselves; and thus truly to rehabilitate personal, family, and neighborhood life. . . . Its chief educational aim is that the people shall be trained, intellectually and morally, in that greatest influence of modern life, the power of association."

Thus the House does not set up its own ecclesiastical organization, but seeks to "strengthen among people the power of their own form of faith and devotion." The residents associate themselves with the churches to which they are naturally most attached.

The Settlement is not a relief-giving center, but the residents coöperate with the Associated Charities, and especially with the local conference of the district. They distribute flowers sent to them from the flower missions, and they look up suit-

dren to be sent by the Young Men's Christian Union to the country in the hot summer days. The workers coöperate with the school teachers, the police, the aldermen and the public library. The Head of the House was chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Public Baths, and helped to secure the location of the first one in a most crowded region. With other agencies they seek to promote the circulation of books and pictures, the cultivation of a popular taste for music, and the instruction of the people by University Extension methods. They have been enabled to foster a spirit of reasonableness and conciliation in connection with the labor movement and trades unions. They have made some of the most important and accurate studies of social conditions, studies which in published form have attracted wide attention. "The University Settlement," says Mr. Woods, "is in the best sense a laboratory,—with fires kindled by sympathy,—whose results, though sometimes almost imponderable, will have as they begin to be applied at large, a far-reaching and ever-increasing power."

THE EAST SIDE HOUSE, New York City, founded in 1891, was established in a district in which about 50,000 people resided. There were only five religious organizations, while saloons were found at every turn, and they supplied the only places of recreation. The population was one-third Irish, one-third Germans, and the others chiefly Italians and Bohemians.

An association, the majority of them members of the Protestant Episcopal denomination, was incor-

porated as the responsible government and support of the House. The initiative was taken by the Church Club of the city of New York.

At the last report the association owned three lots at the foot of East Seventy-sixth street, near the river, and leased a strip of land on the river. Its material equipment included a swimming pool; a park with swings, benches and pavilion; a small cinder running track; a three-story frame building, with rooms for residents, parlors, reading room, baths, billiard and locker rooms; a brick gymnasium building, well equipped; a three-story brick building, with reading room, manager's room, and halls for classes, clubs and entertainments.

The report declares the function of the Settlement to be "to extend knowledge on all subjects which promote the welfare of society, and to aid in developing all the civic virtues—manliness, self-reliance, thrift, helpfulness, the love of man, of country, and of God."

To this work Bishop H. C. Potter has given the following strong endorsement in a letter in the *Evening Post*, November, 1896: "When Dr. Chalmers was leaving a great missionary meeting in Glasgow, when the whole air had been charged with impassioned speech and high resolve, an elderly woman, meeting him at the door, said: 'Is it a' done, sir?' 'Na, na, woman,' was his answer; 'it's a' *said*—and now it remains to be done.'"

"We have just emerged from a period of much strenuous speech and of ardent exhortation to citizens to awake to the rescue of the republic. But

how? Is anybody sanguine enough to imagine that a presidential election has revolutionized the constituencies that make up our great political parties, or reconstructed the hundreds of thousands of people in our great cities who are still largely uninformed as to questions fundamental to our well-being? 'The campaign of education' in which we have so many of us been rejoicing has, after all, in too many instances but skimmed the surface. Who is to continue it, and how? I do not hesitate to say that, for the most difficult and yet imperative work, we have as yet discovered no agency that, in almost every respect, is at all comparable with the College or University Settlement. This is, verily, work among the foundations; and it is being done by men and women whose character, spirit, and methods deserve the highest honor and are worthy of the widest imitation. . . . If any human agency is to reach, persuade, and enlighten the multitudes in our great cities with whom, finally, so largely rests the choice of our rulers, the stability of the republic, and the progress of our civilization, I am increasingly persuaded that it is that which has shown itself to be inspired by a spirit so heroic and distinguished, by methods so singularly wise and so exceptionally successful."

The apparent policy and tendency of this Settlement is "to keep all the social and educational work of the House as concentrated as possible." One finds here clubs for persons of various ages, Kindergarten, Penny Provident Fund Bank, a Sunday School and Children's Choir, and a Crêche. The

Fellowship-Citizenship Association is composed of men and women from 19 to 70 years of age. It listens to lectures and the membership join in free discussions. The Men's School Extension Class gives instruction to men who are preparing for city civil service examinations. There is a class in economics and sociology taught by a gentleman from Columbia University, and started under the advice of Professor F. H. Giddings. The Webster Free Circulating Library, under the supervision of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, is the only library on the East Side between Sixtieth street and One Hundred and Tenth street, with a population of more than 200,000.

An interesting organization, natural to the vicinity of the river, is the life-saving corps, which has already rescued several persons from drowning in the swift tides.

THE RIVERSIDE ASSOCIATION was organized in the winter of 1892, for the purpose of assisting the poor to better conditions. It provides baths, library and reading room, kindergarten, boys' department, women's and girls' department, and Penny Provident Fund. The House is always open. The Head-Worker is Mr. John F. Harrold.

The Girls' Club is provided with rooms where the members can meet in the evenings. Classes are organized to teach whatever can be useful to working girls. Social entertainments are enjoyed at frequent intervals. Trained teachers come from Barnard, the Teachers' College and Berkeley Lyceum. They feel that it does not so much matter what is

taught, whether cooking, sewing, gymnastics or poetry, "as it does what the teacher stands for, to the busy girls whose outlook she may be, an outlook into a certain world, where people are aiming at honorable and beautiful things."

BOYS' CLUBS.—The Riverside Association has adopted what is called the group system. "The underlying principle of this system is personal contact with each individual boy, so that each boy's disposition, capabilities, and character may be carefully studied and the right influences brought to develop that which is best in the boy, and to eradicate evil tendencies. The workers are carefully selected, with a view to securing only men and women of strong character and those who are possessed of patience and tact. Not over five boys are assigned to each worker, and no more boys are received into the club than competent workers can be found to supervise. Each club consists of four managers and of not to exceed twenty boys. Each club has a distinctive name, colors and yell. The boys in each club are required to meet with the managers one night a week; they must attend one night a week in the gymnasium; and they may attend a second night. The reading room of the Association library is open to the boys on nights when they are not otherwise employed."

At the club meetings the managers teach the boys the simple rules of parliamentary practice, and after reading, speeches and a yell, the boys go to the evening work. They are taught chair-seat caning, basket-weaving, Venetian metal work, leather-

work, the making of rope mats, and fret-sawing. A half hour of fun follows the hour of work.

The object is rather to make a deep impression on a few boys than to merely entertain a great crowd. In a mob the worst boys dominate and the personality of the teacher is lost. In a small group the manager's character becomes the controlling influence, and the rough lad is awed and civilized. As they grow older they will be taught in debating clubs the functions of government and the duties of citizenship.

THE CHURCH SETTLEMENT HOUSE; 329 East Eighty-fourth Street, New York City; founded 1894. Miss Marian L. Gurney, Director. The population of the district is about 150,000, German, Irish, with a sprinkling of French and Italians. Many are of the Jewish faith. Most of the people earn fairly good wages. "The Settlement has never insulted the sturdy independence of its neighbors by offering them charity." Assistance of an employment bureau is given, and an organization of neighborhood women administers such relief as may be necessary. "In beginning its work, the Settlement determined to try a two-fold experiment: (1) the establishing of the work on a self-supporting basis; (2) the presentation of the Gospel of Christ as the only satisfactory resolvent of the social problem. Now, at the end of its second year, it has succeeded in demonstrating the possibility of both undertakings. There are usually eight residents, and of these very few have been able to contribute anything to the support of the

house beyond their own services. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in meeting all our expenses, except the rent, through the proceeds of the various classes." Among the regular attendants are found Atheists, Jews, Protestants and Catholics, and yet the residents are on the friendliest terms with them all. "We are more than ever convinced of the futility of presenting religious truth to the masses without a practical demonstration of the brotherhood of man, and the equal hopelessness of attempted social reform based on any other foundation than that of the Incarnation."

The following may serve as an example of the routine of a week in a Social Settlement.

A WEEK'S WORK AT THE CHURCH SETTLEMENT HOUSE.

Daily.—Kindergarten and Primary School. Classes in the English branches for backward, sickly and crippled children, and for those who cannot gain admission to the Public Schools. Instruction in the Piano, Violin, Mandolin and Zither.

Monday.—Penny Provident Bank. Sewing Class for Girls. Dancing Class A, for adults.

Tuesday.—Class in Object Drawing for boys. Dancing Class B, children from four to ten years of age. Class in German Language and Literature. French Class. Drum and Fife Corps.

Wednesday.—Class in Crocheting and Knitting. Juvenile Auxiliary to the Department of Street Cleaning. Church Settlement Clean Street League (boys). Good Order Club (girls). The Church Settlement Cadets.

Thursday.—Women's Sewing Club: informal talks on household management, sewing, reading aloud; afternoon tea

is served. French Class. Singing Class. Church Settlement Band of Mercy, boys and girls, a juvenile auxiliary to S. P. C. A. St. Mary's Guild (girls).

Friday.—Class of Kindergarten Mothers, for study of Child Culture. Dancing Class C. Children's Orchestra. Women's Bible Class. Guild of the Guardian Angel.

Saturday.—Dancing Class D. Class in Physical Culture and Elocution. Classes in Embroidery, Painting and Stenography. Young Men's Reading Club. Knights of the Cross (boys from 12 to 16 years old).

Sunday.—Kindergarten Sunday School, 9 A. M. General Sunday School, 3 P. M.

Dispensary.—Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 2 to 4 P. M.

It will be noticed in this programme that a large place is given to dancing, and this is true of many of the Settlements. The report says on this point: "In spite of the strictures of many conscientious people upon this feature of our work, good results are almost more noticeable here than in any other department. The gain in orderliness, quietness and courtesy has been very great." Finding that young men were too weary to read in the evening, the residents formed a reading club, in which good literature was read aloud to the visitors; eye-gate being closed, great ideas entered at ear-gate. Discovering that many families would suffer rather than enjoy charity outings, they arranged a summer home, where the board was two dollars a week for adults and one dollar for children, just about the amount of their living expenses at home, and yet enough to make them feel independent."

The report concludes by saying: "As we discern more and more clearly the outlines of our future work, we see that our chief function is not so much to work *for* the people as *with* them."

KINGSLEY HOUSE, Pittsburgh, has clubs, classes, sewing school, kindergarten, kitchen-garden, penny provident stamp station, entertainments and parties, and relief agencies. A few sentences from Miss Gertrude H. Noyes will reveal the mode of approach, and the results of friendly intercourse between the instructed teacher and the ill-taught children.

"When Kingsley House first opened its doors to children, we knew very little of the special conditions of the children's lives, of the home environment, race prejudices and all the hereditary influences moulding their characters. The first thing to be done then was to get near the children, to know their fathers and mothers, and to get in touch with the home spirit. With five widely differing nationalities represented in our kindergarten —German, Polish, Hebrew, Irish and American— the first problem to consider was harmony, to discover a common basis of interest, and to unite all upon that one point, if upon no other, was the first step. Our half-dozen Poles looked with greatest suspicion upon the five Jews, and the Irish and Americans were united in their contempt of both the other races. A great romp all together in some lively game soon made them forget everything but their fun. Thus through daily development of common interests, and most vitally of all, through

love of our common country, a broad platform of unity has been established.

"When race barriers were weakened, we began reaching out into the world little by little. From what the children were familiar with, we gradually approached the unfamiliar. Since our neighborhood is one of the greatest labor centers in the city, everything pertaining to the trades and industrial life was very near the children. Shoemakers and puddlers, tailors and mill-workers, glass-blowers and carpenters, blacksmiths and painters were all represented. We played we were blacksmiths, and traced back the iron to the foundry, and from the foundry to the mine. Then, perhaps, we were bakers, and discovered that our flour came from the miller, and that the miller obtained his wheat from the farmer, and that the farmer planted seeds which the sun and the rain helped to grow. Thus, in every possible way, the children have been led to see the value of all labor, and the interdependence of industries.

. . . It would be difficult to imagine a neighborhood more hopelessly barren than ours of all that nature gives to make the world beautiful; never having seen grass and trees, and birds and flowers, the children felt no lack, and found in their cobblestones ample delight. To arouse the instinct for the beautiful, we brought all the world to them in fragments, leaves and grasses and flowers, and a thousand things which every country-bred child knows and loves. The instinct awoke and grew, and received its fulfillment when we all s

glorious day in the country. With the wonder and beauty of it in all their hearts, the highest spiritual life must come, for the Divine source of all beauty is very near when the beauty has entered the soul."

It is from these sketches from life that we see at once the separation of classes and families, the spiritual poverty, the antagonisms and inner destitution, the pettiness and narrowness of poverty. And from the same faithful picture we learn how to understand our neighbors, and how to lead them upward from common things to patriotism, devotion to ideals, aesthetic joy and the comforts and inspiration of religion.

The Directors of Kingsley House sum up some of the more tangible forms of their work:

"So many people ask the question, 'What good are you doing?' We still find it hard to take up and add the source of happiness that flows from the portals of Kingsley House each calendar year, and yet the past year has been filled with work. But very good people press for answer, and let us, for their benefit, enumerate some few results of the year. Women and children have been taught how to bake good bread; how to sew; how to keep house; how, with but little, to brighten the home; positions for young ladies secured; sanitary conditions of houses and alleys made better; mothers taught the care of children; daughters taught how to care for themselves; the grievance of girls working in factories, when infringement of laws was very apparent, made known to proper authorities, and the wrong righted, physicians sent to homes

where people were too poor to pay; boys in large numbers kept off the streets and taught useful lessons, given bright evenings under helpful influences; tiny children taught in the kindergarten; men taught to read and write; young girls given bright evenings filled with music; sick and maimed children helped by practical advice given mothers, and by placing them in proper hospitals; 'evenings at home' given to tired and care-worn mothers, causing them to forget for a time the burden that falls on them by reason of their environment; books sent out all over the vicinity, bringing pleasure to many families."

Miss Luella Meloy, at the request of Professor Atwater, made a study of typical dietaries and budgets of poor families in Pittsburg. As an example take this picture. An American family was studied twenty-nine days. There were three adults and six children, ranging from eighteen years to seven months. The father is a laborer, and earns $1.25 per day, but loses many days in the year from ill-health. A boarder, by occupation a millworker, earns $1.25 per day. They have three rooms, for which they pay $6 per month in advance. They buy for cash by the day or week and in small quantities. The grocers sometimes give short weight. Meats are cooked by frying or boiling. Children drink tea and coffee when they wish them, but have no milk. The father works outside the city, and pays twenty cents per day for car fare. He gave up this job for a night-turn, as food expenses were less, because the mother and children could

live on bread and tea, and the father did without a hearty meal by sleeping in daytime.

The investigation showed that seventeen people were trying hard to live decently in five rooms; five of these persons were adults about twenty-seven years of age, two girls aged sixteen and eighteen respectively, and a young man of nineteen. Privacy, essential to modesty, is almost impossible in such crowded conditions. The ventilation must be bad, the air poisonous. There is much sickness and feebleness, because the food is defective and does not make bone and sinew. Such people struggle on for virtue and honesty until privation and misery have reduced them to moral degradation.

Thus the Settlement reveals to society its problems and perils in concrete and living instances; it brushes away wicked palliatives, the unfair hints that the poor are miserable because they are drunken, lazy and dishonest. It is only by these minute, painstaking studies of actual domestic conditions that society can be aroused to do its duty by the wage-earning people.

WELCOME HALL, Buffalo, is an interesting illustration of the combination of Organized Charity, Church Mission and Settlement ideas. It is supported by the First Presbyterian Church. It confines its labors to a comparatively small area, and cultivates this district as thoroughly as possible. Miss Remington is the Head-Worker. There is no attempt to build up a church, but to induce the people to make use of the churches which are convenient to them. Religious services and Bible

teaching are conducted along with class and club work, and various schemes of coöperation and relief.

WESTMINSTER HOUSE (Miss Emily S. Holmes, Head-Worker) was the first Social Settlement in Buffalo. It is unique among American Settlements in one respect: it deals almost entirely with one nationality—the Germans, and they are comparatively permanent. It is well equipped for recreation and educational ministries. It gives help to a group of married women, in garments, fuel and provisions, in return for work done. It coöperates with the Charity Organization Society by assuming responsibility for a limited district, and caring for cases of distress within that territory. The House is supported by a club of Westminster Church, but it presents religion in an unsectarian way.

WHITTIER HOUSE, Jersey City, has developed along the usual lines, and has made good use of its newsboys' club, coöperative girls' club, and class work of all grades. The House does not seek to rival existing institutions, but to help all to do their best work. The residents coöperate with the city library system, with trained nurses and physicians, and with the *Tribune* Fresh-Air Fund. A weekly conference has been held, and interest in the Civic League has been sustained. By lending money at six per cent., in cases of emergency, to honest working people, on the security of chattel mortgages, the House has rescued a large number of families from the oppression of usury. Miss Bradford, Head-Worker, has thus expressed the relig-

ious attitude of the residents: "We are here to do the work the churches cannot do. . . . Coöperation, not competition, is our creed. We are here to live our lives and to share them. Denominations are nothing to us. But the simplicity, sincerity, spotless purity and perfect sympathy of Christ is everything. We are here that we may help those about us into life, and life 'more abundantly.'"

CHICAGO COMMONS was established by Professor Graham Taylor in 1894, and he lives with his family in the House. Several other families have chosen to dwell with him in this colony of observation and service. They have the ordinary appliances of a developed Settlement—clubs, classes, kindergarten, social recreations and technical training. They are peculiarly successful in securing the attention of working men. Their economic conferences are well attended, and the influence of the leaders is felt in the city. Occasionally the more public conferences are held in coöperation with Hull House. The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon is a unique and impressive service, reverent and beautiful, yet entirely unlike a formal church service. The presence of men with their families is a distinct and striking advantage of this House, and gives it an appearance of naturalness and permanence which does not belong to a group made up entirely of unmarried men or women. Residents of the Commons hold services at the County Poorhouse, and some of them assist in the ordinary work of the neighborhood church. Normal training classes for social and church workers are main-

tained. Publications are issued to influence public opinion and arouse interest in civic betterment. "The Chicago Commons" is a most useful periodical relating to Settlement work.

