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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE: A SETTLEMENT'S PART IN SOCIAL PLANNING

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School of the University of Louisville

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Science in Social Administration

Division of Social Administration

by

Rebecca Baer Krupp

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NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE: A SETTLEMENT'S PART IN SOCIAL PLANNING

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	ii
I NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE: A SETTLEMENT	1
II SOCIAL PLANNING FOR CHILD WELFARE	13
Trends in Child Welfare During the Past Century	14
Neighborhood House and Child Welfare in Kentucky	24
III SOCIAL PLANNING AND THE FRESH AIR CAMP	79
Historical Trends	80
Neighborhood House and the Louisville Fresh Air Home	87
IV SOCIAL PLANNING FOR PUBLIC BATH HOUSES	102
Historical Trends	103
Neighborhood House and the Public Bath House	108
V GROUP WORK AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PLANNING	119
CONCLUSIONS	138
APPENDIX	150
BIBLIOGRAPHY	156

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Modern social work programs have their roots in history but acceptance of social responsibility comes slowly and is in large measure the outcome of concentrated leadership on the part of a few outstanding pioneers, organizations, and institutions.

With this in mind, the writer has undertaken in the following study to assemble material and interpret facts which show the place of Neighborhood House, a settlement, in social planning, and which also indicate the need for the further development of group work within such organizations.

In the chapters which follow, an attempt is made to present this interpretation through historical sketches of three typical social programs in which Neighborhood House of Louisville, Kentucky, has participated. An effort is made to evaluate these programs as they have proved themselves in social service to meet social needs.

The three programs which have been chosen as typically within the sphere of influence of Neighborhood House are: first, Child Welfare in Kentucky; second, the Louisville Fresh Air Home; third, the Louisville Public Bath Houses.

In order to understand the work of Neighborhood House in promoting a state-wide program for child welfare, it is necessary to review the child welfare program generally, especially as it has developed in the past fifty years; similarly the background of the public bath houses and the fresh air camp movement is necessary. Some interpretation of the emerging philosophy and techniques of group work is also necessary in order to understand the place of this form of social work within agencies concerned with social planning.

This thesis confines itself to the facts concerning these three social programs and their interpretation, to the needs which these programs meet, to the effectiveness of these social efforts, and to group work as it might be used in developing such programs.

Although Neighborhood House has participated in social fields other than those mentioned here, the limitations of this thesis do not allow the using of more than three programs for¹ study. It will remain for later studies to trace other social programs in which Neighborhood House has participated.

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1. Wilson, Elizabeth, "Recreation in Louisville-An Historical Sketch," (M. A. thesis, University of Louisville, 1938) presents the contribution of Neighborhood House to the playground movement and to professional training for recreation.

By 1900 there was recognition of the need in Kentucky for better social planning and for the extension of social programs in order to assist groups who found themselves in distressed circumstances. What were some of the social programs with which Louisville groups were concerned and what forms did they take? How effective were the programs in meeting the needs? What methods were used to secure these programs? Would the group work method have been more effective? What is the group work method? What relationship does it have to social planning and democracy? How were the programs financed? What groups were the programs designed to serve? Did these groups participate in the programs?

In considering the organization of these social programs, the question of the relation of Neighborhood House to them arises. To what extent did the personnel of this private social agency give leadership to the development of these programs? What is the place of the private social agency in the field of social planning? Does the private social agency fulfill its claim that it is free to pioneer and experiment in wider social areas in relation to social needs?

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2. While Neighborhood House and other social groups in Louisville were attempting to secure programs to meet some of the social needs of this City and State, there was in Lexington the Civic League, established in 1900, which was doing much the same kind of work for that City and the State. It was the efforts of the Louisville leaders and the members of the Civic League of Lexington and other such groups that made possible some achievements in social welfare for Kentucky, but in this thesis attention is directed to the efforts of Neighborhood House in this field in cooperation with other Louisville agencies.

In order to gather material for this study, frequent visits have been made to Neighborhood House and to the office of the Secretary of the Consumers' League. Numerous interviews have been held with those who helped to create these social programs. Old files, records, reports and minutes of Neighborhood House, the Louisville Fresh Air Home, the Kentucky Mothers' Aid Association, the Kentucky Child Labor Association, The Consumers' League, the Children's Code Commission, the Child Welfare Commission and the Kentucky Children's Bureau have been studied. Information has been secured from the State Welfare Department, from the Fayette County Children's Bureau, from Mrs. Mary Anderson Hill, (one of the early Head Residents of Neighborhood House) and from Dr. Edward C. Clopper, of the University of Cincinnati.

Since this study attempts to interpret the place of Neighborhood House in social planning at large, each chapter contains an analysis of one contribution of Neighborhood House preceded by a sketch of the pertinent national movement.

CHAPTER I

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE: A SETTLEMENT

1
NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE: A SETTLEMENT

The settlement movement had its origin in London, England, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A new era of progressive thinking on significant social problems emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century because of the influence of such leaders in London as John Ruskin, Lord Shaftesbury, Arnold Toynbee, Edward Dennison, and Octavia Hill, who recognized social injustices and directed attention to the need for better social planning to correct these wrongs. They saw the need for fundamental change in the method of treating the problems of poverty. To remedy the evils resulting from poverty, few people in London were giving thought and time and many people were giving doles, "doles which insulted the receiver as well as condemned the giver, whose charity cost him nothing, not even the self-control of a passing emotion."²

As a result of the social awakening in London, there were established organizations primarily for the assistance of the

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1. Chief sources of information for this chapter were:
 Barnett, Henrietta O., Cannon Barnett, His Life, His Work.
International Settlement Conference, Settlements and Their Outlook.
 Watson, Frank, Charity Organization Movement in the United States.
 "Reports," Minutes of Neighborhood House.
 Interviews with Miss Frances Ingram, Head Resident of Neighborhood House.
 2. Barnett, Henrietta O., Cannon Barnett, His Life and His Work,
 1921, p. 20.

groups which unaided could not manage or maintain their own existence. However, with the establishment of the London Charity Organization Society in 1869, there came into existence a form of social work which proved to be the basis on which our present plan of case work treatment has developed. The principles of this society, which guided the method of work, were sympathetic hearing, confidential inquiry, accurate recording, emergency relief, social diagnosis and social treatment. These principles were evolved by pioneers in the charity movement in order that they might treat scientifically the problems which arose out of social injustices. These pioneers recognized that a person in distress was to be regarded as of sufficient importance to justify learning the true nature of the individual's malady and applying the appropriate remedy. The method of preventive work was enlarged so as to include the co-operation of existing charitable agencies, official and private. This society attempted "to give a definite aim to and to direct in the most effective channels, a large amount of benevolent force at work in England and particularly in London."

Later there developed the settlement idea. "To share; not to stand on a platform and shower down, but to stand on the floor and share, shoulder to shoulder"; this was the first principle of the founders of the settlement movement. "The second is like unto it: to create friendship." The first settlement house was established

3. Watson, Frank D., Charity Organization Movement in the United States, 1922, p. 53.

4. International Federation of Settlements, Settlements and Their Outlook, 1922, p. 22.

in 1885 by Reverend S. A. Barnett in London, England, and was named Toynbee Hall in honor of Arnold Toynbee who conceived the idea. To this "Mother" settlement came a group to live who felt the necessity for understanding the problems of the less privileged group. To understand, it was necessary not only to discuss the problems as they were, but also to share in them so that those who were concerned could work with those involved, in order to seek a common solution to the problems. And so it was that the "settler" moved into the area of endeavor and with his small groups set about to learn what was wrong and to do something about correcting this wrong. From a small beginning in London, the settlement movement has become a powerful force in the history of the development of social welfare programs.

It was not many years later that the settlement idea took root in America. The American leaders took a great deal from the experiences accumulated in Great Britain and adapted it to this Country's needs.

The early settlement movement in the United States was the effort of men and women from universities and colleges to go into the working-class neighborhoods and to share experiences and life, and out of actually living in those neighborhoods to strive, together with the neighbors, for a change in the community for better housing, better health, and better municipal government. Those pioneers had a far vision and a democratic method of working together toward that far vision. Those early settlement workers

wanted to join in a democratic way with the workers themselves to work for a better social order. From this democratic living, the settlement workers were led to feel the responsibility of bringing to the service of the neighborhood those who in any case would be living and working in it.

Outstanding for its contribution to social welfare in this nation is Hull House, which was established in 1889 by Jane Addams. This settlement took the initiative in many instances, in drawing the attention of the public and officials to the existence of social problems. The method used by this settlement in working with people of its community attracted many other social leaders. As a result settlement houses were opened throughout the United States.

Social settlements are alike in providing certain fundamental services, such as recreational activities, neighborhood visiting, and co-operative association with other social agencies, differing

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5. For further information see: Addams, Jane, Twenty Years at Hull House.
 6. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New Orleans, and Louisville were among the pioneer cities to adopt the settlement idea. Today, there are about two hundred settlements receiving support through community funds or through religious organizations, through private endowments and through individual contributions. In the beginning the settlements were financed by a few individuals attracted either by the personality of the leader or by the vitality of the settlement program or by both. As far as can be ascertained, as yet no settlement house is tax supported. By the nature of its program it seems doubtful that settlements could operate as freely or with such small groups as it does now if it were publicly supported.

For list of settlements see: National Federation of Settlements, Membership List, New York.

only in special functions which grew out of the circumstances of their founding and the personalities of their founders.

In looking at the settlements it is rather difficult to divorce a particular leader from a particular settlement in which he or she has been the moving force. When one thinks of Hull House, one thinks of Jane Addams; of Henry Street Settlement, of Lillian Wald; of Chicago Commons, of Graham Taylor; of Greenwich House, of Mary Simkhovitch; and of Neighborhood House, of Frances Ingram.

Settlements everywhere have been pioneers in many forms of social service which now have become part of the municipal, state or national programs. Clinics of various kinds, employment bureaus, vigilance work in connection with housing and factory conditions, are examples. The earlier pioneers surveyed, experimented, and suggested. The work of Mrs. Florence Kelly in the field of factory inspection, Miss Mary McDowell in the field of women and children in industry, and Miss Lillian Wald in the fields of health and education are a few examples. The first school visitors, the first school nursing service, important studies of tenancy, reinforcement of the industrial education movement, are all to be credited in part, at least, to settlements. Settlement residents interested themselves in securing the benefits of trade unionism for women, and were largely responsible for the organization of the National Women's Trade Union League. Settlements have started numerous kindergartens, libraries and recreation schools which after satisfactory demonstration periods have been

taken over by public authorities, and for some time they conducted summer camps as the result of which a considerable camp
7
movement has developed.

Louisville was among the first cities to be captured by the settlement idea as a new social experiment. Coming under the influence of Dr. Graham Taylor, Chicago, Mr. Archie A. Hill carried back to his native city, Louisville, the inspiration gained from this friendship. Neighborhood House was organized in September, 1896, at Preston and Jefferson Streets, in Louisville, Kentucky, to bring social opportunity to the dwellers of the most congested neighborhood in the city. This institution was made possible largely because of the financial support of Miss Lucy Belknap, and was originally under the personal direction of Mr. A. A. Hill, who started several boys' clubs, notably one for the study of
8
American History. The work that Neighborhood House was doing in a congested area of Louisville soon attracted other socially-minded and benevolent members of the community who came to give voluntary service to this new experiment. When a regular staff became possible, the early paid residents of Neighborhood House came to their tasks with a zeal to give service, to offer warmth, cheer and friendly council to those who were in need of it. To this task of carrying on democratic social efforts within an

7. International Settlement Conference, op. cit., p. 48.

8. Slingerland, W. H., Child Welfare Work in Louisville, 1919, p. 92.

area of distress, those early residents brought an intelligent understanding from various professional fields especially religion and teaching.

The method of procedure of the founders of Neighborhood House was that of establishing friendship first, as is shown in the following statement:

Often the neighbors and the residents in charge of Neighborhood House went to market together; often while the dishes were being washed a mother dropped in to talk over her own household duties and cares; we were in and out of our neighbors' homes as they were in and out ours. We were often sent for when illness came and even when birth and death were austere occasions of need. Such homely contacts meant genuine sympathy, enduring insight, faith in the future of the City when such fundamental understanding could be built up between people of such diverse origins and environments.⁹

As these residents became more involved in their work, the direction of their efforts became more definite. The program had to be of such a type that it had a place in the life of the group it served, and in order to achieve this it was necessary to make a study of the field to find the real needs and then adapt the work to meet the needs. Soon there were added classes in sewing and singing, story-telling for small children and a library club for young women. The number of those who came grew rapidly, the two rooms were over-taxed, and, in September, 1897, a house was secured in the same locality, 324 East Jefferson Street, and was

9. Ingram, Frances, "The Neighborhood House, Its Place in the Life of a City," Manuscript, 1925.

named Neighborhood House. This became a model house in a congested district; many new clubs and classes were formed, a library was opened for circulation, and the work developed along various lines. As the work of the Neighborhood House continued to grow, larger quarters again became necessary and in 1901 the present site, 428 South First Street, was chosen.

This building was donated by Mrs. W. B. Belknap. Neighborhood House was incorporated in 1902, and the advisory board became¹⁰ a board of trustees. In 1911, the lot to the south was purchased, the old house was remodeled, and a hall was erected to be used as a gymnasium, auditorium, and dance hall. Before 1915 two lots to the south of the main building had been purchased and converted into a playground. In 1925, a large factory building south of the playground was bought to be used as a boys' club building and was named the Lucy Belknap Memorial Building.

Neighborhood House has two purposes, one is to influence personal character by furnishing a social and intellectual center through its clubs, classes, and other activities, and by keeping in close personal touch with the neighbors through visiting and performing any neighborly office for which there is need. The other is to improve the environment which it does by allying itself with organizations for civic betterment, the benefits from which react on the neighborhood. It serves as a non-sectarian meeting place for the neighborhood, maintains playground,

10. Slingerland, W. H., op. cit.

recreational, and educational activities. It co-operates with local, state, and national agencies for reform and protective measures. The work is not of a relief-giving type. It attempts to place men and women by means of the group process within their own groups in such a position that through their own efforts they may have the opportunity to improve their own social conditions.

Part of the philosophy of the settlement is, that to be a vital force in the life of the community it serves and co-operates with, it must continue to be an experimental center, developing new programs, expanding and turning them over to other fields so that it can constantly address itself to fresh problems as presented by its groups. Settlements as private agencies have done much in experimental fields. Pioneering and experimenting in new areas are among the tasks of the social settlement.

In accordance with this philosophy, the settlement workers have been given freedom to go out into the community and to become allied with various social welfare movements that would bring benefits to the areas of need and to the needy. By giving this freedom, the settlement house has made it possible for its head residents and other staff members to be leaders and workers in social movements. However, it must be recognized that in addition to this freedom, the individual resident must also have a "mind that moves," and that reaches out beyond its immediate contacts, and that can sense the vital wholeness of life itself.

In its early history Neighborhood House was financed by private funds through donations and subscriptions by individuals.

In 1917 it became a member of the Welfare League. From then on Neighborhood House has received its support from the Welfare League later known as the Community Chest.

Many leaders agree with Sidney Webb, who states: "Private agencies are superior to the public authorities in three main features, in invention, in initiative, and in their ability to lavish unstinted care on particular cases."¹¹ So it is that in a settlement, a private agency, a person with new ideas, or a group of enthusiasts for new methods of treatment can put them to the test of experiments. "It is the first, the highest and in many ways the most useful duty of private agencies to perform this indispensable service of invention and initiative and perpetual experimenting in the unknown."¹¹ The private agency assumes the responsibility of permitting its initiative to be used when necessary in carrying on demonstrations of new methods and activities. When the value of these experiments has been proved, it is the function of the private agency to urge the extension of their findings into broader fields of service.

As the settlement staff worked with the people in the area surrounding Neighborhood House, the conditions under which these people were living became more evident each day. The degrading poverty, over-crowded housing conditions, unsanitary dwellings,

11. Webb, Sidney, "The Extension Ladder Theory of the Relation Between Voluntary Philanthropic and State or Municipal Action." Survey, March 7, 1919, p. 703.

the large number of young people not attending school, the illiteracy of the adult group, the weariness of very young children because of long working hours in factories and shops, the hot crowded living quarters with no chance of escape-- were realistic problems that caught the attention and sympathy of the settlement workers.

As a result, in addition to the recognition of the need to develop a program of activities, came a social awakening to the need for broader services, and wider social vision. There came recognition of the need to awaken civic consciousness in all sorts and conditions of men. It was realized that the settlement program must be used to serve the social, economic, and educational needs of the neighborhood. This recognition brought questions to the minds of these settlement workers. Why were these families in such distress? Why must their ignorance continue to keep them in such conditions? What was being done elsewhere about such problems? How best could these needs be met? Broader activities were undertaken in order to meet some of the particular needs as presented in this small neighborhood area. Attempts at social planning in order to meet particular needs of the neighborhood were sometimes initiated at Neighborhood House and at other times Neighborhood House took advantage of the activities of other groups and co-operated with them in their efforts toward social action.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR CHILD WELFARE

TRENDS IN CHILD WELFARE DURING THE PAST CENTURY

TREND¹S IN CHILD WELFARE DURING THE PAST CENTURY

With recognition of the exploitation and deprivation of young people in the area served by Neighborhood House, came the desire on the part of the settlement worker to help establish some kind of a program that would assure a richer and fuller life for those children. To understand the form which this program took, it is necessary to know something of the history of social² planning in the field of child welfare.

The opening of the nineteenth century found the English poor³ relief system established in the United States. Our forefathers brought from old England the existing patterns of charitable and correctional service. They accepted the idea that the needy might be assisted in their own homes or lacking suitable homes they might find shelter in the almshouses or be provided for by

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1. The chief sources for this chapter were:
 Abbott, Grace, The Child and the State.
 Folk, Homer, The Care of Dependent, Delinquent, Neglected Children.
 Kutak, R. I. Mrs., Child Welfare in Kentucky.
 Strong, Margaret, Public Welfare Administration in Louisville, Ky.
 Thurston, Henry W., The Dependent Child.
 United States Children's Bureau, Publication on Child Care, Child Welfare and White House Conference Proceedings.
 2. I am using lower case type for all such terms as mothers' aid, child welfare, fresh air work, group work, probation and juvenile court, though there is a strong tendency to capitalize at least some of these.
 3. For further information read: Watson, Frank D., Charity Organization in the United States.

4

indenture. These public charges were cared for by the local administrative units, towns, townships, counties, or cities, with little or no oversight or control by the states and none by the Federal authorities. Adults and children were treated alike, with no distinction.

Those children who became problems because of neglect or who committed offenses were sent to jails and penitentiaries along with older offenders.

The awakening of sympathy for the suffering of children under such treatment and some understanding of the resultant social loss led to extensive establishment of institutions and orphanages and
5
later to Charles Loring Brace's idea of a foster home for the care of destitute, neglected and delinquent children.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was not in existence in the United States a single institution for the reformation of juvenile delinquents. The law early took cognizance of the child

4. Thurston, Henry W., *The Dependent Child*, 1930, p. 9:

Indenture, which was primarily an organized system of industrial apprenticeship, has usually meant for dependent children a permanent substitute for the home level, at least until the child is grown.

First, unattached children and children whose parents neglected them or could not support them were to be attached to some person or family who could agree to be responsible for them.

Second, the person assuming such responsibility and expenses was to collect his whole bill from the child's work before the expiration of the term of indenture.

5. Ibid., p. 52.

in the matter of guardianship, property rights and discipline but was slow to protect him adequately against cruelty, neglect or exploitation in industry and to differentiate between the child offender and the adult criminal. The history of juvenile reformation of this period may be epitomized in a sentence--the removal of youthful offenders from association with adults, and their treatment from an educational and reformatory instead of a punitive point of view.⁶ The advancement of the thinking in this field led to the recognition of the further need of separate courts to deal exclusively with children's cases, and in 1899 the first juvenile court⁷ was established in Illinois.

Massachusetts in 1836 first recognized the significance of child labor as an evil and passed the first child labor act. Other states followed, but these early child labor laws were inadequately enforced. It was also recognized that good school attendance laws were necessary for enforcing child labor laws and for protecting children against premature employment. Hence child labor laws and school attendance laws have become closely related and their need universally recognized.

