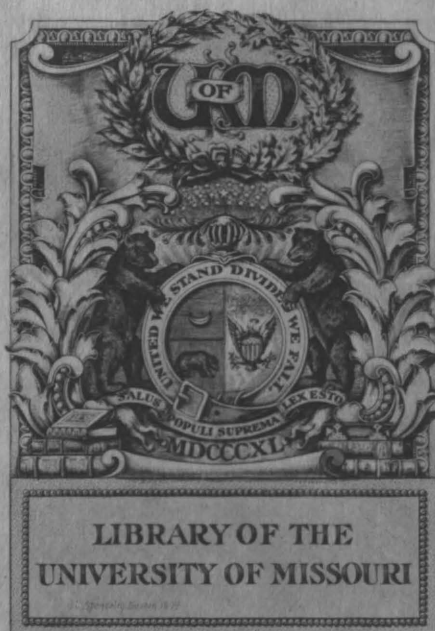


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THE WORK
OF THE BOARD OF PUBLIC
WELFARE OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

by
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C H A P T E R I .

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE -
A UNIQUE INSTITUTION.

THE
BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
A UNIQUE INSTITUTION
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION
ITS PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES

CHAPTER I

"In a race there are usually some, who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources they are victims, not the masters of their environment; and it is a bad master."

The institution of charity which deals with those living below the bread line has been common to all nations after the establishment of a more or less permanent social life. In almost all literature of antiquity, Hindu, Persian, Egyptian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman can be found lofty sentiments and exhortation to charity. The public function of the early Christian Church was to distribute goods to the poor, which included all who came within its reach. As the Church grew into a great state Church, its responsibility for caring for poor grew, and indiscriminate giving soon followed. Temporary relief was usually the extent of the aid given, and no effort

was directed toward permanent elevation; there was no thought of regeneration. The consequent result was that, while relief was being given, poverty was also being created.

In time, most of the relief work was taken from the church, which became incapable of coping with the problem, and was taken up by the state. But the shifting from ecclesiastical administration of relief to state administration seemed to the whole of Europe to be hardly an improvement. The public system seemed as inadequate to meet the needs or to improve the conditions as did the church. Consequently the next move in philanthropic work was the organization of persons into private societies to relieve present distress. Even here, with the multiplication of these organizations, in no way connected with each other, shiftlessness and begging became a profitable industry. And it was the recognition of this fact that led to the establishment of charity organizations, with the aim of so coöperating and so coördinating their work that the duplication of relief should cease.

Today, they are becoming scientific in their methods. Formerly needs and distresses found sympathetic response, but the causes were ignored. A wiser method has arisen. Instead of stopping at relief, the greatest duty consists in attempting to place those dependent where they can provide for themselves. Prevention, elevation, training is the spirit of scientific, organized charity of modern times.

It is probable that charity, on the whole, during the last two thousand years, has done the world quite as much harm as good.¹ The trouble lay in not thoroughly understanding the problem. The biological and psychological defects of the individual, together with the faulty social and industrial organization,² were not known to be the underlying causes. But with this understanding modern society, if it is alert, can so largely eliminate the unfit by offering sounder standards of living, by a better education, and by a larger social virtue, that for practical purposes most of our social problems will disappear.

Society is continually in search of better methods of achieving desired ends. We see this in the field of government, in our tendencies of education, in the new science of agriculture- in short in all the activities of life. There is a seeking for more adequate ways of meeting the increasingly complex conditions of modern life and especially of social life. The recent enormous growth of cities has given us some new problems and has intensified our old ones, and we are looking for some workable way of dealing with all those things which in any way hold back society in its progress.

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1. Smith, Social Pathology, p.44.
 2. Ellwood, Modern Social Problems, p.260.

In Kansas City there has developed within the last five years an institution designed to solve many social problems common to all cities. This institution under city control, known as the Board of Public Welfare, is a step forward in the world of scientific philanthropy. It is in a position to deal more broadly with problems of social pathology than has been possible even for organized charities on account of their private and therefore limited scope of activity.

The Board of Public Welfare, having a natural but rapid growth, began its existence under the name of the Board of Pardons and Paroles. In December 1908 through the instrumentality of Mr. Frank P. Walsh, an eminent attorney, there was passed an ordinance creating the Board of Pardons and Paroles, and defining its duties and powers.¹ This ordinance provided that the Board should be composed of three members, serving without compensation and selected and appointed by the mayor with reference to special fitness for the position. Further provision was made for a paid secretary to serve at the pleasure of the Board and to act as a court officer. /

Early in January 1909 the Board began its work. The duties and powers were practically what its name suggests - to pardon and parole. It was given the authority to inquire

1. Ordinance 793.

into the nature of any case brought before the Municipal Court or the Police Courts of the city and could recommend that any person convicted be pardoned. In the matter of paroles it was given unlimited power. A convicted person could be put upon probation before or after being placed in any city prison or workhouse, and this person remained on parole in the legal custody and under the control of the Board.

During the summer 1909 serious complaints were made concerning the management of the city work house. An investigation was made and the many evils were exposed. In July 1909, by ordinance, the further power of the control and management of the work house, with power to establish and declare rules and regulations was given the Board of Pardons and Paroles. This practically put the corrections of the city into the hands of the Board.

Always a problem in every city is the problem of the unemployed. So great, at times of great scarcity of work, is the temptation to crime, especially against property, and so great and so far reaching are the consequences of lack of work that any system of social hygiene must carefully approach this problem.

About the holiday season 1909-1910 a parade of the unemployed of the city marched to the mayor's office asking for work. Responding to the request, the mayor appointed on a committee the president of the Board of Pardons and

Paroles and the city comptroller to examine the situation and to make recommendations as they saw fit. This committee reported and requested that the mayor appoint a larger committee to deal with the problem broadly. Accordingly, a committee of eighteen representative men were appointed, consisting of the presidents of the Helping Hand Institute, the Commercial Club, the Provident Association, the Real Estate Exchange, the Board of United Jewish Charities, the Industrial Council, the Humane Society, two pastors, the Judge of the Juvenile Court, the Speaker of the Lower House of the Common Council, the Superintendents of the Institutional Church, and the Institutional Worker of the Grace Episcopal Church, a member from the Stock Exchange, the business agent of the Industrial Council, a member of the Master Builders' Exchange, and the two original members of the committee.

This committee, whose task it was to investigate conditions to the end of devising, "working out and recommending for adoption a plan calculated to cover in a comprehensive manner the city's obligation towards the unemployed, the poor, the sick, and the delinquents," reported that they were unable to offer a panacea for the evils indicated. The committee's analysis of the situation was this: they believed that the proper solution of the evil required the careful consideration

I. First Annual Report of Board of Pardons and Paroles, p.5.

and close coöperation of citizens, charity organizations, and authorities, and they considered necessary an agency which should plan for a lack of work, not only in December and January, but throughout the entire year. They reported that the sick should have the careful medical attention now accorded to them, and that the same care should be exercised in preventing the healthy from becoming sick, and in preventing the convalescent from relapsing. They further agreed that poverty, disease, and crime should not be accepted as a matter of course, but should be recognized as results of conditions that, in a large measure, are subject to control, and that aggressive, systematic, scientific preventive work will secure large returns.¹ Finally, they recommended that not less than a certain designated sum be appropriated for the use of a department established for this purpose. The result of this investigation and these recommendations was the establishment by ordinance April 1910 of the institution known as the Board of Public Welfare and into it was merged the Board of Pardons and Paroles.²

This Board was increased by the addition of two members making the total number five. The same ordinance

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1. Communication to Mayor Crittenden, Feb. 23, 1910.
 2. Ordinance 4253.

decreed that all money appropriated, and all assistance of any kind afforded by the city for the aid and relief of the sick, the disabled, the indigent was now to be used and applied wholly under the direction and control of this Board. Since April 1910, then, the Board of Public Welfare, with its various departments of work has been a constituent part of the government of Kansas City, Missouri.

The machinery which was gradually developed for carrying on the various activities of the city's work in social hygiene consists of eleven departments. The Department of Pardons and Paroles has already been mentioned; this, together with the Municipal Farm and the Women's Reformatory, forms the correctional agency. The Research Bureau is engaged in investigating general community problems, whereas the Department of Social Service employs investigators who seek to determine the definite needs of destitute families, and have divided the poorest and most neglected portion of the city, where housing is bad, into eight districts, over which presides a District Superintendent. The Recreational Department supervises all public dances, makes investigations of the theatres, picture shows, amusement parks, pool halls, and penny arcades. And finally the work of the Board is rounded out by the Department for the Homeless and Unemployed, the Legal Aid Bureau; and the Welfare

Loan agency and the Department of Factory Inspection.

The principles and policies of an institution determine almost wholly the extent of its efficiency, and it is therefore important in considering an institution to look into its policies. At the beginning, the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare agreed upon the following principles.

1. It lays emphasis on justice before charity and on prevention rather than cure. In our review of the charity of the last two thousand years we saw evil results of impulsive giving. The aggressive and unworthy pressed to the front and security was given. Charity, no matter what form must be given with quiet nerves, steady pulses, controlled emotions and adequate wisdom. The justice of the situation must have first place. And, moreover, the same case may come back unless adequate attention is given not only to its cure but to its prevention.

2. These men agree that the burden of caring for the poor should be laid upon the entire community through taxation rather than be provided for by the voluntary gifts of the generous minority. This, in a way, is a new thought to us in our city administration but it is a most sane and logical one. Society is the one affected, and largely the one responsible and as a means of protecting itself and its very life it is only logical that it should bear the expense in making itself a normal healthy structure.

3. The Board believes that social action should be based on accurate knowledge, and investigations should both precede and accompany all efforts to improve social conditions. In any effort to put right what has been put wrong we need the most thorough investigations, and the most accurate knowledge alone will suffice. Otherwise, we have the blind leading the blind.