"THE FORWARD MOVEMENT, Chicago, under the leadership of Rev. Dr. George W. Gray, Superintendent, is established in a district where the population, chiefly English-speaking, numbers about 50,000. This work is closely akin to the evangelistic type of "Institutional Churches," and is ranked as a Settlement on the ground that its workers are members of the community and visitors in the homes of the people. The House realizes the idea of a church colony, and its progress will be watched with deepest interest.

A FEDERATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF CHICAGO has been useful in promoting unity, in preventing duplication of work, in wise location of new Houses, and in securing comparison of views of workers all interested in the same city. As Houses multiply in cities such a local organization becomes very necessary.

EPWORTH LEAGUE HOUSE, BOSTON.—This House is modelled on Mildmay Mission, London, where Miss Cooke worked for several years. One of its most important branches is the medical mission. Medical advice, drugs and nursing are supplied to the very poor at low rates. The residents come from Boston University and from other institutions. Theological students are among the best workers. The Epworth Leagues of the city and surrounding towns assist with money and personal service.

The people number about 70,000 souls—Jews, Italians, Portuguese and Irish. The ignorant immigrant laborers are often fleeced by the "padrone," a kind of Shylock, who keeps an intelligence office; and so the Society of Mutual Aid provides a substitute for him in an honest employment bureau. Love of Italy becomes the basis for American patriotism in the enthusiastic assemblies where Garabaldi and Washington are praised in the same speeches.

The educational and relief work are kept quite apart from the religious services, and they are designed to express and illustrate the spirit of Christianity. There is no attempt to proselyte. But there are evangelistic services, street meetings and lodging-house meetings, where the Christian faith is frankly declared.

THE SAN FRANCISCO SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION was formed April, 1894, and maintains the South Park Settlement. The neighbors are principally working people,—native-born Americans, Irish and Germans,—most of whom speak the English language. This House has the usual clubs, classes, libraries and lectures. It enjoys the assistance of teachers and students of the State University and of Leland Stanford University. The residents are both men and women.

For other illustrations see "Bibliography of Settlements," by Mr. J. P. Gavit, The Commons, Chicago.

The Settlement Idea in Small Towns.

There is every reason to carry the agencies of the Settlement into village life and country towns, where families may be found who are quite cut off from their neighbors, where the community life is not shared, and where heathenism of the darkest kind poisons the blood. Why should not a group of good people be formed to give particular study to the conditions which surround and curse these isolated and detached members? The rude boys, who must grow up to be the terror of the country, might be gathered in clubs, taught gardening, poultry raising, tool practice and good manners. The coarse girls, mis-educated by degenerate mothers, need to be brought into living and friendly contact with superior natures, and tactfully led past the dangerous temptations of girlhood.

Why should not the summer vacation be turned to account in this way? The Log Cabin Settlement seems to point out the path to this end. There are many neglected, yet healthy and picturesque, neighborhoods in New England and elsewhere which might be transformed by the fresh and intelligent life of summer visitors.

The tendency to local union is illustrated by the "Federation of Chicago Settlements," organized October 7, 1894.

There is as yet no *national federation* of Settlements, but a Conference was held in New York

City, May 3–5, 1895. The subject then most discussed was the relation of Settlements to the Labor Movements, and a policy of conciliation and mediation seemed to meet the approval of those present.

Settlements in Other Countries.

France.—An article in *La Revue Hebdomadaire* May 22, 1897, gives an account of the "Club Charitable Française," founded by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard in the Popincourt Quarter, Paris.

Settlements Connected with Foreign Missions.

It is not surprising that work akin to that of the Settlement should be considered by missionaries. What is a missionary but a resident among the less privileged? Work with Settlement features may be found at many stations—class work, visiting nurses, medical aid, relief agencies, and all the other modes of philanthropy. Rev. M. L. Gordon, at Kyoto, Japan, has what he likes to call a household church, with Sunday school, Bible classes, and personal helps of various kinds. Mr. Sen Katayama has established at Tokyo, Japan, the "Kingsley House"; Rev. Tomoyoshi Murai proposes similar work for Osaka. The development of the idea under Japanese conditions will be watched with interest. Miss Woolfolk speaks of a missionary university Settlement in Bombay, India.

PART II.

THEORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Every institution grows out of a belief, an inward conviction or desire. Voluntary associations exist for the purpose of carrying out certain purposes. The definition of the social purpose of a Settlement is a statement of its theory. It is true that no two residents would state this purpose in the same words, but there is substantial agreement as to the ideal.

1. SOME ELEMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY IDEAL OF LIFE.—The University has developed a certain broad conception of culture and perfection which is shared by an increasing number of the members of society. The Settlement movement is, in actual historical origin, in incentive, scope and impulse, a University movement outward upon the world. The ideal is comprehensive of all the elements of well-being, and is the precipitant of ages of reflection and leisure. The ideal borrows from all literatures in which the entire past has left deposited the finest results of experience. It involves a catholic tolerance which issues from the fellowship of learning, from the modesty taught by debates of peers, and by the humility of defeat in presence of age-long problems of research. Even when the Settlement does not proceed directly from classic halls it

is sure to cherish something of the same generous estimates of welfare.

Asceticism is not a mark of the institution, although self-sacrifice is not uncommon among the workers. Manly sport, vigorous physical exercise, boxing and cooking classes, recreations, prove that the Renaissance joy in life, the Greek appreciation of the perfect athlete, are master motives. The pleasures of sensation and the value of strength, vigor and grace are all approved, admired and cultivated.

There is keen delight in learning and knowing and teaching. The intellectual life is one of the interests, for its own sake, and for the power over nature and circumstances which it brings. The art exhibitions, the classic pictures, the attempt to introduce beauty into dingy and dreary schools, manifest aesthetic joy. Delight in beauty, eager search for artists among the people, restful appreciation of fine handiwork, are notes of the Settlement. The charm of fellowship and genial intercourse is valued by the typical resident. Those who are hungry for the company of their kind are companionable. In the clear atmosphere of friendliness common truths and duties are sought and discovered. The clouds of suspicion melt away in the kindly beams of intelligent sympathy.

Justice is on the lips of the resident. He dreams with passionate fervor of helping every man to a fair chance. Mazzini is read. Law itself is tested by its tendency to afford equality of opportunity. The belief exists that only as

men grow right within can their institutions be honorable.

Religion is not ignored, for it cannot be overlooked by those who care for man and know his history. Many provincial, sectarian, clerical or ecclesiastical symbols of religion may be omitted or slightly heeded. Central, vital, common elements are sought and emphasized. Historically the movement began as a religious work, and up to this day religion is regarded as the crown and blossom of the toil. Laymen have put a stamp upon the institution which ecclesiastics do not always recognize from the outside; but if religion be genuine, confidence in the essential good at the heart of the world, yearning for unity of life, hope of universal reconciliation on the high plane of righteousness, then religion is present and potent. The individual is left to choose for himself the particular symbol which most fitly and sincerely expresses his personal creed. All are tolerant and all are free. All is positive and creative, rather than destructive and polemical.

2. THE IDEAL IS MISSIONARY.—This ideal of culture is essentially social, missionary, communicative. Given a group of persons possessed by these modern conceptions and a concerted effort at betterment of life is certain to follow. Persons under the spell of the word duty and charged with sympathy, inspired by a religious view of the world, will somehow attempt to re-read the life of Jesus Christ. Mottoes of Mansfield House reveal the intentions of its varied external activities:—

"Measure thy life by loss instead of gain:
Not by the wine drunk, but by the wine poured forth;
For love's strength standeth in love's sacrifice,
And whoso suffers most hath most to give."

"When thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind."

We can see the starting radical of Settlement service in such profound words as those of T. H. Green: "Nor, because much of our intellectual activity is the result of mere curiosity or emulation, should we forget that there is such a thing as a pursuit of truth, in principle identical with the striving after God which animates the moral life. Those of us to whom university life is merely an avenue to the great world, would do well betimes to seek opportunities of coöperation with those simple Christians whose creed, though we may not be able exactly to adopt it, is to them the natural expression of a spirit which at the bottom of our heart we recognize as higher than our own. In the every-day life of Christian citizenship, in its struggle against ignorance and vice, such opportunities are readily forthcoming."

Not less authoritative is the statement of Miss Jane Addams: "Hull House endeavors to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an effort to add the social function to democracy. It was opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal. I have divided the motives which constitute the subjective pressure toward

Social Settlements into three great lines: the first contains the desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression; the second is the impulse to share the race life, to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little; the third springs from a certain renaissance of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects."

3. DEMOCRATIC CONDITIONS.—Democracy has the political throne and wields the sceptre of the state. Our civilization depends on making it the interest of the multitude to protect it. For the millions armed with power to purchase and with the ballot hold everything at their mercy. The democracy, an untutored prince who has passed his minority in the wilds of neglect, needs an education befitting palace and council chamber. Authors no longer dedicate their books to lordships, and poets are not required to crook the hinges of their knees before kings "where thrift may follow fawning." Artists have public galleries for patrons. It is idle to hope that the best culture can remain secure in feudal castles, while the people, armed with weapons of modern type and dictators of presidents and senators, have no share in it. Those who popularize art and literature and science, are not merely laboring for the poor but for the hard-won fruits of civilization.

It is not difficult to state the purpose of a Settlement. When people have wealth and education, means and culture, how do they live and what do

they have? Knowledge and riches give power of selection. Now the resident desires that the real values of the best families and neighborhoods should become common property. The narrowing lust of gold, coarse and barbaric ostentation, rude display of finery, brutal insolence of material success,— that we do not care to make more general. But that which is intrinsically fine and noble anywhere we desire to see everywhere. This need not rob the rich. Philanthropy is not envious. Nature is not a mine but a laboratory. Give men a taste of the higher good; direct their best energies; teach them self-restraint, economy of force, the best way to create and distribute wealth, the means of gaining enjoyments by coöperation, and the rich will have no reason to fear. Property never was secure when the multitude felt themselves wronged. Contentment, so far as content is healthy, comes by opening a career to every man.

Mr. R. A. Woods has a right to speak for the Workers and their aims. "If society would start afresh the glow of life in its far-out members, it must bring them the same fulness and variety of resource that is needed to keep life glowing at the centre. There is also the beginning of a better understanding of the truth which is confessed, but not believed, that when one member suffers all members suffer with it. In a just view of the case, the massing of the well-to-do over against the poor, neither group knowing how the other lives, involves as great evil on the one side as on the other."

The central problem of American political life is

the government of cities. Democracy is here put to the most severe strain because of the conflict of nationalities. People without a common purpose can never live together without pressure from without. Self-government depends on agreement. Our cities are not self-governed; they are under the rule of tyrants known as "bosses." There are various forces working to unify American life; trade unions, the English language, the free public school, the English-speaking churches and missions; but the most direct and conscious effort to promote unity among heterogeneous populations is the Settlement.

On this great theme and the relation of Settlements to it, we may do well to consider the weighty sentences of thoughtful persons who have comprehended the spirit of the new philanthropy.

"The time may come when the politician who sells one by one to the highest bidder all the offices in his grasp, will not be considered more base in his code of morals, more hardened in his practice, than the woman who constantly invites to her receptions those alone who bring her an equal social return, who shares her beautiful surroundings only with those who minister to a liking she has for successful social events. In doing this is she not just as unmindful of the common weal, as unscrupulous in her use of power, as is any city 'boss' who consults only the interests of the 'ring?'

"If in a democratic country nothing can be permanently achieved save through the masses of the people, it will be impossible to establish a higher political life than the people themselve crave; that it

is difficult to see how the notion of a higher civic life can be fostered save through common intercourse; that the blessings which we associate with a life of refinement and cultivation can be made universal and must be made universal if they are to be made permanent; that the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life."

"The schoolhouse itself stands as a pledge that the city recognizes and endeavors to fulfil the duty of educating its children. But what becomes of these children when they are no longer in public schools? Many of them never come under the influence of a professional teacher nor a cultivated friend after they are toilers. Society at large does little for their intellectual development." (MISS ADDAMS.)

Professor H. C. Adams, in introducing the papers "Philanthropy and Social Progress," says:

"Their (the lectures,) chief characteristic is a strongly marked view of democratic sentiment. Not, of course, democracy as a form of government, but as a social ideal, a purpose, a feeling; the democracy of the theorist who asserts for God a common fatherhood, or of the humanist who asserts for man a common brotherhood. Nor can it be said that this policy is pure sentiment; it is at the same time, a *social necessity. Specialization in modern life has increased the dependencies of men and classes* to such a degree that *interdependence is a thing which is felt, rather than an idea to be reasoned about.*

This is the explanation of the unusual interest which the last quarter of a century bestows on social and industrial problems. Society is coming to be in fact organic, and the claim of a perfect organism that all parts should find harmony of life in the recognition of a common aim, shows itself in the attitude which large numbers of persons are assuming before the vexed problems of the day.

Mr. Carl Schurz (Critic No. 781): "In this work of lessening the distance between the social classes, there is no agency more deserving of consideration, encouragement and support than the very enterprise in behalf of which we are assembled. The University Settlement is an organized effort directed to the very purpose of bringing the higher culture and the social elements it represents into the most sympathetic contact with the poor. The University Settlement not only studies their needs and partly ministers to them, but it studies their ways of thinking, and acquaints them with the sympathetically corresponding way of thinking of people more favorably situated. It seems to overcome the unwarranted distrust existing between them. It endeavors to moderate and allay the feelings of social antagonisms, not by repressing the education which has sharpened those feelings, but by broadening and elevating that education—not by repelling the new aspirations, but by enlightening and ennobling them. That is a work which our society in its present condition stands peculiarly in need of. Society owes it to itself that this work should be fostered and enlarged to the utmost limits of possibility. The Uni-

versity Settlement cannot, therefore, be too warmly commended to the favorable and generous support of all good citizens."

Mr. R. W. Gilder said: "Take, again, this admirable system of the Settlement. London not only preceded us, but has surpassed us in equipment. We make a great deal of talk about tenement-house reform and needed tenements and college settlements; but in comparison with London we have hardly got to work. . . . If the Settlements did nothing else they would have a scientific value as ingenious instruments for deep-sea dredging in the ocean of humanity. And any one who thinks that they can bring up nothing but slime is pitifully mistaken. Many a rare and exquisite jewel of character; many a transparent and lovely nature; generosities and heroisms that might well put to shame the pale products of clearer waters—such things as these are almost the commonplaces of discovery in the work of the Settlements. If power to resist evil; if cheerfulness under heavy burdens; if purity that stands the strain of temptation of a kind elsewhere unknown; if mutual helpfulness in the sore distress that follows the ravages of fire and of sickness—if these are jewels, indeed it would be worth while, were nothing else accomplished, to be assured once more that they exist in the deep waters of human misery; it would be worth while to find again among the oft 'forgotten half' nobilities of soul that increase one's belief in, and hope for, the race of man."

4. THE PLACE OF RELIGION in the theory of the

Settlement. It is manifestly impossible to speak for all who have done genuine and valuable work by residence among the poor. Each must speak for himself, and many of these workers have preferred to let their deeds rather than their creeds, tell their motives. Agnostics, skeptics, positivists, secularists, Jews and liberals, have felt the wave of enthusiasm for humanity and devoted themselves in the despair of doubt, or with protest against tradition, as evangelicals in the clear hope of faith, to a common cause.

But we are learning that some kind of faith lives in honest doubt itself, and that those who confess the humanity of Jesus are really looking upon the divinity of the Christ. At any rate the religious motive has certainly been at the heart of the Settlement from the beginning. Employing the deductive method and recalling the exact statement of the organizers and inspirers let us permit them to speak for themselves: "How can creation thrill him with sympathy and inspire him with strength, but as a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief? To most of us Christ is the expression of God, i. e., the eternal fact within and without us. . . . Any attempt to preach a purer religion must go along with attempts at social reform. . . . It is a good thing that our religion is not bound up with our creeds and institutions—progress would be impossible. But progress will never be organic until the religious spirit breathes through every act and institution." (ARNOLD TOYNBEE, Industrial Revolution, notes, p. 244.)

Miss Jane Addams: "The impulse to share the lives of the poor, the desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. We have no proof from the records themselves that the early Roman Christians, who strained their simple art to the point of grotesqueness in their eagerness to record 'good news' on the walls of the catacombs, considered this 'good news' a religion. Jesus had no set of truths labelled 'Religious.' On the contrary, His doctrine was that all truth is one; that the appropriation of it is freedom. His teaching had no dogma to mark it off from truth and action in general. He himself called it a revelation—a life. These early Roman Christians received the Gospel message, a command to love all men, with a certain joyous simplicity. . . . The Christians looked for the continuous revelation, but believed what Jesus said, that this revelation to be held and made manifest must be put into terms of action; that action is the only medium man has for receiving and appropriating truth. 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine.'

"That Christianity has to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships, in the way in which he connects with his fellows, that his motives for action are the zeal and affection with which he regards his fellows. By this simple process was created a deep enthusiasm for humanity, which regarded man as at once the organ and object of revelation; and

by this process came about that wonderful fellowship, that true democracy of the early church, that so captivates the imagination. The early Christians were *pre-eminently non-resistant. They believed in love as a cosmic force.* There was no iconoclasm during the minor peace of the Church. They did not yet denounce, nor tear down temples, nor preach the end of the world. They grew to a mighty number, but it never occurred to them, either in their weakness or their strength, to regard other men for an instant as their foes or as aliens.

The spectacle of the Christians loving all men was the most astounding Rome had ever seen. They were eager to sacrifice themselves for the weak, for children and the aged.

"I believe that there is a distinct turning among many young men and women toward this simple acceptance of Christ's message. They resent the assumption that Christianity is a set of ideas which belong to the religious consciousness, whatever that may be; that it is a thing to be proclaimed and instituted apart from the social life of the community. They insist that it shall seek a simple and natural expression in the social organism itself. The Settlement movement is only one manifestation of that wider humanitarian movement which throughout Christendom, but pre-eminently in England, is endeavoring to embody itself, *not in a sect, but in society itself.* Tolstoi has reminded us all very forcibly of Christ's principle of non-resistance. His formulation has been startling and his expression has deviated from the general movement, but there

is little doubt that he has many adherents, men and women, who are philosophically convinced of the futility of opposition, who believe that evil can be overcome only with good and cannot be opposed. If love is the creative force of the universe, the principle which binds men together, and by their interdependence on each other makes them human, just so surely is anger and the spirit of opposition the destructive principle of the universe, that which tears down, thrusts men apart, and makes them isolated and brutal.