It is a far cry from the congregate poorhouse or almshouse in the early seventeen hundreds to the various organizations of today, operating for the care and protection of the child in his

6. Folks, Homer, The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children, 1906, p. 199.

7. Ibid., p. 233.

8

own home or foster home. Along with the advancement of the child welfare movement has come the greater development of social work generally with its emphasis on the prevention of as well as on the treatment of both dependency and delinquency. Increasingly social workers have directed attention towards school opportunities, work conditions and the leisure time activities of children.

A real achievement in organization for child welfare is the United States Children's Bureau which came into existence in 1912 following the 1909 White House Conference on the needs of the dependent child. This conference was the result of the pressure and influence of leading social workers, particularly in the private social agencies, who recognized the great inequality in opportunity with which children in different circumstances were faced. They felt that the care and protection of children were the responsibility of the Government, which should give leadership in the child welfare field. The private social agencies had done what they could on limited funds, and in limited areas. They had initiated many of the programs and would continue to do so but they had recognized that the time had come when a broader program was needed to supplement their efforts.

The minimum standards of child welfare adopted by the 1919
9
Conference of the United States Children's Bureau were based on

8. The first Mothers' Aid Laws were passed simultaneously in Wisconsin and Illinois in 1911.

9. For further information see: United States Children's Bureau, Standards of Child Welfare, Pub. 60, 1919.

the claim that public responsibility for the growing generation, that confidence in constructive measures, and that legislation which aimed to give the nearest approach to normal development were necessary if an effective child welfare program was to be developed. Later, the 1930 White House Conference reiterated the above principles and enlarged upon them. The Children's
 10
 Charter, the result of this conference, emphasized that it was the duty of the state to make funds available in order to maintain a minimum protection of the health and welfare of its children on the basis of accepted standards.

Child Welfare in Kentucky

In Kentucky awareness of the special problems concerning children was evident as early as 1822. This awareness took form in a provision by the county court for dependent and neglected children through apprenticeship. In 1833, the mayor of Louisville was given power by law to bind out orphan children and children of persons who were not able to bring them up in the proper manner. As early as 1826 there was the Protestant Episcopal Orphans Asylum at Louisville and by 1849 the Kentucky Female Orphan Asylum at Midway, both supported by private funds. In 1860 the state provided care for the feeble-minded and epileptic at Frankfort. In 1868, the Louisville House of Refuge was opened to delinquent,

10. See: White House Conference, 1930, called by President Hoover.

dependent, and neglected white boys. In 1873 white girls were admitted, in 1877 colored boys, and in 1896 colored girls. In 1869 the General Assembly provided for two houses of reform, one for boys and one for girls, at Greendale, Kentucky.

In 1888 a law was passed by the state legislature providing that children who were "found begging, homeless or neglected, destitute or ill-treated or who were employed in begging, peddling or wandering (if female) in indecent or in immoral occupations, or in exhibitions dangerous to life, limb, health, or morals," be put in an institution. In 1892 the Kentucky State Legislature by statute authorized the appointment of a Board of Children's Guardians of six members to serve for three years without compensation, to have the care and supervision of all neglected and dependent children under sixteen years in the county. As a result, in 1898 a detention home was opened at 248 East Walnut Street, Louisville, to furnish temporary care for these children pending¹¹ final disposition by the county court. In 1895 the Kentucky Children's Home Society, a private society, partially supported by appropriations from the General Assembly, was established to care for destitute, neglected and mistreated white children, and to place them out for adoption. Every child received was committed by an order of court giving this society absolute control of the

11. Strong, M. K., Public Welfare Administration in Louisville, Kentucky, 1935.

child. This institution took children from the almshouses. However, as late as 1935, one hundred and one children under eighteen years of age were found living in twenty-nine almshouses in this state.¹²

Since the institution was the only existing form of care provided for the dependent or delinquent child of this state before 1900, it was natural that the early pioneers in social work in Louisville should see the necessity for change and advancement in the fields of child welfare. It is easily understood why they were dissatisfied with the limited provisions offered by the state and community to meet the particular needs and problems of the youth.

The early workers of Neighborhood House saw the large number of dependent, neglected, delinquent or defective children in their area in need of specialized care and undertook the task of developing child welfare programs.

In trying to help solve the problems of these children, as they came to Neighborhood House for assistance, the head residents of the settlement became concerned with certain phases of the child welfare movement--the need for extending education to all children; for legislation against child labor; and for a stronger force to carry out the reform that might be achieved in these

12. Kutak, R. I. Mrs., Child Welfare in Kentucky, 1935, p. 5.

particular areas. Neighborhood House workers, aware of the national trend toward public responsibility for providing standards of life for children, aroused new interest in child welfare in Kentucky. In order to safeguard against poverty, mistreatment, child labor, and delinquency, some specialized form of treatment and protection for children was needed.

This kind of thinking paved the way for child welfare legislation in Kentucky as an ultimate means of protection of child rights. Some form of social program to maintain at least a minimum standard of protection and opportunity for development of the child was required.

With the idea in mind that the protection and the giving of opportunity for development of all children is a function of a democratic government, this settlement worked untiringly with other social agencies for the establishment of a child welfare program. To make this concept an effective one, these leaders recognized that they must not only popularize the acceptance of the idea but must also help secure the establishment of effective laws to carry out that idea.

Today it is increasingly acknowledged that making democracy effective is the purpose of a public welfare program. According to Dr. H. W. Odum, "Public Welfare is that definite service of democratic government which provides organization, technique and means for making democracy effective in the unequal places; effective in extended application as well as in ideals, written

laws and statutes and in constitutional provisions." ¹³ Child welfare administration in a department of public welfare administration is a function of government to remove inequality in the areas affecting children and means specialized treatment for the dependent, the delinquent, and the defective child.

13. Odum and Willard, Systems of Public Welfare, 1925, p. 4.

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY

14

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY

The program of child welfare in Kentucky is closely linked with the early work of Neighborhood House carried on in co-operation with the Kentucky Consumers' League.

The League was founded January 31, 1901, in response to a suggestion of Mrs. Florence Kelly, of the National Consumers' League, who came to Louisville to speak at Neighborhood House. Subsequently, Miss Mary Anderson, Head Resident of Neighborhood House, introduced Mrs. Kelly to a small group of Louisville women who gathered especially to meet her. As a result of this meeting a local chapter of the Consumers' League was organized with Mrs. R. P. Halleck as chairman. Later Miss Eleanor Tarrant, the Head Resident of Neighborhood House, went to Chicago to visit the Consumers' League in an effort to gain workable knowledge for the benefit of the Louisville chapter.

On November 1, 1901, Miss Tarrant was made chairman of the Child Labor Committee of the Kentucky Consumers' League. Her position with Neighborhood House placed her in a strategic spot for

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14. For this chapter, the chief sources of information were:
Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1936.
Clopper, Edward N., Child Welfare in Kentucky.
Kentucky Children's Code Commission, Report, 1921.
Newspaper clippings, Courier-Journal, Herald-Post, Lexington Leader.
"Reports," "Minutes," of the various social organizations listed
in the bibliography and acknowledged in
the footnotes of this chapter.
 Interviews with Miss Frances Ingram and Mrs. R. P. Halleck.
15. Consumers' League, "Minutes," 1901.

work in this field. Immediately her committee set about securing support for the Child Labor bill which was presented by the Federation of Labor in the Kentucky Legislature in February, 1902,
 16
 and was passed. This act made it unlawful to employ a child less than fourteen years of age in workshops, mines, mills, or factories in the Commonwealth. However, in order to take care of cases where poverty seemed to make child-labor necessary, the act contained a provision allowing children under fourteen years to be employed subject to the written consent of parents, guardians, or the county judge, and the added approval of the county attorney. This exception weakened the effectiveness of the law. On this basis the law was little more than a declaration of principle.

Through the Child Labor Committee, it was learned that operating in accordance with the new law, the State Factory Inspector had begun his work and had found that in Louisville more serious child labor conditions existed than anywhere else in the state. Labor inspectors found many little children in factories working at all hours at miserable pay. In one of the factories a labor inspector discovered a boy nine years old who was working thirteen hours a day. The inspector came upon the boy asleep in a pile of shavings. When awakened the child looked up and mistaking the inspector for one of the proprietors, cried, "I have been sick but I will be able to work this afternoon." Investigation of factories

16. Kentucky Acts, 1902, Chapter 16, p. 44.

also showed that many children from eleven to sixteen years of age were working who were unable to read and write. There was¹⁷ an appalling number of such children. Besides the facts brought out by factory inspectors, the Neighborhood House workers had evidence each day of the illiteracy existing among children as well as adults, and they realized that this evil could not be removed through individual efforts. Because of the labor inspector's findings and because of the interest in the Neighborhood House children, Miss Tarrant set the task for her committee of remedying this evil. The first step was to show the need to¹⁸ amend the Child Labor Law in 1904 by adding an educational test which was to be given to applicants before work permits could be issued. By the application of this test, many young children could be kept in school. This would also eliminate the many children under fourteen who, because of poverty, had been able to secure work permits.

The second step was to work for the Compulsory School Attendance bill, at that time before the Legislature. With the passing of this bill, it was felt that Kentucky would be well on the way

17. Ingram, Frances, "Factory Conditions up to 1913," Manuscript.

18. The following amendment was suggested by the Child Labor Committee of the Consumers' League:

Parents or Guardians shall file an affidavit to the county judge setting forth that he or she are absolutely dependent upon such minor child for support as a means of subsistence--that the county judge before whom such affidavit is made shall ascertain if such minor child can read or write simple sentences of the English language before issuing permit.

toward protecting its children from labor abuses and possibly toward removing the evil of illiteracy. It was soon recognized that in order to help those in school who, for financial reasons, found it necessary to work, some means of support had to be supplied. To meet this need, a Scholarship Committee was set up under the Child Labor Committee and a scholarship fund was created through private donations which would provide a child with the amount he would have earned toward the support of his family. Through the work of this committee, children who were found in need of shoes and clothing were also supplied with these commodities. During the early work of the committee very few actual scholarships were given.

Miss Tarrant, seeing every day the great number of children in the Neighborhood House area wandering the streets during school hours, called a meeting at Neighborhood House to which was invited the Finance Committee of the Board of Education, in order to make the Louisville School Board carry out the Attendance Officer provision of the Compulsory School Attendance Law. She spoke to the members on the need of truant officers in school work and urged them to comply with that provision of the Compulsory Attendance Act. She urged the Consumers' League to supervise the truant

19. Carroll's Kentucky Statute, 1936, Article 4434-6.

20. Ibid., Article 4434-1.

officers so that the law would be carried out effectively.

In the year 1906, with the assistance of Mr. Albert Brandeis, this Child Labor Committee was able to have passed another Child Labor Act,²¹ which was definitely a step forward in the endeavor to rid the state of child labor. It not only prohibited employment of children under fourteen, but regulated the employment, use, and protection of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age in mills, mines, factories, etc. This age group could not be employed more than sixty hours in any one week, or more than ten hours in any one day, or after seven o'clock at night or before six o'clock in the morning. This act also provided that records be kept by the employer of children in his employ. It required the use of protective devices on machinery and prohibited the cleaning of machinery by any one under eighteen.

In 1906 Miss Frances Ingram, the Head Resident of Neighborhood House, took over the chairmanship of the Child Labor and Truant Officer Committee and Scholarship Fund, continuing Neighborhood House's affiliation with the child welfare movement.

With the passage of a Child Labor Law through efforts of the Child Labor Committee of the Consumers' League, leaders recognized that another group was needed to go further into this field and to urge the functioning of this law.

As a result, on December 12, 1906, the Kentucky Child Labor

21. Kentucky Acts, 1906, Chapter 27, p. 296.

Association was organized in Louisville. The first activity of this group was a joint mass meeting with the Woman's Club and the Consumers' League of Kentucky in order to create wider interest in the need for a child welfare program. At the mass meeting a
 22
 program was presented by members of the executive committee of the Kentucky Child Labor Association who had attended the National
 23
 Child Labor Committee meeting in Cincinnati.

To this group Miss Ingram brought knowledge gained from direct living experiences as head resident of Neighborhood House. Realizing that the needs of the groups about the settlement were common to other children, she joined with this new organization in order to secure means of protection through study and action.

Alert to the need for pushing the enforcement of the Child Labor Act, this group urged the newly elected Governor of Kentucky and the Commissioner of Agriculture to appoint new state factory inspectors without regard to politics and solely because of fitness and efficiency.

As the Kentucky Child Labor Association became stronger and more active, the scholarship work being done by the Consumers' League was undertaken by a committee of this association. Miss Ingram transferred her chairmanship of this committee to the Child Labor Association. Thus in the field of child labor, Neighborhood

22. Dr. H. G. Enclow, Mrs. R. B. Halleck, Miss Frances Ingram, Mrs. C. B. Robertson, Mr. George L. Sehon, and Hon. Munnell Wilson.

23. Kentucky Child Labor Association, "Minutes," 1906.

House became associated with the Kentucky Child Labor Association. The Child Labor Association in Kentucky had to assume a heavy burden on account of the backwardness of the state in educational and philanthropic work. The Consumers' League had been in charge of the scholarship work in Louisville and as the Associated Char-²⁴ities was not ready to take over the responsibility, in September, 1908, all of the work of the Child Labor and Truancy Committee of the Consumers' League was turned over to the Kentucky Child Labor Association.

The Scholarship, Child Labor, and Truancy Committees became known as the Investigating and Relief Committee (of which Miss Ingram was chairman) with two sub-committees, one looking after the scholarship work, the other after the truancy work. The Scholarship Committee investigated all cases reported to it and when it was found that the family needed the amount the children earned, a scholarship was given so that the child could remain in school. The scholarships ranged from one to three dollars a week and during the year (1909) the total number who received scholarship money was thirteen. The Truancy Committee recognized a lack of shoes and clothes as a legitimate cause of truancy and tried to
²⁵meet that need.

24. Kentucky Child Labor Association, "Report of Scholarship Work," February, 1914.

25. Ibid.: The children investigated under the Child Labor Association lived in every section of the city and ranged in age from six to fifteen. Ninety-nine cases have been investigated. There were

In order that the work of the committee could proceed along the proper lines, Miss Ingram as chairman trained the members who volunteered to do investigation for scholarship aid.

When in 1902, Miss Tarrant had urged the Consumers' League to work for an educational test provision as a part of the Child Labor Act, she saw that such provision could serve two purposes, to keep children in school and to lessen the number of child laborers. That many children who were employed could not read and write, was still evident in 1908. It remained for the Kentucky Child Labor Association to carry out Miss Tarrant's suggestion. So large was the number of children employed who were illiterate that there was a fear expressed by industrialists that the progress of the state would be blocked if the Legislature of 1908 passed an amendment requiring that a child should be able to read and write in order to secure a work certificate. The contention was that the sudden withdrawal of so great a number of workers would embarrass industry in the state and at the same time overburden the facilities of the schools and the social agencies.

26

fourteen on hand to be investigated before school begins. (1914) Seventy-eight of those investigated were white. Twenty-one were colored. Fifty-six were boys. Forty were girls. Three not stated. Fifty-nine pairs of shoes have been given to these children. Sixteen pairs were new. Forty-seven different children received clothes. These cases were reported by probation officers, parents, neighbors, principals, district nurses, settlement, Judge of Juvenile Court but mainly by the truant officers.

26. Ingram, Frances, op. cit.

The Child Labor bill of 1908 also eliminated the poverty clause which permitted a child under fourteen to work who had no other means of support. This clause had been taken advantage of not only by employers in general but by institutions caring for children dismissed from orphanages at the age of twelve in order to go to work. To secure the passage of this amended Child Labor Act, a study was made of all children who had applied for and secured work permits from the Jefferson County Court. An investigation of each child was conducted by Miss Carrie Fink and Miss Frances Ingram. Results of this work showed that the Child Labor Law was being violated and that many permits had been issued unnecessarily. Those families who could support their children were warned and permits were revoked; those unable to keep their children in school were offered the aid of the scholarship money if other means of assistance could not be found; those who had applied for work permits because of school difficulties were interviewed by Miss Ingram. After these interviews, she visited the Superintendent of Education and through his co-operation was able to place some of these students in other schools under special teachers. Many a student who had been considered a problem was²⁷ able to make adjustments under this new arrangement.

28

This amended Child Labor Act was passed. The Kentucky Child Labor Association had worked diligently for its passage.

27. Information from Miss Frances Ingram.

28. Kentucky Acts, 1908, Chapter 66, p. 172.

Mr. E. N. Clopper of the National Child Labor Association came to Kentucky to assist with the work and from that time on was an active participant in the child welfare movement of the state. He spent much time in Louisville and particularly at Neighborhood House, ²⁹ working on different phases of the child welfare program.

Since so many of the young boys in the Neighborhood House area were employed in street trades and as Neighborhood House had assisted Mr. Clopper in his study of these boys, the settlement workers were particularly anxious to call attention to the problem of child labor in the city streets.

The social and physical dangers in street trades to youth was the topic for discussion at the third annual meeting of the Kentucky Child Labor Association held on December 10, 1909. At that time, recognition was given to a report, Child Labor in City Streets by Edward N. Clopper, which described messenger service in the State of Kentucky and Indiana. This report pointed out that child labor in city streets must be abolished, but at the same time co-operation with other movements was necessary before a satisfactory solution of the problem could be assured.

30

The descriptions (in this study) of the experiences that were forced on the young boy doing night telegraph work left no doubt of its dangers.

29. See Appendix A.

30. Clopper, E. N., Child Labor in City Streets, 1909.

The hope was expressed that by bringing attention to such studies more recognition could be given to the evils of this problem of the youngsters earning a livelihood in street trades.

In 1912, the Kentucky Child Labor Association invited the National Child Labor Committee to meet in Louisville. On January 26, 1912, in session with the National Child Labor Committee, the local group held its annual meeting. At this time Miss Frances Ingram was elected Secretary to succeed Mrs. Anna A. Halleck³¹ who had served since the organization of this Association.

With the taking over of this office, Miss Ingram assumed for Neighborhood House a further responsibility for giving leadership in social programs in some neglected aspects of child welfare.

As history shows, each large social movement has had its beginning in individuals who have given devotion and strength to programs for the purpose of improving social conditions. Some lives are so wholly identified with a single outstanding achievement that individuals and work seem to be one. From small beginnings, started by individuals, have grown movements that have brought about some social advancement which is now a recognized part of our various private and public social programs.

Neighborhood House gave Miss Ingram her opportunity to work toward improved standards of child care in Louisville and Kentucky. All around Neighborhood House she saw evidence of the neglect of

31. Kentucky Child Labor Association, "Minutes," 1912.

children and carried from this area into other influential groups the facts necessary to prove the need for a better child welfare program.

Near the close of 1913, the necessity for strengthening the child labor law was emphasized by the many violations of this law in various sections of Kentucky and because of the lack of real enforcement power. According to Mr. H. H. Jones, special agent of the National Child Labor Committee:

Conditions in Lexington, Frankfort, Paducah, Covington, and Louisville are bad. The commissioner interested only in furthering his own ends towards placing himself in the governor's chair, talked blusteringly of passing a new law but is doing nothing towards enforcing the old. Two of the three factory inspectors are inefficient and hopeless. There is no list of industries by which labor inspectors can plan their work. Inspectors have no districts in which to work and so go into the field only to follow up complaints.³²

The settlement workers realized that the enforcement of the law depended not only on the quality of the men to whom the work of enforcing it was entrusted, but that it also depended largely on the quality of the community in which those men held office.

Consequently, the launching of an educational program was started and changes were recommended by these social workers through the Legislative Committee of the Kentucky Labor Association toward strengthening the act.

The Kentucky Chapter in its crusade for child labor legislation had gained recognition not only in the state but nationally.

32. Kentucky Child Labor Association, "Minutes," 1913.

Its connection with the National Child Labor Committee brought it an invitation to participate in the tenth annual conference at Chicago. Miss Ingram was chosen to lead the discussion of the paper entitled "Co-operation Between Juvenile Courts and Labor Inspectors."³³

As the work of the Kentucky Child Labor Association grew, its tasks became more difficult and more challenging. Literature, letters of appeal, and information had to be scattered to every corner of the state to make the work of this group effective. The children and adult members of Neighborhood House clubs and classes joined forces with the Kentucky Child Labor Association in campaigning for a new child labor act.