4. The Board strives for harmonious coöperation with all existing agencies, both public and private, and does not duplicate the work of any. Recognizing the harm of working at cross purposes it early established a sort of clearing house, or exchange for confidential information. Early there was formed a federation of all charities of the city to obtain a general agreement on programs for social betterment. There is an aim to eliminate the gaps appearing in social life, and when there is no other institution to care for the situation, the Board has devised some supplement to fill the gap.

5. It gives no public outdoor relief except in cases where the bread winner of the family is a city prisoner, and then only upon the basis of actual destitution, and upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of the Provident Association. The term outdoor relief, as used here, means the relief from public funds, given and consumed in the homes of the indigent family with no further public

surveillance./ Private and public relief exert a wonderful influence on the poor- often an evil one. Some have thought that because public indoor relief is good and humane that public outdoor relief is equally good and humane. But in maintaining at public cost, institution for the feeble minded, the deaf, the blind, the sick and the aged there is no social peril. People are not prone to qualify designingly to this end. Few would consider for a moment the putting out of their eyes, or the cutting off of a limb for the privilege of living in a blind asylum or in an almshouse. But "candidacy for sharing the fund given to families is furthered simply by being negligent, lazy, drunken, and so incapable of supporting wife and children." There is always a risk of demoralizing and pauperizing the poor, because many become trained to depend on public help rather than to rely on their own energy, foresight and economy. Henderson points out "that the desire to obtain an income without work is contagious, and travels along streets by force of rumor and example"- and thus a substitute for work arises. So, very wisely, the Welfare Board gives no public outdoor relief except under the one condition mentioned. All such relief is left to private institutions and to individuals and the Board spends its energy, time and money in reducing the need of relief.

6. The Board gives no subsidies to private charities.

Previous to this institution's existence, from \$5,000 to \$7,000 was appropriated annually to various private institutions. A large percentage was given to the Provident Association, an institution of long standing doing much good work, and to the Helping Hand Institute, another institution doing equally valuable work, while a portion of it was used for paying city taxes assessed against several charitable institutions. As was stated before, with the creation of this Board, all city money for charitable purposes was placed under its control, consequently this was withdrawn from private charities. A proposition was made to the Provident Association that the Board would assume the function of investigating and supervising the applicants for relief; and to the Helping Hand Institute, that it would support the city's charges at that institution at so much per head and take over its employment bureau, thus carrying directly the burden formerly provided for by subsidies. To the charities formerly taxed, the city purposes no longer to impose that burden. With the acceptance of these offers all direct gifts to charities were abolished. If any private charity cannot or is unwilling to bear the burdens assumed,

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1. Second Annual Report, p.7.
 2. Second Annual Report, p.8.

this virtually spells reduction of their plans to what they can handle, leaving to the city cases not already provided for. The underlying idea is that it is not well to mix the public and private business, for experience and the best judgement of leading charity experts is that subsidies lead to extravagance and corruption.

The Board of Public Welfare, becoming a constituent part of the government of Kansas City, Missouri, is a distinctively new thought in scientific philanthropy. Its field covers a more varied form of pathological conditions than any other existing institution, public or private. Because of its public nature it can deal, not only with many psychological defects of the individual, but in many cases with faulty social and industrial conditions. The institution is a twentieth century product to meet twentieth century needs, and is proving itself to be a unique contribution to civic advancement.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY.

CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY

CHAPTER II

Constructive philanthropy involves social service planning. It aims at diseases underlying surface sores- at the various causes producing misery. There are different ways of looking at disease. The simplest and most primitive way considers it merely as something to be cured. To handle the disease is what we constantly ask of a physician. But after all, this is merely repair work. It is necessary - no one doubts that; but according to the most advanced view its place is most restricted. It is by no means the all important thing. By far a larger question is that of prevention. We now realize this, and our aim is to modify conditions and to remove obstacles so that permanent betterment can be set into motion. This is constructive philanthropy. In its work in constructive philanthropy the fundamental purpose of the Board of Public Welfare is to make life more nearly normal for those falling below the poverty line and to help others still above to remain there.

One of the agencies which aims to prevent the need of much charity and to help the poor to help themselves is the Welfare Loan Agency, which becomes a substitute for charity. The existence of this commercial-social institution is due to a recognition of the need for temporary loans to hundreds who have no banking facilities and to a realization

that the loan sharks, who exploit their needs, constitute an important cause of distress. The pawnbroker's establishment is of course an old institution; but the so called loan shark, who lends money, who mortgages furniture at an interest charge of from ten to twenty-five per cent per month, is of relatively recent origin. One of the most vexatious and burdensome impositions upon the poor is the system of loans and the extortionate rate of interest charged upon these loans. Money is lent in times of real or fancied need, in return for which an agreement is unwittingly signed to pay outrageous interest. Accompanying these extortionate interest charges are dishonest methods of accounting and skillful evasions from which victims are incapable of freeing themselves until an enormous amount has been paid; and for which, when finally free, they are equally powerless to secure redress at law. This has the effect of a halter on the borrower's neck, crippling his self respect, laying him open to suspicion to his employer, and holding him for years in miserable and slavlike submission to unscrupulous money lenders.

The number of loan agencies doing business proves the place they have in the life of the poor. Mr. Arthur J. Ham is responsible for the following figures: "In every city of more than 30,000 population there is one usurer to every 5,000 to 10,000 people, and one victim to every twenty

dwellers in such cities, or one out of every five voters." There is no question but that the loan shark supplies a real need, and not only this, he meets many fancied needs and makes possible the fulfillment of mere whims.

The Welfare Loan Agency is actually a private philanthropy, but potentially it is an integral part of the Board of Public Welfare. The Board acts as a trustee of funds lent by citizens. This remedial loan institution makes it possible to borrow money at the nominal interest rate of one per cent per month. A further small fee is charged to cover the expense of investigation and appraisalment. Rates are invariable, all transactions are understandable, the whole system is tempered with beneficence, and justice with an open hand is metted to the weak, the needy and the ignorant. It is not made too difficult to secure loans, and yet not too easy. Lapses are not allowed and the whole system has the stiff back bone of business. Each application for relief is carefully investigated, and if it is decided that the loan is likely to improve the family's condition, if it will help the man over the stony places where going is treacherous, if it will give the family a lift to its betterment, then a loan is made.

Temporary assistance often saves a deserving family from starting on some downward road which leads to dependence, from the necessity of visiting a relief society, or from

ultimately going to the poor house, with the consequent drain on the public. It becomes an agency not only for lending money on business principles, but also an agency for preventing the need of expenditure of much money on charity. It fills the gap existing in the financial world between the banks and charitable agencies and institutions. There is in most people a wholesome dread of becoming dependent, a pride in being capable of supporting one's self and family. To guard against any impairment of this pride is an aim of the Loan Agency.

Extending financial aid to applicants falling below the normal line is but one of the functions of the Welfare Loan Agency. It discourages ill-advised and unnecessary borrowing. Too many times the poor, which is a word often synonymous with ignorant, unless properly advised and given sound counsel, plunge themselves so far into debt, with so scant a prospect of getting out, that, in the place of bettering themselves, they become discouraged and are worse off than if a loan had never been made them. Legitimate borrowing is made inexpensive and a valuable experience to the borrower. Very often what the poor need is to be trained in habit formation. After a loan is made the borrower soon becomes accustomed to the habit of making regular payments on the loan, and when the debt is payed, he can be encouraged by those whom he has come to respect to start a savings account,

and thus provide in advance for future needs and thereby put himself and family beyond need of relief.

The introduction of the factory system into the United States served, as it did in England, to develop certain abnormal conditions of labor that in the end demanded government interference; for, with its growth, conditions appeared which were a menace to the well-being of the nation. Consequently, laws have been slowly enacted from time to time regulating the conditions which surround men and women and children in the industrial occupations. If men have been slow in enacting such laws, they have been much slower in enforcing them, for enforcement has proved much more serious than enactment. The whole subject of factory inspection has not received serious consideration from business men in the United States because interference in private affairs has been frowned upon as socialistic and un-American. There has been therefore a nation-wide halting in safeguarding workers. Provisions looking toward protection from accidents and loss of life, as well as the conditions affecting health are much inferior in this country to those in Europe.

Labor laws which we have, however good, do not enforce themselves. It would seem that the employee would for his own sake report violations and seek legal remedy, but the undisputable fact remains that he does not do it. The whole

history of the movement for regulation shows the absolute necessity of efficient, conscientious inspection. So far has inspection lagged behind legislation that we continually hear the criticism that labor legislation is not in fact intended to be taken seriously, but is entered upon the statute books rather to still the clamor of agitators for reform than to effect any real change in conditions.

The Welfare Board was instrumental in having an ordinance passed creating a city department of Factory Inspection and Labor Statistics, which is one of the newest of its activities. Any complete system dealing with the underlying causes of misery and distress, and attempting to lessen them, must look to factory conditions. Missouri has on its books laws designed to protect its laborers, but the great majority of employers will not voluntarily obey those which give them a greater financial burden, or which put them to more trouble. This provision for inspection is another effort to make conditions under which men, women and children work more normal, and thereby it is attempting to conserve the lives, health and even the morals of thousands in the industries.

Industrial accidents have become so numerous that they are often considered an inevitable result of industrial life. This is but partially true. It has been shown that where systematic preventive measures have been adopted the number

of accidents has decreased fifty or sixty per cent.¹

This department, though new, has existed long enough to have accomplished much good work. In Kansas City the six hundred and twenty-eight factories employing about 18,122 persons are rigidly inspected, and orders issued covering violations of city ordinances and state laws. Not only is account taken of machinery which causes the visible serious accidents, but also of sanitation, which so vitally affects the individual's health. Ventilation, plumbing, dust, cleanliness, have a most important place in the program. The president of the Inter-national Printing Pressman and Assistants Union declares that fifty-six per cent. of the deaths in their membership are due to tuberculosis. According to the United States Census, eleven and fifteen hundredths per cent of the deaths in the United States are due to this cause. Such a large percentage of deaths from tuberculosis among these workers in comparison with those of the whole population is an indication of the unsanitary conditions under which they work.