"I cannot, of course, speak for other Settlements, but it would, I think, be unfair to Hull House not to emphasize the conviction with which the first residents went there: that it would simply be a *foolish and an unwarrantable expenditure of force to oppose or to antagonize* any individual or set of people in the neighborhood; that whatever of good the House had to offer should be put in positive terms; that its residents should live with opposition to no man, with recognition of the good in every man, even in the meanest. I believe this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize without much speaking, but with a hint to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christ. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the Settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evolved and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that

is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among the people whom the Settlements constantly bring into juxtaposition. How far the Positivists' formula of the high order for humanity can carry the Settlement movement, Mrs. Humphrey Ward's house in London may in course of time illustrate. Paul's formula of ruling for the Christ which liveth in each man and founding our likenesses on him seems a simpler formula to many of us."

Dean George Hodges has given an admirable interpretation of this topic. He shows that the Settlement is not a church, and does not pretend to be one. We do not condemn a physician because he is not a pastor. Professional functions are different. The Settlement is a ministration to the bodies and minds of men. Religion, as creed or worship, is not excluded, but these do not belong to the Settlement in the same way in which they belong to the church. But religion itself may be expressed in revealing the beauty of human life, since man is in the image of God.

"Its faith is made evident by its works. We may know whether it is really religious or not by looking at it. If to labor to change the city of destruction into the city of God be religious; if to teach the Word of God as it is written in the great world be religious; and if it be religious not to be ministered unto, but to minister;—we need not be greatly troubled about the Settlement; for beneath its roof the blind begin to see and the lame begin

to walk, and they who have been palsied take on strength, and the poor hear the good news of the Gospel—that blessed Gospel of the love of God which is interpreted by the service of man."

And once more: "Experience has fully upheld the fundamental principles of our lives and work. We are more than ever convinced of the futility of presenting religious truth to the masses without a practical demonstration of the brotherhood of men, and the equal hopelessness of attempted social reform based on any other foundation than that of the Incarnation." (Report of Church Settlement House.)

"A third principle, resolutely adhered to, is the avoidance of proselyting, not in appearance only, but in reality. The motive of the work, as I have said, is profoundly religious, admitting a consecration as deep as that attending any missionary enterprise, but the results arrived at are not specifically religious. Members of the House have the perfect freedom of their personal religious affiliations, and are encouraged to coöperate in every practical way with the churches with which they may be identified. But the attempt to change the religious faith of those whom the residents may visit in their houses is not for a moment considered; and this, not as a matter of policy, but of principle. The one end and aim of the House is to create a true social unity, to which all may contribute who have anything of value to offer. Its chief object is not that of the churches. The religious motive permeates and informs its methods, but it does not seek chiefly re-

ligious results. *Religion in and of itself, as illustrated in the various communions, will never give the social unity, in any community, which is now the most essential element in the change of social conditions.*" (PRESIDENT W. T. TUCKER.)

THE CREED OF MANSFIELD HOUSE.—Note how clear, frank, outspoken it is: "Mansfield House is a University Settlement, founded for practical helpfulness, in the spirit of Jesus Christ, in all that affects human life. We war, in the Master's name, against all evil—selfishness, injustice, vice, disease, starvation, ignorance, ugliness and squalor; and seek to build up God's kingdom in brotherhood, righteousness, purity, health, truth and beauty."

BERMONDSEY SETTLEMENT has formulated its relation to religion in these words: "The whole is dominated and held together by a supreme spiritual concern to minister in the Spirit of Christ to the manifold wants of human nature, and thus to set forth, as we see it, the Divine power and the breadth of sympathy to be found in Christ. For us the work of evangelization is the highest and noblest; but so great is it that it includes all the faculties, relationships, and conditions of human life. Any advance of the Kingdom of God must fulfil itself in all these. And thus we must soon be seeking to build, by our Master's help, an earthly city of God in which regenerated individuals may walk. The law of Christian service will make all gifts with which men are endowed, contribute to that end, and it is our business to try to lay hold of them for it."

The religious and missionary purpose of the Settlement has been expressed by the first Warden, Rev. S. A. Barnett (Practicable Socialism, p. 166): "It is an age of the Higher Life. Higher conceptions of virtue, a higher ideal of what is possible for man, are the best things given to our day, but they are received only by those who have the time and power to study. 'They who want the necessaries of life, want also a virtuous and equal mind,' says the Chinese sage; and so the poor, being without those things necessary to the growth of mind and feeling, jeopardise Salvation—the possession, that is, of a life at one with the Good, and the True, at one with God." The Settlement is one of the forms of the attempt to make human society furnish the necessary conditions of a holy life.

5. A PROVISIONAL DEFINITION OF THE SETTLEMENT.—Our review of the history of the movement and the testimony as to the ruling motives of the workers, brings us to the place where we should attempt to state tentatively the characteristic marks of the Settlement.

"Homes in the poorer quarters of a city, where educated men and women may live in daily personal contact with the working people. Here they may identify themselves as citizens with all the public interests of their neighborhood, may coöperate with their neighbors in every effort for the common good, and share with them, in the spirit of friendship, the fruit and inspiration of their wider opportunities." (ADA S. WOOLFOLK, in Johnson's Cyclopedia.)

"All definitions agree in making residence in the

district or neighborhood where work is undertaken an essential condition." (National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1896, p. 167.)

Miss Dudley says: "A group of educated men or women (or both) living among manual workers, in a neighborly and social spirit. Organized work is not essential, but is a convenient method of getting acquainted with people. Nothing is essential except residence and a spirit of brotherhood, expressed actively."

Dr. Stanton Coit, the first Head-Worker in America, expresses the central idea of the work in these words: "Unlike the many utopian dreams of the earlier communism, the scheme I have been proposing does not seek to isolate a group of families from contact with their surrounding society, or to disregard the present conditions and motives of life. On the contrary, it plants itself in the midst of the modern city, believing that in it there is already room to lay at least the foundations of the New and Perfect City."

The Settlement is not an industrial enterprise, and it does not compete with employers or with trade unions. It is not a school, nor a mercantile establishment, nor a relief agency, nor a Church. It is nearly allied to a Household or a Colony of Households. The members of this community subject themselves to the conditions of their neighborhood; they smell vile odors and look upon disgusting spectacles; they buy food of the same merchants who serve their neighbors; they listen to the jargon of the multitude; they enter into the aspirations of

the leaders and join them in plans of betterment; they aid families, societies, schools, churches to realize personality and to multiply the means of virtue and rational happiness. They have realized the significance of Charles Kingsley's words: "This bond of neighborhood is, after all, one of the most human—yea, of the most Divine—of all bonds. Every man you meet is your brother, and must be, for good or evil; you cannot live without him; you must help or you must injure each other."

If we judge the Settlement, as we ought to do, by its best and wisest representatives, it cannot be charged with being something artificial. It does not come under the condemnation and it does deserve the praise contained in the wise words of W. E. Channing, uttered long ago:

"We should beware of confounding together, as of equal importance, those associations which are formed by our Creator, which spring from our very constitution, and are inseparable from our being, and those of which we are now treating, which man invents for particular times and exigencies. Let us never place our weak, short-sighted contrivances on a level with the arrangements of God. We have acknowledged the infinite importance of society to the development of human powers and affections. But when we thus speak of society, we mean chiefly the relations in which God has placed us; we mean the connections of family, of neighborhood, of country, and the great bond of humanity, uniting us with our whole kind. . . . The value of associations is to be measured by the energy, the free-

dom, the activity, the moral power, which they encourage and diffuse. In truth, the great object of all benevolence is to give power, activity, and freedom to others. We cannot, in the strict sense of the word make any being happy. We can give others the means of happiness, together with the motives to the faithful use of them; but on this faithfulness, on the free and full exercise of their own powers, their happiness depends. There is thus a fixed, impassable limit to human benevolence. It can only make men happy through themselves, through their freedom and energy. . . . On this principle, associations for restoring to men health, strength, the use of their limbs, the use of their senses, especially of sight and hearing, are highly to be approved, for such enlarge men's powers; whilst charitable associations, which weaken in men the motives to exertion, which offer a bounty to idleness, or make beggary as profitable as labor, are great calamities to society, and peculiarly calamitous to those whom they relieve. On the same principle, associations which are designed to awaken the human mind, to give to men of all classes a consciousness of their intellectual powers, to communicate knowledge of a useful and quickening character, to encourage men in thinking with freedom and vigor, to inspire an ardent love and pursuit of truth,—are most worthy of patronage."

6. MISSION OF THE SETTLEMENT TO THE "EDUCATED CLASSES.—It is almost impossible to disabuse the mind of the prejudice that the Settlement is a movement merely to help the poor. This com-

judice is itself a symptom of a deep and serious disease in people of comfortable society, and an indication of their false and narrow mental furniture. The Settlement seeks to correct the cynical and unjust notions about the "lower classes" which too commonly prevail and which do great harm.

There is hardly an economic or political heresy or absurdity popular among the wage earners which does not find able and conscientious advocates among college bred people. Over against the violence of striking trade unions there is the petty oppression, the constant bullying which provoke strikes and fan the flame of passion into fury. If the aldermen of the poor are venal, what shall we say of the treason and iniquity of the rich men who bribe and buy them? Is there anything more pitiless than fashion?

The Settlement asks young married people, instead of renting a costly "dove cote" (whose rent they cannot always afford to pay), to spend at least one or two years where they can share the life, the cares, the contests of those whose toils make wealth, culture and progress possible. Even two years thus spent will help people to return, if they must, to their former circle, wider, wiser, saner, more just.

It is not well to be cruel and not know that we are cruel. It will not bring us joy in the end to discover that we have for years been standing on human hearts and giving needless pain because we lacked knowledge of our neighbors. Social leaders are never fitted for their political and educational tasks until they know by contact, real and intimate, "how the other half lives."

Lewes, in his introduction to Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, writes: "It is one of our noble human instincts that we cannot feel within us the glory and the power of a real conviction without earnestly striving to make that conviction pass into other minds." (NASH; "Genesis of the Social Conscience.")

MONASTIC CHARACTER OF THE SETTLEMENT.—Is the Settlement a natural form of life, sane and healthy? A writer in the C. O. S. Review says: "Settlements multiply. It is almost time for the historian to begin to investigate the effects and tendencies of this modern lay monasticism." It has been urged in many quarters that the Settlement is ascetic, unnatural, impossible to make general and permanent, and that it is sure to foster morbid feeling in residents. What has suggested this objection? It is a fact that many of the residents are unmarried. Perhaps many of them would be unwilling to take wife and children into some of the unhealthy and repulsive regions where the poor live. It may be admitted that the constant comparison of luxury with squalor, the cries and complaints of the wage earners, the bitter declamations of socialists must tend to arouse a sense of injustice toward the prosperous members of society. Indeed one would hardly give his life to Settlement work if he were entirely contented with the social system of the age. There are perils in every position, limitations in all situations of life. There are temptations to partiality, local prejudice, class hate, rash protest against wrongs which time alone can cor-

rect. One would be less than human if sympathy did not give him something of the tone of his neighbors, especially when their distresses and wrongs are forced upon his attention day and night.

But there is another side. Neglected districts never raise themselves without help from above. There is as much demand for social missionaries as in any previous age. Persons without families naturally can change residence with less difficulty than others whose ways are set. Just because the average citizen lacks altruism and has egoism in excess the social balance must be held by an excess of devotion on the part of a few. And, further, the example is likely to spread. There are many compensations. Persons are not burned by a flame they are trying to extinguish. Purity does not suffer taint from those it would redeem. The cold culture that can know of wrong and pain and not seek to help is sham culture. It is the slum on one side and haughty indifference and cynical doubt of human salvability on the other which are monstrous. Bad sanitation and dirty streets are not necessary. Good schools can be had anywhere. Beauty will displace ugliness when there is demand for it.

The capable, sincere, earnest and patient workers among the poor never express regrets. They never doubt that life is worth living. Pessimism is a disease of luxury. Social reformers cannot take time to indulge in such refinements.

Mathew Arnold tells the story of

"EAST LONDON."

"'Twas August, and the fierce sun overhead
Smote on the squalid streets of Bethnal Green,
And the pale weaver, thro' his windows seen
In Spitalfields, look'd thrice dispirited.

"I met a preacher there I knew, and said:
'Ill and o'erworked, how fare you in this scene?'
'Bravely!' said he; 'for I of late have been
Much cheer'd with thoughts of Christ, *the living bread.*'

"O human soul! as long as thou canst so
Set up a mark of everlasting light,
Above the howling senses' ebb and flow,

"To cheer thee, and to right thee if thou roam—
Not with lost toil thou labourest through the night!
Thou mak'st the heaven thou hop'st indeed thy home."

There are great advantages in having men and their wives in a Settlement. Such a household can touch life at more points than one where only men or only women are found. There is less embarassment and more freedom. In some instances several families hire apartments in the same block and form a colony of kindred spirits, all bent on one purpose.

"The year's at the Spring,
And day's at the morn.
Morning's at seven,
The hill-side's dew-pearl'd,
The lark's on the wing,
The snail's on the thorn,
God's in his heaven;
All's right with the world."

PART III.

METHODS AND RESULTS.

SECTION I.—LAYING FOUNDATIONS.

CHOICE OF A FIELD.—The selection of a neighborhood for work is an act which requires deliberation and information. Evidently it must be a neighborhood which requires the service of voluntary helpers. If a ward is already fully supplied with all the appliances and agencies of modern culture it does not appeal to those who are good material for workers. No doubt the residents of fine avenues have much to learn from the heroic people who dwell in cottages and maintain a spiritual life amidst discouraging surroundings. There is no reason why wage workers should not send missionaries to those millionaires who, if newspaper rumors of bribery and legislative corruption contain truth, have much need of an army of coarse clad John Baptists to rebuke their gilt sins and warn them of judgment. Socialists seriously claim that the hope of future health and morality must come from the proletariat, when plutocracy and accumulated wealth have destroyed the moral fibre of the nation, when luxury has sapped the physical and spiritual life of the so-called upper classes. So far as history is concerned this prophecy is not without

basis. But this is not the phenomenon we are now studying. We are assuming that some of the children of inherited privilege are willing to share their best goods with their brethren, not by compulsion, but voluntarily. These pioneers of the higher life must make their homes near the people they wish to help.

In order to make a wise choice of fields, a preliminary survey should be made. A large map of the district should be drawn, and on it should be set down the essential social facts of significance, dwellings, population, saloons, schools, industries, nationalities represented, churches, missions, thoroughfares, lines of travel, places of amusement, sanitary conditions, water supply, branches of libraries, fire departments, police stations, etc.*

The Settlement is not necessarily to be placed in a criminal neighborhood, but should usually be located in an industrial community.

Inexperienced workers should, as did Denison and Toynbee, consult persons of long experience among the poor. Waste of means and effort, with consequent discouragement and disappointment, are almost certain to follow rash, impetuous and uninstructed efforts to do good.

Where there is a city mission, a society for organizing charity, or a federation of Settlements already organized, their leaders should be consulted. It is a pity and a wrong to establish rival establishments where the waste and neglected places are so vast and numerous. Courtesy is economy.

* For hints, see "Catechism for Social Observation," by C. R. Henderson.

ADMINISTRATION.—There should be a clearly defined policy in the minds of the workers and their supporters, and this policy should be frankly and honestly announced from the first. If a person has no clear notions, he is not fit for such work. The poor people are already sufficiently confused. We do not mean that all the details of work should be fixed in advance, for it is the merit of residence that it teaches humility, and instructs in the best way of doing things. Circumstances must determine the method. But the workers must be ready to state, without darkening of counsels or concealment of purpose, just what they would like to do. This may be illustrated by the attitude toward religion and churches. A mission for making denominational proselytes may succeed, often does succeed by energy and devotion. But that purpose ought to be made known in all honesty at the start. Or the most lax attitude to creed may be assumed, and persons of all shades of belief be made welcome; but then a distinct policy of toleration and of agreement on common ground must be reached in advance, or bitter heart-burnings and misunderstanding must follow.

Such a clear agreement is due not only to fellow-workers, but also to the financial supporters. They will not long continue to give money for a purpose which is contrary to their convictions, and they ought not to do so. Each form of Settlement will have its own natural friends. Bankruptcy is the certain fate of an uncertain policy. Settlements which have back of them stable and familiar in-

stitutions, like a church or a college, are saved much trouble and waste; but we need other types of Settlements, supported by individuals, and unhampered by the special creed of an ecclesiastical body.

THE HEAD WORKER.—When a large work is contemplated, the Head Worker or Warden becomes the essential factor. It is his or her function to give tone and character to the institution, to supply the element of continuity where workers are coming and going, "to keep alive among his fellows the freshness of their purpose, to recall the stragglers, refresh the out-worn, praise and re-inspire the brave" (Barnett). An association which is established to maintain a Settlement cannot be too careful in the selection of this person. It is very desirable that the Head should have previous experience in some similar work, and not come to the task without well-defined notions of what ought to be undertaken. The supporters and head must have a cordial agreement as to the dominant purposes and principles which give character to the effort. The daily director must be a person who can conduct a model household with dignity, gentleness and order. The domestic life is itself an influence, and should be an example of economy, fitness, grace and charm. Take every precaution to choose the right person, who should then be fully trusted and given a free hand.

ASSISTANTS.—It follows that the other residents should be known to be in sympathy with the policy of the Settlement, and able to labor in harmony

with the Head. They will retain their individuality and right of initiative all the better if the common terms are settled before coöperation begins. The quasi-family character of the Settlement requires cordial relations of all who join their labors for a common end. Some of the residents are offering only fragments of time. Some are mere amateurs in philanthropy, possibly curiosity being more of a motive with them than they suspect. Yet they may be of use for a time if they are ready to perform humble services, and take suggestions kindly and cheerfully. Other residents will give their lives to some form of labor among the poor, and will become efficient and trained servants in various lines of human endeavor. But in any case, cordial understanding between all members of the House is vital to comfort and efficiency.