Over play tables and between club discussions, thousands of letters were folded and sealed telling the story of why Kentucky needed a better child labor law. Hundreds of stories on messenger service and street trades were distributed. Individual letters were sent to each member of the House of Representatives urging the passage of the child labor law. As a result of this intensive campaign and the assistance of the National Child Labor Committee,³⁴ the new Child Labor Law was passed in 1914. This act prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in any capacity as workers or as distributors of merchandise or messages, and

33. Ibid.

34. Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1936, Article 331-a-1.

required work certificates for those seeking employment between
 35
 the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. This certificate made
 possible the registering of working children and made supervision
 easier. It limited the hours of work for children to eight hours
 a day; it prohibited the employment of boys under twenty-one in
 night messenger service; it prevented children from appearing on
 the stage as a means toward a livelihood. This statute was
 carefully drawn up and placed Kentucky in line with those states
 36
 having modern child labor legislation.

In an executive board meeting on December 7, 1916, the recom-
 mendation was made that the scholarship work of the Child Labor
 Association be discontinued. Since all the cases handled by the
 Scholarship Committee were considered dependents and would almost
 invariably come under the care of the Associated Charities, the
 board felt that these funds should be administered by the same
 37
 organization.

35. Ibid., Article 331-a-2.

36. The Child Labor Act of 1918 compared favorably with the minimum standards for such acts as set up at the 1919 White House Conference. See: United States Children's Bureau, op. cit., p. 433.

37. Kentucky Child Labor Association, "Scholarship Report," 1914:
 Those most interested in raising the scholarship money bent their energies toward building up the Associated Charities or putting it on a proper basis in order that the Child Labor Association should not be unduly burdened for a longer time than was absolutely necessary. This has been accomplished so far in that the Associated Charities is now assuming charge of all cases where the children are under fourteen, the age prohibited

In 1916 a decision of the Attorney General of Kentucky gave a startling interpretation to the street trades clause of the Child Labor Law. He announced in this decision that a child under fourteen was not violating the Child Labor Law if he delivered papers or magazines to a regular list of subscribers. The effect of such a decision was quickly seen by the increase in the number of young boys in the Neighborhood House area who applied for or secured paper routes. In co-operation with Mr. N. H. Dosker, of
38
the Men's Federation, the Kentucky Child Labor Association did

by law to seek employment. This step on the part of the Associated Charities, has enabled the Child Labor Association to cope with the new problem now confronting it, that is, to deal with these children between fourteen and sixteen who are unable to pass the educational test in order to secure work permits, and who are prohibited from working by that provision of the law which has just gone into effect.

The scholarship is the amount or approximates the amount that the child might earn were it permitted to work. It is given on condition that the child attend school regularly and is paid at the end of the week on the presentation of a note signed by the teacher and counter-signed by the principal. The worthiness of the case itself is passed on by the Associated Charities and then by the Scholarship Committee of the Child Labor Association.

38. Men's Federation News, Louisville, Kentucky - Feb. 1, 1917:
Report of N. H. Dosker, Chairman of the Committee on Child Labor and Workers' Welfare to the Executive Committee of the Men's Federation:

Louisville, Kentucky,
October 27, 1916.

Gentlemen:

You have doubtless noticed in the daily papers that the Attorney General of this State has made a ruling on the child labor law, which is of such a nature

its best to prevent the evils which they believed were the result of the interpretation but their cause was weakened by the strong opposition of many industries and the newspaper men.

The work of the Child Labor Association leaders was effective in other fields. This group insisted that industries demand age certificates from children who applied for work. In order to comply to requests from factories, the health authorities were

that the Men's Federation would be justly criticized if it failed to take notice of and protest against it.

Of all the various provisions of the child labor law, there is none which should be guarded more carefully than Clause 15 of Section 331-a of the Kentucky Statutes, which prohibits a child under fourteen years of age from working. That section reads in part as follows:

'No boy under fourteen years of age, nor girl under eighteen years of age, shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work at any time in any city of the first, second or third class, in or in connection with the street occupations of peddling, boot-blackening, the distribution or sale of newspapers, magazines, periodicals or circulars, nor in any other occupation pursued in any street or public place.'

On October 20th the following appeared in the Louisville Herald:

'In an opinion given Commissioner of Agriculture today, Attorney General Logan holds that it is not a violation of the child labor law for a boy less than fourteen years old to deliver newspapers or magazines to a regular list of subscribers, but that it is against the law for him to engage in their sale or distribution in connection with a street occupation.'

If the paper has quoted the Attorney General correctly, it seems to me that any such construction would be a clear evasion of the real intent of the law. If followed out it will certainly result in nullifying the very effect which the statute was intended to have.

39

forced to recognize the weakness of the vital statistics department.

Following the unfortunate decision on the street trade clause of the Child Labor Act referred to, there came a gradual breakdown in the enforcement of the Child Labor Law which was shown in a number of violations without redress, an illustration of the fact that we get exactly the sort of care for our children through the public officials that the community determines they shall have.

With the World War came even more rapid deterioration and inadequate law enforcement.

With a Child Labor Law and a Compulsory School Attendance Law on the statute books in Kentucky, the children of this state might seem to have had a minimum share of protection of their rights and their interests. During the World War, however, the interests of

39. Herald-Post, 1918:

The importance of keeping a correct record of all vital statistics was emphasized by Health Officer Baker yesterday, when he received from the Frank A. Menne candy factory requests for the verification of thirty birth certificates of young persons seeking employment. In only five cases was the health department able to give the desired information.

'This shows definitely,' Dr. Baker said, 'that the records in this office are not complete.'

Filing of birth certificates became compulsory in May, 1898, and all of the persons about whom inquiries are being made by the Menne Company were born since then, but we have no record of it. This also shows that many physicians and midwives are constantly violating the law. I intend to put a stop to this by a thorough checking method, and warrants will be sworn to against offenders.

the children were often forgotten and at its close the need for better child welfare programs was clear. In times of stress the laws had failed to function.

A study by Miss Mabel Brown Ellis made in 1918 for the National Child Labor Committee, depicted clearly the sorry conditions existing
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in Kentucky during this time. The report showed clearly that children were still employed in mines and that labor inspectors did little to prevent such violation of the Child Labor Act. In the environs of Neighborhood House could be seen the fruits of the poor functioning of the law against child labor. Visits by staff members to the newsboys' rooms, near the newspaper buildings, showed evidence of the violation of the law by the presence of so many young boys waiting for papers. Trips to the business section, within the Neighborhood House area, brought forth the fact that small boys were on the street corners peddling papers for older boys at almost every hour of the night. Faced with such problems, the settlement realized its attack on child labor must be renewed with added force. The failure of the state to function effectively under its laws for protection of child rights convinced the settlement workers of the need for the co-operation of all groups in order to secure better standards of child care. It was recognized that any expression of any standard was merely an amiable generalization unless the actual means for its application were available.

40. Ellis, Mabel B., "Children in the Kentucky Coal Fields,"
The Child and the State, 1938, p. 384.

With tragic evidence of the need of protection of children literally crowding before the door of Neighborhood House, Miss Ingram attempted to unite all efforts in the interest of better child welfare.

Keeping in mind that children are a nation's most valuable asset, for on their inherent possibilities and their development the future of the state depends, the Kentucky Child Labor Association faced anew its task. As we have followed the effort of these early leaders it can be seen that human rights are not attainable without struggle, and that the raising of standards for the protection and preservation of all children and for work in the preventive field must be the primary concern of a child welfare program.

Since the child is the future adult, the leaders recognized that there were certain fundamentals to which he had an inalienable right. They were normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child were normally safeguarded.

With these fundamentals in mind, Miss Ingram pointed out the need of using greater forces to secure remedies for existing evils. Seeing each day evidences of the lack of opportunity and knowing that there were thousands of other such children in Kentucky who were not enjoying any of the rights that were considered fundamental to a normal development, the head resident of Neighborhood

House was the more determined to continue with work in the field of child welfare. In this effort, she suggested through the Kentucky Child Labor Association the possibility of making in Kentucky a survey of child welfare needs.

As a social worker, Miss Ingram had come to learn the value of making use of the knowledge of national organizations. Neighborhood House having been affiliated with national movements, Miss Ingram had by this experience gained an appreciation of what these organizations could bring into the needy areas. The techniques of the survey, of research, of statistics, and of the use of standardizing agencies, were a part of this leader's equipment. Repeatedly, as this study shows, at the suggestion of Miss Ingram and others, national leaders were called in and surveys were made in order to approach the job more intelligently. In line with this policy, the Kentucky Child Labor Association invited the National Child Labor Committee to make in Kentucky a survey of conditions affecting children and to prepare a report of the findings. This group recognized that the problems must be considered as a whole before any evaluation could be made as to the need for any particular piece of work. The Welfare League and the State

41

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41. Member agencies of the Welfare League in 1919 were: Associated Charities, Babies Milk Fund Association, Catholic Orphan Society, Children's Free Hospital, Children's Protective Association, Community Council, Consumers' League, East End Day Nursery, Eleanor Tarrant Little Foundation, Fresh Air Home, Home of the Innocents, Jennie Casseday Rest Cottage, Jewish Welfare Federation, Kentucky Child Labor Association,

Board of Health agreed to co-operate with the Kentucky Child Labor Association by assisting in financing this survey.

Recognizing the fact that the only way that standards in child care could become established was through the state itself, the Kentucky Child Labor Association invited Dr. E. N. Clopper as an expert to come to Louisville to help the committee plan. The members felt that the citizens of the state must not only be the judges of what needed to be done but also must be the final agents for getting a program under way.

42

In March, 1919, a conference was called at Neighborhood

Kentucky Children's Home Society, Kentucky Humane Society, King's Daughters District Nurse Association, King's Daughters Home for incurables, Louisville Wesley House, Neighborhood House, Plymouth Settlement House, Presbyterian Colored Mission, Psychological Laboratory, Salvation Army, School of Social Work, Social Service Exchange, Susan Speed Davis Home, Union Gospel Mission.

Listed by Community Chest.

42. The Louisville Herald, March 13, 1919, reports:

What is described by interested people as 'the most important movement ever initiated for the welfare of Kentucky' was begun yesterday afternoon when five agents of the National Child Labor Committee, New York City, met at Neighborhood House, 428 South First Street, and were promised the support of every agency in the state for a state-wide survey of child welfare conditions and needs.

This survey will include education, recreation, dependency, delinquency, juvenile courts, child labor laws, and administration, children's institutions and other subjects connected with Kentucky's child life.

House with Dr. E. N. Clopper and four other agents of the National Child Labor Committee at which were present executive members of the Kentucky Child Labor Association and members of other organizations in Louisville and the state. The support of those present assured the launching of a state-wide welfare survey, with Neighborhood House as headquarters.

43

The findings of the survey, Child Welfare in Kentucky, gave a startling picture of the child's needs in Kentucky. It showed that Kentucky neglected her children. The several chapters of the survey offered no escape from that conclusion. Measures for health, care, protection, schooling and play were inadequate and

Edward N. Clopper, assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Association was in charge of the group of workers who met yesterday. Those with him were, W. H. Swift, Mrs. L. B. Burk, Miss Elizabeth Bliss, and Miss Mabel Ellis. Others to come soon are Charles E. Gibbons, Raymond G. Fuller and Miss Theresa Wolfson. The general secretary of the National Child Committee, Owen Lovejoy, also will spend some time in Kentucky during the survey.

'This survey will give Kentucky an advantage over every other state in the union,' said Dr. W. H. Slingerland, of the Russell Sage Foundation.

The survey is due to activities of Miss Frances Ingram, head resident of Neighborhood House and secretary of the Kentucky Child Labor Association. While in New York early in the winter attending a congress on Demobilization, she learned of the possibility that the National Child Labor Committee would be free to make a survey.

43. Clopper, Edward N., Child Welfare in Kentucky, 1919.

laws were not properly observed. The survey pointed out that 20 per cent of our boys and girls under ten years of age lived⁴⁴ in urban homes and 80 per cent in rural districts. This indicated that the welfare of children was chiefly a matter of dealing with rural conditions, and yet in spite of this fact the children of cities and their environment had so far had the⁴⁵ lion's share of thought and effort. The survey directed attention to the disregard of the juvenile court law in rural districts.

In some places, police courts sentence children. At times, children are kept in jail, some awaiting trial, others serving sentences. Some county judges do not distinguish between children and adults in their method of trials. Means of detention suitable for unfortunate boys and girls is a great need nearly everywhere, as is likewise probative service....⁴⁶

Girls twelve years of age and boys fourteen years of age are permitted to marry without the consent of their parents; and applicants for marriage licenses are not obliged to appear before the official who issues them....⁴⁷

Unregulated commercial amusements largely dominate the great field of recreation; that provided by public authorities and by private civic and philanthropic societies falls short of meeting the need, while much of that afforded by commercial agencies is inferior in quality and unfortunate in effect....⁴⁷

44. Ibid., Introduction, p. 7.

45. This condition exists up to the present date. This preferential treatment must give way to a fairer policy by which needs of all receive proper consideration.

46. Ibid., Introduction, p. 8.

47. Ibid., p. 9.

The survey showed too clearly that the state's treatment of children was out of joint with the times. Here was a study which made its appeal to the intellect rather than the emotions, and pointed the way to a more constructive approach to a study of social problems. Studies of this kind reveal the necessity of a more comprehensive as well as accurate knowledge of social data as a first step in formulating new policies and programs.

However, the influence that aroused interest in this child welfare study of the communities did not develop from educational institutions but from private social agencies concerned with practical reform. It was in this setting that Miss Ingram made her most valuable contribution to the advancement of the child welfare movement in Kentucky.

To perform the functions pointed out by the survey, "it was suggested that the Governor be authorized to appoint several qualified persons to serve without pay, as a temporary commission charged with submitting to the General Assembly at its next session a report upon the standardizing, simplifying, and co-ordinating of all the state laws concerning children and upon suitable means for their administration."⁴⁸

Following the recommendation made by the survey, Child Welfare in Kentucky, and by the authority of an act of the Legislature of 1920, a Kentucky Children's Code Commission was appointed by Governor Edwin P. Morrow. The statute creating it authorized the

48. Ibid., p. 10.

Governor "to appoint an unpaid Commission of five members whose duty it should be to make a survey of the entire field of child welfare in the Commonwealth of Kentucky and make a report of its findings to the governor and the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky prior to or upon the convening of the next regular session of the Legislature. The membership of the commission then consisted of: Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, Chairman; Mr. Elwood Street, Louisville, Secretary; Mrs. Stanley Reed, Maysville; Mrs. Charles B. Semple, Louisville; and Professor John F. Smith, Berea. Later Mr. Street was compelled to resign owing to his departure from the state and Mr. Robert F. Vaughan,⁴⁹ of Louisville, was appointed in his place."

Consideration of the actual situation in Kentucky convinced the members of the Commission that it was unnecessary at that time to undertake a series of extensive investigations because certain portions of the child welfare field either had been studied recently or were soon to be studied by competent observers and their findings and recommendations were or would be made available for the use of the Commission. The field of education was being surveyed by the General Education Board of New York City. The field of mental defect had been studied in 1917 by Dr. Thomas H. Haines of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. In 1919 a study of Louisville child-caring institutions had been made by Dr. W. H.⁵⁰ Slingerland of the Russell Sage Foundation. This study, however,

49. The Kentucky Children's Code Commission Report, 1921, p. 14.

50. Slingerland, W. H., op. cit.

had not covered the child-caring agencies outside the City of Louisville, and the charting of this unknown territory appeared to members of the Children's Code Commission to be their first obligation.

The Commission struggled the first year with a legislative
51
program and a survey of the children's institutions and agencies in Kentucky caring for or receiving delinquent, dependent, or defective children. This survey was undertaken by Miss Sara A. Brown, a special agent of the National Child Labor Association. Her findings presented a very dismal and carelessly conducted program for children in Kentucky. It is necessary to quote Miss Brown in order to show through what depths the Kentucky Children's Code Commission and later the Child Welfare Commission had to drag their hopes and efforts for the children of the state.

This study threw a glaring light on the children in need of
52
special care. By the term "children in need of special care" the

51. For further detail see: Kentucky Children's Code Commission, Legislative Outline, 1921.

52. Kentucky Children's Code Commission, Report, 1922, p. 21:

How large a problem is this of children in need of special care? How many such children passed before Kentucky courts in 1921 or entered Kentucky institutions? No one knows. It was not possible in the spring of 1921 to get even an approximately correct list of the private agencies which receive children for care. No one had such a list. It was no one's business to have one.

The juvenile court law of Kentucky requires each county clerk to report annually to the governor the

Commission meant delinquent children, dependent children, children of illegitimate birth, neglected children and defective children, including the deaf, blind, crippled and feeble-minded.

This study pointed out that there was no state-wide authority responsible for making plans for the care of children left homeless and dependent, no one vested with the authority and responsibility necessary to insure the protection of such children; that the majority of Kentucky institutions violated every recognized standard for the care of children in institutions; that facilities for mental tests were wholly inadequate even for institutions in or near large centers of population, while in rural counties they were entirely lacking; that many children in Kentucky institutions were not properly fed; that crippled children had thus far received no special attention from the State of Kentucky. The only public assistance available was in the form of a pauper claim administered in the child's own home or by his commitment as a pauper to the almshouse and all child-caring work in Kentucky was handicapped by the lack of resources of local communities. Outside
53
of large cities there were few, if any, organized social agencies.

the number and disposition of the delinquent children brought before the court during the year. In the spring of 1919 reports for the year ending October 1, 1918, were on file at Frankfort for only 27 of the 120 counties.

53. Ibid., pp. 23, 25, 34, 38.

As a result of Miss Brown's study, the Children's Code Commission recommended the immediate enactment of measures applicable
54
to all types of defective children.

The work of this commission was not easy, as the members had the added task of raising funds for its work. However, they were able to raise the money through private donations.

The legislative proposals relating to children offered by the Children's Code Commission were far reaching and indicated progressive thinking in the field of child welfare. The commission proposed a change in the juvenile court so that it would really serve the children, and the appointment of a permanent commission to supervise and help maintain standards in juvenile court work throughout the state; an act amending the Juvenile Court Law by fixing the jurisdiction of the court over children to the eighteenth birthday for both boys and girls; an increase in the salaries of probation officers in all counties of the state; the enactment of legislation to prohibit the employment of women in industrial establish-

54. Ibid., p. 21:

Children whose mental deficiency has been determined by competent examiners, as well as blind and crippled children should be listed and the character of their defect noted and reported to the State Board of Education at the time of taking the school census. Once the state knows where and what her burden of defect is, plans can be made for future institutional care, for special classes in public schools and for urging upon parents the supreme importance of seeing that their handicapped children are given the attention they need at the time when they should have it--in youth.....

ments for a period of four weeks previous to confinement or twelve weeks after child-birth; a "Home Rule Recreation Act" similar to that recommended by the Playground and Recreation Association of America; a marriage bill raising the legal age to eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls; the repeal of the law allowing the apprenticing of dependent children. The old-fashioned indenture or apprentice system passed largely into disuse, if not into disrepute by 1875 in other states. This commission recognized that this type of care for children was not in harmony with the spirit of the times. It also recommended an act consolidating and amending the laws relating to abandonment, desertion, and non-support. The commission indorsed the recommendation of the general education board of New York City for "better organization and administration, better trained teachers, larger schools, a longer school term and more liberal support." The commission suggested changes in the Child Labor Act in order to regulate the street trade occupation for children. Suggestions were offered to make the act more effective and forceful by providing for more labor inspectors.

The latter recommendations were a result of the findings from the investigation that was made by Neighborhood House workers of

55. Ibid., p. 62:

This bill, in brief, provides that any municipality or school district may levy taxes for the support of playground, community centers, public baths and swimming pools and for the salaries of play leaders and other employees. Action may be initiated by vote following the submission of a petition signed by not less than 10% of the number of voters voting at the last election.

newsboys. This investigation showed plainly that the inability to enforce the street clause provision was the reason why so many children under fourteen years of age were found on the street selling papers. During the months of March and April visits were made by a Neighborhood House worker to fifty-five families with eighty-three children under fourteen years of age selling papers. The parents of forty-six children admitted it was unnecessary for the children to earn money in this way. Twelve families gave necessity as an excuse, but investigation proved that this was doubtful. Fifteen boys were selling against the wishes of parents, and eight parents were unaware of the fact until the visitor called. It was learned the money was used by forty per cent of the boys for pleasures, picture shows, candy, ice cream, and gambling. Only in three instances were the boys the total support of their families. Of the entire group only fifteen had permit badges

56

from the Board of Education.