Besides enforcing factory laws the factory inspectors find opportunity for much incidental social work, especially among the working women. Through their instrumentality

1. Annual Report 1911-1912, p.119

immorality has been reported, and working girls have been aided in finding positions where the moral surroundings were better. A very important service was rendered when an investigation was made of the moral conditions of five Greek coffee houses employing American girls, with the result not only of arrests with one conviction, but of more far-reaching effect was an order of the court that hereafter no women other than Greek women should be employed in these coffee houses.

A study of the first one-hundred of the one-hundred and six accidents reported to the President of the Board of Public Welfare during the year 1912, as required by the ordinance creating the City Department of Factory Inspection and Labor Statistics, was made to show what extent industrial accidents are a factor in the creation of poverty and dependency among Kansas City industrial workers.

It was found that, of these accidents investigated, fifty-four per cent were preventable.¹ The economic waste of industrial accidents is enormous. Seventy-five per cent of these accidents happened to those under forty years of age, thereby making a great number less efficient for the remainder of their lives. Thirty per cent of those who returned to work suffered a decrease in their wages.

1. Industrial Accidents in Missouri, p.6.

To those receiving non-fatal accidents, the time length of whose disability was nine and one-half weeks, no wages were paid. Furthermore, the investigation of sixty-one cases, where no salary was received, showed that thirty of these workers were the sole support of seventy-three persons.¹ The investigation made it clear that the burden of accidents are borne by those least able to bear them, for wages stop at the time of greatest need.

The Board, through the factory inspection department attempts to do two things,- to reduce the preventible accidents to a minimum, because nothing can compensate for the loss of life or limb, and second, to educate public opinion, and to awaken the public conscience to the great need of a Workman's Compensation Law, since so large a percentage of accidents are not preventible. It insists that it is the state's duty to see that those injured and their dependants are not forced to take alone the inevitable risk of industry.

Expenses in the name of charity are forestalled in another way. One of the greatest helps to the needy family is the Legal Aid Bureau - the poor man's lawyer. In putting this bureau under the charge of the Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City is working toward the ideal of making legal

1. Industrial Accidents in Missouri, page 8.

justice open to the poor as well as to the rich. Its purpose is to render legal aid gratuitously to those who are unable to get assistance elsewhere, and to promote measures for their protection. With its organization, justice has been placed in the free list with religion, education, and health. Hitherto there was no means of redress except upon the payment of attorney's fees and these often barred the very class who needed assistance most.

It is notorious that the poor, who too often have such a limited education as not to know how or what to do, are at the mercy of sharpers of every kind. Extortions, unfair dealings, garnishment of wages, breaches of contract - these are but a few of the things which pull men and women down below the normal line and to the notice of charitable agencies. During the past fiscal year 5,406 applications were filed. Of this number 3,000 represent wage collections. The Bureau sues as a pauper and will as willingly go after fifty cents as after fifty dollars. Many times a suit is not necessary for a letter brings the guilty party to the office and the case is adjusted. A collection of \$8,904.64¹ was made for those incapable of collecting it themselves. A majority of these men earning from ten to fifteen dollars

1. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.164.

a week are supporting families, and when there is a refusal to pay, or when wages are held back, perhaps for only a week, a hardship and injustice is imposed upon the family.

Before the existence of this institution, employee was at the mercy of employer. There was nothing left for the victim to do but to suffer or seek charity. Laborers, servant girls, clerks, laundresses, minors, many who are entirely dependent upon themselves from week to week, have now a chance and a means of escape from unprincipled employers. Moreover, since the existence of this bureau, many business concerns and employers have been deterred from attempts to defraud by the mere fact that a means of defence was near.

Another type of cases which are handled by this department are matters between landlords and tenants. During the months of January, February, March, and April of each year many laborers are thrown out of work. It is at this time that they find it hard to keep up with their rent, and many of them get in arrears. Unsympathetic and impatient landlords often have notices served on such tenants to vacate the property. Here the Legal Aid Bureau has been invaluable to many unfortunates by arranging with the landlords to dismiss the suit for rent and possession, and in arranging to have the arrears paid little by little. Some times, if the case warrants it, the Welfare Loan Agency makes a loan. At other times the Provident Association in cooperation with the

Legal Aid Bureau aids the family in securing cheaper quarters.

This Bureau does not act as attorney in divorce suits, but during the past fiscal year, two hundred and ten cases were handled for those having domestic difficulties. With but three exceptions these were filed by the wife. The aim here is to bring about a reconciliation by calling the husband into the office and thoroughly talking the matter over. The results show that of these two hundred and ten cases filed, one hundred of them were adjusted, and the parties are now living together. In a majority of the remaining cases, the parties were non-residents, and many could not be reached. If the deserting husband can in any way be located he is brought back and forced to support his family. Before the existence of this Bureau, there was no fund or means at hand whereby the delinquent husband could be located after leaving the city. Now if he can be found within the state or out of it no expense is spared in bringing about his return to the support of his family. Wife and child desertion ceases to be an easy sport, and families are saved from the blight of pauperism.

Before this organization was established and before it took up the legal problems, there was a certain class of attorneys in the city who were charging enormous fees. These lawyers would exact whatever they could get from the offenders after they were fined in the Police Court. In case

these prisoners did not get bond, they were even followed to the workhouse, where these unscrupulous lawyers were accustomed to charge still another fee. The abuses connected with this practice became so great that the Legal Aid Bureau gave publicity to it, and with the help of the Municipal Court and the Police Department, put an end to the practice.¹ No attorney can now solicit business at the city holdover or any place of confinement. Another result of this kind of work has been to call to public attention the abuses in justices' courts and in the pawnshops and to initiate legislation which has been enacted in the Missouri Legislature to remedy such evils.

Such an organization is of the greatest moral influence to the community. It not only checks a great deal of the wrong being done to the poor, but it brings sharply to justice the man or the concern which seeks to impose upon or defraud the poor. It is a weapon which may be used against dishonest employers or concerns. Just what would become of these poor litigants is exemplified in all large cities where there is no Legal Aid Society. They are left to shift for themselves the best way possible, no matter how intense the situation or how severe the consequences. The Legal Aid Bureau gives the poor man and woman a self reliance, self respect, confidence, and an independence that other charity

1. Annual Report 1910-1911, p.171.

cannot give. It furnishes them a certain protection which they otherwise could not get, and assures them that they will have fair treatment and that a bitter fight will be made for their interests no matter how small the size of the claim. The laborer who cannot collect his wages, the unfortunate man who is charged with crime, the widow who has been cheated out of her mite, any who need help can get it and get it immediately.

There are always many unemployed in every city. The insecurity of income among laborers is an ever present tragedy of life. Among the unemployed are a large number of homeless men. Previous to the civil war the word "tramp" did not appear upon the statute books of any state. Now their existence is recognized, and we are trying to cope with the problems. Twenty years ago there were but a few cheap lodging houses for the accomodation of homeless men in but a very few of the largest cities. Now every city has a number of such places. The influences making for homelessness and unemployment are nation-wide, and are seated in defective conditions, social and industrial, which do not readily yield to local treatment. But in spite of obstacles it is possible for any city to stop some of the abuses and undermining

1. Solenberger, One thousand Homeless Men, p.2.

influences incidental to unemployment. In Kansas City, previous to 1894, no organized effort was made to care for the homeless man, and at times as many as two thousand men and boys slept on bare floors of saloons, in the basement of the city hall, in one or two missions. In 1894 The Helping Hand Institute was organized, which marks the first step towards improving the condition of the unemployed and toward differentiating between tramps, unfortunate working men, and homeless boys. To aid in its maintenance, the city annually gave it various sums.

In December, 1906, nearly twenty saloons were closed to lodgers by ^{the} enforcing of the one o'clock closing ordinance. At about the same time the Board of Helping Hand Institute and the Tenement Commission ordered several missions closed, as well as rooms in saloons where men were allowed to sleep, which did not meet the sanitary requirements of lodging houses, and at present not one percent of the homeless are allowed to sleep on bare floors. Consequently, there was an enormous demand for cheap lodgings. This in itself had an influence on the men by forcing them to look in advance, and to spend for the night's lodging what had before this gone for drink.

During the past nineteen years the Helping Hand Institute has been the ¹officially recognized agency for dealing with the problem of homelessness and lack of employment. In

July 1910 with the withdrawal of subsidies to private institutions, an agreement was made whereby the Board of Public Welfare was to pay to the Helping Hand Institute ten cents for meals and fifteen cents for lodging for all cases aided with its approval. Only those men, women, and children unable to work are allowed to become the charge of Kansas City. To all who apply for aid at this institution, which is open day and night throughout the year one of three opportunities is open. First, a free employment bureau financed by the Welfare Board may furnish him a place to work. During the past fiscal year, 26,776 odd jobs were secured representing 30,000 firms and citizens.¹ The class of work secured is chiefly house-cleaning, gardening, unloading cars, hotel and restaurant work, painting, rough carpentering work, and labor of various kinds. A record is kept of the kind of work done by these men, which becomes invaluable in enabling the stranger who is homeless to create for himself a record of thoroughness and trustworthiness. These written records have sometimes aided a man arrested on suspicion, who, after the record has been produced, is often released. In securing permanent positions, this agency serves most efficiently. A record of the permanent positions secured during six months in 1912 shows 2,558. Some men sent out as house cleaners have developed into

1. Annual Report, 1911-12 p.144.

professionals having their regular clients, who employ them certain days of each week.