EXAMPLES OF NEEDS TO BE MET BY TRAINED WORKERS OF DIFFERENT KINDS.—One of the Mansfield House circulars gives a suggestion of the kinds of talents required.

1. We are anxious to secure a lady who has been trained in kindergarten work to teach some of the more helpless of our crippled children—children who are too bad to go to the board schools. Some of these are growing up in their homes with no interest in life, unable to read or write, or use their fingers to advantage.

2. We want to begin house-to-house visitation in one or two of the very worst streets, which (we say it with shame) happen to be in close proximity to the Settlement. The pretext for this visiting will be the collection of small savings, to be banked in the donor's name, so that some at least, who now live from hand to mouth may learn to pro-

vide against the rainy days so common in Canning Town, where most of the labor ranks as "casual."

3. We are in real need of a lady to devote herself entirely to temperance and rescue work. . . .

4. We do want a Crêche. Over and over again I am told by a widow that the young baby at home prevents her going out to daily work, which would be far better for her than the miserably-paid "shirt work," or the inevitable "wringer," of which there are already too many in each street. There is a wholesale sacrifice of baby life, partly through ignorance, but often from sheer neglect on the part of the mothers. Many of our cripples have become so through the fault of their parents, and we should labor to put a stop to this wholesale infanticide. How even the "fittest" survive is a daily wonder.

These oracles from "Towards Democracy," printed by Mansfield House, record the demands made on the disposition of self-sacrifice if one would be a permanent resident.

"Who are you? Who are you who go about to save them that are lost? Are you saved yourself? Do you know that who would save his own life must lose it? Are you one of the 'lost'? Be sure, very sure, that each one of these can teach you as much as, probably more than, you can teach them. Have you then sat humbly at their feet, and waited on their lips that they should be the first to speak, and been reverent before these children whom you so little understand? Have you dropped into the bottomless pit from between yourself and them all hallucination of superiority, all flatulence of knowledge, every shred of abhorrence and loathing? Is it equal, is it free as the wind between you? Could you be happy receiving favors from one of the most despised of these? Could you be yourself one of the lost? Arise, then, and become a saviour."

FINANCES—Money is an unpleasant topic and

therefore it should be discussed in advance. There is no time to make cartridges in the heat of battle. The Atlantic liner must stow away sufficient coal to make its voyage of three thousand miles, since there are no coaling stations on the "lane." All good education costs money. Kindergartens, day nurseries, penny savings banks, gymnasiums, pictures and books, cannot be had for a wish and a sigh. Managers must avoid disgraceful debt and repudiation of obligations. Much of the service may be rendered gratuitously, but experts may require support and coal dealers must not give the reputation of the House a black name. A solid guaranty must rest under every promise. The persons who regularly contribute to the support of a Settlement will naturally constitute the membership of an association for promoting its interests and appointing its officers and administrators. The details will be left to a Board of Directors who will act for the association under the constitution and by-laws of the corporation.

In the incorporation of a Settlement Association the central object should be distinctly stated. The form used by the Hull House is: "The object for which it is formed is to provide a centre for a higher civic and social life; to initiate and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises; and to investigate and improve conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago." The Commons adds the word "religious."

The societies of King's Daughters and similar organizations have already rendered notable service

in the financial and personal support of Settlements. It is a beautiful work for them to take up.

The ultimate aim is to make the work self-supporting. With advance in wages and improvement in moral habits almost any community could supply itself with the means of rational enjoyment. The statistics of the saloon in Chicago and New York prove this to be true. The people should be trained to provide for themselves as rapidly as possible. To this end fees, however small, are charged for class instruction and club expenses.

On certain important points a high authority says: "Applicants for residence should be considered both as to their fitness for social work and their ability to work in harmony with the residents. So far as possible, residents should give their whole working time. In order to be sure of this, each Settlement ought to be so financed that scholarships should be provided for residents, and it is a great advantage if they can pursue their study and work under some academical connection. In such ways, the casual, *dilettante* element can be gradually removed out of Settlement work without in the least removing its appeal to the imagination. The Head Worker should be on an allowance sufficient to justify his giving a term of years to Settlement work. It is, of course, well and admirable for those who have means to live at the Settlements at their own charges, but that is at best an exceptional and temporary arrangement, in this country at least." (R. A. Woods.)

At the same time the principle of the Settlement is so simple and flexible that any person who has a

gift or message may rent a flat where he wishes to live and so become a neighbor. Indeed it is to be hoped that groups of such persons may frequently be found to give at least a few years of their lives to communities which sadly need them. The sacrifice involved is not nearly so great as many imagine. There is an element of sacrifice in any social service, but the residents who have worked longest among the poor disclaim being candidates for the martyr's crown. They deny that they are doing anything extraordinary. They affirm that they have a good time and they do not see why others should not live as they do. Fashion often requires greater sacrifices than such social service. The attempt to "get into society" often costs much money, care, worry, heart-burning and vexation. The mountain is climbed only to find a bare rock, a cold wind and a misty outlook. Thousands of people who crawl, beg, cringe, and flatter their way to "society" find themselves in an empty room. They are compelled to dress in garments for which they cannot pay, to ride in carriages when they should go awheel or afoot, and at last wake from delirium of petty ambition and fashionable whirl to discover that they have traded life's opportunity for a bubble. Far more satisfactory would it have been to invest in plainer living, higher thinking, nobler aims. This many could do at their own charges, and not depend on philanthropic associations to support and govern them.

SECTION II.—METHODS OF WORK ACTUALLY IN USE.

The bulletin or report of an advanced Settlement bewilders the reader. The activities are so multifarious and fragmentary that the casual visitor may naturally have a feeling that the residents are working without a plan. In some cases this may be too true. But in Settlements that should be regarded as typical and most useful there is a plan which is carried out consistently and systematically.

The aims of residents as to specific method may be gathered from the "Report on the Questions" submitted to former residents of various women's Settlements. In answer to the question: "What reforms or changes have you come to feel are (*a*) most urgent? (*b*) Most practicable? (*c*) Where would you begin?" There is a wide range to the answers, from the home-thrust which suggests that things would go better if our residents would always keep their rooms tidy and refrain from gossip, to the full Socialistic programme. Probably no reform which has occurred to the human mind within the last decade remains unmentioned. First and universal comes Improved Housing of the Poor; in quick succession follow the Organization of Labor—(first with the Head Workers)—the Eight-Hour Movement, Playgrounds and Parks, Improved Schools and School Laws, Municipal Reforms, Persuasion of the Poor to have Smaller Families, Trade-Schools, Public Baths, the Introduction of Poetry in the Lives of the Poor, Income Tax, Coffee

Houses, Cooking and Sewing Obligatory in Public Schools, Regeneration of the Upper Classes, Consumers' League, the Inculcation of Thrift, Free Silver, Municipalization of Railways, Lighting, etc.; Temperance Reform, very low in the list; Sweat-shop Regulations, and finally—mentioned by one writer only—Direct Religious Work." As to the question, Where begin? "the general impression is given by a resident, who, after a lengthy and minute programme, winds up by saying: 'Personally I should begin wherever I could catch on.'"

THE SETTLEMENT NOT A UTOPIA.—A survey of the Table of Activities suggests the fact that the Settlement is not a creator or even an inventor. Inventions unquestionably do arise in the natural order of daily experience. But the Settlement is not itself dependent on an untried theory. It is not building a castle in the air. Every form of service known among residents has been tested somewhere in the world. There are institutions devoted to research and invention, university laboratories and the great school of competitive life itself. But the Settlement does not profess to make something out of nothing. Its ladder rises toward heaven, but the foot is on familiar earth.

What the Settlement does attempt to do is to communicate, to make common property in the best things of life. Health, leisure, money, art, joyous companies, bright skies, participation in political thought, religious worship are all goods that rich people value, in varying scale according to their taste and character. These are huma- ey

would make any life larger, any spirit more perfect. The Settlement is a part of our common land. This aim takes the Settlement out of the region of Utopias and gives it the assured place of a promoter of a good which all the most competent spirits declare beyond all peradventure to be a real good.

Explanation of the Table of Activities.

The Table of Activities is an attempt to show at a glance the organic relations and distinct purposes of the Settlement in its most developed forms. It will be understood that no one Settlement presents all these forms of work. But the objects are the same everywhere,—all elements of human welfare for all members of the community.

The Table may serve both for preview and review.

Table of Activities in the Settlements.

I. INFANCY.

1. PHYSICAL HEALTH.

Health talks to mothers.
Physical care in crêches, with practical demonstration and instruction in the care of infants.
Supply of sterilized milk.
Summer homes.
Sanitary reforms (see 6 and 7).
Charity relief.

2. ECONOMIC WELFARE.

Infants share advantages secured by parents, family and community.
Beginnings of industrial skill in kindergarten.

3. INSTRUCTION.

Kindergarten.
Movement to introduce kindergarten into public schools.

4. ÆSTHETIC CULTURE.

Kindergarten.
Pictures and casts in Settlement and in home.
Musical entertainment and songs.

5. SOCIABILITY.

Kindergarten.
Parties.
Games and plays.

6. POLITICAL COÖPERATION.

Many reforms of city administration help child life; sanitation, parks, play spaces, vacation schools, etc.

7. CHARITY AND REFORMS.

Day nurseries (see 1).
Visiting nurses.
All charitable relief for the family and many general reforms.

8. RELIGION.

Kindergarten songs, stories, etc.

II. CHILDREN, 6–14 YEARS.

1. PHYSICAL HEALTH.

Gymnastics and physical culture classes.
Games: foot ball, basket ball, cycling, running, etc.
Military drill; summer encampment.
Baths.
Excursions, outings, fresh air, country week, etc. (see 7).
Teaching and training: care of teeth, hair, eyes, skin, general cleanliness.

Public playgrounds, secured by lease, gift or city park system (see 6).

Child Labor Laws and Factory Inspection; administration, collection of evidence (see 6).

Vacation Schools.

2. ECONOMIC.

Earning.

Learning to earn. Classes in drawing, sewing, mending, patching, darning, tools, sloyd, wood-carving. Improvement of public schools and philanthropic efforts.

Saving and investment. Penny Savings Bank; branch at or near Settlement; solicitors and visitors.

Economy in use and enjoyment. Showing value of coöperation in securing rooms, spaces, games, excursions, etc.

3. INSTRUCTION.

Children being of school age, instruction is supplementary in kind, something lacking in school, or for those who must work in day-time.

Clubs.

Boys' clubs, in groups by ages, 8–10, 10–12, 12–15. Reading, stories, biography, etc.

Girls' clubs: games, sewing, reading, songs.

Mixed clubs: children 6–10, advanced kindergarten work.

Classes: drawing, clay-modeling.

Vacation schools: coöperation with school boards and teachers, parents and friends.

4. ÆSTHETIC.

Musical classes and chorus work; children 8–14.

Entertainments: musical, dramatic, art exhibits.

5. SOCIABILITY.

Compare (3), (4) and (2).

Clubs.

Games, songs, readings, stories.

Summer: day outings, picnics. Winter: socials, receptions, etc.

6. POLITICAL.

Child Labor; investigation, agitation, work for legislation, aid to factory inspectors, etc.

Aid to truant officers in connection with schools, and legislation in relation with compulsory education.

7. CHARITY AND REFORM.

Temperance bands.

Anti-cigarette and anti-tobacco bands.

Adopting-out children of bad parents; coöperation with Humane Society.

8. RELIGION.

The songs, stories and personal influence under (2), (3), (4) and (5) may be suggestive of religious thought and feeling. The personal faith of teacher or leader must find expression.

Sunday classes.

Happy Sunday Hour.

III. YOUTH: 14–18 YEARS.

1. HEALTH.

Boys. Gymnasium and open air sports. Baths. Health talks and lectures, lantern illustrations.

Girls. Gymnastics. Baths. Health talks.

All sanitary reforms affect youth.

2. ECONOMIC.

Boys. Earning: intelligence office.

Learning to earn: classes in drawing, modeling, manual training.

Saving. Penny Savings Bank.

Coöperation in use: in purchase of articles, etc.

Girls. Earning: intelligence office.

Learning to earn: sewing classes, drawing, dress making, cooking.
Saving: Penny Savings Bank.
Coöperation in purchases and enjoyments.
For all youth, elementary questions of economics are discussed as occasion suggests.

3. INSTRUCTION.

Organized at the Settlement, or in the neighborhood, independent of it.
Boys: classes, reading parties, language, mathematics, literature, science, bookkeeping.
Clubs: reading and debating.
Lectures (short and illustrated).
Girls: classes, elocution, bookkeeping, cooking.
Clubs.
Lectures.
Home libraries: groups of readers in homes with visits and parties; branch of public library; catalogues, advice in selecting books. Local lending and reference library. Reading room. Work for improvement of public schools.
Free popular illustrated lectures in public schools.

4. ÆSTHETIC.

Stereopticon pictures.
Picture exhibits; loan collections; circulating pictures. Lectures in art.
Dancing classes.
Concerts. Influence of example of residents in manners, etiquette, taste. Music.
Same as above, rather more of music, embroidery, drawing.
Mixed choruses.
Dancing parties.
Concerts.

5. SOCIABILITY,

All clubs, classes, parties, lectures, concerts, etc., help to fuse and harmonize the members of a community and promote interchange of spiritual goods.

It is desirable to limit the social clubs in their purely social evenings and require them to have at least one lecture or other intellectual exercise each month. They must not become mere play organizations. No member should belong to more than one social club. Visitors admitted only on social evenings.

6. POLITICAL.

Learning. The clubs, classes and debating societies give information, supply incentive to study and practice in reasoning.

Doing. Youths may take the first lessons in civic conduct by organizing to keep a certain street or walk clean. They should not be made rash or vain by work in partisan or general politics.

7. CHARITY AND REFORMS.

Boys and girls may collect money, give entertainments, make presents to help the weakest and the poorest.

Temperance and anti-tobacco guilds.

Police court work.

8. RELIGION.

Sunday-school work in neighboring churches and missions.

All the agencies under (3), (4), (5) may be made to minister to this need.

IV. ADULT WOMEN: 18 YEARS AND UPWARD.

1. HEALTH.

Gymnasium. Baths. Public laundries. Sanitary reforms (see 6).

Summer boarding homes.

Women workers: physicans, visiting nurses, dispensary, hospitals.

First aid to sick and injured.

2. ECONOMIC.

Earning and producing: intelligence office; garden plots leased; work-rooms for those in distress (see 7).
Trade unions of women organized and encouraged to raise wages.
Learning to earn: classes in sewing, mending, dress-making, millinery, cooking, etc.
Saving and investment: collecting for Savings Bank; Building and Loan Associations.
Coöperation in use and enjoyment. Rochdale coöperative scheme; coöperative boarding house for unmarried women; people's kitchen; restaurant; public laundries. Clothing, boot, blanket and coal clubs; sick benefit clubs.

3. INSTRUCTION.

Classes.
Clubs.
"P. T. A." (Pleasant Tuesday Afternoon), talks, socials, trips to parks, museums, etc.
Lectures.
Mothers' Meetings.
Library work: aid in selecting books; home libraries; book and magazine clubs.

4. ÆSTHETIC.

Music: classes, choruses, concerts.
Entertainment: dramatic, musical, etc.
Family parties; etiquette.
Lending pictures for homes.

5. SOCIABILITY.

See (3) and (4).
Parties of neighbors; or by nationality; or mixed companies of several nationalities.
"At Homes" and concerts.
Coöperative Clubs.

6. POLITICAL.

Learning. Women are taught by lectures and books to see how political and legal administration affects home, health, children, school, etc. The law of Domestic Relations, Contracts, Landlord and Tenant, etc.

Doing. Women are sometimes voters on school questions. They can be persuaded to help elect good candidates. Agitation for legislation and factory inspection. Work as sanitary inspectors, factory inspectors or giving information to these.

7. CHARITY AND REFORMS.

Study of conditions and problems.
Organization to help the poorest.
Securing friendly help from outside.
Friendly visiting and coöperation with associated charities.

8. RELIGION.

Pleasant Sunday afternoon.
Sacred music.
Mothers' Meetings.

V. ADULT MEN: 18 AND UPWARD.

1. HEALTH.

Gymnasium. Baths.
Free public baths (secured through 6).
Sanitary reforms in house, shop, street cars, streets, alleys, etc.
Visiting nurses (see 7).

2. ECONOMIC.

Earning and producing. Labor bureaus. Colonizing schemes. Vegetable gardens. Trade Unions. Boards of conciliation.

Learning to earn. Manual training, mechanical drawing, mathematics, technical classes.

Improvement of night schools (see 6).

Savings and investment. Savings Bank made more accessible. Building and Loan Associations.

Economy in use and enjoyment. Instruction and agitation for schemes of coöperation. Local organization. Encouragement of mutual benefit societies, clubs, lodges, —aid and guidance.

Economic conferences.

3. INSTRUCTION.

Classwork, as demanded. Reading *to* those who are too weary and distracted to form a reading habit.

Clubs; with discussions and debates.

Lectures and entertainment, frequently helped by music and lantern slides; æsthetic and social element mingled with serious work.

University extension; science, art, literature, social history, economics, politics, etc.

4. ÆSTHETIC.

Music: concerts, classes, choruses.

Pictures: exhibitions, catalogues, lectures on art; holiday excursions to museums, fine buildings, private mansions, etc.

5. SOCIABILITY.

All clubs, classes, parties, receptions; etc.

Club rooms: for games, smoking, talking, labor bureau, recreation, committee meetings;—substitute for saloon.

Coffee houses.

6. POLITICAL.

Learning. Lectures, discussions and debates on "pure" politics, i.e. non-partisan.

Doing. The clubs undertake local reforms: the nomination and election of better councilmen, school officers, etc., agitation for street cleaning, building and factory inspection.

Political reform leagues, and coöperation with general movements for improved legislation and administration.

6. CHARITY AND REFORMS.

Organization of men to help men who are worse off, — Society of St. Vincent of Paul as a type.
Coöperation with relief agencies and charity organizations.
Temperance societies, with methods varying according to local conditions.
Visiting nurses (coöperation to secure).
Provident dispensaries.
Society for the First Aid to the Injured and Sick.