The commission proposed a new bill providing for a permanent child welfare commission to carry forward the work of the Children's Code Commission with a larger membership, broader powers and a name more appropriate to its changed status. This last measure was passed, and also the amendment to the Desertion Act. The other legislative proposals were defeated. Although the Children's Code Commission was not very successful with its legislative program, it did serve a valuable purpose by bringing the child welfare

56. Rogers, Henrietta, "Investigation of Newsboys," May 2, 1922, Manuscript.

problems of the state to the attention of the legislature. Light had at least been focussed on child needs. The passage of the measure for a Child Welfare Commission marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of child welfare in Kentucky. The creation of this advisory body, a permanent child welfare commission, charged with keeping the Governor and the members of the legislature constantly informed on changing conditions and needs in the child welfare field, always available for consultation, representative of informed but disinterested opinion, may be regarded as the real legislative achievement of 1922. This was a definite step toward securing, under the law, some agency that would have the power to carry on a constructive program in child welfare. It was a step toward recognition of the need of some public department to carry further the work being initiated and encouraged by private agencies and individuals.

Achievements in child welfare in Kentucky today, do not yet approach the standards suggested in the legislative program of the Kentucky Children's Code Commission. This fact was partially borne out by a description of the needs recognized in this area
57
in the 1938 annual report of the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Welfare. Effective programs of child welfare can come only when each achievement can be used as a basis upon which to build additional improvements. How fast or how slow this growth proceeds depends upon the willingness of the community

57. See Appendix B.

to accept and pay for such programs. As leaders today progress they may well find themselves following patterns indicated years ago by the pioneer members of the Children's Code Commission.

On February 10, 1923, a report of the work of the Kentucky Children's Code Commission, embodying its legislative proposals, was submitted to Governor Morrow. The presentation of this report followed the Act of the 1922 Legislature establishing a permanent
58
Child Welfare Commission.

Members of the commission appointed by Governor Morrow on February 15, 1923, were: Mrs. Jane Darnell, Frankfort; Mrs. Leonard Hewett, Miss Frances Ingram, Miss Lucy Norton, Mr. George Stoll, Mr. Robert Vaughan, all of Louisville; Mr. Harry B. McCoy, Covington; Mr. John F. Smith, Berea; Miss Linda Neville, Lexington.

This commission recognized that an important need in Kentucky was a thorough-going revision of child welfare legislation in order that, by a gradual process, it might be freed of its own inconsistencies, thus bringing about a condition of greater simplicity and clarity and harmonizing the laws with the needs of Kentucky's children and with generally accepted standards of law and administration in this field. Attention was not centered on the laws and administrative agencies themselves, but on the children whom these laws and agencies were to serve in a more effective way than heretofore.

The first meeting of the Child Welfare Commission was held

58. See Appendix C.

on May 1, 1923 at Neighborhood House. Miss Frances Ingram was elected chairman, Mr. John F. Smith, vice-chairman, and Mr. George Stoll, secretary and treasurer. The commission maintained its headquarters and directed its work from the office of its chairman in Neighborhood House at 428 South First Street, Louisville.

A budget of \$2500 was decided upon, to be raised by individual contributions for the work of the commission.

In order that the commission might progress in the right direction a conference was held with Miss Katherine F. Lenroot, at that time assistant to the Chief of the United States Children's Bureau. She had been brought to Louisville to discuss with the commission the work and program of this group in relation to the needs of the youth of the state. The conference convened at Neighborhood House on October 17, 1923, and lasted for a week, meeting at various places. It was at these meetings that the idea of a Children's Bureau was launched.

Miss Lenroot explained the need, the purpose, the function of a children's bureau and how it could benefit the state.

59. Kentucky Child Welfare Commission, "Minutes," 1923.

60. Ibid. :

The first general principle of the Children's Bureau is concerned with the welfare of children, normal, defective, dependent and delinquent. In Kentucky the logical place for a Children's Bureau is under the State Board of Charities and Corrections. The rural situation in Kentucky is the main thing. North Carolina is similar to Kentucky in that it has so much rural undevelopment. North Carolina passed a law providing for a Children's Bureau under their State Board of Public Welfare and permitting

The plan suggested for a Kentucky State Children's Bureau
 61
 is shown in the chart on the following page. This plan was accepted by the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission.

At a later meeting on October 18, discussion was given over to the program of the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission in relation to the coming legislature. The commission felt it must try again to amend the Child Labor Act to correct the evils resulting from misunderstanding of the street trades clause. It also believed that the Compulsory School Attendance Law should be made stronger by replacing the permissive appointments of county truant officers

counties to organize County Boards of Public Welfare. The main function of County organizations is to represent locally the State Board. The State and County plan is new but is going ahead rapidly.

In the beginning the main function of the Children's Bureau will be educational and co-operative. The Bureau may have a Director with one assistant, at an estimated salary of \$3000 for the former and \$2000 for the latter. The Director should be selected by the Child Welfare Commission of the State Board of Charities and Corrections with the approval of the Board of the Children's Bureau.

The Children's Bureau should have the power to license and supervise all agencies and institutions dealing with children....

The Children's Bureau should approve the appointment of Adult Probation Officers....

Counties, which through poverty or other causes, do not organize County Boards of Public Welfare, will be taken care of by the Children's Bureau.

61. The chart was copied from a blue print made for the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission.

PLAN PROPOSED IN 1923

KENTUCKY CHILD WELFARE COMMISSION
NINE MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR

STATE CHILDREN'S BUREAU
DIRECTOR AND ASSISTANTS

<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>COUNTY ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>JUVENILE COURT AND PROBATION</u>	<u>CHILDREN'S AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS</u>	<u>MENTAL HYGIENE</u>
Holding conferences. Publishing bulletins. Organizing committees for the study of Child Welfare and the development of standards. <u>Co-operation with all organizations concerned with Child Welfare.</u>	Promotion of County Organization. Appointment of appointive members of County Child Welfare boards and approval of executive secretaries. Outlining programs of work for county boards. Conferring on methods of work. Assisting in investigations of cases and reviewing such investigations.	Stimulating public interest in Juvenile Court and Probation work. Recommending Probation Officers for appointment. Assisting County Child Welfare boards in work with Juvenile Courts. Developing detention service. Co-operating with flying clinic in securing mental examinations. Preventing the detention of children in jails.	Development of standards. Visitations of agencies and institutions. Prescribing record forms. Securing reports. Studying admissions and discharges. Removing children from Almshouses.	Co-operation with State Board of Health in operation of flying clinic. <u>Investigation of feeble mindedness reported.</u>

County Judge; Superintendent of County Schools;

Three or five members appointed by the Fiscal Court or County Commissioners;

Executive Secretary, approved by the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and such other assistants as may be necessary.

Co-operation in the enforcement of the compulsory attendance law.

Taking initiative in securing the enforcement of all laws for the protection of children.

Doing probation work when the Juvenile Court has no probation officers or at request of Judge.

Developing detention service for children.

Investigating cases of destitution or neglect and referring to appropriate agencies.

Co-operating with all child caring agencies and institutions.

Investigating for the Fiscal Court applications for County relief.

Promoting recreation; co-operating with agencies promoting child health.

and making the appointments compulsory, as the rural children rarely had been found to advance farther than the third or fourth grade. The commission considered again the redrafting of the Marriage Law raising the legal age to sixteen years for girls and eighteen years for boys and providing for five days notice of intention to marry.

At a still later meeting Miss Lenroot pointed out that Kentucky had early passed a very splendid Juvenile Court Law. She stated the law was sound but that for the most part Kentucky had a juvenile court in name only. She indicated that as long as inadequate salaries were allowed for probation officers, Kentucky could not have a real probation system. Trained workers could not be secured at the salaries then permitted.

Miss Lenroot further stated:

The Judge of the Juvenile Court is elected for four years only. Most of these judges are inexperienced in the handling of juvenile problems. This inexperience causes a poor administration until they acquire a better understanding of their responsibility. Thus the system of a new judge every four years necessitates many periods of inexperience and trial. There are certain recognized minimum standards for Juvenile Courts. First, the judge should serve not less than six years. Probation officers should be appointed by competitive examinations.

Miss Lenroot emphasized the fact that Kentucky was keeping young children in jail, thereby violating the law which provided penalties for contributing to the delinquency of children. Except in cities, no provision was made for detention of children otherwise than in jail. A children's bureau or a county board of welfare would undertake to develop the boarding-out plan

62

where there were no special detention homes for children.

As was suggested by Miss Lenroot, Miss Linda Neville presented to the State Board of Charities for their consideration the plan providing for a children's bureau and local county welfare boards under the State Board of Charities. Because of the precarious position of the Board at that time arising from political difficulties, the State Board of Charities could not accept the supervision of the children's bureau, and suggested that the power of the Child Welfare Commission be extended, permitting it to act as a children's bureau and that it be given an appropriation to make a demonstration of the need for such a bureau with the ultimate end in view that when the State Board of Charities became better understood and more firmly established, it should take control of the Children's Bureau.

At a meeting on December 19, 1923, the members of the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission adopted the following legislative program toward which they would work:

1. An act to create a children's bureau, under this Commission, with an appropriation of not less than \$15,000.
2. An act to permit the creation of county child welfare boards.
3. An act to amend the present Marriage Law.
4. An act to amend the Juvenile Court Law.
5. An act to annul the Apprenticeship Law.

62. Child Welfare Commission, "Minutes," October, 1923.

63. The State Board of Charities was established in 1920 under statutory authority.

They also agreed that the commission would support the following bills:

1. An act providing for adult probation.
2. A home rule recreation act. 64
3. An act to enforce the Compulsory School Attendance Law.

In an interview with the Governor, Miss Ingram had urged him to recommend the Children's Bureau in his next message to the General Assembly. On account of the appropriation asked in the bill and of the precarious financial situation the state was in, the Governor did not feel he could recommend this bill at this session. However, he asserted that he was interested in it.

The Child Welfare Commission realized it had no easy battle to fight. There was opposition to a children's bureau in the legislature because of the state's financial difficulties, and probably also because of lack of real understanding of the service such a bureau could be to the state.

To help to promote their program, the commission invited Mr. William Hodson of the Russell Sage Foundation to Louisville to meet with them. The first question for discussion was the proposed bill to create a Kentucky State Children's Bureau under the commission. In the committee hearing on this bill the suggestion was made that the bill might be passed without appropriation, or that it might be passed at that time to take effect two years hence. Mr. Hodson said he was not in favor of either

of these propositions. He pointed out that a children's bureau without appropriations could not accomplish any real work.

A non-functioning children's bureau would prove disastrous and people would come to look upon it as an ineffective organization. 65

After the meeting with Mr. Hodson, it was agreed that unless the bill could be secured with an appropriation of \$10,000, it would be better to wait two years and try again, and in that two years to do a great deal of publicity work for the bureau. Mr. Hodson's advice was:

If it is a question of passing the Children's Bureau bill over a strong minority, or waiting two years and in the interim winning over the minority, and passing the bill with the co-operation of those very enemies, the latter course is certainly advisable. The Children's Bureau should be the crystallization of a state-wide desire and demand. If it is not, then the new director of the Bureau will be at a disadvantage from the very start. The Bureau will be on the defensive, and much of its force will be lost.⁶⁶

In stating that the Children's Bureau must be the result of the wishes of the majority of the people, Mr. Hodson brought attention to the wishes of the majority of the people. Mr. Hodson brought attention to the important fact that it is necessary to have an enlightened public opinion before any social reform can be accepted. Experience has proved that the creation of an institution or passing a law does not solve the problem, if there is not a unified public opinion expecting it to function. If active bodies

65. Kentucky Child Welfare Commission, "Minutes," Feb. 1924.

66. Ibid.

of opinion demand with sufficient urgency and persistence that government render a particular service, or that it impose a particular control, the realization of these group activities cannot be long postponed.

At a meeting on April 7, 1924, the suggestion, endorsed by both Miss Lenroot and Mr. Hodson, was made that a state-wide child welfare advisory committee of fifty or more members be appointed, to be composed of representatives from the legislature, men's and women's state-wide organizations, and other groups. It was pointed out that committee members might be invited to meetings but that their greatest value would be in the state-wide work and that they would be increasingly valuable as they were educated and well-informed upon the needs of the State and how these needs can best be met.

This was an effort toward securing group action. If the procedure had been fully developed and other groups invited to participate there might have resulted the necessary support so essential to social action. It is in such spheres that the group worker with special skills can be of valuable assistance. With his knowledge of how to develop groups, and how to develop co-operative action, he can bring into the field of social reform a needed technique for creating better group relations. And through that technique he can bring an opportunity for a co-operative experience whereby the groups themselves can do away with many of the evils that arise from social confusion.

67

The 1924 report on legislative work by the Child Welfare Commission described the many efforts they were making to bring improvement in the neglected fields of child welfare. The legislative program met with little success but was kept as a starting point for the 1926 session. Here again, the leaders in the private social agencies gave generously of their time and effort to help establish some form of a public child welfare program. Failure to establish the legislative measures only meant the necessity of more work in the same direction. These leaders of Kentucky in the child welfare field recognized the trend which had been indicated as early as 1909 at the first White House Conference of placing responsibility where benefits for all children would be most assured--namely, in a public child welfare program.

How much these efforts were responsible for the development later of a state welfare department cannot be evaluated but it must be recognized that they were one of the forces which paved the way for such a department.

In 1924, when the report of the Child Welfare Commission was submitted to Governor William Jason Fields, it was in line with national trends in this field. Previous to the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau by the Federal Government in 1912, there was only one state, Ohio, that had any

67. See Appendix D.

official commission for the study and revision of children's laws, but at the time of the presentation of the report to the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission in 1924, there were more than twenty-five states of the Union that had established children's bureaus as the most effective agencies for child welfare work. Kentucky was one of the few states that had no state-wide agency responsible for children, no one vested with the necessary authority that goes with a public institution to insure the well-being and protection of all children.

In 1926, the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission presented a bill asking the legislature to abolish the commission and to establish a children's bureau. This bill was defeated because certain interests independent of the Child Welfare Commission and⁶⁸ the Crippled Children's Commission unknown to either group introduced a counter bill to consolidate the two commissions. This⁶⁹ bill was also defeated.

At this time, another Louisville group was becoming active in promoting the idea of mothers' aid. Mothers' aid has come to be the term most commonly applied to public aid to children in their own homes who have been deprived of the support of the natural breadwinner. In this type of social service, the home

68. The Kentucky Crippled Children's Commission created by the General Assembly of 1924, administers a biennial appropriation for the relief of all indigent crippled children under the age of eighteen years.

69. See Appendix E.

becomes a focus of the interest as the proper center of a constructive and preventive social effort. In October, 1927, a group met to organize the Kentucky Mothers' Aid Association under the guidance of Mr. Paul F. Benjamin of the Family Service Organization. This group worked toward educating the public to the need for mothers' aid in the welfare work of Kentucky.
70

The Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and the Kentucky Mothers' Aid Association were motivated by the same needs and as each built up its own program it was recognized that there should be some co-ordination between the groups so that neither would undo the work of the other.

At a joint meeting of the Child Welfare Commission and the Mothers' Aid Association in December, 1927, it was proposed that the Mothers' Aid Association would wait until the Children's Bureau bill was passed before presenting its bill; but after deliberation, the two groups united, in order to work out a bill that would unite all of the needs and hopes of both organizations.
71
This bill as finally drafted proposed a central bureau including a mothers' aid provision; the aid to be administered locally in the various counties of the state through county

70. Kentucky Mothers' Aid Association, "Minutes," October, 1927.

71. See Appendix F.

boards which the children's bureau would help to organize. An appropriation of \$10,000 for administration of the Kentucky Children's Bureau and \$35,000 for mothers' aid was asked. The \$35,000 was to be matched in the counties by equal sums. One of the principal reasons for state appropriations was that in many of the pauper counties there were practically no funds available unless there was a state appropriation made. It provided for a committee of citizens to be appointed by the county judges and the county health officers in each county to be known as the County Children's Bureau and to have the administration of mothers' aid in the county and such child welfare activities as were deemed necessary. This would give local direction to the work.

72

In 1928, the Children's Bureau Act was passed. This act created the Kentucky Children's Bureau with provision for mothers' aid. The general bill as introduced was amended, the appropriations of \$10,000 for maintenance was cut to \$5,000, and the state appropriation of \$35,000 for mothers' aid was eliminated entirely. To those who had worked for this bill the failure to secure an appropriation for mothers' aid work was a tragedy. For in that provision lay the hope of building up a constructive child welfare program allowing home-centered child welfare work in the state.

72. Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1936, 3311-2.

Even though the bill was passed, the Governor was very slow in responding with the appointment of members of the Children's Bureau Board. Frequent requests to the Governor to appoint the commission were without avail. Governor Sampson waited a year to appoint the members of the Children's Bureau, despite the constant urging of those who had worked for the Children's Bureau. Miss Frances Ingram was the only member of the original commission
73
to be reappointed. In accepting the appointment, Miss Ingram hoped that by co-operating with this new board they might yet be able to give service which would fulfill some of the original desires of the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission, by using the new Children's Bureau as an opening wedge, for securing a better child welfare program.

73. Courier-Journal, February 4, 1929:

Members of the Kentucky Children's Bureau created by the 1928 General Assembly to supplant the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission, were named today by Governor Flem D. Sampson.

Members appointed were Mrs. James B. Brown, J. R. Ball, and Mrs. E. L. Henderson, Louisville, for terms expiring February 1, 1930; Thomas D. Cline, Louisville, Mrs. David P. Davis, Frankfort, and Professor L. W. Nofcier, Wilmore, for terms expiring February 1, 1931; and Mrs. Thomas F. Cleaver, Lebanon; Mrs. W. J. Piggott, Irvington, and Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, for terms expiring February 1, 1932.

Miss Ingram is the only member of the old Commission to be reappointed to the new board. The new Bureau was given a \$5,000 annual appropriation to be used in co-operation with Fiscal Courts to deal with child welfare work.

At the first meeting of the Kentucky Children's Bureau on February 5, 1929, Mr. R. J. Ball was elected chairman. At this meeting the appointment of a director of the Bureau was discussed. Miss Ingram and Professor Nofcier urged that several applicants be considered and time taken for their consideration. Mrs. E. L. Henderson asked the board to consider Miss Emma Hunt and supported her appointment. Miss Hunt herself was present at the meeting. The motion made by Miss Ingram and Professor Nofcier was overruled and Miss Hunt was given the appointment with a salary of \$2,400 a year.⁷⁴ Although the appointment of Miss Hunt appeared to be made by the board, she was really placed in office by the Governor.

In an effort to get the Bureau established as effectively as possible, Miss Ingram tried to use her experience for the benefit of the new board. Recognizing that the amount of money they had to work with was very limited, she tried to secure the services of the United States Children's Bureau to assist in a proper beginning.⁷⁵ For members of the board she prepared a statement, hoping

74. Kentucky Children's Bureau, "Minutes," February 5, 1929.

75. Excerpt from statement prepared by Miss Ingram for members of the Kentucky Children's Bureau Board:

If we are to do a really good piece of work, either with mothers' pensions or with these other duties, we need to inform ourselves of the conditions actually to be found today in the child welfare field throughout our own state, and we need to save time and money for Kentucky by acquainting ourselves with the methods which have proved most successful in other states.

by this to be able to guide the thinking into proper channels. Her efforts were not understood and progress for a time was disappointingly slow.

According to the act, the director of the Children's Bureau with a staff of field workers was to organize children's boards

No information as to general conditions affecting children has been gathered since 1919, although a survey of children's institutions was made here in 1921, and child welfare legislation was covered prior to and through the Legislative Session of 1922 in the Report of the Kentucky Children's Code Commission. I would suppose that a brief survey of juvenile courts and children's institutions and agencies and legislation pertaining to children is needed to bring our information up to date, and to help us determine what needs to be done first.

As a means of acquainting ourselves quickly with the experience of other state bureaus or departments of child welfare, I would suggest that we ask Miss Grace Abbott, Head of the United States Children's Bureau, to put us in touch with the persons best qualified to assist us, and if possible, to send a representative of the Bureau to advise us in detail as to the organization of our work. Mr. C. C. Carstens, Director of the Child Welfare League of America, is another person familiar with the practical difficulties which confront us, and accustomed to advise on detail of organization and plan of work. If Miss Abbott and Mr. Carstens could lend us their guidance, the board could feel that the work of the Kentucky Children's Bureau was being launched under the best possible auspices.