If no pay work is for the present available, a second way of dealing with the applicants consists in giving some light work about the building to men of light weight and breaking stone in a near by barn quarry for the able bodied, for which meals and lodging are furnished. Unless he has worked for his breakfast before retiring, he must rise at five o'clock to do it. The total number of meals served last year was 48,208. Should a man come at night - it may be midnight - he is put to work to pay for his keep. He is told that hereafter he must make application in the day time when he needs assistance; should he come again at night, he is warned and the third time he is either refused, or, perhaps, if the case warrants it, he is sent to the Police Station under arrest. In so far as possible the interest taken in all homeless and unemployed men is personal and direct. It has been found out that frequently some of these applicants are victims of dishonest employers or dishonest dealings in some way. Here the Legal Aid Bureau is at hand to protect their interests, and some employers have come to recognize that the poor man has rights which are to be respected.

A third opportunity open during the four or five months

of severe weather is work at the municipal quarry. Meals, lodging, and provision can be had by any man who is able and willing to work on the municipal rock pile. This quarry has proved a god-send to hundreds of men, who have sought with pathetic eagerness the chance to earn food and clothes. Every unemployed man is furnished sufficient employment to earn his necessities during the winter months, when there is very little work to be secured. In order that there may be no encouragement given to the unemployed of other cities to migrate no money is handled. Meal and lodging tickets are given to single men, and to the married men are given orders for groceries and other supplies. A shirker is able to defraud no one but himself, as the breaking of rock is paid for by the yard. Those earning enough to keep them for several days are instructed to use their best efforts to find employment, and if they fail in this they are told to return on the second or third day. Applications are sometimes made at the quarry by those physically unable to work, who think that this is their only hope this side of starvation. These are sent to the Helping Hand Institute where lighter work is provided, or where they are excused entirely as unfit for work, in which case they are sometimes sent to the general hospital for treatment.

Finally there are always some in every large city who do not want to work. Such a class of men are a menace.

An employment officer of the Police Department coöperates with this office by talking to the unemployed and professional mendicants on the street, in the lodging houses, and in the cheap saloons. He makes every effort to appeal to them but if no inclination to work is manifested he makes an arrest on the charge of vagrancy. Invested with police authority, his services are especially valuable in minimizing professional vagrancy.

In taking thought of the unemployed and providing for them, more serious situations are avoided. Experience has taught us that periods of unemployment are accompanied by moral deterioration as well as by physical impairment. The unemployed lead an irregular life. Accustomed to a regularity of living, the man without a job finds himself without a definite restraint upon his activities. The influence of unemployment is unsettling. Looked at from the social point of view, the effects of unemployment result in an enormous cost to society. That there is an increase of crime because of this, the records of courts and jails bear all too convincing proof. It is safe and correct then to assume that the municipal quarry and the free employment bureau have been an important factor not only in helping men to earn their living until something better is offered and in helping to keep up their physical capacity, so important among a certain group, but also in reducing the crime of the city. In short, the

municipal quarry has been a success. A better substitute is yet to be found. It has the advantage of being able to employ large, constantly fluctuating numbers during the period of the greatest scarcity of work. No one could claim that in making this provision Kansas City has discharged its complete obligation to the unemployed; yet it is without doubt a very practical plan and one which leaves but a small deficit at the end of each season.

In the Research Bureau have been developed three important lines of work - the registration bureau, the endorsement of charities, and the social surveys of the city.

The Bureau of registration aims to keep on file the names of all families or individuals who receive charitable assistance of any form, not only from the various charities of the city, but from social settlements, day nurseries, medical agencies, and all the various forms of social welfare activities who report and in turn use the record cards. This confidential clearing house makes it possible for private charities to prevent duplication and saves the family the embarrassment of repeated investigations. The advantages of such a system in preventing duplication of effort, and in its possibilities for efficiency, and in handling important problems adequately are obvious. A unified plan is secured whereby all those agencies interested in the same case can work together and make possible the interchange of information

and plans. The following table shows the extent to which reports were made to this bureau last year.

Institutions reporting.....	25
Total number of reports.....	18,140
By relief agencies,.....	11,064
By medical agencies.....	3,517
By child welfare agencies.....	1,373
By miscellaneous agencies.....	2,186

A visit to this office gives to the agency desiring to aid the family an insight as to just what is being done, and what needs to be done. It is not infrequent for a family to receive material relief from one source, medical care from another, the care of their children by still another, and perhaps legal aid or other forms of help from others. This system of registration furnishes a basis for actual constructive work and makes possible a pulling together in the effort to restore families to self support and normal life.

The second function of this department is the endorsement of worthy charities. Much of the power to control private charities of the city lies latent in the giving public, and this organization has proved effective in guiding and directing much of the giving. To assist the Board in developing this work the services of Mr. Francis H. McLean, Field Secretary of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage

1. Annual Report 1911-1912, p.18.

Foundation were obtained. A thorough study of the various local institutions of charity was made, and standards set to which all organizations raising funds by popular subscription should conform in order to receive endorsement. The need for endorsement has arisen from the fact that not only at times have funds been solicited by the fraudulent and inefficient in the guise of charity, but also that frequently they have been applied with little regard to efficiency or the ends obtained.

The Board's purpose in endorsement is to eliminate fraudulent and inefficient charities, to formulate in each institution a standard of efficiency, which will ultimately be made the condition of endorsement and to obtain for itself such a knowledge of the charity situation as will enable it to consider and to plan for the various organizations not as separate entities but as interrelated parts of a system of charities. It seeks that knowledge which will enable it to become a potent factor in building up charity work of the city.

Since the organization of this bureau, standards of charitable work have clearly been raised. The system grants endorsements but for short, definite periods of time, and this will permit of the further raising of standards. During the past year forty-one institutions have been endorsed and placed on the "white list" ^{which has been} published and mailed to four thousand persons including the Commercial Club, business and professional men. Several agencies nation-wide in scope

have been refused recognition, and failure to secure endorsement has led to the abandonment of nine other agencies which did not comply with even the most elementary standards of efficiency and honesty. During the year two hundred and ¹thirty-seven reports were furnished in response to inquiries concerning charities, a majority of which related to organizations not recognized.

The endorsement of charities has been of untold value. One of the most prominent givers to charity, when making a request for a second copy of the list of approved charities, states that without some such system as this, contributors are entirely at sea about placing their gifts. A well known law firm of the city, which drew up a will for a citizen dying recently and leaving a large sum of money to various charities, requested information from this department which would be of service on similar occasions in the future. The Board's approval of an institution is a guarantee to the public that contributions to that particular charity will be directed with at least a fair degree of efficiency to worthy ends.

The third activity of the research bureau consists in making social surveys of the city. Since its organization investigations of unemployment, the charitable situation,

1. Annual report 1911-1912, p.16.

housing conditions, facilities for recreation, wages and working conditions of men and women in factories and mercantile establishments, and the social evil have been carried on and the results published. The social survey is the social technologist's attempt to view things in perspective. If a land survey is valuable in the measurement and building up of land, there is equal value in a social survey, which takes a measurement of the social forces in the building up of social conditions. Without a definite knowledge based upon thorough surveys, better social and sanitary conditions could hardly be brought about. The modern method of civic betterment is a making and carrying out of definite plans for the rectification of conditions which have been clearly shown to exist. Philanthropic effort would be beginning at the wrong end in neglecting so important a work. Such surveys of the city by the city are indeed departures in the line of social work, and this is but another index to the spirit of thoroughness which characterizes the Board's whole philanthropic endeavor. It now becomes possible for the city to know itself and to discover its weak places, and to have actual conditions so revealed that the Board is able to formulate policies for better constructive work.

C H A P T E R I I I .

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE WORK OF
THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

CHAPTER III

Educational Aspects of the Work of the Board of Public Welfare.

Education in the broad sense is by no means identical with the mere instruction of the school. It has been, and continues to be, the custom among many to regard education as something for the masses ending with the elementary school and for the more fortunate with the high school. But education consists of more than formal school work, and the educational period is longer than the school period. The time comes when the distinctively formal education ends, for childhood has come and gone, youth has ended, and the adult life appears, but the "social purpose is not exhausted", and education truly does not end. Outside of the school it is, of course, not official and formal, and not directed along designated lines of a set curriculum, but education nevertheless of a very practical sort continues throughout life.

From a sociological point of view education means a process of superior adjustment; therefore any effort which enables men, women and children to come to an ever higher social efficiency adds that much to a superior adjustment and has an educational value. Through the social and community centers, vacant lot gardening, the child welfare exhibit, the regulation of public dance halls, the Board of Public Welfare has had an educational influence on the entire city.

There has come into existence, within the last decade and a half, the conception of the school as a social and recreational center- a movement to utilize in various ways, outside of school hours, the school buildings and equipment. This movement expresses the growing idea that the school should minister to the needs of the whole community, and should become a place which is broadly educational for adults as well as children. Great indeed is the need in most city communities for places to foster broad social interests, places to bring about wider acquaintanceships, places to share common pleasures, joys, interests and emotions. City people, especially, unless safeguarded by suitable ethical training tend to develop selfishness that leads the individual to disregard the claims of others and to subordinate them to his own selfish desires. The development of interest in this social age, in one another is perhaps as important as the development of interest in self, if greed and injustice are to be thwarted, and if justice and fair dealing are to predominate. A gain is made when the development of selfish tendencies is forestalled and prevented by the awakening of social interests.

In most cities where school buildings are utilized as social centers, such work is taken up by the Board of Education. In Kansas City, no such use of the school property had been made until it was brought about on the initiative of the District Superintendents of the Welfare Board. As was mentioned before, the densely populated quarters of the city are

divided into sections over which a District Superintendent presides, and various kinds of center work are promoted by him within the district. The Board of Education grants the use of various schools, furnishes light, heat, and janitor service. The superintendent outlines the programs, furnishes the speakers, and attractions, advertises the meetings, organizes the clubs, in short supervises the whole center, and in case money is needed secures this by popular subscription.