8. RELIGION.

Pleasant Sunday afternoon.
Sacred music.
Sunday lectures.
Aid to neighboring churches.
Bible classes of men.
Ethical studies.
Circulation of classic religious literature, not cheap tracts of the traditional sort, which do harm.

VI. MORE GENERAL: WHERE SEVERAL CLASSES ARE CONCERNED.

1. HEALTH.

Provident dispensary (see also 7).
Civic efforts to secure better sanitation, schools, government, etc. (see 6 and 7).
Public parks, accessible to the poor.
Tenement house inspection.
Drinking fountains.
Public lavatories.
Efforts to secure supply of pure water, milk and sound meat, vegetables, bread (see also 6).
First Aid to Injured and Sick, teaching and drill.

2. ECONOMIC.

Education in industrial science and processes (see 3).

Free legal advice (see 7).
Trade unions.
Coöperation.
Committees and Boards of Conciliation in labor disputes.
Investigation of conditions, wages, etc., with publication of results.
Chattel mortgage lending at low rates.

3. INSTRUCTION.

(see 2).
Discussions of industrial and economic questions. Prizes offered for essays.
University Extension; lecture-study, class and correspondence methods.
Teaching of wood carving, basket weaving, cooking, dressmaking, technical processes.
Publication of papers.
Distribution or sale of cheap reprints of lectures or articles useful to the public, cheap editions of poets, essayists.
Library work.

4. ÆSTHETIC.

Music should be made most prominent, on all possible occasions.
The measures already mentioned.
Growing plants for prizes.

5. SOCIABILITY.

Neighborhood calling and visiting.
All the assemblies and clubs above mentioned.
Interchange of visits and invitations between suburbs and city centre, and between "East" and "West."

6. POLITICAL.

"Legal Dispensary" or "Poor Man's Lawyer," for cheap legal advice.
All measures of instruction and action involving coöperation of all adults.

7. CHARITY AND REFORMS.

Dispensaries, dental service, surgical helps, and all methods above mentioned.

Members of all classes should be encouraged to coöperate as neighbors to prevent pauperism.

Civic efforts of all kinds should engage the united interest of young and old.

8. RELIGION.

Household worship (neighbors invited).

Public worship.

Sacred concerts.

Encouragement to neighboring churches.

A. The Ministry of the Settlement to the *Health* of the people.

How vast and beneficent the victories of science! To multitudes how useless! Bacteriology in the hands of the great Pasteur, antisepsis and anæsthesia from Simpson and Lister, the wonderful arts of dentists and surgeons, the prophylactic methods of sanitarians,—these are quickly taken up in palaces and mansions. Tardily if ever they reach the suffering poor. The average rate of sickness and mortality among the poor is very great. Poverty is literally a matter of life and death. In Aberdeen, Scotland, of whose population only 13.06 per cent live in one room, the death-rate is lowest of eight great Scotch towns. The death-rate rises as the size of the home grows smaller. In Glasgow, where the death-rate is highest, 24.7 per cent of its population live in one room. Those who live in one or two rooms show a death-rate of 27.74 per thousand, while those who enjoy five rooms furnish

only 11.23 per thousand. In the rich quarters of Paris the death-rate was 13.4 per thousand, while in the poor districts it was 31.3 per thousand. Crowding is not the only physical evil in the houses of the poor. Cleanliness and ventilation can with difficulty be provided and they come to be neglected from despair. People become accustomed to feebleness and weariness. It seems natural to be exhausted. If the babies die there is savage comfort in the reflection that the survivors may have more to eat. If infants are insured the indemnity becomes the chief consolation at the funeral. Such outward conditions pervert bodily appetites and aggravate vicious propensities. There are few facilities for bathing in the houses of the poor. The sweat of the laboring man clogs his skin and unduly heavy work is laid upon lungs and kidneys. Pulmonary diseases shadow the poor man's home. The rich wards dump their nasty garbage in open lots before the doors of the poor. The products of decay breed flies and pestilence among the silent wage earners. They are too weary to go to the city hall to complain, and if they did go who would hear them? Many of them are foreigners, unacquainted with the dark and peculiar ways of our city officials. They come to think that law is merely a device of the capitalists to repress strikes and help "scabs." Government to them is the god of landlords. They fear to provoke the wrath of the house-owner lest he prove his vengeance by ejecting them the first hour rent is over-due. The local boss is too busy seeking "boodle" to attend to

such trifles as sanitation. At the best he is too ignorant to appreciate the arguments of bacteriologists. He seldom studies the statistics of the Board of Health, and even the members of that august body may be tools of aldermen.

How the Settlement Promotes Health. The residents, just because they live on the ground and suffer directly from vicious conditions, become interested in the lot of the neighbors. You cannot photograph a smell or transmit a headache by telephone, but if you live in a poor district you need no rumors and witnesses to convince you. The huge volumes of black smoke roll from tall chimneys into the windows of the Settlement and cover books and curtains with soot and begrime faces, necks and hands. Nausea and fever warn them of the causes of sickness and death and give them the right of self-defense.

Therefore they naturally make common cause with their neighbors. They may begin by a personal appeal to the health officers, or to the alderman. Occasionally this is fairly successful. But so long as the people have insanitary habits and customs the public authorities can accomplish little. The citizens must be aroused, and to be aroused must be taught. Ignorance is the first enemy to fight. The people can get anything they want if they will unite and ask for it persistently. Back yards, drains, alleys, walks, street cars cannot be clean and wholesome without reformation of habits. Therefore with infinite tact and patience the residents must teach the principles of hygiene and

sanitation. The magic lantern must reveal the minute organisms which produce fermentation, decay and disease. Tracts, books, talks, visits must show the way to health and strength.

F. W. Robertson points out the spiritual significance of these efforts to promote health. "It must be an era marking a changed state of things, when princes and nobles, instead of occupying their time with battles and tournaments, are occupied with such subjects as improving the dwellings of the poor, and the construction of baths and wash-houses. This, I think, must prove that we have arrived at a state of things in which the smallest, the minutest atoms of the species become of importance; when members of the government are absolutely not ashamed to give lectures, and to enlighten the people on the necessity of drainage and sanitary regulations—surely this is significant. And in all this we have, I think, the very genius and spirit of Christianity; we have that which, eighteen hundred years ago, was declared when the apostle told us: "Nay, more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor."

The Settlement is a station for investigation of actual conditions and already has proved useful in this field. Of course, the rights of the poor must be respected; prying curiosity must be forbidden; respectful treatment must be given to all. But honest and kind efforts to get at the real causes of

misery are not resented, and they are the first condition of remedy. Until the public knows the conditions fully and accurately nothing will be attempted.

The bulletins and reports of several Settlements and popular magazines have presented the results of important studies. The Hartford Settlement in coöperation with "The Committee of Fifty," made a local study of the liquor traffic, drinking habits and customs, and their effects on the people. Residents of Kingsley House (Miss Meloy and Miss Shapleigh) have given attention to foods and dietaries. Miss Chester, of the Log Cabin Settlement, measured 150 mountain children that their physical condition might be compared with that of city children. Tenement houses have been studied by nearly all the Settlements, and large results were published in the Hull House Papers, the Forum and elsewhere. "The Analysis of a Tenement Street," shows with graphic power and photographic fidelity the impressions of a resident.

Investigation leads to agitation. The people are taught to realize their perils and wrongs. Memorials and petitions, newspaper discussions, assemblies, mass meetings, protests, injunctions and legal processes follow the disclosures of residents. A community which has once risen to defend itself does not forget the lesson and is afterward vigilant.

Demonstration of what is possible is sometimes necessary to convince the officials. Spoilsmen are obtuse, inclined to regard philanthropists as visionary and impracticable. But when a Head Worker

actually shows how to clean a ward better and cheaper than the contractors have done it, the truth slowly dawns on persons in power.

Pallative measures of relief must be employed to alleviate immediate misery. Examples of these forms of ministry may here be given, specimens of a wide range of work.

COUNTRY OUTINGS.—Anticipating the time when cities shall be made as healthy as open land, the Settlements have sought to mitigate the evils of crowded homes by sending the feeble and convalescent to the country for recuperation. The means for this purpose are sometimes collected from generous friends or by a great newspaper; sometimes the money is provided by accumulations of small savings of the better paid artisans themselves. Residents among the poor are in good position to discover the need and know who will receive benefit from the vacation. One of the Mansfield House appeals paints a picture in few strokes and touches pity. "Think of what it means to be ill for a long period in a close, unhealthy room, in a narrow street. Perhaps the whole life of the family goes on in this same room, and the smell is far from pleasant. The sun beats down with pitiless force; the flies swarm over the sick patient; food is spoiled by the heat, and at times almost putrid, for the poor have no larders nor pantries. The transfer of the sick to a farmhouse in the country, or a cottage by the sea, is like lifting them from hell to heaven."

"One good result of the Holiday Fund comes

before the children are sent away. Every child has to be examined to see that it is clean, and many have been turned back to wait a fortnight, till they could satisfy the doctor. The consequence is that there is an astonishing amount of washing done. Not before it is needed in many cases; as once, when the doctor, enquiring into a very dirty child's history, found that she had not had a bath since she was sent away by the Fund two years ago." (Mansfield House Magazine.)

Trained Nurses are valuable allies. Working people are worn out with toil, and often lack skill. They are ashamed to go to a dispensary or charity hospital. They are then worse off than paupers.

"At these times, to be able to command the attention of a trained nurse several times a day often makes all the difference between life and death. And such attention should, above all things, be efficient. The greatest command of Scripture texts in such a crisis will not make up for lack of training and capacity, and it is to be feared that sometimes district nurses can supply more of the former than of the latter. *Such a fraud is nearly as dangerous as that of sending unqualified practitioners. The first work of Christianity in providing nursing should be a concern for professional thoroughness.*" (Report of Bermondsey Settlement.)

B. The Ministration of the Settlement to the Industrial and Economic Amelioration of the Community.

Poverty is a striking characteristic of the communities around Settlements. All ... s of

the poor described in the great work of Charles Booth are found by residents and visitors. A few are wretchedly poor, vicious and incapable. Many hover on the border between absolute dependence and modest self-support. Others are higher up, and can support themselves if all goes well, but only by constant toil at low wages. Still others have fair incomes, many comforts, and an ambition to do better still. Day and night the facts of pinching distress, heroic endeavor and increasing struggle for existence pass in tragic drama before the eyes of residents. They would be monsters if this pathetic contest did not awaken sympathy and demand coöperation. This sympathy has been expressed by Ruskin:—

"I have listened to many ingenious persons who say we are better off now than ever we were before. I do not know how well off we were before, but I know positively that many deserving persons of my acquaintance have great difficulty in living under these improved circumstances; also, that my desk is full of begging letters, eloquently written either by distressed or dishonest people; and that we cannot be called, as a nation, well off, while so many of us are living either in honest or in villainous beggary.

"For my own part, I will put up with this state of things, passively, not an hour longer. I am not an unselfish person, nor an evangelical one; I have no particular pleasure in doing good; neither do I dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world. But I simply cannot paint,

nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else that I like, and the very light of the morning sky, when there is any,—which is seldom nowadays, near London,—has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know of, and see signs of, when I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly.

"Therefore, I will endure it no longer quietly; but henceforward, with any few or many who will help, do my poor best to abate their misery. But that I may do my best, I must not be miserable myself any longer; for no man who is wretched in his own heart, and feeble in his own work, can rightly help others."*

In these paragraphs we see the first passionate burst of resentment against a condition of social misery and degradation, and then the effort to collect one's powers and look about him with open eyes and steady nerves till he can discern the wisest method of help. Unfortunately, many have come into the sweep of Ruskin's passion without advancing to the stage of peaceful self-control; and they have served to embitter life without contributing real wisdom to the work of betterment.

The Settlements have no panacea to offer. The residents represent all shades of economic theory, from rank socialism to extreme *laissez faire*. Many of them have no large remedy to propose, but have gone to study the situation, and seek to formulate their life programme close to the reality.

* *Fors Clavigera*, Letter I., June, 1871.

Perhaps the most valuable economic service which they have thus far rendered is the discovery of the actual mode of life of various classes of the poor, with whom the difficulties of existence are most acute.

Direct relief agencies can go a very little way to aid the poor. But charity has its place in a method of economic help. For the present the very existence of many thousands of persons depends on the gifts of those who are more fortunate. There will always be some who will be too weak to provide for their own necessities. The Settlement acts as any gentle and kind household must act in presence of extreme destitution; it must give material help. Much as the workers dislike to be regarded as alms-giving agencies, they are compelled to accept something of this burden, and their situation as neighbors enables them to administer relief with clear vision and adequate knowledge.

At a later point, under the head of educational service, we shall see that the Settlement renders valuable help to the poor by fitting them to become more efficient producers, and more intelligent in saving, use and public administration.

The Settlement does not and cannot take an attitude of indifference toward the *trade unions*. No man living among the self-respecting wage-earners in cities can be neutral upon this point. One may regret acts of violence and injustice, and honestly rebuke deeds of tyranny and lawlessness. One may frankly discuss some of the economic errors advocated by wage-earners, and if he has [illegible]

knowledge, his arguments will be considered and have weight among the modifying influences of society. But the trade union, even where a mere minority of the men belong to it, is regarded as the fortress of the working men. Even women will calmly face starvation with their children, and exhort their haggard and hungry husbands to stand firm. The word "scab" is synonymous with heretic and traitor. The isolated workman, standing alone before a huge factory, with nothing but his bare hands, pitted against costly machinery and masses of capital and credit, seems to himself a pigmy. His personality shrinks into a shadow. But in his trade union he is among his comrades; he is a free citizen; he has power with him to exact respect and consideration. A worker among the self-supporting wage-earners who does not believe in organization can be of little value.

If the resident studies the conditions of working women, the case is even more pitiful. The isolated sewing woman is ground by the unregulated competition of her own sisters as between the upper and nether millstones. Employers and customers, the most philanthropic, cannot raise their wages very far. Nothing but vast organization of the workers, and refusal to serve society for the wages of vice or starvation, can redeem them from bondage. Hence the residents have generally come into friendly touch with the unions, and have frequently assisted the most helpless to form associations.

As Ruskin said to working men: "I beg you

most solemnly to convince yourselves of the partly comfortable, partly formidable fact, that your prosperity is in your own hands."

And yet the effort of the Settlement has aimed at *conciliation*. There may be some exceptions. It would be strange if the sight of misery, and the stories of consecrated wrong in high places, did not provoke a rash, hot word. Such indignation may not be anti-social and destructive, but sound and conservative. The residents have enjoyed the refinements of life. Many of them have come from families of wealth. They have the large historic sense which comes with culture. They are naturally conservative. Much of the wild, bitter assaults on existing institutions which they must hear seems to them unwise. Hence they have frequently intervened to promote rational modes of settling disputes. They generally advocate boards of arbitration and conciliation. Their teaching tends to bring into view all the best modes of coming to an understanding. They seek to make their friends familiar with the wonderful history of social protection of labor in all modern countries, and thus to dull the edge of hatred by suggestions of reasonable hope and pacific measures.

"A Settlement is not affrighted nor dismayed when it sees in labor-meetings, in caucuses and turbulent gatherings, men who are—

> 'Groping for the right, with horny, calloused hands,
> And staring round for God with bloodshot eyes,'

although the clumsy hands may upset some heavy

pieces of convention, as a strong, blind man overturns furniture, and the bloodshot eyes may be wild and fanatical. . . . But the Settlement should be affrighted, and bestir itself to action, when the groping is not for the right; when the staring is not for God, but for Mammon—and there is a natural temptation towards both. . . . The labor movement must include all men in its hopes. It must have the communion of universal fellowship. Any drop of gall within its cup is fatal. . . . If to insist upon the universality of the best is the function of the Settlement, nowhere is its influence more needed than in the labor movement, where there is constant temptation towards a class warfare." (Miss Addams.)

The exhibits of activities in Great Britain and America will reveal many practical schemes for aiding the wage-earners to make the most of their slender incomes. Coöperation in use and enjoyment is a word on every tongue. There are clubs for the purchase of coal, clothing, groceries and other necessities of life. The enjoyments of art, music, social assemblies, which the Settlement provides at low cost, are constant reminders of the happiness which can be secured by those who combine friendly efforts for a common end. Food cooked in a public restaurant, and sold at lower cost and of better quality than it could be prepared at home, brings before them the possibilities of coöperation.

The "Jane Club" has worked successfully at the problem of coöperative housekeeping for unmarried

working women. They have shown how such persons can enjoy freedom, protection and comfort at a cost within very narrow incomes. (Hull House.)

A feature of the Browning Settlement is a Labor Bank, "where honest and industrious workers can obtain needed loans by mortgaging a portion of their wages, and so avoid the extortionate rates in vogue, which commonly exact an interest of one penny per shilling per week."

There are plenty of people to preach thrift and advise economy. But the Settlements provide conveniences for saving. In a great city the savings bank is a foreign institution. Even if we had government postal banks, the very poor would not use them until they were trained. The workers become missionaries of thrift.

COMMUNITY ACTION.—There are some objects which cannot be attained by individual nor even by associated action of the poor. The supply of water, light and conveniences of washing, bathing and transport is beyond the reach of private enterprise in great cities. Friends of the poor are helping them to see the connection between good local government and the enjoyment of comforts which they value.

Thus also legislation on behalf of laborers is made a matter of Settlement discussion and effort. Who should most naturally agitate on behalf of the helpless child prematurely wrecked and crippled by factory employment, stunted in body and soul by deprivation of school privileges? The educated neighbors of the poor can write and speak, and

they have observed the effects of the iniquity of child labor until it is sadly familiar to them in all its wretched details.

It has been observed that residents among working men are apt to become "Socialists." It is easy to fling this vague epithet at one we do not like. No one has a moral right to personally apply an offensive and injurious phrase without at least defining what he means. Granted that many residents are young, inexperienced, lacking the historic sense, moved by emotion, and therefore rash. Admit that such persons are only too apt to fall into the ways of thinking about them, and take the color of the community feeling. Without much experience in business control, such persons are very prone to treat property rights superficially, and give advice to business men which could not be followed without financial ruin.