I am sending you these suggestions somewhat in advance of our next meeting so that you may think them over and discuss them with anyone you wish before you come. I am also asking Miss Hunt to place them upon the agenda of the meeting. I shall be glad myself to talk them over with any board member who wants to see me before the meeting, or later.

in the various counties of the state. Since this act was permissive, the Bureau's approach to the counties had to be on a basis of co-operation with local groups and other institutions in an effort to get the counties to take advantage of its permissive powers. The staff appointed for the Kentucky Children's Bureau did not fully understand their task, nor did they bring the skills that proper specialized training gives to one in order to approach a task with real understanding. Because the law was permissive and provided only a small appropriation for the work and since there were no trained social workers on the staff, the counties failed to promote county children's bureaus.

Before the Kentucky Children's Bureau was established, Jefferson County was already experimenting with mothers' aid work through the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home
76
financed by the Fiscal Court.

76. Alt, Herschel, "The Development of Mothers' Aid in Jefferson County Kentucky, p. 2:

During the year 1927 the Juvenile Court of Jefferson County requested the Louisville and Jefferson County Home to care for two families whereby the children could remain in the home--the mother receiving money for their support. This arrangement was met with success. With the added stimulus from the passage of the Mothers' Aid Bill by the State Legislature in 1928, the Home with an annual budget of \$15,000 for this purpose, began selecting from its own population all the suitable children and placing them with their mothers. The records of the Home show that as far back as 1921 the institution frequently granted an allowance to a mother with dependent children and paroled the children to her....

Just before the appointment of the Kentucky Children's Bureau
 77
 Board, a statement in a Lexington paper showed that the people of
 Fayette County were thinking of organizing a county children's
 bureau. However, it was not until December, 1930, that Fayette
 78
 County took advantage of the state law and organized a bureau.

In February, 1928, the Court again requested the Home to care for three families. In April another request was made by the Court. At this point the funds of the Home allotted for this purpose had already been exhausted and sixty children were being cared for. The board of the Home was anxious to increase its funds, and the Juvenile Court was desirous of having the privilege of committing children for this type of care. The result was the granting, in June of 1928, by Fiscal Court of Jefferson County, of a fund of \$42,000 to the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home to be administered for family relief, or Mothers' Aid. This fund was increased in January, 1929, to \$64,000.

77. Lexington Leader, January 17, 1929:

The fact that Governor Sampson has not yet appointed his Kentucky Children's Bureau has combined with the present lack of funds to delay organization of such projects in Fayette County. A child placement bureau organized prior to the authorized State and County organizations might have to be re-organized. When the Governor has made his appointments of members of the State Bureau a County Bureau should be established at once.

78. Excerpts from a letter written by Miss Margaret M. Devine, Executive Secretary of the Fayette County Children's Bureau, December 13, 1938, indicate progress made by this Bureau:

Today the Fayette County Children's Bureau gives consultation service to children in their own homes; to principals and teachers who are interested in discussing their difficult children....

The Fayette County Children's Bureau is definitely a co-operating unit in the program of the Department of Welfare. The State Director of the Children's

After the passing of the Social Security Act in 1935, Kentucky set up divisions within the State Welfare Department in order to take advantage of this act. Within the State Welfare Department a Division of Child Welfare has been included.

79

By virtue of the 1934 Administrative Reorganization Act the functions of the Kentucky Children's Bureau, created by the legislature in 1928, were transferred to the newly established State Department of Welfare. The Reorganization Act of 1936

80

established a Child Welfare Division within the State Welfare

Division is responsible for selecting the board from a list submitted by the county judge and the county school superintendent....We make all the investigations in Fayette County which come to the Child Welfare Division either from other sources in the State or from other States.... We are considered a part of the staff of the Child Welfare Division but because of our organization and greater appropriation we are not receiving subsidy from the State. The Fayette County Children's Bureau is a unit of the larger Child Welfare Division, Department of Public Welfare. The Child Welfare Division is the supervisory unit of all State Child Welfare and works in close co-operation with the local Bureau. Recently through the Federal Children's Bureau, a demonstration project of work for colored children has been set up under the supervision of this agency to work with the colored children of Fayette County. The worker for this is assigned by the Child Welfare Division of the State Department, and works under my supervision. The staff of this agency attends all staff meetings of the Child Welfare Division and is actually a part of the larger Division.

79. Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1926, 4618-35.

80. Ibid., 4618-104.

Department. With the creation of this Division the State Children's Bureau went out of existence and the work of this bureau was taken over by the new Division. The Child Welfare Division began operation on March 15, 1937, with an office staff of eight including the Director. Mrs. Mabel B. Marks, formerly of the Fayette County Children's Bureau, was made Director.

81

Under the Social Security Act a state may qualify for Federal grants-in-aid for public assistance in aid to dependent children. The state decides on its own method of administration. This method would be either by a state agency or by local agencies under the supervision of a state department.

Kentucky is in a position where it can benefit by such assistance but has to pass an amendment to the State Constitution to be able to set up a program for aid to dependent children in accordance with the Social Security Act. But as yet Kentucky is one of the few states which have not qualified for Federal Funds to be administered for the aid of mothers with dependent children. That is, the State of Kentucky is not yet in a position to offer mothers' aid on a state-wide basis. However, there are eight counties that have a mothers' aid program, of which seven

82

81. Child Welfare Division of the Kentucky Department of Welfare, "Report," 1938.

82. Forty states have qualified.

83

receive aid from the state.

The juvenile court and probation system are still in a beginner's stage even though Kentucky was one of the pioneers in juvenile court work. The Juvenile Probation Law was passed in 1906 and yet today there are only six counties having any form

84

of probation work.

This is true in spite of the fact that we do believe the citizens of Kentucky are not indifferent to the needs of its children.

It cannot be forgotten that the social work of a community is an expression of the organized will of the community. The extent and quality of service provided by the agencies can never

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83. Davis, Martha, "Mothers' Aid Work in Kentucky." A paper prepared for a class in the School of Social Administration, University of Louisville, December, 1938:

Christian, Pulaski, Fayette, Jessamine, Lincoln, Warren and Clark. Each county raises two-thirds of its funds and the State appropriates one-third. For these seven counties the total families cared for are forty with 143 children. The average income is \$4.46 per month per child. Jefferson County serves 213 families with 708 children, 39 over 16 years of age. The Jefferson County Mothers' Aid operates under the law that allows Ormsby Village to board children in families.

84. National Probation Association of the United States and Canada, 1937, Directory of Probation Officers:

Boyd, Kenton, Franklin, Fayette, Jefferson and Daviess.

permanently rise and stay above the level of understanding and interest of those who support the agencies. Following that line of thought, it seems the next step in Kentucky is to build up the counties so that they can become good functioning units in order to take advantage of the assistance from Federal grants for social service programs. We have reason to believe that efforts in this direction will go forward rapidly under the guidance of the present public welfare department of this state.

When Owen R. Lovejoy said, "Legislation and its enforcement⁸⁵ to be effective must express the collective will of the people," he touched upon one essential point of progress. Unless the people take a part in creating the laws that are to affect them, the laws will not be effective. A demand for the functioning of these laws can come only out of an understanding of their purpose. This demand can come only when individuals have learned to participate in groups and as groups for such changes as are necessary to prevent social injustices.

This chapter depicts a long struggle of many years for a hope--a well-established child welfare program that would be the means through which the less privileged children would be afforded the opportunities and protection that are already accepted by individuals in a democracy for the privileged group. In this study of early social efforts, in the child welfare field, it is shown that Neighborhood House through its leaders or head

85. Source unknown.

residents contributed much towards building a solid foundation for such a program. Even though the Kentucky Children's Bureau did not accomplish all that had been hoped for, it did serve a purpose. The organization of such a bureau was a progressive step. If we can but be frank enough to acknowledge our past weaknesses and out of our mistakes build a firmer structure, we may accept the values to be deprived from the experiences of Neighborhood House and the other social groups.

Dr. Grace Abbott points out in The Child in the State:

The progress of a state may be measured by the extent to which it safeguards the rights of its children. While appreciation by American states of their duties to children has been slow, the development of an administrative system which would make the legal rights that have been established effective have been even slower.⁸⁶

In the light of this statement, the Kentucky Children's Bureau Act and later the 1936 Reorganization Act which established a Child Welfare Division, in the Public Welfare Department marks progress in the child welfare field in Kentucky.

How rapidly the growth shall proceed now depends on the citizens of this state. The leaders no longer can be the only crusaders. Their energies must be bent toward getting the group to crusade for themselves along with the leaders.

When the State Welfare Department set up the Child Welfare Division in 1937, Neighborhood House and co-operating groups had

86. Abbott, Grace, The Child in the State, 1938, preface.

already done pioneer work in the field. Upon the foundation laid by those early efforts of those early committees and groups, the state is now building towards a fuller program for the safeguarding of the rights of and for a richer life of its children.

In view of the recent progress made by the State Welfare Department, we have reason to hope that the child welfare program of this state will continue to move forward.

It is obvious from the efforts of these early pioneers for the development of a child welfare program in Kentucky as described in this chapter, that their first attempts were to secure laws by which the rights of children would be protected. The next step was to secure the enforcement of these laws which led to the recognition of the need for wider participation by the general public in social reform movements. It is evident that those to be benefited by the social programs were not active participants in the social reform movements. The emphasis in the future must be on gaining wide group participation⁸⁷ in order that there will be an enlightened public demanding that the laws established for the protection of all groups shall function.

87. See Chapter V for explanation of group work process as a method of securing group participation in social planning.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PLANNING AND THE FRESH AIR CAMP

HISTORICAL TRENDS

1
HISTORICAL TRENDS

In 1875 in New York City, the editor of the New York Times took compassion upon a group of children who were being driven off the grass in City Hall Park one hot summer day. He gathered these youngsters together with other children from the slum areas and took them for a sail down the bay. From that trip, a program was started in New York City which was later taken over by Saint John's Guild and resulted in the equipping of two splendid hospital boats.² These salt water trips were not only for pleasure but also for health. Individual contributions made possible these free outings for those otherwise unable to afford them. Later the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor established on West Coney Island a small home for those people who needed special care and were offered the privilege of the outdoors for a longer period than that which the one day boat-ride afforded. In 1877, the New York Tribune conducted a fresh-air campaign in order to raise funds to send boys and girls from

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1. Information for this chapter was secured mostly from the following sources:

Co-operation, Vol. 8, No. 40, October 3, 1908.

Frank Leslie's Weekly, August 11, 1892.

Harper's Bazaar, July 28, 1900.

Playground and Recreation Association of America, A Manual on Organized Camping.

Facts learned from Miss Frances Ingram and Miss Daisy Rowell.

2. Mount, Mary Wilkenson, "New York's Fresh Air Activities,"
Harper's Bazaar, July 28, 1900.

the tenement areas of the city for a week's free stay in the country. Farm homes were chosen and those who accepted children were paid for their care from this fund. Fresh air work as conducted in this early period offered to tenement residents a day or more at the seashore or country.

From 1876 to 1899, there arose fifty-three fresh air projects³ in New York City alone. Learning from the success of fresh air activities in New York, other cities initiated similar programs. Fresh air work was inaugurated in the Middle West by the Chicago Daily News in 1887. This work, here, as elsewhere was developed around the need for outdoor activity and sunlight for the sick and for small children. Into the fresh air camps were introduced the diet kitchen, medical work and fresh air stations for the treatment of sick babies who could not be placed with the other children.⁴

As the fresh air work was concerned with the people of the slum districts, the settlements established in these areas were called upon to supply the names of people who were in need of this privilege. Because of their proximity to the group to be served, it was natural that the settlement became closely allied with the fresh air camp program.

Another type of camp was the privately owned camp operated on a fee basis. In 1881, Mr. Ernest Balch had organized a private

3. Playground and Recreation Association of America, A Manual on Organized Camping, 1925, p. 10.

4. Chicago Bureau of Charities, Co-operation, 1908, p. 323.

camp for boys. In 1888, Dr. and Mrs. Luther H. Gulick set up⁵
the first girls' camp, primarily for their own daughters.

These camps were of a general type, for boys, girls, and adults. The history of the organized private camp program is a study in itself and mention of this type of camp is made here solely in⁶
order to bring attention to the trends of the period.

Out of the early efforts of individuals to meet the need of urban families for freedom from the sordidness of their poverty and the recognition of the social values of camping programs has developed a considerable camp movement in the United States.

During the past decade, the trend indicates the extension of outdoor opportunities through municipally owned camps where large groups can go for small fees. The Otter Creek project within our local area is an example. There, families from the city can find an opportunity to enjoy outdoor privileges. This camp is owned by the City of Louisville and the United States Park Service. However, Otter Creek will not reach the great numbers who do not have the money or the facilities to afford this opportunity. The need is for an extension of the fresh air camp programs financed either by private or public funds in order to give free vacations to those unable to afford them. There should be some year-round contact with those who attend

5. Playground and Recreation Association of America, op. cit., p. 3.

6. Haddock, Dorothy B., "The Social Administration of Camps in the Louisville Area," (M. S. thesis, University of Louisville, 1939) presents the history of the private camp program.

the camp, if the work which is started at the camp is to be of any permanent value. Through camp experience, the group can be taught to understand the meaning of housing reform and of the means by which they may bring about other structural changes in those city conditions to which they owe their distress. At the camp the group is taught the value of regular meals for their babies, how to prepare meals and the value of certain foods, and how to sleep in well ventilated rooms. They learn to think of bathing as a pleasure and strict cleanliness of person and home as a part of the minimum standard of home life. The camp experience tends to inspire desires which will in a great measure direct the camper's efforts during the succeeding winter months. To see that this work is carried over into the home requires some follow-up work by the social worker. This seems to be the present need in this particular type of camp program.

Fresh Air Activities in Louisville

The first fresh air work in Louisville was patterned after early efforts in other cities and seems to have been started by the philanthropic work of Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Sweet, who helped to finance daily excursions to a summer outing place, Fern Grove, Indiana. This trip was made by boat. The work was carried on as early as 1892 for the benefit of the sick and poor of the city. Interesting pictures in an old copy of Frank Leslie's Weekly,

August 11, 1892, show the groups enjoying their daily summer outings. Sick children and adults were gathered from the tenement houses, flats and alleys, and were taken on these boat trips. The boats used were provided with couches, hammocks, sick-chairs, and every comfort for invalids. On some occasions as many as fifteen hundred to two thousand persons were taken to Fern Grove, some miles above the city, and there were given a day's outing and a generous dinner. The sick were under the charge of Dr. Charles Cawein, a prominent young physician, who was assisted by several others in caring for the poor, both while on the excursion and at their homes during the summer season. All prescriptions bearing the Fresh Air Stamp were supplied⁷ gratuitously by some thirty pharmacists of the city.

According to Miss Daisy Rowell, a teacher in one of the public schools, and herself a pioneer in fresh air work in Louisville, the first fresh air camp came about through the interest of a few public spirited people. Chief among these were Mr. S. J. Nunemacker and Mr. Henry Ormsby. These men helped to raise money by which poor children could be sent to the country for a two weeks' vacation. Miss Rowell, a member of the Young People's Society of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, interested the group in this vacation work. Attracted by the need of the children at the 13th and Maple Street School

7. Frank Leslie's Weekly, August 11, 1892.

where she taught, she volunteered to gather up the children, get them ready and take them to the camp. In 1900 the first fresh air camp was held at Beard's Station (now Crestwood, Kentucky) at Mrs. Hayes' home and was financed by the church group and other interested citizens. To this place Miss Rowell was able to send thirty-five children every two weeks. The children were selected from her school, from lists presented by other teachers, from churches, and from Neighborhood House. A director and a cook were in charge of the camp. The recreation program consisted of simple games and wading in a pond. A horse and wagon were the chief source of entertainment. Cleanliness and health rules were emphasized at the camp. According to Miss Rowell, it was difficult to gather the children as parents did not want them to leave home or participate in a program which they did not clearly understand.

For several years the Fresh Air Camp, or Bernadine Home, which it was later named, was conducted each summer either at the Hayes home or at the farm of Mrs. Della Meyers at Camden, Kentucky.

In 1906, Neighborhood House was asked to send more children to the Bernadine Home. The children were selected from the neighborhood and later taken to the camp by the settlement workers.

This camp, the boat excursions and picnics which various religious and social agencies sponsored were the only fresh air or organized outdoor activities available to the needy persons of Louisville at this early period.

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND THE LOUISVILLE FRESH AIR HOME

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND THE LOUISVILLE FRESH AIR HOME

As Neighborhood House was established in an area in which the people were in need of outdoor experience, it was natural that the workers of this settlement accepted the challenge to continue the fresh air work.

In 1908, when Miss Rowell withdrew from the work, Neighborhood House took over the task of selecting the entire group of children to attend camp. Since this responsibility was to be assumed by Neighborhood House, its head resident felt she wanted to know more about the camp and its personnel. Because of Neighborhood House's interest in continuing the work, Mr. Ormsby appointed Miss Ingram vice-president of his fresh air committee. After Neighborhood House had agreed to recruit the campers, it was necessary to make hundreds of visits in order to get the group ready. From former lists and requests received at Neighborhood House, the campers were secured. From that time, Neighborhood House has assumed the responsibility of planning and organizing the camp and securing children for these vacation trips.

About this time the New York Tribune was giving more publicity to their camp program for boys and girls from tenement areas of that city. Similarly, in 1909, the Louisville Herald

8. Information for this chapter was secured mostly from Miss Frances Ingram and from the "Minutes" and "Reports" of the Louisville Fresh Air Home.

sponsored a Fresh Air Home for the mothers and babies of Louisville. A representative of the Herald came to Miss Ingram and asked her to find a place for the vacation home and to select the staff. This she did. A large residence near Anchorage,
9
Kentucky, was chosen.

With a full program already taxing the capacity of its small staff, it was not easy for Neighborhood House to take on another task. The settlement was willing, however, to assist in extending the fresh air camp privileges to a larger group in the community, and seemed to be the appropriate organization to carry on this work and to develop a program that was beginning to meet a long-felt need.

Each year, Neighborhood House assumed more responsibility and through volunteer service of its staff and friends, groups were registered for both camps, children (boys and girls) for the Bernadine Camp, mothers and babies for the Herald Camp.

The following excerpt from a Neighborhood House Report (1910) tells of its association with the fresh air camp programs:

Neighborhood House co-operated with the two Fresh Air Homes, the Herald's for mothers and babies and the Bernadine for small children. Residents of Neighborhood House visited all those who applied for admittance to the camps or were reported as needing the trip, and made arrangements for them to go. Fifty mothers were sent and sixty-six babies; 154 children were sent to the Bernadine camp (56 boys and 98 girls). Thirty-seven per cent of these children taken were children who came from Neighborhood House. The others

were from the city at large. By having their little children placed in one fresh air home, a number of tired mothers with sick babies were enabled to spend a week or ten days in the country at the other home. This was made possible by Neighborhood House being the registering place for both homes. ¹⁰

The problems of the fresh air camp work and the need for the extension of the program were presented to the Louisville Conference of Social Workers. As a result Miss Ingram was appointed chairman of a committee to study the situation and recommend a plan to deal with various problems. Subsequently a plan for the consolidation of the two homes was submitted and accepted. The Herald accepted the idea and assumed the responsibility of raising money while Neighborhood House with its workers assumed all other responsibilities.

For many summers, under an organization known as the Recreation League, ¹¹ Miss Ingram had headed a committee that supervised the city playgrounds. She asked this league to be the sponsoring agency for the new fresh air home program.

10. Neighborhood House, "Report," 1910.

11. Recreation League, "Report," February 15, 1902:

The Recreation League was founded in December, 1900, by a group of interested men and women, who saw the need for furthering recreational opportunities of Louisville's children. The object of this organization was to encourage proper recreation by the public and especially the promotion of public playgrounds throughout the city of Louisville. This organization supplemented the funds of the Board of Park Commissioners for salaries of the early playground supervisors. The Recreation League maintained the right of selecting the playground workers and of supervising the playgrounds.