During February, March, and April 1912, ten schools were opened under the auspices of the Welfare Board. One was a parochial school in the center of Kansas City's "Little Italy", the other nine were public schools, one of which was a colored school. During this brief period forty-nine separate meetings were held with a total attendance of thirteen thousand one hundred and fifty. Such meetings have afforded wonderful opportunities of getting people together under wholesome conditions, in helping to instill right social interests, in giving them loftier ideals, in bringing about right attitudes, and in aiding in the development of right social habits.

The activities are varied - lectures, addresses, concerts, entertainments, clubs, and miscellaneous attractions, including musical functions. Nor are

school buildings alone used. Churches, halls, whatever is available is utilized, in the interest of the community, to further the desired end. In one district between January ninth and March twentyeighth plans were made for twenty-six combination meetings of instruction and pleasure. All ten of the churches in the district aided by lending their auditoriums.¹

In communities of busy people these lectures and stereopticon views are most valuable. People are brought into the current of recent thought, modern tendencies, and coming problems. A glance at a few subjects will show their character. "Contagous Diseases", "The Relation of the Housing Problem to Morals", "Health of Children", "Vacant Lot Gardening", "United Action", "Life of American Citizens", "An Explanation of the Constitutional Amendments to be Voted on at the Coming Election", such lectures and discussions not alone add to the stock of information, but furnish ideas which will be pondered over, and which will help in the solution of every day problems. It is not a little thing for communities to have brought to their doors the latest results in the medical science and affairs which so vitally affect them, or for foreigners, who are with us to stay, to early become acquainted with the "Life of American Citizens", or for the

1. December Report to Mayor 1911.

proposed constitutional amendments to be fully explained and the whole situation put before the voting community that they might intelligently cast their ballots.

In passing, it is worth while to notice a particular kind of instruction given, which shows how the Board gets hold of the vital problems and how it studies each community and its particular need. In a community composed of a large number of working girls who board, the following series of lectures was given, "Girls and Etiquette on the Street", "The Girl without a Home", and "Sex Hygiene", by a woman physician. So direful have been the consequences of the lack of such instruction that such talks cannot help but be of lasting value to young innocent working girls surrounded by all kinds of temptations. This public instruction is a reversal of the policy accepted without question for centuries, but modern conditions and modern situations demand modern methods, and youth must be protected from the bitter results of ignorance which is due to the mistaken ideas of parents. The physical welfare of society and the happiness of the home depend in great part upon the rational and timely instruction in this subject to both sexes.

In the interest of sociability and of ordinary morality it is desirable that the social impulses of the people be given adequate opportunity for expression in wholesome

ways. If the aim is to prevent vicious habits and unsocial attitudes which lead to wrong doing, we must see that proper habits are formed and that opportunities are open for the enjoyment of real social life. If we wish to have right habits formed, we must give right stimuli. Accordingly, the Board lays much emphasis on stimulating and attractive entertainments and socials, which afford meeting places especially for the young of both sexes just beginning to get interested in each other. This is a new movement in Kansas City, but the development of such meeting places without doubt will tend in many individual instances to take the place of public dance halls, spaghetti "joints", and the list of unwholesome congregating places.

Attractions for even those much younger are provided that they may grow, and become accustomed to only the best. Child life, always social, tends, when a certain age is reached, to seek expression in some more or less temporary associations. These rudimentary social organizations develop quite of their own accord wherever children, particularly boys, are thrown together. They generally take the form of of a clique or better a gang. Most of the communities have several of these gangs whose activities vary from fighting members of rival gangs, imposing on weak strangers, learning vicious habits, to digging caves where craps and forms of gambling are pursued. Remarkable

results have been attained when tactful and skilled workers have turned into the right channel this gang tendency. The gang spirit can be redeemed in a club, which is the same thing but on a higher social plane. In the various social centers and neighborhood communities, welfare workers are organizing boys' and young men's clubs. These clubs are the right about face of the gangs. They foster social ideas, law, order, the rights of others as opposed to the lawless spirit of the unbridled gang. And the formation of clubs does not stop among the boys. Girls need a social life and their interests are taken care of. Cooking, sewing, literary, gymnastic clubs, or whatever a particular community needs, are organized. Very often a mother's club has afforded opportunities for mothers to come together.

Another service rendered to communities by the District Superintendent consists in advertising advantages in the vicinity, of which the community is often unaware. There is little use in having a branch library unless the neighborhood knows of its presence and of its value, or in the Board of Education conducting night schools in certain districts unless the information is diffused particularly to those within that district. At the nearby factories and places of employment, and in churches, by pastors, and hand bills, various advantages are brought to the community's notice.

At the social centers, mingled in with lectures and club work are entertainments, spelling bees, arithmetic contests, club swinging by children, class drills, gymnastics, parliamentary procedure, dramatic and motion picture shows. The value of such community meetings is not open to question. Schools, churches, halls, are made the homes of games, concerts, lectures, and all forms of community culture. The people mingle with one another and are brought together under wholesome conditions which will promote their getting acquainted with the best side of each other. New ideas are brought out and presented in addresses and debates. There is something different to think about, to act upon, and to pass on to the next person. Selfconsciousness on the part of the neighborhood germinates, and local pride begins to grow.

Vacant lot gardening is another phase of community work carried on which has not only an educational value but financial one as well. The city dweller tends to become one-sided in his development, and to thousands of city children, it is not a little matter even to find out that a potato grows in the ground. To such people, banished to a desert of pavements and bricks, a garden is something that gives inspiration and vitality. The knowledge of the manifestations of nature is certainly just as important as any other body of knowledge. Educationally, the garden is a potent factor for it not only

educates, but it educates sanely. Cause and effect are seen in a short space of time in the garden which has taken the place of tin cans. In the latter part of the winter and early spring in community meetings, vacant lot and home gardening is discussed in stereotypical views, lectures, and personal work. Owners of vacant lots are interviewed by the welfare workers, and permission obtained to use them. It is interesting to note that one particular plot in the residence part of the city containing less than ten acres was used last season by sixty-five families which financially netted them approximately between four and five thousand dollars, consequently this entire section never sees a huckster's wagon.

Gardening work is contagious. The investigator noticed in his rounds over the city last season that the number of vacant lots with gardens were three times as many as those known to be under the direction of the department.¹ These gardeners were progressive, and through newspaper comments of this department's garden work the idea was probably suggested to them.

1. Annual Report 1911- 1912, p. 112

After all the children in the town had trailed after the Pied Piper and had dissapeared, then the people of Hamlin discovered that that which they had lost was what they considered most dear. There are better ways of learning the value of children, and one of these the Board of Public Welfare tried in the Child Welfare exhibit.

Someone has thoughtfully said that "the city that cares most for its children will be the greatest city." If we believe that the wealth of the world is human, and that it consists of men and women and little children, if we believe in cause and effect and are far-sighted enough to forecast a little, then we will safeguard society by providing against the destruction and abuse of a certain part of that wealth. Society is beginning to recognize more and more what it owes to the child, who is helpless in the hands of civilization and whose life is forced into one channel or another. It is dawning upon us, even though slowly, that the most important concern of the community is the welfare of the child, and that no community can meet the idea of democracy, which does not look to the needs of all of its children. This growing consciousness is the result of a larger perspective and deeper insight of philanthropic and social workers, who labor to have us recognize the social interests involved in child neglect.

Child problems, as great if not greater than any in our civilization, are most varied. We see neglect, waste, disease, abuse, exploitation on every hand. Formerly it was not known that the development of the child is largely determined by his environment, but the knowledge that a bad environment is responsible for many conditions paves the way for a more comprehensive understanding and a more feasible treatment.

The Welfare Board in November, 1911 showed the people of Kansas City the conditions affecting its children, and how much must be done for the child's welfare before the community's obligation could in any sense be even approximately discharged. In its addresses and displays, it saw to it, metaphorically speaking, that all those who came felt the prick of those things which in the community mean disease, waste, and exploitation, and that they were shown at the same time the normal and the wholesome and the things of positive force. The exhibit covered a field almost as unbounded as life itself, because the welfare of the child touches every phase of life. Health, home, school, recreation, settlements, churches, charities and corrections, industrial conditions and entertainments, - all had a place.

A large proportion of the space was devoted to children at home, for this is where most of the problems begin. The

health department included a babies' hospital ward, fitted up in an ideal manner, a diet kitchen, a pure food exhibit, a milk station, a baby camp, a ward for crippled children , and a dental clinic. Photographs showing the correct and incorrect ways of handling infants, and charts and statistics telling of the diseases of infants and their prevention and cures were both timely and wise, when we call to mind the enormous sacrifice of infant life. The waste of child life throughout all history has been appalling. The ignorance of humanity has been lamentable in its consequence. Needs of infants were not understood, and consequently, no ways of meeting them were known. Environmental conditions and the nature of food were not appreciated, and the child inevitably suffered. Society, through ignorance was indifferent, but the enormous waste continued. Slowly the needs of childhood have been learned, and science now attempts to rescue us and to help us solve our problems of infant mortality.

Still, with all of our present knowledge of child hygiene, there are vast numbers of mothers in every city who are practically as unschooled in matters relating to child life as those who lived when so little was scientifically known - when causes were thought to be beyond human control. The position of many modern city mothers is in some respects even worse, for they live in more complex civilization, with its problems of sanitation, over-crowding, smoke, dust ,

impure atmosphere, and adulterated foods, which affect further the child's life. For its own sake, society must in some way teach the mothers. An increasingly large number of girls leave school early, go into the industrial life, sooner or later marry, and at no time have they had the time or opportunity to learn even the rudiments of home making, much less the care of children. This is well illustrated by the mother of a fretful six month's old baby to whom a neighbor suggested that some water be given. "No", the mother denied, "Don't do that. The water isn't good, but there is some coffee on the stove. We'll give him that!"