All these sins of youth and illusion may be confessed for some of the workers in Settlements, and yet we can claim for their method a high degree of wisdom. The extension of government functions is practicable, and it is inevitable. Not merely wage-earners, but all others are interested in securing common objects of use and enjoyment through our city and state governments. If this is "Socialism," then we are all "Socialists." The limits of this tendency will be determined not by theory, but by trial; by experiment, not by controversy.

C. Instruction. The resident living among the poor of great cities discovers very early the defects in our system of public instruction. Knowledge is

power, an essential factor in securing amelioration. Intelligent people know how to help themselves by associations or by the organs of public service, while ignorance is powerless and blind. Knowledge gives wider sympathies, broader views of life and duty, illumines the mysteries of existence, quickens invention, increases earning power, opens new and higher enjoyments as rivals of sensual appetites.

Most children of the poor leave school at a very early age in order to assist parents in winning the means of existence. Parents pressed by poverty easily yield to the temptation to exploit the strength of tender childhood. The vast majority of the poor, and almost all of the very poor, leave school before they can even look at the studies which might fit them for citizenship. The defects in the system of instruction are such that most children never acquire the training which will make them ready to understand the processes of machinery and the industrial arts. The hours out of school, evenings, Saturdays and Sundays, which might be made educationally valuable, are usually worse than wasted; they undo the work of the teachers.

There is a multitude of adults for whom our school system makes inadequate provision, if it makes any at all. The young people of foreign birth wish to learn English, as a means of promotion in shops and trades. The study of commercial arithmetic, drawing, chemistry and other elementary subjects makes the difference between achievement and defeat in life's struggle.

The Settlement promotes educational interests, directly and indirectly, by furnishing instruction, and by agitation and administration, with the purpose of improving the public system.

CLUBS.—One of the most popular and useful forms of teaching is the club. Purely intellectual interest will seldom hold a class together without the added zest of cheerful fellowship and the spice of play. Games are made a means of attraction and recreation. The new pedagogy slily slips into modern games carloads of information and intellectual discipline.

Miss Addams touches the point exactly: "The University Extension Movement—certainly where it is clearly identified with Settlements—would not confine learning to those who already want it, or those who, by making an effort, can gain it, or to those among whom professional educators are already at work, but would take it to the toilers of East London and the dock-laborers of the Thames. It requires tact and training, love of learning, and the conviction of the justice of its diffusion to give it to people whose intellectual faculties are untrained and disused. But men in England are found who do it successfully, and it is believed there are men and women in America who can do it. I also believe that the best work in University Extension can be done in Settlements, where the teaching will be further socialized, where the teacher will grapple his students, not only by formal lectures, but by every hook possible to the fuller intellectual life which he represents. This teaching requires

distinct methods, for it is true of people who have been allowed to remain undeveloped, and whose faculties are inert and sterile, that they cannot take their learning heavily. It has to be diffused in a social atmosphere. Information held in solution, a medium of fellowship and goodwill, can be assimilated by the dullest."

READING PARTIES.—In crowded city schools the teacher has scant time to read stories and beautiful literature to children, and to hear them read aloud. The habit of reading will not be formed and retained as a source of permanent culture and happiness unless it is made easy by frequent and prolonged practice. The reading habit, with high ideals of what is fine and worthy, is a very important element in aesthetic, moral and religious life. It is through attractive literary forms that the spiritual forces are most readily introduced without shock or offense into the souls of the people. Through reading parties and clubs the residents have the power to act upon a host of people who get very little such help from the over-taxed school teacher.

The names of some of these clubs are very interesting, since they appeal to fancy, local interests, literary and historic memories, and patriotism.

Examples of the titles of Girls' Clubs may be cited: Little Women, Golden Rule, Mayflower, Violet, American Beauty, Pansy, Lily (Chicago Commons), American Rose, Sweet Violet, Clara Barton, Little Workers, Good Fellowship (Hull House).

The boys are a trifle less sentimental. One set of them boasts the name of Agassiz, and it is building up a botanical and geological museum from the spoils of trips in parks and country fields, whither they are accompanied by a university man. An Excelsior club has athletic contests and debates, and publishes a paper. The Kingsley Club prepares its members for good citizenship, seeks to secure clean streets, and keeps an eye on garbage contractors. The woodcarvers form a guild which combines rivalry with a fellowship based on a common art.

A group of larger girls from a department store find themselves too weary to study in the evenings, but they are helped by familiar talks, entertaining readings and social diversions.

One of the reports shows a Woman's Club, of which the Head Resident is president, and of which there are eight vice-presidents of the neighborhood, representing German, Polish, Russian, Norwegian, Irish, Bohemian, English and French nationalities. What could be more typical of an American city? The constitution states that the object of this club is to associate women of different nationalities and creeds together in a fellowship that helps each woman to be a better mother, wife, sister, neighbor and citizen. Any woman, proposed by two members of the club, and elected by a majority, can, on the payment of ten cents, become a member. Three months' absence without explanation is considered as a withdrawal from membership. The fees must not exceed ten cents per month nents

can be levied, and no presents can be made to officers.

CLASSES.—There are persons in all communities who have such a hunger for knowledge, and such direct interest in learning, that they can be grouped in classes for serious and systematic instruction. The night schools of the public system partly meet this want, and the Settlements are naturally seeking to multiply them and enlarge their usefulness. But in some cities or districts the night school does not exist, or it is open only part of the year, or it does not teach all the branches which the people desire to pursue, or the older persons may entertain a dislike to studying with the youth. For various reasons many Settlements have found a field for regular evening classes. Usually a small fee is charged to meet expenses and to maintain the self-respect of the students. Much of the instruction is given by persons who, in the daytime, support themselves at their professions, as architects, superintendents of machine-shops or electric plants, lawyers, physicians and teachers. College women and men of leisure find here a suitable field for the exercise of their gifts and acquirements.

LECTURES.—The University Extension method was born at the same time as the Settlement, and the same spirit pervades both. The House of the residents is often a convenient center for preparing and gathering audiences for lectures on important subjects, and for carrying forward the class work which is stimulated by the large audiences.

LIBRARIES AND READING-ROOMS.—Clubs, classes

and lectures awaken curiosity, arouse the questioning spirit, and create a local demand for libraries and reading-rooms. The Settlement may provide a collection of books; but its best work is done when it brings the public library into touch with the people, and shows them how to use it to the best advantage. Catalogues and annotated lists of choice books have been found useful; and the residents are frequently consulted about the choice of reading.

DISCUSSIONS.—There is much unprofitable discussion in all classes of society. Where there is much talk folly is sure to find a tongue. Mr. C. S. Loch very truly said: "There is an audience that all would desire to bring together; but there is another audience often headed by the mere prattlers and praters of the local community. It is a question whether men of this kind want further opportunities for the exercise of their eloquence. They have not learned much, and are careless about learning. They are content to coin their ignorance into phrases. They are generally dominated by some particular theory in its crude state, and give vent to their feelings in regard to it, whatever the subject of discussion may be." Personal conversation, in friendly hours of informal intercourse, is sometimes the most efficient method of curing such persons of their vagaries and prejudices, unless they are incurable.

But with all their perils, discussions are indispensable in the education of men. Reading books and hearing lectures is reception, not creation.

Discussion develops faculty. The crudest attempt to formulate a thought for a debate gives it distinctness. Study for a debate is a powerful incentive to reading.

It may readily be confessed that many of the speeches are incendiary in matter and phrase; that all kinds of economic, political and religious heresies find expression on the free platform of the Settlement hall. But there is another side. Extremists correct each other. Error makes itself ridiculous. There is always some one present who is shrewd enough to detect a fallacy, and pugnacious enough to reply. The final result of a radical debate is likely to be conservative. The quiet, well-bred, self-possessed, but sympathetic resident, with a wide outlook upon history, social development, science and philosophy, has an opportunity to hint at wiser methods and better sources of information. Dogmatism is diluted, and rational consideration grows in favor. Men of wealth have occasionally refused assistance to Settlements on the ground that socialists, anarchists and atheists were permitted to vent their venom. But a more sober and instructed view is that the suppression of some diseases is more dangerous than their breaking out. It relieves mental tension in a wronged spirit to abuse somebody roundly, and then have it quietly suggested that the abused millionaire might have a word of defense if he were present. In fact, if the millionaire knows enough, and can keep his temper, he is perfectly safe in a Settlement hall, if he will only stay down off his pedestal and be just

a man. The modern working man will respect any friendly person of superior mould; but he dislikes to take his hat off to a self-canonized demi-god.

TRAVEL.—Among the most important educational influences in the lives of people of wealth is travel, especially in foreign countries. There is no reason why this privilege should be confined to the well-to-do classes. Many poor people have the mental qualities which fit them to receive valuable impressions from visits to Europe, and such missionaries of taste and good government are sadly needed in our cities. By coöperation and saving, and by securing prizes for attainments in the school work, trips to Europe are not outside the reach of a large number of the poor. Of course this is somewhat easier in England than it is in America, but it is not impossible for us in these days of cheap ocean transportation. The Bermondsey Settlement in 1895 announced an excursion party from London, July 31st to August 14th, to visit the wonderful Swiss scenery by way of Bale, Lucerne, the Rigi, Meiningen, Interlaken and Berne. The entire cost was to be £7 10s. Toynbee Hall Travellers' Club arranges for excursions in continental Europe. One excursion of twenty-four days, to Greece, cost £19 13s. 3d. each. The club had ninety-eight members. Saturday and holiday excursions in and about London, conducted by an intelligent guide, afford means of pointing out places of historic interest, revealing accessible art treasures, and making the citizen at home in his own country.

D. Æsthetic culture. In a sordid, squalid street of an American city there is little to attract the eye of a person of refined taste. Poverty leaves streets and alleys in sad plight. Poverty discourages housewives. Space is too small for gardens. In tenement flats there is scant room even for the essential functions of animal existence. "It is not only indifference which keeps the public living in the far East away from the West End art treasures. The expense of transit; the ignorance of ways of getting about; the shortness of daylight beyond working hours during the greater part of the year; the impression that the day when they could go is sure to be the day when the museum is closed to the public;—all these little discouragements become difficulties, especially to the large numbers who have not yet had enough opportunities of knowing the joy which art gives." (Mrs. S. A. Barnett.)

Yet even under such discouraging conditions the joy in beauty and the æsthetic hunger become manifest. There may be a devotional picture, an ugly colored print on the wall, a cheap, machine-made lace curtain at the window; a sickly flowering plant begging for light through a pane against which dirt has been splashed from the side walk. Baby is playing with a red ribbon, and catching with unwashed hands at stray sunbeams. The adolescent girl will leave school to work for two dollars a week in a huge and merciless department store, in order to get money for a smart bonnet or a bright gown. When starved and city-depressed children are taken to a place where flowers bloom,

birds sing, and clear waters murmur over pebbles, it is pitiful to see their outbursts of happiness, which must soon be damped and quenched in the mephitic air of the cells miscalled homes.

Completeness of life demands beauty. A complete person is beautiful. Beauty is not bought for an end beyond itself, but to rest in and live upon. It is necessary to a true human life, and the poor have a right to it. Because they have no access to that "sweet living land of art," they grow morose and revengeful. They feel robbed, even when they know not what it is that belongs to their soul's rights and is not enjoyed. The gnawing of æsthetic craving makes them miserable, unsatisfied. Into the chamber left empty of pictures and music seven demons came and made their hell of orgies there. Vacated mansions are haunted by ghosts. Now that we have discovered the power of municipal governments, art will be more and more a right of all, and museums will be made accessible to the poor as well as to the rich.

Settlements are not always provided with æsthetic leaders; but when lovers of beauty are in control the life of the neighborhood has a new element of hope. With the entrance of this factor of duty it is literally true:

> "Flowers laugh before her in their beds,
> And fragrance in her footing treads."

The function of the Settlement is to cultivate appreciation, set up standards of criticism, open laws of interpretation, and to discover and develop

creative faculty of production. Every human being is potentially an artist, and persons of talent and genius are often picked up in unlikely homes. The history of genius often conducts us to obscure places, and causes us to stoop to enter lowly doors, where we journey to pay our debt of admiring gratitude to the masters of art.

Music is the art of the people and the natural language of religion. In one Settlement among the poor, when piano classes were announced, forty children appeared for the first lesson. Musical appreciation and interpretation are promoted by concerts and lectures. Taste is formed by hearing good music, and having articulate commentaries on its spiritual significance. The chorus joins the genial factor of fellowship with the somewhat austere pleasures of pure art.

It has been found that working people will enjoy strong and noble music. Programmes of successful concerts, which attracted and held the attention of uneducated people, children and adults, contain the names of the greatest composers. Sensational enjoyment is not the end to be sought, but worthy ideals should be symbolized. The works of J. S. Bach have been received with genuine enjoyment. An evening was given to hearing the story of the Niebelungen Ring, with illustrations from the Walkuere. A folk-song programme gave them Russian music, Irish songs, negro melodies. At Christmas a great hall is filled to hear Gounod's "Nazareth" and the "Holy Night," with solo and chorus. The children sing carols, and the

magic lantern tells the wondrous story in a series of classic pictures. Such efforts raise music above mere entertainment, and make it minister to ideals, social sympathy and sustaining hope.

The discovery and development of musical faculty come with class work and instruction in instrumental and vocal music. Private and class lessons are given in piano, voice, violin, mandolin. The writer heard with exquisite pleasure a fine tenor at a meeting of working people, and found upon inquiry that the voice belonged to a young man whose mother sold slate pencils and candy at the little shop opposite the school-house. Is it not a pity, a social loss, that chill penury should freeze the genial current of such souls? Can society afford to choke back flowers that blush unseen in city deserts?

PICTURES.—Here is a city district where more than a hundred thousand people reside, and they have never, in twenty years, shown the slightest sign of care for engravings or paintings. No reputable merchant of fine prints has thought of wasting time in a canvass of this district. Most people "in society" have imagined, if they took one moment from selfish pleasures to give it a thought, that these hard-worked people are without pictures because they care nothing for beauty and have no nerves or mind for what is lovely. But this judgment is superficial and built on narrow information. An occasional charity visitor in these remote regions has discovered pathetic attempts at decoration. A gaudy chromo, stripped from a baking-powder box

or saved from the Christmas edition of a penny newspaper, had been pinned, unframed, to the wall paper. Residents of the Settlement became aware of these suppressed yearnings for beauty. Coming nearer to the people they learn of aspirations of which the high world of commerce and fashion does not dream. They persuade kind possessors of good pictures to lend them for an exhibition so near to the people that they can reach the place without car fare. Invitations are sent out to the inhabitants of the "slums." They pour forth from these huge caravansaries and from humble cottages by the thousand to rest their souls and gather delightful images of the enchanted land of art. Many times this experiment has been tried with success.

Another graceful work of love adorned is that of lending photographs and prints in the homes of the poor. Once in a few months these pictures are exchanged for others, and the collection travels about until the entire group has tasted of their fine quality. Women who belong to the Settlement clubs thus become missionaries of perfection, and they feel themselves to be sisters of the mighty masters. Art is made truly "at home," and the home itself is transfigured; it becomes a shrine of the muses. It was from the Hull House that the movement sprang which promises to carry fine works into our school rooms. Miss Starr was the founder of the Society of Art in Schools and already important progress has rewarded the enterprise.

E. Sociability.—The Settlement seeks to cultivate the spirit of friendship because it is itself

an element of welfare and happiness, and because it furnishes a social atmosphere or climate in which all other good plants flourish and bear fruit. Social classes may be necessary. In the process of evolution, up to date, human beings of all degrees of personal power and all varieties of taste have been produced. Persons of similar disposition, who desire the same things and have the same resources naturally come together. Men of wealth select the choice building sites and let the poor take what is left. Such classification, satisfaction and localization it may not be possible to prevent. Parents desire to protect their children from the influence of coarseness, dirt and ignorance. They wish to promote marriage of their sons and daughters with those who have attained similar position and advantages. "Do not marry for money, but go where money is."

It is useless to quarrel with a force which is so old and so strong. But we cannot fail to recognize a danger which goes to the roots of our civilization. Social classes are held apart by social hates. Enmity is born of isolation. Our cities are also divided by differences of race and language. Religion itself, which ought to hold up the ideal of human unity, being manifested in clashing creeds, competing ecclesiasticisms and proselyting campaigns, is itself perverted into an instrument of hostility and division.

Social classes exist among the poor as well as elsewhere. There are many curious principles of stratification. The mother of a girl who worked

in a tobacco factory was ashamed to tell her neighbors and her pastor where the child spent her days, and gave out that she was a "saleslady" down town. The mother excused herself for the lie by saying that the children of the neighborhood would not speak to the daughter if they knew that she earned her ribbons at a tobacco bench. Dr. Moore ("A Day at Hull House") gives a glimpse of the fact in her story of a visitor. "When the coffee house was opened, with its stained rafters, its fine photographs, and its row of blue china mugs, it had a reflective visit from one of its neighbors. He looked it over thoroughly and without prejudice, and said decisively: 'Yez kin hev de shovel gang or yez kin hev de office gang, but yez can't hev 'em both in the same room at the same toime.' Time has shown the exactness of the statement. Its clientele, increasing with its increasing efficiency, have selected themselves, and it is not the man in overalls who is the constant visitor, but the teacher, the clerk, and the smaller employer of the region. The laboring man sends his children for bread and soup and prepared food, but seldom comes himself, however well within his means the fare may be."

The cultivation of friendship is more than a sentimental crusade for an empty sepulchre; it is required by the conditions of national and municipal health; by the necessities of a free and representative republic. He who fans the flames of class hate is a public enemy; he who fosters genuine sociability and honest understanding through personal acquaintance performs a patriotic service. This com-

mon life shapes all the proximate ends of a Settlement. The common work, contests with evil, striving together for amelioration, study, discussion, concerts, entertainments, are all instruments of friendliness. In this placid atmosphere of sociability, on these elevated plateaus where vulgar mists of prejudice are dissolved in sunshine, the knotty problems of industry and politics may be more soberly and rationally considered. Mad men never were good reasoners. Hatred blinds judgment. Class hostilities exclude factors of testimony which are essential to sound conclusions.