In 1911, the Fresh Air Home was then opened for mothers and babies and children at Forrest, Kentucky, under the sponsorship of the Recreation League. Neighborhood House was responsible for the selection of the staff, maintenance of a program, registering of camp visitors, and the opening and closing of the camp. The Herald and various individuals were responsible for the funds. Mr. John Barrett through the Sunday School classes of a Presbyterian Church gathered vegetables for the camp. Mr. Stuart Chevalier, and Mrs. Lee Bernheim helped to raise additional contributions. A sewing circle at the Unitarian Church made garments for many of the children. It was no easy matter to conduct a program under such a large, loosely organized committee. But the members of the Neighborhood House staff did carry this summer program with the hope that in the future the need that this work met would be recognized and be accepted as a community responsibility.

When the camp program was better organized the work was extended by co-operation with other social agencies. The Associated Charities sent many of their clients to this camp. The Babies Milk Fund Association sent many of their babies, not alone for the benefit which the babies might derive, but that the mothers as well might be given new life and strength. The following quotation from the 1911 report shows clearly some of the problems with which the Fresh Air Home attempted to deal:

Unless one has lived with these mothers and has seen them in their intimate daily and hourly care of their children, it is almost impossible to realize that their chief struggle is not against poverty but their own ignorance.

With just enough education to enable them to obtain work certificates the majority of these women have spent their girlhood in the factory, leaving its grind for the position of wife and mother. With no knowledge of home making, no experience in the care of children, they receive their education at the cost of their babies' lives and their own strength and heart-ache.¹²

In 1912, 588 guests were received. At the suggestion of the director, the visits of the guests were extended from one to two weeks. She felt that at least that much time was needed to accomplish anything with these people. After four weeks of this plan, however, the Associated Charities requested that it be discontinued as they were not able to serve half of their clients who wanted to go to the Fresh Air Home. Consequently,¹³ the length of stay was again reduced to one week.

During the next summer, 665 individuals were received. The home usually opened about July first and closed about September first. Each individual before coming to the camp was examined by a physician and a health card was signed certifying the person as free from any infectious or contagious diseases. Attention was directed towards building up under-weight children. Health rules were taught by example as well as by educational talks.

As the attendance at the camp increased, funds from neighbors in Anchorage, churches and committee members supplemented the Herald's contributions. The camp operated until 1918 at Forrest, Kentucky. During these years Miss Ingram continued

12. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1911.

13. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1912.

to direct the growth of this organization; giving much of her time to it in the summer and during the winter going over plans for further development. Each year she raised the standards of the camp work by introducing modern methods of procedure.

Registration of applicants was made at Neighborhood House. It was no longer necessary to go into the community to canvass for vacationers. A vacation at the Fresh Air Home was something sought for by the children and mothers of the working families in the congested areas.

The community, as well as the social workers, recognized what a real need the work of the Fresh Air Home was meeting. This camp served the people of the settlement's vicinity as well as those who came from farther corners.

During the trying time of the war, the Fresh Air Home not only served as a vacation place but also as a training center for teaching canning, food conservation and cooking to women and girls.

Although twice as many people registered as could be accommodated, Neighborhood House attempted to co-operate with more social agencies. In the past, the Babies Milk Fund, and Associated Charities had used the Fresh Air Home. Now, the Red Cross, the Social Service Department of the City Hospital, the Cabbage Patch Settlement and Wesley House were sending groups to the camp.

The first encouragement toward the possibility of establishing a permanent Fresh Air Home came through a generous offer

of Mrs. Mary Parker Gill. In 1918, she presented to the Fresh Air Home Committee, \$5,000 with the provision that it be matched by an equal sum. Mrs. Gill's interest had come from her own experience of having entertained children for free vacations at her country home in New York. The results of this experience convinced her of the value of this work. The war delayed action on this matter, and not until later was this offer considered as
 14
 a working plan for the enlargement of the camp.

On May 3, 1919, the Fresh Air Home was incorporated under the name of the Louisville Fresh Air Home. The articles of incorporation provided that the Board of the Louisville Fresh Air Home should consist of five members, three of whom should represent Neighborhood House and two should be chosen outside of the Board of Neighborhood House. The three chosen to represent Neighborhood House were Mr. Leon P. Lewis, Mr. Van Dyke Norman, and Mrs. Alex G. Barret. The two outside of the Neighborhood House Board were Mr. Grover Sales and Miss Frances Ingram. The headquarters and administration office for the Louisville
 15
 Fresh Air Home were to be continued at Neighborhood House. Upon the incorporation of the Louisville Fresh Air Home, it became a member of the Welfare League and its budget was furnished through the funds of that organization. In 1919, the

14. Information from Miss Frances Ingram.

15. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Minutes," 1919.

Fresh Air Home was forced to move from its quarters at Forrest because of the sale of the property, and subsequently the camp was held at the old hotel at the top of the hill at South Park, nine miles south of Louisville on the Louisville and Nashville Railway. This proved a rather expensive endeavor, and the next summer, new quarters were sought.

The farm of Mrs. Della Meyers at Camden, Kentucky, was again rented. The beautiful one hundred acres was an ideal spot for a camp but the inadequate housing facilities made it necessary to set up tents to care for the group. The expense of such a plan soon showed the board that the real problem facing the Home was the need of a camp site that could provide better accommodations for the many applicants who begged for a chance in the country. Too many people had to be turned away, and for those who were attempting to run a camp program, the inadequacy of facilities and swimming accommodations limited the program. Mrs. Meyer's farm at Camden was rented for several other summers, while the board began searching for a permanent site to be purchased.

In 1921, Mr. Powhattan Wooldridge gave to the Louisville Fresh Air Home the sum of \$2,000. In order to take advantage of that early proposition of Mrs. Mary P. Gill, the Louisville Herald assisted the Fresh Air Home by conducting a campaign for building funds and raised \$6,564.56. This sum included Mr. Wooldridge's \$2,000 and \$1,000 from Mr. Theodore Ahrens.

With this step accomplished, the plans for the Fresh Air Home
 16
 building were started.

A beautiful location of thirty-one acres was bought from Mr. C. A. Calvert, Peewee Valley, Oldham County, Kentucky. The site was an ideal one. A broad stretch of level ground, flanked on three sides by gnarled oaks, elms, beeches and wild cherry trees, formed a natural location for a playing field. It was planned to place at the end of the beautiful avenue of trees, an administration building with a recreation hall, dining-room, kitchen and dormitory for girls; to build a cottage for mothers and babies, on the site of the old homestead, not far from the administration building; to build a home for boys on the hill-side beyond the pool where they could romp to their heart's
 17
 content without disturbing the older members of the group.

In 1922, the central wing of the administration building was started, including the lobby, dining room, and kitchen. While the construction was in progress, in order to accommodate larger groups the boys were allowed to camp on the new site while the mothers, babies and girls remained at Camden. As the services of the Louisville Fresh Air Home were extended many more social agencies took advantage of this program.

16. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1921.

17. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Minutes," 1921.

The camp opened on June 19 with the immediate task of taking care of a group of boys whom the Mental Hygiene Clinic was especially anxious to get to the country. "These youngsters, due to lack of parental affection, poor living conditions and evil environment, were likely to become delinquent. The Mental Hygiene Clinic with the aid of the Family Service Organization devised a plan whereby the boys could be under the special care of a recreational leader and at the same time enjoy the delight of a summer camp just like any group of normal boys would. The boys ranged in age from eight to thirteen years."¹⁸

The following comment by Linton B. Swift, then General Secretary of the Family Service Association, shows the value of the camp work:

The group of delinquent boys who were sent to the Fresh Air Home under the care of a special instructor, have shown a marked physical improvement, the smallest gain in weight being three pounds and the greatest six pounds. None of the boys has yet committed any faults which would not be committed by almost any normal child, in spite of the fact that all of these boys had truancy or juvenile court records.¹⁹

In 1924, the Fresh Air Home was opened to its guests at its permanent home in Peewee Valley, Kentucky. With an enlarged staff composed of a director, boys' and girls' recreation leaders,

18. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1922.

19. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Minutes," 1922.

several assistants, and many volunteers, a real camp program including outdoor activities, swimming, hiking, arts, crafts, music, story telling, dramatics, games, and folk dancing was offered. Good food, well cooked, and an adequate household staff made it possible to take care of a larger group. The recreation hall was added to the main building in 1925, and the girls' dormitory in 1926. In 1927, Miss Ingram suggested that inasmuch as she was receiving compensation as head resident of Neighborhood House from the Community Chest, it was not advisable for her to act as president of any of the organizations belonging to the Chest. Mr. Van Norman was elected president,²⁰ Miss Ingram became vice-president and managing director.

In 1931, the dream for a mothers' and babies' cottage became a reality. Upon the completion, this building was named in honor of Mary Parker Gill, who had left an additional sum in a trust fund to be used in fresh air work. It was through the cooperation of the Louisville Fresh Air Home Board members with the executor of the trust fund that much of the physical growth of the Fresh Air Home was made possible.

In 1936, four rustic cabins were constructed in the wooded area for the boys. In 1938, a large swimming pool was purchased which afforded much pleasure and added to the Fresh Air Home's progress.

20. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Minutes," 1927.

The 1937 Fresh Air Home report tells the following story: Nine hundred and sixty-five individuals attended the camp. The choice of families was based on the need for open air and sunlight and the lack of enough income for a vacation. Many of the families were dependent on some regular form of relief; 5 per cent received help from the Family Service Organization, 3 per cent from the Municipal Bureau of Social Service, 4 per cent from the Civilians Conservation Corps and National Youth Administrations, and 8 per cent were dependent on the Works Progress Administration, receiving an average wage of \$44 per month.

The average family which came to the Fresh Air Home had 5.4 members. They lived, 63 per cent of them in cottages; 30 per cent in tenements; the other 7 per cent drifted. The average cottage had four rooms; the average apartment in a tenement house, or over a store, had three rooms. The drifters usually lived for short periods with other families.

In 1938, the Fresh Air Home opened July 1 and closed September 3. There were 931 guests representing 406 families, 1,997 persons applied to go. Out of this number, 1,006 had to be refused admission because of inadequate facilities for their care. The budget of \$5,300 is not sufficient to operate a large enough camp to care for all who are in need of such an experience and are unable to pay for it.

The 931 guests were divided in the following manner:

WOMEN	161
CHILDREN (5 and under)	95
Boys 6 to 14	297
Boys 15 years (No boy over 15 taken)	56
Girls 6 to 14	262
Girls 15 and over	<u>60</u>
TOTAL	931 ²¹

"We have been asked what types of vacations would be open to these people if there were no Louisville Fresh Air Home. Our answer is: 2 per cent signified that they might have gone through the Courier-Journal Fresh Air Fund; 11 per cent said they might have gone to the country to visit relatives, but that the relatives were as poor as they were; 84 per cent said that they would have had no vacation had it not been for the Louisville Fresh Air Home."²²

The untiring work of Miss Ingram and the willingness of her staff and the efforts of the Fresh Air Home and Neighborhood House Boards in helping to build up such a program is only a part of Neighborhood House's contribution in establishing social programs in an effort to meet some of the needs of its community. Today, the Louisville Fresh Air Home, managed and supervised by Neighborhood House, is an agency through which the settlement is able to serve and co-operate with the health, case working, and other recreational agencies.

21. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1938.

22. Louisville Fresh Air Home, "Report," 1937.

From that early attempt of a small group wishing "to do good" now stands the Fresh Air Home directed and guided by Neighborhood House and financed by the Community Chest. The present capacity of the camp is 110 guests a week, while hundreds still apply and are unable to go.

The fact that these hundreds await such an opportunity indicates the need for extending the work of the Fresh Air Home. It is in the interest of bringing the opportunities for a fuller life to a larger number that Neighborhood House has willingly assumed administration of this program.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR PUBLIC BATH HOUSES

HISTORICAL TRENDS

1 HISTORICAL TRENDS

The bath house movement began in the United States about the year 1891. The less privileged workers not having sufficient income to avail themselves of a healthful environment, the United States followed Europe's lead in meeting the sanitary needs of this group of people by legislation patterned² after the Public Bath House Act of England. The public baths built in the United States were of a simpler type than those established in Europe. The State of New York was the first to pass a legislative act in 1895, making the establishment of people's baths, kept open the year around, mandatory upon all cities having a population of 50,000 or more. Many large bath

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1. Most of the information for this chapter came from the following sources:

Allsop, Owen R., Public Baths and Wash Houses.
 Gerhard, Paul William, Modern Baths and Bath Houses.
 Sand, Rene, Health and Human Progress.
 Sydenstricker, Edgar, Health and Environment.
 United States Housing Authority, Pamphlets on Housing.
 Work Project, (W.P.A.) Urban Housing, A summary of Real
 Property inventories of 8,000,000 American
 homes in 203 urban communities, (1934-36).

2. Allsop, Owen R., Public Baths and Wash Houses, p. 2, 1894:

The Public Bath and Wash House Act, was passed in England in 1846. As a result, a large number of public bath houses were built in the principal cities of England, the first one being erected in Frederick Street in Liverpool.

houses were built in New York City, as well as in other cities in the state. Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities followed New York's lead. The continuous striving, by small groups of social leaders, to improve standards of living doubtless had its beneficial effect, shown in the development of other such health programs.

Because of the growing realization of the senselessness of human suffering and wasteful mortality as a result of unsanitary and poor housing conditions, social movements took form. One was for sanitation, which was the beginning of modern public health organization and related housing reforms. The movement resulted in a striking reduction in the prevalence of filth-born diseases, later in the control of certain infectious diseases, tuberculosis, mal-nutrition, and in the awakening of a public interest in the promotion of housing programs as they affect health and other physical and social aspects of life. Today, the acceptance of public programs for the health and sanitation of the community has been established in the minds of the people. This is an era of rapidly developing public health administration.

It is a rare family indeed which has not discovered that the housing problem is a thing which not only concerns social workers campaigning against slums, or capitalists seeking investment for their funds, but also that it is a matter which affects almost every phase of day to day living.

Early efforts of pioneers to meet as best they could the crying needs of dwellers in congested areas, not only met the immediate needs but also served as educational experiments. The first step was the prevention of disease through sanitation, then the establishment of bath houses and later came tenement house studies and commissions and the enlargement of health departments; still later, zoning laws and housing ordinances and the promotion of public health generally. Today portions of slums are being torn down in Louisville as elsewhere in a gradually developing program for better living conditions. The low-cost housing and slum clearance projects permitted under the Housing Act may seem a bit removed from public bath houses, but they are closely related. Out of the cry for better sanitary conditions, for a chance to live a clean healthy life, came the recognition of the sorry plight under which the tenement dwellers had to live. The bath-house program is close to the life and needs of the common people.

3. United States Housing Authority, "What the Housing Act Can Do for Your City," Washington, 1938:

The First National Housing Act was passed in 1934 and was followed in 1936 by the Emergency Relief and Construction Act. The 1937 Housing Act created a permanent department in the Department of the Interior known as the United States Housing Authority. The U.S.H.A. exists solely to rehouse the lowest income third, the families who live under conditions which endanger their health, and which exert a poisonous effect upon whole communities, and which lower the living standards of the nation.

The significance of good houses in relation to a healthy, moral life met slow understanding. Surveys (1934-1936) completed by the United States Government of 8,000,000 homes in 203 cities show that fifteen out of every 100 have no private flush toilets, twenty out of every 100 have no private baths. This average applied to our entire country means there are 4,500,000 dwelling units without flush toilets--6,000,000 without baths.

More startling are the figures showing that in some communities half the homes lack these primary sanitary facilities.

Of all the homes covered in the national survey, 20 per cent were without private bath or shower; in Louisville, 34.7 per cent were without private bath or shower.

Of approximately 83,700 Louisville dwelling units covered in the various classifications of the survey, a total of 8,750 or 10.5 per cent of these Louisville dwelling units had no running water. Of the 74,492 units which had running water, 51,269 had both hot and cold running water, while 23,673 had only cold running water; 26,581 or 31.7 per cent had "shared or no toilet," and 29,047 or 34.7 per cent had "shared or no bath."⁴

Such deplorable conditions should arouse the public to action instead of expecting medical authorities and public health officials to shoulder the whole responsibility.

4. Work Project, (W.P.A.) Urban Housing, A summary of Real Property Inventories of 8,000,000 American homes in 203 urban communities, (1934-36).

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND THE PUBLIC BATH HOUSE

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE AND THE PUBLIC BATH HOUSE

When Neighborhood House opened in 1896, the settlement workers not only found themselves in the most congested area of the community, but also in a neighborhood with a foreign population. This foreign group that the settlement served did not find it easy to become American citizens. Lack of knowledge of the language, habits and culture of their adopted home frequently made them objects of ridicule, and even of abuse.

The people with whom Neighborhood House was most concerned were nearly all foreign-born, or the children of foreign-born parents. To inspire them with the earnest desire to become true Americans and self-supporting, happy members of the community was the chief aim of the institution.

This foreign group, Italians, Russians and Polish Jews, did well to earn enough to provide for the very barest necessities of life. Large families were crowded into two and three rooms. Sanitary conditions were anything but desirable. With water accessible only from a hydrant in a backyard or from a corner pump, or

5. The chief sources of information for this chapter were:

City of Louisville, Reports, 1898-1915.
Neighborhood House, "Reports," 1898-1904.
Personal letters of Mrs. Mary Anderson Hill.
Tenement House Commission, Report, February 16, 1909.

even from a cistern, it was no easy matter to keep a family supplied with enough water for cooking, drinking, cleaning and bathing purposes. For example, the only water supply available for thirty-four families in two houses on one lot was a yard hydrant 135 feet distant from the rooms in the front of the house. This was bad enough for those who lived on the first floor but still worse for the second and third story tenants. Running up and down several flights of stairs many times a day, carrying heavy pails of water, was no game. Outside toilets in disgraceful condition were prevalent in this neighborhood. The sanitary accommodations of the area were revolting and indecent, and contaminated every breath of air that was drawn by the tenants living in the rear of the houses. Bath tubs were only dreamed of. It was true that many of these people came from sections of Europe where sanitary conditions were no better, but the crowded living condition was a new experience which was taking its toll. The struggle for existence, which was so much harder among these people who were near the edge of pauperism, sometimes left ugly marks on their characters. Diseases of all sort became rampant. Infections were common among the children. To become an American citizen was hard enough without the added burden of sickness and disease that could be prevented by improvement in sanitary conditions among the dwellers of this area.

The improvement of the sanitary conditions in the tenements surrounding the settlement became the first task of the residents

of Neighborhood House. There was not much to be hoped for from
 6
 the landlords, and since the health department was struggling
 with its program, the leaders at the settlement felt that a
 project might be started in the neighborhood which would arouse
 interest among the people for a change in their housing situation.
 The acceptance of social obligations by this settlement group in-
 volved in each instance a new line of conduct and one of the early
 activities of a summer program of Neighborhood House was organized
 about the bath tub.

The public bath house program was not a new idea. When in
 1898 Neighborhood House made the use of bath tubs available to
 the residents of its neighborhood, it was in line with a social
 movement that was already being accepted elsewhere.

What was actually done can best be told in Mrs. Mary Anderson
 Hill's own words:

There were two places for baths, privately owned and
 run, in the neighborhood. In the settlement we were
 concerned over the conditions in which these people
 had to live. I was able to rent one of these bath
 places, I think, two days a week during the morning
 for one summer. We gave baths either entirely free
 or for the smallest of nominal sums to all of the
 children. The children had to furnish their own
 towels. As I remember we gave about 1,000 baths in
 the course of those summer mornings. I gave a great
 many of them myself and anybody from the settlement
 who had free time came along with me. The next win-
 ter I went east to visit the settlements in New York

6. City Board of Health was established in 1866.

and Boston. I learned that in Boston, public bath houses had recently been established, I think in connection with the playgrounds. At any rate Robert Woods of South End House took me to see some of the Boston public bath houses and secured for me a great deal of material as to their cost and construction.

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When I returned to Louisville, Percy Booth took me to a city council meeting where I told the city fathers what I had learned in Boston and bestowed upon them the pamphlets I had brought back. I remember that the Councilmen seemed responsive.⁸

During the summer of 1898, Mr. A. A. Hall, the director of Neighborhood House had placed at his disposal the sum of \$80 to be used in giving free baths to the poor. With this amount he was enabled to give 954 baths to persons within Neighborhood House's area.

Though this bathing service was offered by Neighborhood House, the demand was much beyond the capacity to meet it. Realizing that the problem of meeting the sanitary needs of its neighbors was beyond any one institution's capacity, the workers felt that this attempt by the settlement must be extended if it was to be of any value.