The problem of infant life and of infant feeding was carefully considered at the exhibit. Many a mother began to realize the fact that the feeding of a child has a higher significance than merely satisfying hunger. They learned that the feeding of a child means a vast deal more than the feeding of an adult. With the latter, the object is merely to maintain the settled equilibrium of the matured organism, to continue a settled condition. With the former, there is the additional burden of supplying new elements of growth in order to change an unstable to a stable equilibrium, of building up a new life. Accordingly, emphasis was placed on the fact that food is the baby's fuel, and that it makes all the difference in the world what kind of food is given - that it must come up to

certain requirements. In this connection, the value of milk depots was explained. Experience has shown that even when milk stations exist, as they do in Kansas City, they are not adequately utilized because many mothers fail to understand their significance. They have to be taught that milk stations are for the distribution of good milk, and that one of the chief hopes of decreasing infant mortality lies in the use of pasteurized milk, where most of the harmful bacteria are killed and the milk has not been seriously injured. The New York City Health Department states that the decrease of child mortality by sixty-two per cent from 1881 to 1903¹ was due principally to the awakened emphasis on the milk problem. The Welfare workers had tried to instil a knowledge of proper infant feeding.

To drive home the importance of the care of children, those in charge of the Kansas City exhibit set up a terra cotta figure, holding aloft a small sign, in the center of which an electric light flashed intermittently. The sign read: "Every time the light flashes a baby dies of a preventable disease." A welfare worker asked a mother carrying a baby if she would like to have it checked.

"We have a good place for it and a trained nurse to look—"

1. Mangold, Child Problems, p.67.

"No, I'm afraid not, I'm only going to be here a short time and besides I don't want to let the baby out of my sight."

That is the way the exhibit made people understand things. It sometimes drove lessons home with a shrewd, hard blow, but it gave birth thereby to a new thought and set another mind to work on the problem.

In the further interest of public health, the state food inspector unmasked various adulterations by obvious tests. In this age of canned goods and prepared food stuffs, adulteration becomes easy, and the unscrupulous carry it to great lengths. To quote from a recent writer: "In these days of butter not traceable to the cow, of wine innocent of the grape,---of coffee berries made in a mold and not grown on a bush, of honey not made in a bee hive but in a factory, we consume one hundred million dollars worth of fraudulent prepared food a year. Fraud has been officially detected in more than three thousand samples of food." Probably there is not a mature person who has not heard discussions of adulterations, but even of these there are many who have grave suspicions.that there is much ado about nothing. Facts and demonstrations must be brought before many before they can believe. Accordingly, simple things used in every kitchen were tested by the state inspector. The evolution of glue into an attractive brand of gelatin could be observed while one waited. Tests for the amount of dye in lunch wagon sausage, oleo in butter, glucose

in syrup, copperas in canned goods, ptomaines in foods put up in tins , were shown to be so simple that they could be tried in any kitchen. Pieces of cloth were dyed fiery reds, vivid yellows, and various other hues and colors, from preserves and other eatables. These did not make a very tasteful array, but the point was made, and people saw the power of the coal tar dyes which they eat in adulterated foods. This became a laboratory - the first that many had ever entered. Very few wives in Kansas City have had any training in home Economics, and such an exhibit was a "short course" in kitchen hygiene, and enough to develop in them a deeper concern about what they put before the family to eat. The fact that all adulterations are not harmful, that, on the contrary, many are quite wholesome, was clearly shown. Still, a lesson in finance was given by showing that the adulterated or manufactured product costs the producer much less, and that by paying for pure products and getting but the substitute, the consumer is being cheated.

Does it make any difference where and in what sort of a house a child lives? This is a question the housing section answered in a very positive and definite way. Pictures, screens, lectures showed the almost unbelievable conditions existing in Kansas City, much to the surprise of many who have lived there for years. It was not so long ago that we were told that it was useless even to try to improve the condition of the poor,

but we have since learned that poverty is a germ disease and even contagious at times. We know further that environment leaves its indelible trace on the soul, mind, and body of the child, and it is only recently that communities as a whole have awakened to the importance of right housing. Kansas City, which is having a tremendous growth, is not so bad off but that if the housing problem receives attention in time many of the conditions existing in older cities can be avoided. The underlying factor is neglect and ignorance. The exhibit attempted to show concretely existing conditions and the consequent results of neglect.

The motto of the housing section was well chosen,- "Have a house plus a home." When a working man and his family live in a building with numerous other families, this is but a home from month to month. There is little incentive to be economical or thrifty or even sanitary. A large part of the remedy for the unsanitary homes lies in the living in cottages. "It isn't me, lady, its that next family. They're the dirtiest people you ever saw"- this is the attitude and the extent of responsibility of those living in crowds. Pride is not fostered where there is no responsibility. The tenant has no thought of any improvement coming from himself,-"that's the landlord's business",- even to the driving of a nail. He will neither plant a garden, should there happen to be room, nor even a few flowers, for fear of moving away. With the idea of

encouraging people to have a house plus a home, there was shown in the housing display a model concrete house, having four rooms, which could be built for eight hundred dollars, and one having eight rooms for twelve hundred dollars. It was pointed out that four-fifths of the people in Philadelphia live in their own homes and that such a home-owning sentiment should be created in Kansas City.

How may the interior of the home be effectively, cheaply, and sanitarily furnished, was answered not by book and chart merely, but in model rooms completely furnished. Beside a sanitary and healthful bed room, cheaply but properly furnished, was shown a room the same size, furnished at the same expense, but in a dangerous manner. A model nursery, a boy's workshop, a home library, told their own story without words. Many concrete examples stamped lessons on the mind.

One hears it often said that there are no slums in Kansas City, but the housing exhibit clearly pointed out how the children of the other half live, the filth and squalor and unrecognized wretchedness in which they are being reared to become sallow-faced, weak lunged, unhealthy adults, to marry and produce their like. Kansas City saw that it makes all the difference in the world how its children are housed. Child welfare begins in the home. The sounder the body, the better the chance of mastering the dangers and diseases which our slowly awakening communities permit to threaten them outside the home.

The more intelligent the mother, the more she can do to neutralize the hostile influences by strengthening the corrective factors in the home.

Then, too, citizens learned much of the industrial life of children, and of the conditions of employment.

Various industries, and practically all callings as well, involve such preparation that the majority of boys and girls with merely an elementary training cannot enter profitably vocations which they could enter fifty or even twenty-five years ago. Many leave school at the age of fourteen and sixteen, and inevitably fall into the unskilled class of workers, where they are almost compelled to remain. A long list of purely juvenile occupations has developed, of which the messenger and elevator boy are typical. It was pointed out at the exhibit that four thousand children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are not in school. Many of these are in some such occupation, and the work is in no sense a preparation for anything better. When the boy becomes a young man, he finds himself incapable of advancing. There is nothing to look forward to, for he is without a trade, with all that that means to society. The Board's suggestion to meet this situation is to put vocational trades into the public schools, and by meeting the situation now, save a greater evil and a heavier expense hereafter.

Another question of vital importance, and one being

discussed throughout the country, is the wage situation of girls. An investigation of the wages of five hundred and seventy-three girls employed in two stores in Kansas City revealed the fact that thirty-two per cent received five dollars or less a week, and fifty-one per cent received six dollars or less a week. A careful estimate of the least a girl living in Kansas City can decently support herself on puts the amount at nine dollars. This sum or more was received by but eleven per cent of the five hundred and seventy-three girls. In order to live on less, the working girl must be aided in part by her family, or be compelled to bear hardships that will injure her health, impair her efficiency, and probably weaken her resistance to temptation. Screens pictured the effect of these temptations coming to girls of weaker will at times of direct need. Of three hundred Kansas City girls who are now living in houses of prostitution, fifty-one per cent when employed in honorable pursuits received less than six dollars a week, seventy-six less than eight dollars, and but thirty girls received as much as ten dollars a week.

A study of the whole wage and labor situation and of the conditions under which the fathers and mothers of the present and future generations now work has unveiled to the public some startling facts. The bureau has spared no effort to bring before the people of the state the truth of the matter. Missouri has had an inspection law and also a statute against child

1. Handbook of Child Welfare Exhibit.

labor, but it has had insufficient factory inspection. It is interesting to note that very soon after the exhibit closed an ordinance was passed providing for city inspection. The leaven is beginning to work.

The Child Welfare Exhibit was not chiefly a story of wrong or wretchedness; it was principally a plea for a fair chance for all children, pointing to many victories in the past with the prospect of victories yet to come. It was an extraordinary manifestation of the constant work of practical altruism going on in the city. The complete value of this eight day exhibit can never be estimated. The most valuable things in human life are hardly determined in terms of dollars and cents or in concrete figures. But ninety-five thousand and seven people saw plainly the dangers that surround the child, and they saw with decided hopefulness what the schools, churches private institutions, city, and state are doing for it. They learned that only by intelligent and aggressive action on their part could betterment be made. To quote from a local newspaper : "It shows you nothing that it does not offer a remedy for, but it makes it plain that the remedy is up to you."

The Board of Public Welfare has proved to be of value educationally in keeping before the citizens conditions surrounding the play and recreational life of its young people and in

its regulation of one form of that recreational life.

Play touches every phase of the child's development - physical, mental, moral, and social. The child, then, who lacks play opportunities fails in his best development. Happily, it is rarely possible to rob him of such opportunities altogether, but, unfortunately, too few realize what nature seeks through the play impulse. Hundreds of children are hopelessly removed from real country, with all that that means for health and clean imagination, as if they were shut off by a Chinese wall. And they need the country or its substitute - they at least need room. In a basement home, a Welfare worker found, just a short time before the exhibit, two children playing in a dark underground room with a dead cat - their only playground and their only plaything. For children a little older, craps and other gambling games flourish where there is simply "standing room only" for play.