The original motto of the guild started by Dr. Stanton Coit was: "Order is our basis, improvement our aim, and friendship our principle." *Gunton's Magazine* thus states its central aims: "It was the first effort to establish friendly intercourse between uptown people and the occupants of the crowded tenements downtown. It was the beginning of that bridge of human service and interest which was to connect two alien districts, and to bring into kindly relations two widely separated classes. In this lies the significance of the movement, and as the few years have gone by since it was undertaken, its timeliness and imperativeness have become more and more apparent. The *laissez faire* principle in society is full of unsuspected peril. Hostile social classes are the result of non-intercourse and the neglect of that service which conditions the moral well-being of both. Society is not a chaos, but an order, a unity, a progress. It

is social aloofness which has begotten our worst class antagonisms."

The Settlement holds out an olive branch to the neighborhood. These hard-handed toilers have been saying with bitterness that college people cared nothing for them; that wealth rolls by in its carriages unconcerned; that the far-away world of boulevards, parks and fountains, pictures and music is not for them. But here comes a family group to share their fortunes, to give and receive social invitations. The fact changes. Feelings change in response. "The human heart responds to the feelings by which it is addressed." Out of residence grows familiarity. Cold prejudices thaw in the genial warmth of social contact. Clubs and choruses become organs of sociability. "Family evenings" call together men and women. The "smoke talk" entices men from the saloon, men who would arm themselves to resist a prohibition law.

The "club" in England is a permanent and large body, whose members are together to some extent every day. The "club" in America is usually a smaller body, meeting more formally and for specific purposes at regular intervals.

The club life of the Settlement and its branches is a distinct contribution to the temperance cause. It proceeds on the principle of substitution, recognizing the legitimate social function of the saloon and seeking to introduce more rational agencies of satisfying the same wants.

"For the great majority of East Enders these (public houses) are the sole recreation centres.

Dwellers in comfortable middle-class houses do not know what it is to live in one, two, or three tiny rooms. . . . Imagine Joe Bangs, the coalie, inviting six of his mates to tea, some day when there is no work to be done. There isn't room for their twelve legs under the tiny table, to say nothing of Joe himself, the missus and seven or eight kids, even if there is enough grub to go round. Neither can you seat them round the room and pass the cups about, for the simple reason that sitting round the room is the same thing as sitting round the table. Man is a social animal; his best instincts make him so; and if he cannot meet his friends at home, he will meet them somewhere else.

"Public houses are more than centres for the distribution of 'the devil in solution.' They are the great social ganglia of this East End monster, and this is a fact that will have to be taken into account in any effective scheme of temperance reform. The play instinct, the social impulse, even the æsthetic tendencies of the average working man find at least their easiest and readiest, if not their only satisfaction, in the public house."—(Mansfield House Magazine.)

The People's Drawing Room is a feature of the Browning Settlement. They are held on alternate Tuesdays in winter. Cards of invitation are distributed without respect of party, church, or calling to the poorest residents in Walworth. A hall is made bright with pictures, curios, flowers, and light refreshments are served. A diversified programme of song, play and recitation is provided,

and the effort is made to promote general neighborliness. The hosts and hostesses are well-to-do people from any part of London. Etiquette is a kind of "minor morals." Good form has meaning and use, and it is learned by imitation. Example, however, is not potent, save in the visible presence of the superior.*

F. Political and Legal. Workers among wage earners become aware of a certain wide-spread distrust of law and government. The belief is only too general that government is under capitalistic control. Socialists naturally and consistently foster this belief. The reports of legislative corruption and purchase of aldermen, tend to deepen and fix this dangerous conviction. The great journals and magazines carry the news to all parts of society. In times of strike the members of trade unions find the policemen always protecting property and rivals. If they go to law the appeals to federal and supreme courts take litigation far beyond their reach. They may not see the other side; the difficulties of corporations to secure fair treatment in face of popular prejudice; the almost certainty that a local jury will not be just to a rich man; and the legislation inspired by spite against the successful. They very naturally dwell on their own side of the grievance, and this brooding over real and fancied wrongs makes them opponents of law.

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*A form of invitation used at Browning Settlement is: "Robert Browning Hall, Social Settlement, York Street, Walworth. Alderman and Mrs. Evan Spicer invite Mr. ..... and lady to the People's Drawing Room, on Thursday, May 23d, 1895, 8.15 to 10."

The practical difficulty is to make government seem to the poor as if it were their friend, their own affair, a thing in which they could make their personality felt and which could be made to help them realize the ends of life. Municipal reform can never be carried by rich men's clubs. Civic ambitions must thrill the remotest members of society. The great majority of voters must come to realize that the government is really their own, to make or to mar.

The Settlement does not pretend to take the place of any natural institution. Its highest hope is to leaven existing institutions and promote the better working of social organs which have issued from the past. Municipal governments existed before Settlements came into being, and will continue to act after the new philanthropy has assumed other forms. The resident casts in his lot with the people and shares their legitimate aspirations. He needs fresh air, light, clean streets, wholesome water, parks, walks, good schools, police protection, equitable taxation, and all other good things which only the powerful machinery of government can provide. He wants all these goods at the lowest possible cost. Therefore he desires an honest and economical as well as progressive government. This is the "civic spirit," the spirit of coöperation pervading the entire community and acting through the only organization which actually belongs to all and is the agency of executing the will of the people.

Hence the residents seek to create a sound and

informed public opinion, to influence the selection of candidates and their election to office; and sometimes they stand for election or appointment to places in councils, school boards, committees and administrative places.

"Hitherto the ward politician has been the power; as boss, as friend of the old and young, as the advocate of the rights of the people, he has held undisputed sway. Now the Settlement introduces some new factors into the ward or district." (*Gunton's Magazine.*) It stands for the community rather than for a class. It makes appeal to the large human feelings rather than to proletarian narrowness and passions. Its lectures, classes in economics and politics and discussions, led by men of all types, show the limitations of local champions and call for a higher style of representative.

Mr. S. A. Barrett touches the heart of the question: "The social unrest of the last ten years, which took form in bitter cries, royal commissions and social schemes, seems now to be settling down to a steady demand for better local administration. Voluntary effort has been valuable for making experiments; it has shown what may be done for the education, for the housing, and for the recreation of the people. It may, in the future, make even greater discoveries and show the possibility of 'joy in widest commonality' spread. But voluntary effort has not been strong enough nor continuous enough to apply generally what has been discovered as good.

"Boards and Councils have at their command money and knowledge, they can levy rates on the mean and the generous, they by their organization are able to reach the darkest corners of a district. They at the same time draw their life from the people they serve, their doings are known and have a direct effect. If they spend foolishly their neighbors become personally aware of the fact; if they spend wisely the same neighbors see the result in pleasanter homes and happier lives. Local government can do more, and is every day doing more, to improve social conditions than is done by all the churches, missionaries and societies put together. It takes charge of more orphans, nurses more sick, educates more children, and trains more adults."

Take an illustration from the sanitary laws which are designed to protect the health of a community. They will not enforce themselves. The working people have little leisure and ambition to look after their own interests, and they have reason to fear the wrath of moneyed power interested in abuses. The Settlement discovers hopeful conditions, creates public opinion, takes the initiative in making complaints and prosecuting offenders. Thus it helps the people to realize that law is the most powerful instrument for helping them against invisible enemies of health and life.

Another form of legal assistance accomplishes the same end, the "legal dispensary" or "poor man's lawyer." At certain hours an attorney is in his office at the Settlement to hear complaints and give legal advice to those who are too poor to pay for it.

They examine the grounds of the complaints and recover damages "for the mutilated soldiers of industry," allay strife and save victims from sharks who prey on the ignorant and unwary.

CULTIVATION OF PATRIOTISM.—One of the Settlements circulated Dr. Edward E. Hale's appeal to patriotic boys: "Boys, if ever you are tempted to say a word, or do a thing that shall put a bar between you and your family, your home, and your country, pray God, in His mercy, to take you that instant home to His own heaven. Stand by your family, boy; forget you have a self, while you do everything for them.

"Think of your home, boy; talk about it. Let it be nearer and nearer to your thoughts the further you have to travel from it. Write often; and rush back to it when you are free. And for your country, boy, and for this flag, never dream a dream but of serving her as she bids you, though the service carry you through a thousand torments. No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters or who abuses you, never look at another flag, never let a night pass but you ask God to bless that flag. Remember, boy, that you belong to your country as you belong to your mother, and stand by her."

This appeal was printed on a calendar, in the form of a United States flag, and sent to the teachers of boys' schools in New York. It became quite popular, and its ringing words on the lofty themes were recited for the Friday declamations. The incident is typical of the spirit of Settlements.

G. Charity and Reforms. We begin our survey with the lowest form of charity, that of direct material relief to the feeble and defeated class. True to its principle that life is organic and that the Settlement must leaven the whole lump, the workers have from the beginning taken their share of the load of the dependent poor, of the vicious and criminal. The House is often a depot of supplies, and its hospitable door reminds us of the mediæval monastery where gathered the crippled, lame, halt and wanderer to receive their doles. So long as social injustice remains, so long as defectives are born, so long as there are drunken, shiftless and vagabond men, so long will there be a necessity for the various works of relief. Even while we are toiling at higher ends some mitigation of pressing misery must be applied.

Many relief societies are composed of a few rich persons who live at a distance from the distressed and know nothing about them. They have their pets and parasites whom they pauperise to the third generation. They are teased by beggars from all quarters. Then in sheer despair and disgust they farm out their charity to expert agents and rest comfortably in the pious reflection that their duty is done. These salaried agents investigate cases which afflict the wealthy patrons and subscribers, and become skilful in detecting impostors. They also may be very useful in wise relief of deserving poor.

But such charity, beautiful and necessary as it is, is a mere scratch upon the surface. Nothing short

of actual residence among the poor can discover the struggles of those who only in extremity appeal for help. The Settlement becomes a station of observation, a center of local organization of relief. It finds out the reticent and modest poor and brings them into kindly personal relations with those who can assist them.

The clergyman may give to the poor of his own parish, but a Settlement touches many who never go to church. "Living continually among the people, and being admitted into their confidence as no official or semi-official visitor from the outside can be, we have brought to our notice many of those sensitive and reticent men and women who prefer to suffer the greatest privations rather than apply to the parish or any other relief agency." (Mansfield House Magazine.)

The following paragraph will illustrate what goes on at many Houses, and how actual residents can adapt their methods of relief to the people who need help: "In trying to relieve the chronic poverty of Walworth which the severe winter made unusually acute, the Staff have sought whenever possible to give help in the shape of wages for work done, eschewing, so far as they could, the easy but perilous giving of charity. Men from the ranks of the unemployed were employed in cleaning the class-rooms, in tidying up the graveyard at the rear of the Halls, and in other useful jobs. One of the Clubrooms was entirely cleaned, repaired and decorated by unemployed members of the P. S. A. *Trade union rate of wages was paid*

throughout; yet the room was done at once more completely and less expensively than the local contractors had offered to do it, and the men were proud of their handiwork."

Occasionally it is found wise to establish a dispensary at the House, with a small charge for medicines and attendance where the parties are able to pay something. But these dispensaries are exposed to all the abuses known to others, except that the residents are usually better acquainted with the visitors and can detect imposture.

The Hull House established a model lodging house for women, where the homeless and friendless might secure bed and breakfast and obtain direction in the perplexities and perils of a great city.

RELATION OF THE SETTLEMENT TO THE POOR LAW AND PUBLIC RELIEF.—The consistent and natural, as well as the usual attitude of residents to public relief, is that of friendly coöperation. Having acquired an intimate knowledge of the home life of their dependent neighbors they hold this knowledge at the service of the almoners of charity. As they become still better acquainted with the district and gain influence they often seek appointment on local boards, in order to make their experience effective in administration.

RELATION TO THE SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY.—The attitude of the Settlement to the C. O. S. will depend very much on local policies on both sides. The "friendly visitor" is seeking to do just what the resident does, to come into vital

and sympathetic relations with the dependent poor. Frequently visitors go out from the House and make visiting for the Associated Charities the errand of the day. It is not seldom a natural method of finding an introduction to the actual life of the people. If the relations are not always cordial that is the fault of limitations in the agents of both institutions, for there is no real reason why they should not work in entire harmony. Indeed the Associated Charities, as in Buffalo, have sought to fix the permanent centers of their work in some kind of Settlement. Both organizations seek to study causes and set in motion preventive agencies.

The Settlement, so far as it deals with the indigent and defective, is seeking to popularize the higher principles of modern charity. "The distinction is now recognized, though not very clearly defined in the public mind, between what is known as the lower and the higher philanthropy. The lower philanthropy meant the attempt to 'put right what social conditions had put wrong.' The higher philanthropy means the attempt to 'put right the social conditions themselves.'" (President W. J. Tucker.) Charity Organization is an intermediate step from the old to the new philanthropy since it led to the study of conditions. The Settlement is far within the sphere of the new philanthropy because it seeks as its chief purpose the amelioration of conditions. So far as relates to the efforts to assist the wage-earning classes to better terms we have already touched that point under the appropriate head. The char-

acteristic work of the Settlement is not with alms-seekers, but with people to whom the very words charity and philanthropy are detestable, that is a great majority of self-supporting working people.

Miss Jane Addams has placed this idea in perfectly clear light: "I am always sorry to have Hull House regarded as philanthropy, although it doubtless has strong philanthropic tendencies, and has several distinct charitable departments which are conscientiously carried on. It is unfair, however, to apply the word philanthropic to the activities of the House as a whole. Charles Booth, in his brilliant chapter on "The Unemployed," expresses regret that the problems of the *working class* are so often confounded with the problems of the inefficient, the idle and distressed. To confound these two problems is to render the solution of both impossible. Hull House, while endeavoring to fulfil its obligations to neighbors of varying needs, will do great harm if it confounds distinct problems. Working people live in the same streets with those in need of charity, but they themselves, so long as they have health and good wages, require and want none of it. As one of their number has said, they require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated, and the means of attaining them put at their disposal. Hull House makes a constant effort to secure these means for its neighbors, but to call that effort philanthropy is to use the word unfairly and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship."

REFORMS.—There are certain social movements of our generation which are generally thought of as "reforms"; for example, the Temperance Reform, the Social Purity Reform, the Sunday Rest, and others in the realm of politics.

From the first the workers have naturally studied the best methods of diminishing the hold of vicious habits and customs. Those who are conducting the temperance reform merely in fashionable quarters and down-town halls or country districts, may never catch a glimpse of the real state of things where reform is most sorely needed. The best laws become a dead letter in a huge colony of foreigners with a population as large as one of the great towns of their native country. Custom goes before law and sentiment moulds custom. To begin with political measures is not to "hitch our wagon to a star," but rather to hitch our team to the rear end of the wagon. Progress can go no faster than it is led by the best men among the working people of different races in cities. They must change their convictions in relation to the physiology and the morality of drinking customs before they will submit to restrictive legislation. The best work now being done for temperance seldom mentions the subject, but quietly seeks to educate the people in science so that they can judge for themselves.

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.—Professor T. H. Green was deeply interested in the educational and political forms of the temperance movement. In 1872 he joined the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1875 he set up a coffee tavern in St. Clement'

"Even here in Oxford, which has of late been strangely trying to get up a reputation for sobriety, anyone who goes below the reputable classes finds the degradation and hopeless waste which this vice produces meet him at every turn. It is idle to say that education and comfortable habits will check this vice in time. The education of the families of the sober has no effect on the families of the drunken. Unless the vice is first checked by a dead lift of the national conscience, education and comfortable habits are impossible in those very families which are to be saved from drunkenness by them. Meanwhile an immense commercial interest is fattening upon the evil, and of course doing all it can to disguise it."

Greene's influence was of course powerful with those who went down from Oxford to London to fight the giants of poverty, degradation and misery.

The Settlement people have sometimes been criticised for "friendliness to the saloon." The only ground for such an accusation lies in the fact that residents among the poor have impressed upon them the fact that the saloon or public house is the only club house accessible to wage earners. The churches have refused to provide for the recreative needs of workingmen, and the temperance societies have invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in talk and tracts, in conventions and lobbies, which might better have gone to opening decent club rooms for rent to working men. Even when such places have been opened the working men have often been driven away by patronizing airs or proselyting schemes.

These facts have compelled those who know the real feeling of the independent working men to recognize the social function of the saloon and the utter inadequacy of the merely antagonistic attitude toward it.

H. Religious Activities. The Settlement is not a church and should not be judged by the standards by which we test the success of a denominational mission. It is a group approaching the type of a domestic association, and frequently is simply a family or a number of families living in a selected neighborhood. It should be judged by the standard of family success.

Now families differ in their attitude to religion. In a home where the heads are deeply imbued with a devotional spirit an intimate friend might find some expression of it in family worship. But that is not an affair to publish. It belongs to the sacred circle of parents, children and guests.

In no case known to the writer is there a Settlement which is hostile or even indifferent to religion. The field is open to secularists, agnostics, and all the rest. So long as men and women of any belief or no belief wish to help their fellow men we do not curse or forbid them merely "because they follow not us." They may do good after their own fashion. And many a sceptical and bewildered soul has sought in such active ministrations of beneficence that refuge from doubt which mere speculation never afforded a tempest-tossed spirit.

DENOMINATIONALISM.—Perhaps a few of the Settlements are distinctly denominational inst

tions. In such rare instances they might, perhaps, better be ranked with "Institutional Churches." But mere names are of slight importance. Usually the conditions of work absolutely exclude denominationalism. Residence is an opportunity of making one's whole life felt. But communication means sharing, fellowship, friendliness, and this is inconsistent with the methods of proselyting and sectarian propagandism.

RELATION OF SETTLEMENT TO DIVINITY SCHOOL.—This point has been admirably set forth by Mr. R. A. Woods:

"The University Settlement will become an organized part of the University, *one of its professional schools* perhaps, where every sort of latent or narrowly applied power which the university develops shall be strongly called out, and sent along lines where it shall begin to be applied to its appropriate function of ministering to the common life of society. . . . The necessity of dealing with the life of the masses of the people, which makes hospital and dispensary work so important to the medical student, is now being felt in a marked degree at the theological seminaries. For several reasons the work of a Settlement of theological students must be nearly identical with that of a general University Settlement; the only difference being that the religious notion will always be kept prominent, and methods of religious work will receive more particular attention on the part of the residents. But the same comprehensive programme must be followed. The belief in the helpful influence of every

good thing must still be held. Nearly as great a variety of workers can be, or ought to be, called into service. The vast majority of the people in the depressed sections of cities who are inaccessible to direct religious efforts are as distinctly a part of the constituency of one sort of Settlement as of the other; and they must be appealed to upon such sides of their better nature as are sensitive to appeals. Every Settlement must go patiently to work with the hope of developing means for saving the whole of the neighborhood; for reaching all the people who dwell in the neighborhood regenerated in every part of their lives."