Miss Mary D. Anderson began her campaign for public bath houses by approaching the city councilmen first. She pointed out the need for bath houses, and the danger in the lack of sanitary facilities to residents of her neighborhood and urged the councilmen to pass an ordinance permitting the establishment of

7. Member of Neighborhood House and Louisville Fresh Air Home Board.

8. Letter from Mrs. Mary Anderson Hill, January 3, 1939.

bath houses. The Councilmen listened attentively.

Dr. M. K. Allen, the Health Director, was also one who saw the relation of baths and cleanliness to good citizenship. He recognized that the habit of cleanliness should be cultivated and that it would contribute to the healthfulness of the people and the city. He felt that opportunity for bathing would reduce the cost of hospital care of the people of the community, as well as raise the standard of living generally. He and Miss Anderson continually urged the establishment of a public bath house. He pointed out that poor sanitary facilities were a menace to society.

However, both Miss Anderson and Dr. Allen failed to receive an immediate endorsement of their plan for public bath houses. Meantime Neighborhood House carried on its summer bath program. No part of the summer program was more gratefully received than the opportunity for free baths.

In 1900, Councilman A. J. Brandeis sponsored an ordinance appropriating \$1,000 for the establishment of a bath house, but without success. However, in 1901, the City of Louisville appropriated the sum of \$6,000 to be expended in the erection of a public bath house in the eastern part of the city.

The first public bath house was opened under the Board of Public Works on May 1, 1902, at 219 South Preston Street. For the remaining four months of the fiscal year (May, June, July, and August) the following figures show how much the bath house

was used:

MEN	5,754	
WOMEN	<u>2,189</u>	
		9
TOTAL	7,943 baths at a cost of \$465.91.	

With a bath house established in the neighborhood, the settlement workers made it their job to see that the people used it. Many days the settlement workers took forty or more children to the bath houses. In 1904 one bath tub was put into the laundry of Neighborhood House and in this tub the kindergartner, the trained nurse and other residents were constantly bathing very small children who had no facilities in their own homes. Since the public bath house was meeting the need of the adults and older children, Neighborhood House concentrated its effort on the very small children who needed better facilities than a public bath house offered.

From this beginning, other public bath houses were established in the city. One was established at 128 North 18th Street, one at 429 South 11th Street for the Negroes, and the last one at 1536 South 7th Street in the Cabbage Patch Settlement area. This one had showers and was built in 1915 opposite the huge Standard Sanitary Manufacturing plant at a cost of \$10,000. One cannot help wondering what is wrong. Why is it that some of those who make the bath tubs and showers must have them supplied through

9. General Council Report of Louisville, Kentucky, 1902, p. 506.

the free channels of the city, especially since the bath house program is so close to the needs of the people?

Perhaps it was that question that Carl Sandburg had in mind when he wrote, The People, Yes:

"I came to a country,"
 said a wind-bitten vagabond,
 "where I saw shoemakers barefoot
 saying they had made too many shoes.
 I met carpenters living outdoors
 saying they had built too many houses.

 And I talked with farmers, yeomanry,
 the backbone of the country,
 so they were told,
 saying they were in debt and near starvation
 because they had gone ahead like always
 and raised too much wheat and corn
 too many hogs, sheep, cattle.
 When I said, 'You live in a strange country,'
 they answered slow, like men
 who wouldn't waste anything, not even language:
 'You ain't far wrong there, young feller. 10
 We're going to do something, we don't know what.' "

In the 1934-35 City of Louisville report, the increasing use of the public bath houses was shown. The bath houses are now administered by the Department of Welfare. There were 95,743 free baths, costing .07 cents per person per bath. In this report the question was raised as to the advisability of continuing free baths. The report stated that while the public bath house encouraged cleanliness to some extent there were probably very few people who used them who could not bathe at home, although most, no doubt, did not have bath tubs or showers available. This

10. Sandburg, Carl, The People, Yes, p. 73.

comment indicates, probably, the desire for a saving in the city budget but the carrying out of such a suggestion would be out of line with the need of such a service. Figures that are quoted later prove that this need has not yet been met completely.

Forty-one years after the first experiment with free baths and thirty-seven years after the establishment of the first public bath house, this community is still facing the problems of having enough homes for low income groups equipped with a minimum standard of sanitary facilities. The problem is not as serious as it was in the days of Mr. Hill and Miss Anderson, but nevertheless it is far from being met. Great progress has been made in other phases of the health program but progress in housing has been slow. It was learned from the 931 visitors who attended the Fresh Air Home during the summer of 1938 that 60 per cent of the families are without tubs in their homes, that 53 per cent have inside toilets but 47 per cent have outside toilets. We have a long road still to travel.

Through the establishment of the public bath house, Neighborhood House with the City Health Department attempted to meet a particular need of a certain group of people in the hope that some day provisions for better housing might be recognized as a community responsibility. It was also hoped that through the use of the public bath house the importance of bathing in maintaining health and fair home standards would be understood so

that no family would continue to live or be expected to live in a house, flat, or apartment in which the minimum standards of sanitary facilities were not available.

It has been the work of Neighborhood House and other social agencies co-operating with city health authorities that has helped the community to understand the value of better housing and to accept the responsibility of meeting its obligations to even its humblest citizens. The progress in municipal housing in Louisville today is encouraging. Two low-¹¹ cost housing projects are completed and occupied. One slum clearance housing project is under way and another is about to be started.

To insure the benefits of such projects to a community, the groups which will enjoy this privilege must participate in securing these advantages. They must learn what better housing means to them as well as to the community. The responsibility for carrying out housing programs rests not with the United States Housing Authorities alone but with the communities themselves. They must be willing to share in the responsibility of

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11. LaSalle Place for white people has 210 living units covering fourteen acres, built at a cost of \$1,200,000. College Court for Negroes has 125 living units on five acres. This project cost \$700,000.

Aronovici and McCalmont, Catching Up With Housing, 1936, p. 179.

securing and using these advantages. Individuals alone cannot do much, but as informed groups they have power to achieve. Neighborhood House, as a community center still has an obligation to the citizens and still offers to the groups which it serves an opportunity for personal development and social accomplishment.

CHAPTER V

GROUP WORK AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PLANNING

1

GROUP WORK AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PLANNING

In the foregoing chapter an attempt has been made to show the development of social programs through the efforts of social leaders in co-operation with Neighborhood House residents. This historical analysis has shown that these programs have been the results mostly of the efforts of a few socially minded individuals. But today, in the belief that the preservation of democracy depends upon developing wide group participation in governmental and social programs, it is the writer's contention that another technique of securing social reform and the achievement of social programs must increasingly be used. The old method of the assumption by leaders of the burden of all social change must give way to the method of training and encouraging the groups concerned to participate as groups in furthering programs of social action.

In the words of an outstanding leader in the field, "social group work is the promotion and leadership of mutual--participant groups in which members participate collectively in the feeling,

1. Chief sources of information for this chapter were:

- Boyd, Neva L., Social Group Work, A Definition with a Methodical Note.
 Busch, Henry, Leadership in Group Work.
 Coyle, Grace L., Group Work and Social Change.
 Follett, Mary, The New State.
 Lieberman, Joshua, New Trends in Group Work.
 Lindenberg, Sidney J., Supervision in Group Work.

thinking and action involved in carrying out communal interests."²

One of the main purposes "is to help an individual through a group to which he voluntarily allies himself, to strengthen worth-while personality characteristics, to eliminate faulty ones, and to broaden his horizons through new interests, better thinking and sounder action."³ Another purpose of group work is to maintain a group process within groups concerned with group action, social action or social planning. It is this latter purpose with which this chapter is concerned.

Group work as a profession began as a form of social service under the auspices of the church as did almost every form of social work. From 1865 to 1885 the first of the group work agencies,⁴ the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., were organized to provide opportunities for Christian living for young men and women who were away from home. Classes and recreational activities grew up at the "Y" residences. The endeavor to improve the living conditions of these young people, to help them better themselves as well as their jobs, was part of the same movement that sent friendly visitors into the homes of the poor and sick and to form societies for the improvement of the conditions of the poor.

2. Boyd, Neva L., Social Group Work, A Definition with a Methodical Note, 1937.

3. Lindenberg, Sidney J., Supervision in Group Work, 1939, preface.

4. Collins, Alice H., Methods in Group Work, 1938, p. 2.

The leaders of the settlements, another group work movement, believed that social improvements could be accomplished by having members of the more fortunate classes live among the less privileged, sharing with them their culture and education, helping them to improve their housing, working and home conditions. As the work increased they recruited their friends and attracted for leadership of the settlement groups the most socially minded of the more privileged community.

Later came the Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and other such organizations which continued the use of volunteer leaders, extending the organization over a large area supervised by national offices. The group work movement was definitely tying itself to an interest in the small group, being less concerned with bringing about social changes and more concerned with program content.

Individuals of all ages were served by these agencies, and the variety of activities offered to them were numerous. In far too many of these organizations, however, the activities offered when honestly evaluated, represented mere methods for consuming the leisure time of individuals. Very little was being done to educate people to become clear thinking, intelligent-acting social beings anxious and able to build and perpetuate true democracy. The growing awareness, on the part of the group-workers, of their responsibility to train groups to master the social difficulties that threaten further social progress, and even

civilization itself, is the most basic present trend in group work thinking. The group worker, like many other educators, believes democracy cannot survive unless people soon find an appropriate solution for some of their economic and social problems. And it is recognized that in order to find this solution, it is necessary first for groups to understand the democratic group process.

Let us consider the group process as it is developed through group work. Perhaps the most familiar example of the evolving of a group idea is a committee meeting. The object of a committee meeting is first of all to create a common idea. One does not go to such a meeting merely to give one's own ideas. If that were all, one might write a letter to the fellow-members of the committee. But neither does one go to learn only the ideas of other people. If that were all one could write a letter asking for such ideas. One goes to a group committee meeting in order that all together the group may create a group idea, an idea which will be better than any one of the ideas alone, and which will be better than all the ideas added together. For this group idea will not be produced by any process of addition, but by the interpenetration of all. Miss Mary Follett describes so well this group process:

Let us imagine that you, I, A, B, and C are in conference. Now what from our observations of groups will take place? Will you say something, and then I add a little something, and then A, and B, and C, until we have together built up, brick-wise, an idea, constructed some plan of action? Never. A has one idea, B another, C's idea is something different from either,

and so on, but we cannot add all these ideas to find the group idea. They will not add any more than apples and chairs will add. But we gradually find that our problem can be solved, not indeed by mechanical aggregation, but by the subtle process of the intermingling of all the different ideas of the group. A says something. Thereupon a thought arises in B's mind. Is it B's idea or A's? Neither. It is a mingling of the two. We find that A's idea, after having been presented to B and returned to A, has become slightly, or largely, different from what it was originally. In like manner it is affected by C and so on. But in the same way B's idea has been affected by all the others, and not only does A's idea feel the modifying influence of each of the others, but A's ideas are affected by B's relation to all the others, and A's plus B's are affected by all the others individually and collectively, and so on and on until the common idea springs into being. We find in the end that it is not a question of my idea being supplemented by yours, but that there has been evolved a composite idea. But by the time we have reached this point we have become tremendously civilized people, for we have learned one of the most important lessons of life: we have learned to do that most wonderful thing, to say "I" representing a whole instead of "I" representing one of our separate selves. The course of action decided upon is what we all together want, and I see that it is better than what I had wanted alone. It is what I now want.⁵

Since this particular type of experience, as described by Miss Follett, does require an intensive and comprehensive form of effort, the opportunity for the development and perfection of the concept and technique of group work lies in the effort of group work agencies.

In order to create social programs that will be effective and that are the result of co-operative efforts, the various groups concerned must discuss and vote on matters concerning

5. Follett, Mary, New State, 1926, p. 25.

these programs. The process of creating co-operative group action must be on a pyramid basis. The progress of the program depends upon the interpenetration of all the groups concerned. Representatives from the smallest mutual units, which are the base of the pyramid, may meet with each other for further discussion and voting. By this process of joining one small group with another through representation, each group's experience is enriched by the experience and thinking of other groups. In this process, no one group carries with it any strong prejudices but rather a group feeling or opinion that will be shared for the benefit of the whole. For example, we cannot stamp out child labor in one area without joining with other areas which want the same thing. If we want better housing laws, we join with other groups who want these things. Even if some local needs seem urgent, the method of satisfying them ought not to be for one group to pull as hard as it can, while another group is also pulling as hard as it can for the same thing, and the winner of such tug-of-war to get the prize. But rather the needs of all should be discussed and considered and the decision based on how to meet the greatest need.

As this process is followed, a final idea for a program is achieved that will not only serve those concerned but will also represent the participation of those concerned. To achieve this, the process described by Miss Follett must be a part of the procedure. This is not easy, it is true, but democracy is a hard

thing to maintain. There can be no real co-operative thinking in groups where there is only competitive or combative thinking or effort. On the other hand, co-operative thinking does not mean "like thinking" but rather an interpenetration of different views, traditions and reasons, and out of this difference can emerge a group result or idea to meet the need of the group. How can this be done? Group work requires the service of skilled leaders. Such leaders must be trained technicians if the group process is to develop in the direction of creating not only a successful program, but also an individual who can participate in the democratic process. The group leader should be that type of person, known as a "group builder."⁶

A leader of this type develops within the group the increasing powers of initiating, planning, carrying responsibility, and assuming leadership while at the same time extending the interests of the group into broader and richer areas. The leader must not only have a body of knowledge and skills at her command⁷ but also must have an enthusiasm for the program and an alertness to social needs of the groups as well as the community. How well the adult individual functions within groups depends of course

6. Busch, Henry, Leadership in Group Work, 1936, p. 120.

7. This includes the ability to make effective use of knowledge and services of experts in areas where technical information and judgment are necessary for the solution of problems.

on his previous social experiences in family, school and other groups. These other influences upon the individual must be recognized by the group leader. The technique of a group leader must be directed toward securing active participation of the individual within groups; toward adjustment of the individual to the group, while keeping in mind that the individual is a part of many groups and of society as a whole. To learn to perform within a group, or in a democratic manner, requires practice. To afford opportunity for such practice is an essential function of group work agencies and particularly the settlements. Through the group method, the private agency can provide the opportunity to small groups to study and prepare the way for programs to meet existing needs not yet widely enough recognized and accepted to command the support of the whole community. By giving the opportunity to participate in a group through the group work process on questions of social action, the private agency serves a most valuable purpose. This function gives opportunity to individuals and the group leader to work actively to develop the public opinion and legislation necessary to make more adequate provisions for the need of all persons in the community on a public basis. In the settlement, a private social agency, there is freedom to function in the realm of contemporary social issues, such as avoidance of war, safeguarding civil liberties, securing higher standards of living for the great masses of people, and the preservation of democratic principles of government.

The responsibility of the group worker as educator is emphasized by Dr. Grace Coyle:

As leisure assumes a larger part in our life, the opportunities for education provided by the informal, voluntary activities of the group work agency become an increasingly significant part in the total educational program of the community. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the group-worker to try and envisage his part as an educator in our contemporary life.⁸

Through group experience, through discussion, people may be interested in the conditions under which they live and then may be taught to do something about them. Discussion is a preparation for participation in social movements. Through this tool groups can be encouraged to take a greater interest in economic and social affairs, and in time be educated to carry on many of the affairs that concern their existence. Through acquiring facts and information with regard to local conditions affecting them, people can be led to discuss new ways to do things and to help develop such programs that will not only protect themselves but guarantee their political, social and economic rights. A progressive and just social order can be maintained by, and rests primarily on an enlightened public and an enlightened public can be assured only so far as the public participates in securing a progressive social order for itself. Democracy will stand or fall on this point. Although we want group

8. Coyle, Grace L., "Group Work and Social Change," National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1935, p. 393.

participation, that does not mean that we must wait for new ideas to appear among the people; we must help them to produce them, thus making possible the endless creation of new social values. Group participation in problems of social concern gives the individual understanding as to his relation to the larger group of which he is a part, and to society as a whole. It gives each one opportunity to accept the responsibility for group action; to develop an awareness of the fact that final responsibility for social action must be taken by the larger group. Group work is a training that prepares the individual to assume his place in a democracy. Reform cannot be superimposed on a people but rather it must be brought about by starting at the bottom in the way of getting the people to read and study something about the forces that are at work shaping our civilization.

If individuals could learn to be effective members in the group situation concerned with the enrichment of life for all, it would be a simple matter to unite all the forces in the country for a comprehensive welfare program. To be effective members in a group, one must learn and face facts, and then must assume with the group, the responsibility of interpreting the meaning of the facts and of setting up efforts to meet whatever needs these facts disclose. Group work offers a way to create a constructive common cause and gives opportunity to the individual to raise himself to a pitch of enthusiasm for such cause.

This creative experience makes use of all human resources. If those of us who are interested in creating constructive forces had been clever enough, we should have seen that for destructive forces such as war, the method of creating group interest, group loyalties and common purposes has long been used.

The question may be asked here, "What contribution has this function of group work to make to our present social situation?" When we consider the large numbers of young people who belong to the clubs, classes, interest groups, house councils, and other activities of the settlement, where group work may be a part of the program, we can see that we have in fact a great school in collective living going on continuously within the controlled environment of the agency. As the club and group members have to select their leaders, run their meetings, lead discussions, arrive at collective decisions, and carry through their projects, the experience of organized life is built up. From these agencies the members will go out into other units such as trade unions, churches, political parties, and pressure groups of all kinds. It becomes important, therefore, for group workers to examine their methods and objectives to see what is the quality of collective effort which they are teaching. The group worker must recognize his responsibility as an educator to develop, insofar as he can, that kind of experience in collective living which, when repeated outside of the agency, may lead to democratic and effective methods of social interaction.

It is necessary to point out here that the group method of attempting to bring about social change is, of course, only one method. But it is one which must be used increasingly if social planning is to be effective and democratic and in the interest of preserving democracy.

Eduard C. Lindeman explains so well the relation of group work to democracy:

O Democracy ! how many crimes are committed in thy name ! From my point of view, the greatest of these crimes is not hypocrisy but the prevailing lazy attitude that prevents sentimental adherents of democracy from developing scientific methods for its realization. Democracy is neither a goal nor a gift. On the contrary, it is an exceedingly difficult mode of life that emerges as a result of certain kinds of experience and which places⁹ upon its participants an unusual form of responsibility.

Group work is a scientific method of not only developing but also of maintaining democracy. Mr. Lindeman continues:

As I observe varieties of contemporary experience, it appears to me that group work, either by design or by 'accident' is utilized primarily in recreation, education, and in social organization--that is, in playing, in learning, and administering. If a considerable proportion of those experiences which may be labeled as enjoyment, as learning, and as functional achievement were operating under group-work discipline, I should have no further fears concerning the future of democracy.⁹

The method of securing social programs as described in this thesis, where a few leaders directed all efforts and performed

9. Lindeman, Eduard, "Group Work and Democracy," New Trends in Group Work, 1938, p. 50.

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all services, must give way if social reform is to be effective. It must no longer be a small group of leaders banding together in behalf of a cause and setting up slogans in order to win support. But rather it is necessary that the group should determine action through the group process of inter-relating their thinking in thoughtful deliberation based on actual facts and genuine understanding of needs. This is necessary so that the individual when faced with the necessity of choosing paths will know how and why to make certain choices. From such experiences, he can learn not to heed the loudest crier but to weigh facts and decide on the basis of group needs and group understanding. It must no longer be that groups shall follow the calling of one more voice urging it to follow its leadership. Far too many social movements have appeared to come from the groups and are designed to give the impression that the participation of the people is in the organization. But in practice they are frequently planned with the sole purpose of giving expression to the will of those on the inside of the movement and often it is this that makes results so negative. This kind of leadership tends to make people accept dictatorship as the only way out.

10. This method was used by social leaders and workers of Neighborhood House; See Chapters I, II, and III. The lack of participation by the groups in the development of these programs is also evident.

Joshua Lieberman says:

The danger of dictatorship lies not so much in the individual ambitions of would-be dictators, but in a public without social consciousness or in a bewildered public inexperienced in meeting social strains and trained to rely on the leadership of others and that turns with relief to a strong individual or group promising to assume responsibility for their welfare.

The group work field is in an excellent position to meet this need and to provide its membership with the training and experience that will help to make them socially effective people. We can, of course, nullify our opportunities if our work is conducted along authoritarian lines and if responsibilities are carried by executives or sponsoring committees so that the individual member's function is limited to attendance, the payment of dues, and an occasional vote. If we wish to perpetuate democracy we must permit democracy to be experienced.