The Board shows that public playgrounds, which offer to the children a chance for some of the free sport of the open air and which furnish enjoyment for a healthy child's mind and body, must be provided to give them back some of the rights taken away from them by modern municipal conditions, if we are to promote public health, if we would reduce juvenile delinquency, if we would develop valuable citizens. So closely is play life bound up with the mental, moral, physical, and social development, and so much does it affect later life, that someone has

tritely said that the boy without a playground today tends to become the man without a job tomorrow.

During six months, records show that two thousand four-hundred and eighty minors were arrested charged with crimes ranging from vagrancy to murder. Without doubt, healthful, normal amusements, properly equipped playgrounds, with competent directors, would have reduced this number very greatly. An adequate recreational system is necessary that the city may not waste money in its investments for education and the care of juvenile delinquency. Courts, reformatories, and hospitals are maintained for the masses without questioning the necessity. Juvenile delinquency is frequently the direct result of inadequate provision for healthy play. The Welfare Board aims at having Kansas City learn a lesson in preventive medicine and furnish its children with public playgrounds - one of the child's character schools.

Private interests readily realize the need of public recreation. They prepare for every age and every taste, and operate solely for financial gain. Consequently, some features have developed most detrimental to community welfare both physically and morally. The pool halls become a loafing place for the idle and headquarters for gangs. The motion picture shows, which have an attendance greater than all exhibitions

combined - four hundred and forty-nine thousand and sixty-four¹ weekly -with their darkness and poor ventilation tend to become a menace to the city when a censorship of films is not provided. Children gaze upon murder scenes, highway robbery, kidnapping, suicide, marital unfaithfulness, brutality, immorality and suggestive situations. Considering the plasticity of the child's mind and the power of suggestion over it, there is little wonder that so many juveniles find their way into the children's court.

Commercialized recreation, which exceeds all other recreation in extent and influence in Kansas City, has been thoroughly investigated and many facts revealed. For various forms of recreation, six million dollars are spent annually.² This includes fifty dance halls, twelve theatres, seventy-one motion picture shows, two hundred pool halls and a river excursion boat. The relative importance of these forms of recreation is better appreciated when it is known that the amount spent upon them is not only a great deal larger than the cost of parks and playgrounds, but larger than the entire amount spent for the current expenses of the Board of Police Commission, the Health Board, the Board of Public Welfare, and

1. Year Book, 1911-1912, p.

2. Year Book, 1912, p.246.

all the other city departments, exclusive of the Board of Education, and that it is two and a half times the amount spent for the city's entire school system. A survey of ninety-five of the two-hundred pool halls showed that five thousand two hundred and twenty patrons were found there in one afternoon. Of these ninety-five pool halls, eleven were connected with saloons, twenty-nine next to saloons, over four of them were assignation rooms, fifty-five were frequented by minors, in forty two was found petty gambling, twenty-five were the headquarters of gangs and in twenty-three liquor was sold. After noting the maturity and impressionability of the attendants of various kinds of commercialized amusements, and after listing the objectionable features, it was carefully estimated by the investigators that but sixty-eight per cent of the city's commercial recreation is wholesome. Medical museums, social clubs, wine gardens, chop suey restaurants and saloons were not considered. ¹ Motion picture shows, theatres, dance halls, a river excursion boat, pool halls, skating rinks, penny arcades, shooting galleries, bowling alleys, and amusement parks made up the list. The thirty-two per cent were objectionable on account of imtemperance, obscenity, suggestions of crime, dis-

1. Year Book, 1911-1912, p.247.

sipation, late hours, and represented an expenditure of one million nine hundred and twenty-three thousand two hundred and eleven dollars and ninety nine cents.

Commercial recreation of a good quality is an asset to any community and the Welfare Board stands for encouraging the good by suppressing the bad. They would eliminate the bad by the supervision of all commercial recreation - one of the planks in the Welfare Board's amusement platform. At present but one of the entire list is supervised and that is the dance hall, representing fourteen and five tenths per cent of all commercial recreation.¹ The Board's question to the entire city is "What are you going to do about it?"

The motion picture shows in particular keep boys and girls from spending their time on the streets at night, but to do a good by doing possibly a greater wrong is unwise. The Board wants to eliminate those films depicting violence, suicide, and marital unfaithfulness, and those in which criminals are shown to be heroes. Playing pool for pleasure is all right. Gambling is a different matter, and the pool halls where idle young men loaf foster crime. The Board stands for supervision of all commercialized amusements as one of the city's greatest obligations to its youth.

Dancing as a reaction from the monotonous day's work

1. Year Book, 1911-1912, p.247.

is a natural form of amusement and needs only to be rid of its bad side. It is poor economy to allow the exploitation of wholesome desires for financial purposes, in such a way as to impose almost certain disaster upon its young people. The dance halls are practically the biggest, most persistent problem in the world of commercial recreation. In dealing with them, various other interests must be considered. The liquor problem and the question of the sale of tobacco which is a dance hall profit present themselves; but more than all, there is a need for dealing with all of those practices which hang around the edges and fringes of society depending upon the vile trade coming from the dance hall. The class of people engaged in this have many eyes which seek far and many tentacles which dig deep in plying their trade.

The situation in Kansas City was bad. The sole aim of the dance hall managers was to get money from any and all patrons, regardless of age or character. Prostitutes, young men and younger girls mingled together. Close dancing, improper positions, liquor, early morning hours, and various other undesirable aspects and evils set thinking people to work on the problem. Once the city recognized the seriousness of the situation, an ordinance was passed in August 1910 providing for dance hall regulation. This regulation became a function of the Recreation Department of the Welfare Board and it now maintains supervision over all public dance halls of any description within the city limits. Now, before

a permit is issued to a dance hall applicant, various questions are considered, for example, the location of the hall, what other business is conducted within the building, the past and present occupation of the applicant; and very often the local commanding officer of the police district is interviewed. Before the permit is issued, the applicant signs an agreement to conduct his dance hall according to certain adopted rules. According to the rules, the sale or use of liquor is prohibited; smoking, profanity, boisterous conduct are forbidden; dances must close at twelve o'clock, unless a special permit is secured; halls are required to be properly lighted, and consequently no "shadow" or "moonlight" dancing is tolerated; prostitutes are forbidden; a most important measure says that girls under seventeen cannot attend unless accompanied by a parent or guardian. To enforce these rules inspectors are sent to the dance halls. Refusal on the manager's part to comply, results in the revocation of the permit.

Does the regulation of the dance halls have any value to those taking part in public dancing? Has it helped to raise the moral tone and standard? Have even a few been made to have a more serious care and a deeper concern for themselves or their children? Have even the proprietors learned that the degraded can be eliminated and no great financial detriment ensue? To all these questions those intently watching the movement say yes. After supervision was well established, letters were sent to various dance hall managers to get their opin-

ion of supervision. With one exception, the managers heartily endorsed supervision and agreed that they can now maintain order without the aid of a special police. They further agreed that their receipts were increasing and that the whole moral tone was raised¹. We quote one of the letters which gives the gist of many:

Dear Sir: In answer to your letter regarding the supervision of the Board of Public Welfare as to the betterment of public dances, I will say as to my best opinion that they have improved the dances ninety per cent during this season. They have not only protected the younger set, but have given the proprietor of dances greater support in bettering and impressing on the people that they must conduct themselves properly in public dance halls.-----We sincerely thank you and all for your service and protection.

Respectfully,

----Mgr.

Supervision such as has been carried on has shown many managers, as their replies indicate, that profits in a financial way do not depend upon laxness, but, as one of the proprietors expressed it, "attendance has greatly increased since patrons know that they will not be subjected to indecent and offensive conduct."²

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1. Year Book, 1911-1912, p.192.
 2. Year Book, 1911-1912, p. 193.

But of more concern to us is the moral effect of supervised dancing upon those engaged in it themselves, or upon their close relatives. Many parents are not consciously concerned, unless it is in some way drastically brought before them, about where their children go to enjoy themselves, or where they spend their leisure time. They often trust these children too much, and do not take the trouble to investigate the stories they tell. Consequently, many young girls go and come when they please. To these young girls under seventeen who attend the public dance halls without a parent or guardian particular attention is paid. When such a girl is seen by an inspector, her name and address is taken and on the following day an inspector calls on the parents or guardian, and reminds them that in the future these girls must not attend public dances unless attended by parent or guardian. In case the parent objects, he is warned, and if the girl appears again a notice is issued to the Juvenile Court to look into the matter. Here restrictions which are seldom violated are placed upon the parents.

During the first eight months of regulation, one thousand three hundred and four dances were inspected, and from these dances two hundred and sixty-seven young girls were reported and investigations were made. During the twelve

1. Year Book, 1911-1912, p. 248.

months following, two thousand two hundred and five dances were inspected, and about two hundred and twenty-two girls reported. The first figures show that the average was about thirty-four per month while the second average was about eighteen per month, and almost twice as many dances are taken into account in the second. These figures show that girls are being trained to stay away at least until they are a little older.

Time and trial have shown conclusively that the supervision of dance halls has been prolific of good. Many parents who were not formerly alive to their responsibilities, either from carelessness or indifference, are being educated into some at least of these responsibilities and parental duties. They are taught that if they do not look after the child the Juvenile Court will step in and will probably place it in some institution where it will be subject to parental control of the proper kind. Furthermore, not a few young and innocent girls, seeking harmless amusement have learned, and are continuing to learn and heed the warning lessons given them. The Welfare Board with its supervision of dance halls is helping to educate the tastes of the whole dancing public to a better kind of dancing and is leading public opinion-that great social chaperonage- to a higher standard.

C H A P T E R I V.

C O R R E C T I V E A G E N C I E S

CORRECTIVE AGENCIES

CHAPTER IV.