All the Settlements seem to be inspired by religious motives. In the report to the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1896, twenty-seven replies were returned to the question on the religious attitude of the workers. "All the Settlements, so far as known to the committee, are imbued in a sense deeper than that of creeds with a religious spirit. Probably the attitude of a majority of the Settlements is that of the Philadelphia College Settlement, which has thus stated its views by its Head, Miss Katherine Davis: 'We have no religious service. Each resident attends her own church, and we encourage our neighbors to do the same. Our influence is distinctly for religion, but not for any denomination or creed.'"

Many Settlements do have distinctly religious services of their own. The Chicago Commons publishes on its programme an invitation to their neighbors to attend daily "Household Vespers"

at 7 P. M., and their Pleasant Sunday Afternoon is a delightful opportunity of suggesting divine truths.* At the Browning Settlement there is a Children's Service and a Sunday School. In the evening of Sunday they enjoy a Happy Hour. "One important feature is the asking each Sunday evening for some incident of kindness or heroism that has come under any child's notice during the week." The Hour of Social Study on the Kingdom of God is held every Wednesday evening. There are services on Sunday, only less formal than those common in churches. "At the heart of the Settlement there is the fellowship of believers, in unbroken continuity with the old Congregational church at York street, which monthly celebrates the Lord's Supper and administers baptism." At Mansfield House the residents assist in maintaining worship in the Congregational church near the House.

Frequently the residents are left to follow their own way of manifesting their beliefs, and they attend and assist the nearest churches of their own faith, just as others do in ordinary life. As Mr. Woods says: "The presumption is always against having a Settlement introduce any new institutional scheme. It is always in favor of falling in with the current of what is already advancing in the neighborhood."

The University of Chicago Settlement expresses its attitude in these words of Miss McDowell: "These workers hold different religious and social

* Professor Taylor, the warden, is a neighboring church.

creeds, but they unite in a belief that no class or neighborhood can live to itself, and that unless we love our brother whom we have seen we cannot love God whom we have not seen.

"There is also a hope among them that in some unconventional way the religious feeling may be crystallized into a form that will recognize that the life of Christ if sincerely followed will lead to social justice and political purity. For the kingdom of heaven within will prove itself in making a kingdom of heaven without."

Perhaps it would be a fair representation of the general and dominant thought of the residents that religion must be expressed in action and services in order that words may gain force and significance. The people are already familiar with the ideas of Christianity. But ideas are feeble until they are incarnated. Religion is not a separate interest of men, but a bond which unites all. The Son of Man came into the flesh, and made eternal truth visible and tangible.

"And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought."

It is this reincarnation of belief in God which interprets religion to those who are sceptical, alienated, and superstitious.

The Italians of the neighborhood, with "their invincible poetry," call the Hull House "la casa

di Dio." They have divined its spirit by its deeds more than by its professions.

Canon Barnett's statement may be regarded as typical:—

"My hope is that Settlements may do something to bring together those forces which are now by misunderstanding so often opposed; my belief is that they will best do so when identified with no party, each Settlement setting an example of men agreeing to differ, and all together caring for the common good. *The elements of religion are better spread by the example of life than by the preaching of doctrines.*"

An American friend thus answers objections:—

"We are now awaking to the obligations of brotherhood, and discovering new facts and forces in such talismanic words as altruism, solidarity, stewardship, and 'the struggle for life,' which has so long been the accepted principle of evolution, is not the sole governing factor; a second one plays an equally important part, viz.: the struggle for the life of others. *This is the ethical factor in the drama of human development*, without which sympathy, tenderness, unselfishness would have no place or part; and life would have been for us 'humans' only a continuous fight, and the Hobbesian war state the normal *modus vivendi*. The University movement stood first of all for the dues of brotherhood and the reciprocities of friendship. And what is more, it stood for these in populous districts which had been practically abandoned by the churches. Not that the sympathy of their

members ceased, for this is to be said to their honor, that they have been the *personal workers and givers in behalf of the University Settlement.* But when churches formally, or through their pastors, doubt the utility claimed for the Settlement, and furthermore question whether it is, as a regenerative influence in society, equal in reach and permanency of influence to the Christian Church, then may the disclaimer be in order, that the Settlement sought as best it could to occupy the wide and needy fields the church had forsaken."

SECTION 3. RESULTS AND OUTLOOK.—In the nature of the case educational work cannot be measured by statistical methods. Commercial standards do not directly apply. The merchant may take a trial balance and an inventory any time in the year and count his gains. The pastor may count his baptisms and sum up his missionary collections. But the teacher cannot give definite returns to the census-taker. The materialist will certainly misread the facts. The best work is sustained by faith, and not by sight.

The movement is in its infancy. The first Settlement was established in 1885. It is impossible to form a final estimate of a social movement which counts so few years since its birth.

Nor can we deal justly with the movement until it has been tried on a far wider scale than has yet been attempted. The Settlement is yet a voice in the wilderness, and the jungles of huge cities almost suppress its cry for justice, light, health and beauty. Christianity itself asks ages for a fair

trial, to show what it can do, and the area of converted empires to display its true splendors to advantage.

It must also be said that there has not yet been time to raise up a host of disciplined and trained social workers. Much of the work hitherto done has been undertaken by amateurs and apprentices. The Settlement has been an academy for the preparation of the cadets of the future army of educators. Changes are frequent. The time of residence is, on the average, too short for the most effective service.

CRITICISMS.—The main objections to the Settlements have already been casually noticed. Some of them may be summed up here and briefly considered.

It has been asserted that the workers are usually young and inexperienced persons, without knowledge of life or sense of responsibility, who are easily carried away by the ravings of labor agitators and enemies of property and order. Many wealthy people express the feeling that a Settlement is a hotbed of dangerous theories, the rendezvous of conspirators against social peace. It may be admitted that earnest and sympathetic people, living daily in view of tragical situations, hearing the passionate pleas of the working men, may sometimes, through imitation, sympathy and social contagion, identify themselves too closely with a single-class interest, and with radical agitators. It is not easy to be patient in close proximity to misery and the effects of injustice or ignorance. But

evidence has already been presented to show that the main purpose of the Settlement leaders is conciliatory, conservative, constructive. The value of the criticism lies in the indication of a peril.

The more radical labor leaders find fault with the Settlements for the very opposite reason, that they are too slow and time-serving; that they deal in palliatives, and not in complete remedies. The two criticisms may be left to correct each other.

Those who are accustomed to identify "religious" work with a certain type of city missions, whose history is not always encouraging, refuse to support Settlements because they are not "evangelistic," and do not exactly copy the methods ordinarily employed by denominational agencies. This objection has been considered in the proper place. There is room and need for both forms of ministry, and both will have their friends and supporters. The Settlement does not always pretend to preach, but it does put back of the mere symbol of life the reality of life itself, incarnate in beneficent action of devoted persons; and there are Settlements where the evangelistic factor is prominent, and where the new methods have helped to win back large populations utterly indifferent to ordinary parish ministries.

Settlements will succeed, so far as they are educational institutions, on precisely the same conditions which apply to other schools—the teachers must know their subjects, and be masters of the art of teaching. Persons with practical commonsense and experience may improve the economic

state of their neighbors without much knowledge of banking or railroads; but if they set up for teachers, they should first submit to a course of study in economic science. The trouble is that human nature is usually confident and dogmatic in inverse ratio with knowledge. Very small men imagined they could tell General Grant how to move his armies; and men who could hardly organize a department store are quite clear that they can make over the entire industrial system of Christendom. If the central principle of the Settlement is adhered to, that we are all learners in the same school, there will be little danger from this source. Speculative cosmogonies will break down any philanthropy. Modest historical study will help all.

The representative promoters of the movement have no illusions on this subject. They see the weakness of the scheme. They are quite aware of its limitations. They are publishing no boastful pretentions of victories achieved. Nor are they making comparisons with other forms of social ministry to the disadvantage of any.

One of the representative women of this movement says: "Nothing, to the mind of some of us, could be more undesirable than that Settlements should tend to perpetuate themselves. Their best and only ultimately useful function is to further a state of society which shall have no need of them. Should the tendency increase to regard a 'Settlement' with what it now implies of chasms to be bridged in our social life, as something in itself ideal and worthy to be perpetuated—another 'in-

stitution' to be regarded more than the living soul—there will soon need be an organized 'movement' to scourge, chasten and regenerate, if not to exterminate, 'Settlements.'"

THE SETTLEMENT AS A PLACE OF SOCIAL STUDY.—Workers very naturally resent the notion that a Settlement is a "laboratory" where inquisitive investigators may pursue methods of vivisection and torture, in order to illustrate or test sociological theories. They cry out against the outrage of cold analysis and theory in presence of hunger, pain and sensitiveness. The protest is just. And yet science is merciful. Exact, comprehensive and digested knowledge is a boon to the race. A sympathetic student, whose eyes are open to receive impressions, may be correcting his vision, purging his mind of prejudice, and gaining a just perspective while he is honestly teaching classes in a boys' gymnasium, caring for a circulating library, or measuring houses for a sanitary board. The Settlements have already made distinct additions to knowledge of our city populations and their modes of life.

The Settlements have made encouraging progress in the collection of information. The publications of residents among the poor are contributions to social knowledge of the conditions of life in great cities. It was by actual residents that very much of the best work of Mr. Charles Booth was done. His book is probably the largest and most accurate revelation of the social life of the poor in cities that has ever been given to the world. The magazines

and publishing houses are bringing before the thought of educated men and women the difficulties, trials, temptations, hopes, aspirations and other essential factors of urban society from the pens of eye-witnesses. Guesses and prejudices are giving place to sound, accurate and reliable representations. Public opinion is made more sane, sympathetic and prudent. Legislators have more varied and reliable data for political judgments and for the framing of statutes.

The Hull House Papers and Maps are very striking illustrations of the kind of social investigation which may be carried on in connection with the most gentle, sympathetic and devoted labor on behalf of the population studied. Indeed, only he who loves can see. Sympathy opens not only heart, but intellect.

The report of the East Side House for 1892 says: "Is it not time to recognize that sociology and philosophy and theology have need of a laboratory as well as physics and biology and medicine?" Clinical practice and demonstration in hospitals is not regarded as offensive or insulting to the poor, if the teacher and students are really intent upon the practical and beneficent aim of their profession. That they are better fitted to do still more good in teaching and practicing lifts the clinic above the level of idle and insolent curiosity. Science and sentiment are not enemies, but comrades; "true knowledge leads to love."

THE TRAINING OF WORKERS.—For continuous work on behalf of the poor there is need of special

education. Two classes of persons are seeking this education: well-to-do people who intend to give a part of their lives in charity work, and persons who must earn their living by professional service. There are increasing opportunities in great cities for mission visitors, investigators of relief societies, secretaries and superintendents of charity organization districts, agents of public relief offices, district nurses, superintendents of missions, assistant pastors. It cannot be claimed that certain and steady employment can be found at high wages in any of these lines. But then if the call comes from above, one should heed it, and be prepared to render the best possible service. Residence for a year or two in a Settlement, under the direction of a Head Worker of education and experience, is admirable training in practical methods of philanthropy.

In order to secure an adequate number of trained workers of the highest order it will be necessary to endow fellowships for graduate students of colleges and universities. The College Settlements Association declares that there are many educated women ready to devote time to this preparatory work, but there is no salary to support them, and they must pay for board. Persons without private means are, therefore, unable to remain long enough to secure the most valuable results. Endowments in connection with departments of sociology, political and economic science, and domestic economy, would return to the nation a rich harvest from modest investment.

"BOULEVARD SETTLEMENTS."—Professor Graham Taylor has given this title to the extension of the idea of social fellowship to fashionable streets. The children of capitalists are evidently beginning to feel that no one "set" of society can meet all the needs of the common human heart. Life in a class must lack something vital and wholesome. That comparatively small class of them who possess property are not safe in ignorance of the powerful currents of conviction and purpose which sway the mass of the voting population. We have all seen, time and again, all the clubs, bankers, preachers, merchants and "great dailies" unite upon a movement and regard its success as absolutely certain, and yet witness the hope go down like a card house under a street roller. When "everybody" is out of town, shutters all closed, the majority of voters are still at their posts. All the summer residents of great hotels along the Atlantic coast and in the mountains might be swept away in an epidemic, and the majority of voters would have no acquaintance or friendship which would move them to tears. The rich and strong and cultivated are in need of knowledge of the aspirations of their political masters. And if they will invite representative labor leaders, in all sincerity of kindness, and with patience for their plain speech, they will have their eyes opened. Parlor conferences have been put to good uses in promoting missions to the heathen and charity relief to the dependent; but they may serve a still higher and nobler use if they bring the sons and daughters of toil into the mansions of

beauty and taste for music, pictures and noble speech.

OUTLOOK.—Prophecy is natural to man. Yet when we pass from description, analysis and explanation of past facts to prognostication of the future, we are venturing on new territory. The element of faith bulks more largely than strict knowledge. And yet science itself forecasts the future; the mathematician describes the unseen part of the curve from the segment in view; the astronomer informs the mariner of coming tides and planetary appearances; and the economist predicts the probable tendency of particular banking laws. It is the future which is really most interesting. What can we hope from the forces set free by the Settlement?

May we not reasonably hope to see the end of "slums"? They are not natural, and they are not necessary. The Settlements have shown that social coöperation can modify both human dispositions and outward environment. This is the hope expressed by the founder of Hull House: "The Settlement movement is, from its nature, a provisional one. . . . I believe now that there will be no wretched quarters in our cities at all when the conscience of each man is so touched that he prefers to live with the poorest of his brethren, and not with the richest of them his income will allow. It is to be hoped that this moving and living will at length be universal and need no name."

The workers are hopeful and confident. Truth cannot fail. Personal influence of a good, upright,

industrious and religious person cannot be in vain. Let us hear the workers state the grounds of their hopes.

"You ask me if it has paid," said Miss Addams. "We may as well challenge life itself. What is the good of having these things if we make no use of them? . . . We might as well go to the priests over here at the cathedral and point out to them that they have not redeemed the people who live in every direction around them; that in spite of their preaching and service, and the example of their pure lives, all manner of sin still exists in their neighborhood and among the very people who are reached by them. They do not think their work has been a failure. . . . They have done some good. They are doing good every day. . . . The people here are better. They are getting better every day. They will grow better to the end. The number of young women who have different ideas and different ideals of life is vastly encouraging. The number of young men who view the questions of morality and purity as you view them, and as I view them, has grown. It would not be easy to mass this evidence so it would be convincing to a stranger, to one who simply looked over the situation. But it is here. We who live in it, and are a part of it, know."

"It is always difficult and often misleading to speak of the results of work; but in the principles and the short experience of St. Margaret's House there does seem to be much to justify great hopes for its future. Every year's experience, every resi-

dent's effort to enter into the needs of those whom she is trying to help, will add to the fitness of the House to be regarded as a centre for the religious and social work of women in East London, and a practical witness among its people to the Christianity which would care for all human needs, and believes that they can only be met by patient personal service." (Miss Mary Talbot, London.)

"It is all very simple, very commonplace, but out of just such ordinary materials can chains be forged, delicate, intangible, yet stronger than steel, capable of linking together class and class, church and people, earth and heaven." (Mrs. Mace, Cheltenham Ladies' College Guild.)

Mr. Gerard Fiennes: "The prospect before us is almost limitless; who knows what may spring from the linking and welding of all classes together in social intercourse, in pastimes, in discussions of great questions? In working-men's clubs, free from the taint of the pot-house, with ramifications extending into all the manifold sides of human life, helping in the home, in the workshop, in the playing-field, Englishmen may be made one in humdrum days of peace, as they would be one when face to face with a foreign invader."

Canon Barnett writes: "if now the question be asked, 'What is the result of such hospitality? Is there any increase of good will between rich and poor? Do the meetings bring together the rich nation and the poor nation? Are they checking the horizontal cleavage of society?' the answer must be that *Settlements are too few* to have much

visible result of any part of their efforts. It is remarkable that they should be so few; remarkable that men should recognize the needs and the power of the industrial classes; remarkable that they should be willing to do so much that seems hard, and *yet refuse to make the sacrifice of giving up residence in a fashionable quarter.* The attractions of society cannot be so overwhelming; it must be that men's imagination fails to grasp the use of residence among the poor, and that they go on living in the old way because the new way seems fanciful. Until, however, the practice becomes more common it is impossible to collect results, to judge the gain which comes from knowledge, or to measure the power of friendship to harmonize conflicting interests.

If Settlements became so frequent as to cease to seem Settlements, if they kept clear of all appearance of a mission, then rich and poor would so know one another that legislation and government would be armed to do the greatest good in the best way; then people of different pursuits and with different incomes might, by equal manners and equal tastes, form the friendships which would hold them together in good times and in bad times."

The workers of Settlements have shown that life under such conditions can be healthy, joyful, interesting and fruitful in a very high degree, and they have won rapidly increasing numbers to their way of thinking. A solitary instance is given of a wealthy family going to reside in one of the poorest

and gloomiest districts of a manufacturing town, and they are "said to be the happiest people in the city." It would not be long before such a family, clothed with the power of wealth, and inspired by experience of comfort and elegance, would form a new Eden about them, whose influence should be felt far and wide. There is no reason why colonies of young people should not set up a model of life in some block or flat of a neighborhood, and go seriously about transforming the conditions as their call for life.

"We shall go further than to see the Spirit of God brooding upon the face of the waters, to feel that the hills are filled with His legions, to find every bush a burning bush, and every rock an altar; for we dare hope for the time when man shall begin everywhere to visit man, his brother, and every visitor shall be a wrestling angel, joining with his brother in loving emulation of what is strong, and making him to know the weakness of the lower life, showing in himself, all unconsciously, a vision of the better life, giving the man a new name to express the promise of the future, and leaving him with a heavenly benediction." (R. A. Woods.)

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PRACTICAL WORKERS

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