Every group experience leaves its effect. The members may learn either to be submissive to authority or to share authority. He may learn either to evaluate life around him critically or to accept everything traditional. He may learn to co-operate with others or to follow instructions. He may learn to contribute to the development of his group and assume his share of responsibility for its welfare and functions or he may learn to believe that only people with special gifts can assume such responsibility.¹¹

The group process cannot bring quick results but when it has been used it will produce a result that will be sound and far reaching. Democracy cannot operate quickly. We must be willing to accept the slowness of group growth if we are to perpetuate the value of group procedure as a means of developing a democratic process in order to maintain democracy.

11. Lieberman, Joshua, New Trends in Group Work, 1938, preface.

Democracy in operation as experienced in the group process sometimes appears to be disorderly. This is legitimate and not to be discouraged. Herbert Agar says:

The people most responsible for most revolutions are the men who prefer injustice to disorder. Injustice is the prime 'big problem.' It is the breeding ground for all other big problems. Wars and crime and class struggle--they all stem from injustice. But when injustice is faced, when a cure is attempted there is bound to be some disorder, some upsetting of established methods, some inconvenience.

Some leaders turn their back on the injustice, on the 'big problems,' because they do not choose to brave the inconvenience, the disorder, of a transition. By doing this they keep calm and healthy. But the world doesn't keep healthy. The world slides to hell, and out of the hell comes revolution.

The men responsible for revolutions are the men who prefer injustice to disorder.¹²

One of the criteria of successful group work must be the extent to which the large group is able to undertake and carry out group action, at first in its own small world but ultimately in the ever-widening community, where there is increasingly less personal gain but greater group gain. Another is how well the leader has been able to have the democratic process related to the life of the people so that it will be easily understood, and clearly defined so that the people will stand under it in spite of pressure that may come, or in spite of demonstrations of its misuse which they may see at work in their community.

12. Agar, Herbert, "The Big Problems," Courier-Journal, November 25, 1938.

And to secure the kind of social action that could be effective, it must come more from the masses plus the work of the socially minded persons and the technician in the particular field.

Such action as described by Miss Follett in her explanation of the group process, can help create a social structure that will increase the survival of the group and it is necessary that the group create the means by which it is to survive. If the dignity of the common man is to be maintained, the common man must maintain it. The place where democracy is threatened is in the heart, in the mind, and in the understanding of the common man.

The most pronounced trend in the field of informal education during recent years has been the rise and recognition of group work as an essential social and educational function basic to many agencies. In spite of slow progress and slow understanding the term "group work" is acquiring the sanction of usage as a symbol of a new body of methods and meaning in the social work profession. The significance of this method of procedure with groups as a form of social work is being recognized by the creation of group work councils and divisions within councils of social agencies, and in the newly formed section of Social Group Work of the National Conference of Social Work. Publications on the subject tend to bring recognition to this field, and finally the establishment of professional schools for training illustrate

the growing recognition of group education as a basic social function common to many social agencies.

Group work as a profession is still on new ground. Those who see in it a new educational force look to the future for more rapid progress in this field.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing historical analysis of the three social programs studied has been an attempt to show the efforts of Neighborhood House in social planning and to interpret the need of further development of group work within such agencies. It must be recognized that the efforts toward improving social conditions have been made not only to correct wrongs to certain groups, but also to make our democracy a real one. As the problems and needs of the various groups became apparent, social workers as other leaders saw in the failure to meet these needs not only a detriment to the group itself, but also a threat to democracy. These leaders were cognizant of the fact that no system could function as a democracy when one part of its group was suffering from social injustice, while another portion of this same society lived in ignorance of such conditions.

In the programs studied, evidence of the lack of participation by the groups concerned in securing these programs is evident. The most noticeable effort towards securing group participation was in the contribution of the clubs and classes of Neighborhood House toward disseminating information on various child labor acts. If this interest could have been extended further, by getting these groups to take active part in the securing and building up of these legislative programs, the result

would have been more effective. The attempt by the Child Welfare Commission to organize a state-wide child welfare committee in an effort to educate the public to the need for a Children's Bureau was another endeavor toward getting the general public concerned with social reform movements, which again if carried further would have tended to create a more intelligent and active public. As has already been pointed out, the Kentucky Children's Bureau, to have been effective, should have been the crystallization of a state-wide desire and demand. Such a demand could have come only if all groups concerned had helped to create the act. Participation in the development of the child welfare program would have brought to the groups an interest in and understanding of this legislative program. It is in such spheres that the group worker with special skills can be of valuable assistance. With his knowledge of how to develop groups, and how to develop co-operative action, he can bring into the field of social reform a needed technique for creating better group relations. And through that technique he can bring an opportunity for a co-operative experience whereby the people themselves can do away with many of the evils of social injustice.

However, the lack of participation by the public is no criticism of the work of those early leaders, as it was the accepted method of social work procedure of that period, the leaders not only pointing out the direction, but also assuming

the full responsibility for social action. It is true that the integral part of every significant movement which concerns the people has been the pioneer who pushed forward and pointed the way to progress, by urging changes and reform. From the valuable contributions made by the pioneers in social reform movements one has come to learn that no longer must the efforts for social welfare programs be the life work of any one leader merely, but the life work of leaders and groups working together for social action. Today, the leader no longer may follow the orthodox pattern of using only "key people" and social leaders of a community to achieve social change, because we now realize that desired results come only when the whole group becomes concerned. The group leader points out to the groups the necessity for their participation in social planning; he directs attention to their potential power as participating groups.

In the past, very little social work has had its origin in the efforts of the masses to improve their own social conditions. It has been shown, as in the case of the Kentucky Children's Bureau, that it is not the securing of a good law that brings the necessary change to serious social ills. It is not a matter only of laws to correct wrongs, but rather a matter of good laws with good administration and properly trained personnel and an intention on the part of the people that these laws shall function. John Dewey says, "No social change is more than external unless it is attended by, and rooted in, the attitudes

of those who bring it about and of those who are affected by it."¹

Following that line of thought, we can understand why progress in child welfare, in housing programs, in securing better sanitary facilities for low renting houses has been so slow in Kentucky. It has been not because the need for these things was not recognized by the leaders but because social efforts toward change were not "attended by, and rooted in, the attitudes of those who were affected by it."¹

It is in the field of social planning that settlement houses such as Neighborhood House can make vital contributions to the growth of their communities. Since the private agency is free to deal with contemporary social questions and also to pioneer and experiment in these new areas, the settlement must provide within its agency for experience in group management, in co-operation for a common interest and in collective behavior. By offering such experience, the agency can help its members to discover how to take their place in this organizational life and how to work for progressive social programs. It is in this field that the settlement must now forge ahead. For as it has been proved through the historical analysis used in this study, no program can perform satisfactorily nor completely unless the community organizes and demands it.

1. Dewey, John, "Democracy and Education," New Trends in Group Work, p. 68.

If the workers despite their weak position both politically and economically could be made conscious of their powers as active, alert groups they could enforce for themselves the full advantages of the laws intended for their protection. Today experiences in democratic procedure are more essential to social participation than ever before. Without this experience, the average man is bewildered by the social, economic, and political problems that beset him, and he feels increasingly helpless to do anything about them. Unless he learns to participate in social reform movements, he must be content to rely on the promised benevolences of political, industrial, or other types of leadership. When the strain becomes great, democracy appears not to work because we have not learned to master and to use democratic forces for the control of those matters that are important to us.

As Miss Follett says, the group process contains the secret of collective life, it is the key to democracy, it is the master lesson for every individual to learn, it is our chief hope for the political, social and the international life of the future.²

This thesis has attempted to show that small groups can serve great areas in meeting needs, but that in the future it will be small groups made up not only of the leaders of a community but also of those who are the ones who will receive the benefits of the change. That is, the group work method will

2. Follett, Mary, New State, 1923, p. 23.

be the procedure used to unite leaders and workers for a common cause. We can say that group work is a method that is employed within an organized program representative of a community's interest in assisting its individual members. Group work can be utilized to create group interaction which will produce programs concerned with meeting such needs as are derived from the impoverishment of the environment or the limitations of individual capacity. So, it is not only a question of, "Who shall do it?" but also, "How shall it be done?"

In conclusion, it is fitting that we pay tribute to those leaders who have pioneered and labored for social causes which have attempted to aid distressed groups. Very definitely the foregoing historical sketches have proved that the settlement workers along with other socially minded individuals have been leaders in social pioneering. They have willingly co-operated with other groups and have taken advantage of programs which would help to forward social reforms. However, at this point it is necessary to mention that the slowness of Kentucky to move forward with these social leaders indicates in part the lack of good group work methods and the lack of wide popular participation of the people in different sections of the community and state.

For example, when the Kentucky Children's Bureau was established, if those placed in charge had been trained social workers with a knowledge of group organization, the results would probably have been different. Organizing people into participating groups requires a particular skill and technique. The group worker with his knowledge of group work technique can bring much to the field of social planning. And again, the attempt to secure public bath houses was a splendid opportunity for establishing neighborhood study groups. The bath house movement would have been more effective and meaningful if the groups for whom these efforts were intended had participated in the development of the program. Such participation would have given these groups a better understanding of social planning in relation to community needs.

It is shown in this thesis that the settlement leaders worked untiringly for these social programs with what little funds they were able to raise through individual contributions. Later, as the programs developed they were assisted by funds from private and public organizations.

From the efforts described we have seen a child welfare legislative program develop, bringing certain opportunities to the children of Kentucky. Where these efforts proved to be successful, their values are being utilized by the present State Welfare Department for the building of a better child welfare program.

Though Kentucky has yet far to go before she can say that she does not neglect her children, the progress made by the present

State Welfare Department indicates advancement in this field.

The Louisville Fresh Air Home was definitely an attempt to meet the need for vacations and outdoor opportunities for the less privileged groups. The public bath houses served to meet a lack in sanitary facilities in the tenement and low rent housing areas. The Louisville Fresh Air Home and the Public Bath Houses have met the particular needs of some of the less privileged members of the community. However, many of the conditions that prompted these programs are still existent and the extension of these programs into the proper channels is the task of the future if we are to say that all the people of this community have, at least, a minimum share of opportunities for a richer and fuller life.

In retrospect we can say that it is in the field of experimenting and pioneering in social planning and services that Neighborhood House, in co-operation with other private social agencies, has made a contribution to the social welfare of Louisville and the State of Kentucky.

However, as programs for social betterment tend to develop, the groups to benefit by these social changes must participate more and must understand these programs if they are to be effective and meaningful in the life of the groups for whose benefits they are established. Group workers must recognize that securing participation of all groups in social activity is their responsibility. Social work in the field of social planning no longer

must have the air of paternalism. Whatever advancements are achieved for social betterment must be the results of a group effort of more than the social leaders and social workers if these efforts are to have more than an external value. If group participation is to be developed, it seems that the group work agency, whose programs are built to fit into the leisure time of people, must meet this challenge.

If we can learn to evolve social legislation and social programs by the group-work method, not only will we help to combat the dangers that threaten democracy but we will also be learning how to live in a democracy.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A

The following is a letter from Dr. Edward N. Clopper to the writer which describes the participation of Miss Ingram and Neighborhood House in the child welfare program in Kentucky:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
January 26, 1939.

Dear Madam:

When I became acquainted with Frances Ingram, in 1908, she was attending a hearing on a child labor bill, held by a committee of the legislature in Frankfort. From that time on, she was the moving spirit in the child welfare field--organizing groups, energizing committees, and stimulating reforms. In those days the social settlement was a leader in many social welfare undertakings of a general character--it launched movements and then, because of their importance, specializing organizations were set up to carry on the work more intensively, each in its own field. As the head resident of an influential settlement, Frances Ingram was active not only in furthering desirable reforms already under way, but also in discerning the need for improvement in relatively untouched areas. She laid special emphasis on the necessity of protecting and nurturing children because child welfare means ultimate social welfare, and she has ever since then put all the force of her convictions, all the energy of her nature, and all the charm of her personality into the cause of well-being for children. Bettering conditions in a neighborhood is good, but this is not enough--there must be a broad attack upon general conditions so that all neighborhoods may be bettered. This is the philosophy of the social settlement and Frances Ingram has successfully lived it for many years.

Very truly yours,
Edward N. Clopper.

B

Excerpts given below are from the 1938 Report of the Child Welfare Division, State Welfare Department:

It is fitting to say that the evolution of a child welfare program in Kentucky goes back to 1920, when the Governor appointed a Children's Code Commission, the outgrowth of a study made by the National Child Labor Committee in 1919. In 1922 the Children's Code Commission proposed the establishment of a permanent Child Welfare Commission, which was done during the year. While the functions of this Commission were purely advisory, and no funds were provided for any services, the Commission did recognize the problems in the State and did keep interest in them alive until the Legislature in 1928 set up the Kentucky Children's Bureau, giving it the power to establish a Mothers' Aid program, to organize County Child Welfare Boards, and to provide generally for dependent and neglected children. However, this law was permissive and did not define personnel, which two factors no doubt were the cause of slow progress under the Bill from 1928 to 1937....

CONDITIONS IN KENTUCKY IN 1935

At the time of the initiation of the present child welfare program the picture of conditions in Kentucky stood as follows:

- 101 children under 18 living in Almshouses, and the number increasing.
- 42 institutions for dependent children--with little co-ordination of effort and no public supervision. In 1931, annual cost of 38 institutions was \$2,000,000. 5,155 children are in these.
- 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the children are given education inside the institutions. Meager recreation in the majority.
- 13 institutions - 1500 children given away, from Canada to Florida.
- 46 agencies-total child population under care 16,551 (including all institutions and foster homes.)

4 institutions working toward placement.
 6 agencies-3,400 children placed in homes.
 3 agencies supervise children placed-1,279.
 1,000 illegitimate children born annually in
 Kentucky, for whom little care is provided.
 135 feeble-minded children are scattered through
 other institutions that belong to the School
 for the Feeble-Minded at Frankfort.

Only one child protective agency in the State-
 it is a city one.

No trained visiting teachers in Kentucky.

Only 6 probation officers in counties.

Only 4 institutions employ social workers.

State Institutions had no control over admissions, as they accepted children committed by Courts, with no field staff to investigate beforehand. Children's cases were usually heard publicly and about the same treatment given as was given to adults. The lack of co-ordination, little co-operation between public and private agencies, little study of applications and discharges, lack of trained personnel and uncertainty of tenure--all were problems confronting the State.

C

The following excerpts are from an act to create a commission, to be known as the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and to prescribe its duties and functions:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

1. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission, composed of nine members, who shall be citizens of the State of Kentucky and who shall serve without compensation. The members of the Commission shall be appointed by the Governor; three for a period of one year, three for a period of two years and three for a period of three years from date of appointment.

2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to continue the survey of Child Welfare in the Commonwealth of Kentucky heretofore begun by the Children's Code Commission authorized under joint resolution of the General Assembly of 1920; to present to the Governor and the General Assembly, prior to each legislative session, a report of their findings and recommendations based thereon; to prepare data upon the subject, and be ready at all times to advise the Governor or any member of the General Assembly concerning the bills relating to children which may be introduced at any session of the General Assembly....

Kentucky Acts, 1922, Chapter 107, p. 281.

D

Excerpts from the 1924 Report of the Kentucky Child Welfare

Commission:

The 1924 General Assembly brought success to but three of the measures recommended by the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission. To the casual observer then, it might seem that we have suffered defeat and disheartening failure. To the Commission the Session has not been a failure. Although our dream for a children's bureau came to naught,--we are not disheartened. We are not disheartened because we have learned a valuable lesson, because we know we can win next time....

The Commission thought that there was a general knowledge concerning the Children's Bureau, that there was a general understanding of its main principles and ideals. But we have found many who do not know, some who do not understand, and a few who positively misunderstand. Therefore, we are not sorry to wait two years, in that two years we hope to put on a plan of state-wide publicity and education so that everybody in Kentucky shall not only know and understand the Children's Bureau, but shall so strongly feel the need for such a Bureau that there will be a general state-wide demand for its creation and establishment. If the Children's Bureau can come in answer to such

a state-wide demand, if it has from the very outset state-wide interest and co-operation, then its success is assured and it will be one of the greatest forces in shaping the future of Kentucky.

One of the three measures passed at this session of the General Assembly is remedial in character in that it provides care for those children already crippled in body. The other two partake more of prevention, one being a bill to secure the conservation of vision of those children who have defective eyes, the other a Home rule recreation for both young and old.

For 1926 the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission again recommends first and foremost the creation of a State Children's Bureau, with the various counties. We hope and believe that after two years of publicity and education this recommendation will come not only from the commission, but from every club and organization throughout the state, from every individual in the State who has at heart the welfare and protection of the children of Kentucky.

Again we recommend an adult probation law, especially with the provision for the use of the suspended sentence.

The Amendments to the Juvenile Court Law and Child Labor Laws which formed an important part of our 1924 program will again be proposed in 1926, because we believe them to be in line with the more modern and approved principles of child welfare. For the same reason we will again seek the repeal of the apprenticeship system....

Proposed changes in the marriage law, notably raising the age to 16 of girls and 18 for boys, and requiring the five days posting of notice before license can be secured, were objected to on the ground of violation of personal liberty. We shall again propose these changes.

E

The following is a part of the bill which suggested the uniting of the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and the Kentucky

Crippled Children's Commission:

IN SENATE
Regular Session 1926
Amendment by Way of Substitute to Senate Bill No. 262

Wednesday, February 24, 1926

The Committee on Child Welfare and Social Work offered the following amendment by way of substitute to Senate Bill No. 262, which was ordered to be printed, viz.:

AN ACT to repeal and re-enact an act entitled, "AN ACT" to create a commission to be known as the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and to prescribe its duties and functions, "which act became a law on March 24, 1922, being chapter 107 of the Acts of 1922, and to repeal and re-enact chapter 15 of the Acts of 1924, being an act to provide for the treatment and care of crippled children and to create a commission to carry out the provisions thereof, known as the Kentucky Crippled Children's Commission, and to create in lieu of said Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and of said Kentucky Crippled Children's Commission, the Kentucky Crippled Children's Bureau, and to prescribe its duties and functions, and making an appropriation therefor.

F

Statement from Courier-Journal, January 1929, describing the provisions of the Children's Bureau bill or "Children's Rights" bill:

The Children's Rights Bill, sponsored jointly by the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and the Kentucky Mothers' Aid Association was introduced into the Senate and House last Monday by Senator Richardson of Davnille and Representative Ryans of Louisville respectively. It is Senate Bill 78.

This bill provides for the creation of a State Children's Bureau and of County Children's Bureau; it

provides further for the administration of mothers' pensions or mothers' aid under the State and County Bureaus. The granting of money for such aid, however, is permissive with the Fiscal Court or County Commissioner of each individual county.

Under the bill introduced, the Children's Bureau shall concern itself with improving the standards of care and protection of children in Kentucky. It is specifically provided in the bill, however, that the Bureau is not, in any way, to infringe upon the activity of any existing agency for children, either public or private. This would mean that the work now being done by the Crippled Children's Commission would be left to that Commission to continue the excellent work which it has carried forward. The bill also specifically provides that no agent of the state or county bureau may enter a home or institution without permission from the person in charge. The county Children's Bureau would assist in the enforcement of compulsory education; would act as probation or parole officers for courts that have no such workers and would perform such service to children as may be requested by the Fiscal Court or the county judge; and to administer the funds for Mothers' Aid within the county itself.

In such a county as Jefferson County, the County Judge and County Superintendent of Schools would nominate a list of people for the State Bureau and should in turn nominate five who shall compose the board for the County Children's Bureau. The bill provides that this board shall be non-political; the members shall serve without compensation and they shall represent both sexes. The bill requests the appropriation of \$10,000 for administrative purposes and \$35,000 to be used entirely for aid to dependent mothers and their children. This \$35,000 is to be matched by those counties which wish to provide assistance to dependent mothers and children.

The bill very carefully defines the qualifications of mothers entitled to aid and every safeguard has been thrown around to keep it from being abused and from being a political foot ball. Only mothers with dependent children (in nine-tenths of the cases these will probably consist of widows with children) who through investigation are shown to be competent mothers perfectly able to bring up their children as decent, self-respecting citizens, will be eligible to receive assistance.

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