Accounts of the methods of dealing with crime since the beginning of records is a great changing scene, representing modifications and changes in human thought and attitude, and the various positions of society from time to time with regard to crime and the criminal. The progressive drift of the ages has been from tyranny to freedom, from war to peace, from superstition to science, from brutality to brotherhood, from inhumane to humane and intelligent treatment of crime and the criminal.

Penal systems began with revenge. The first idea of punishment was direct retaliation for the offense upon the person of the offender - expressed concretely, it was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The second idea was the theory of deterrence or terrorism. The culprit had to so suffer and be so terrorized that he would commit no further crime. But this was not all. His example had to be so abhorrent and the recital of his pains written so large that those weak in moral and will power would not drift into crime at all, and society would thus protect itself against its wild children. No longer was the penalty an eye for an eye, but it became an arm for a finger and a head for stealing fruit.¹ Torture was the method used.

1. Smith Social Pathology, p.181.

Ingenuity exhausted itself in inventing different methods for death as well as for corporal punishment. During the long dark period of excessive severity extending from the earliest times to the dawn of the nineteenth century the criminal was regarded as a wretch to be terrified or crushed. There was a criminal treatment of crime.

A higher conception of fraternity and a better intellectual understanding is now entering into this sphere of life and we are asking the question whether we were wrong in our past methods of dealing with crime. The intellectual revolution to which the progress of scientific investigation has given birth in practically all branches of knowledge has exerted little influence in the field of criminal jurisprudence until within the last fifty years. A distinctively modern conception is the third theory of punishment which insists that the true purpose of punishment is the reformation of the criminal. The idea is based upon the theory that crime is a disease. The majesty of society is just beginning to forget its own little fears and in approaching the work of reclamation aims to transform the offender into a citizen and a brother. It would substitute, as the underlying principle, corrective agencies and scientific methods as against vengeance, terror, brutality and sheer force. This awakening is not the result of any sudden discovery but it is being gradually produced by ethical, psychological, medical and social endeavors. Public opinion and the public conscience are

gradually coming to this view, but, like many institutions, our penal system tends to lag behind in a stage of modified terrorism and punishment, and but a small per cent of prisons have as yet incorporated the corrective and reformatory idea into their methods. Particularly is this so of the detention places in cities. As the city grows we find workhouses in which are found large numbers of those who have committed offences forbidden by the city ordinances. The majority of those appearing in police courts at close intervals are not criminals. Their derelictions as a rule are petty; the offences committed involve no willful injury to society, yet we apply antiquated methods. Customs, tradition, and slow progress have given to us places but little in advance of the institutions of the past centuries. In Kansas City the ordinary workhouse methods employed were anything but scientific. Five or six men whose bodies were probably shattered by drugs, liquors, and other excesses, lived in each cage, day and night, week in and week out in idleness, in nursing thoughts of revenge, in planning to get out, and in fighting vermin. The institution became a breeding place for disease and a school for crime. Records show us that seventy per cent suffer from some disease or appetite¹. These offenders, all of them ailing mentally, morally, or physically, weak enough when they enter, dissipated and unstrung, and for various reasons unable to resist temptation, were

1. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.315.

confined in the workhouse and when set free such confinement and idleness had lessened what powers they formerly had, destroyed their little physical health through the lack of exercise, and being less fit for work than when they went in, it is little wonder that so many found themselves back within a short time. The workhouse did not reform, it had no reforming program - it simply confined and sent its inmates away with their self respect annihilated and a brand of shame on them that years of effort could scarcely eradicate.

With the rapid growth of Kansas City it outgrew its workhouse and happily it has outgrown its workhouse methods. The question of whether we have a right to so punish the man and the woman that they will be left probably more helpless or more vicious than they were before was decided by the Board of Pardons and Paroles shortly after the corrections of the city were put into its hands. Its attitude has been that the rational thing to do for those who have developed abnormal mental, moral and physical conditions and desires, is not to put them into an abnormal environment which will tend to strengthen these tendencies, but to place them under the most normal conditions possible.

In April 1909 a farm of one hundred and thirty-five acres known now as the municipal farm was given into the control of the Board.¹ Subsequently all male prisoners were

1. Annual Report of Board of Pardons and Paroles.

transferred from the workhouse to the farm, the last going in 1911. Every man at the farm works every day unless he is in the hospital ward. The kind of labor he is able to do is passed on by the physician. Work consists in making roads, building buildings, farming, teaming and some inside work, as tailoring and shoe-making. Prisoners work without shackles, except a few who wear them as a special means of punishment. The policy is to give them as much freedom as possible, and a number of them go about the farm without a guard; during the past year about twenty per cent were placed upon their honor. The per cent of escapes in 1910-1911 was about three and ninety-four hundredths¹ and this was further decreased in 1911-1912². There is a thoroughgoing merit system with good time allowed for both work and good conduct, and demerits with loss of good time for misconduct. The requirements for good conduct are practically the same as those used at the Elmira Reformatory in New York. Each day there are reading hours when the prisoners are furnished with all the daily newspapers and with magazines and journals supplied by different organizations of the city. The Society for the Friendless, and city ministers and choirs conduct sane religious services on Sundays. A plan, looking toward the offender's first few days

1. Annual Report, 1910-1911, p.214.

2. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.315.

after leaving the farm, makes it possible for him to work a little extra that from two to five dollars might be paid to him in cash or so spent for the man as to get him started into life again.

The farm has given to the Board an excellent opportunity for curing certain classes of diseases, such as alcoholism, addiction to drugs and venereal diseases, that could not be accomplished in the hospital. Treatment there generally went to but a certain point, but at the farm there is an added restraint, and it has been possible to furnish many a treatment which the patient would hardly be inclined to submit to in the city hospital. For medical treatment a separate ward of twenty beds has been added and such cases are treated according to hospital methods.¹ The importance of medical care is obvious when we remember that seventy per cent of all these men suffer from some disease or appetite which in many cases has become chronic. A strong effort is made to correct mental, moral, and physical defects and in this way to appeal for a more wholesome life.

The municipal farm is not a test agriculture station or a financial venture. It is but a laboratory where the test in character building is being tried out and as such is justifying its existence. This is a decided contrast

1. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.315.

between the former and the present method. In the workhouse the man was robbed of his self respect - no effort was expended in fitting him for his post-prison days, in helping him to strengthen his weak will, or in discouraging his tendency to idleness, or in correcting his diseased appetite, or in reclaiming his lost ambitions. The old prison cell, the food, the confinement and the very little labor tended to depress and to make him hopeless. The filth that must necessarily have been present when one hundred and twenty prisoners were enclosed in twenty cells at times, tended to weaken the bodies and minds already deteriorating physically and morally. The policy on the farm of putting them to work in the open air instead of herding them into pens or cooping them in cells has the effect of bringing them to themselves and of arousing the normal man. There they have a chance. Conditions are thrown around them for a right and decent living. They are "morally living instead of morally dying." They get the work habit and the energizing work in the sunlight and open field becomes a good physician. They leave healthier than they entered. There is no prison pallor, jail sullenness and hang-dog ways. The useful work in the garden and field, the tonic of out doors helps to develop in them a new sense of honor to do their own work. They are treated not as members of a hopeless outcast class, but as real individuals with a human history and possibilities of a human future. The Board in dealing with delinquents has

taken its "stand at a point somewhere between the policeman and the doctor, retaining on the one hand and curing on the other, depriving the prisoner of his liberty as a punishment and giving him a chance of redemption as a matter of reformation."¹

In the House of Commons Winston Churchill declared that "the attitude of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and the criminal is one of the best tests of the civilization of any country." The Board of Public Welfare may be justly proud, with its municipal farm as a living part of the movement of scientific treatment of crime.

The delinquent women of the city are taken to the Women's Reformatory which began its existence as an institution in 1911 when the last of the male prisoners were removed from the workhouse. Such an establishment for the women prisoners with women attendants is another marked improvement in the city's system of corrections. But until a farm is obtained for them the same as is provided for the men the system will not be complete. At present the idea is being agitated only by the Council of Women's Clubs, the Welfare Board, and a few interested citizens. But the present reformatory is decidedly in advance of the previous workhouse, with its crowding, its idleness and its filth. The old place was overhauled, and is now sanitary and well equipped. The industrial de-

1. Jacob Billikoph, Address, State Conference of Charities and Corrections.

partment has been enlarged by modern power sewing machines, and a steam laundry has been added. White women on entering are put to work in the industrial department, where they learn the use of machines. All wearing apparel used at the municipal farm, the street department of the city and the Women's reformatory is both made and repaired by them.

In the steam laundry the apparel used by these three departments is laundered by the colored inmates. In the kitchen, too, are generally employed the colored inmates because most of the white women prefer to learn the use of the machines. To the juveniles (by an arrangement of the juvenile court of Jackson County the delinquent colored girls of the city are cared for in this institution) is assigned the cleaning of the building. By the Board of Education is furnished a teacher and necessary books that these juveniles may have the regular school instruction; but besides this, sewing, cooking, and the art of home making are also taught them.

A hospital ward and a nurse giving her whole time are provided that the physical needs of the inmates may be properly looked ~~after~~ and attended to.

This work is without doubt valuable to those unfortunate women who enter the institution. Regular habits, a clean environment, employment for hand and mind are tonics in themselves. Furthermore, it is not an unimportant thing for these women to learn something which will enable them to

support themselves when they leave.

Hand in hand with the idea of the correction and the reformation of the offender goes the parole system. The offender is a non-conformist, he is therefore noxious and for the welfare of himself and of society he should be further treated, trained and disciplined. Since the city's prisoners are no longer consigned to the rubbish heap of society there must be a follow-up method to clinch the work already begun and to aid him over the rough places. Of the Board's numerous duties this was the first and enough time has elapsed to get a good idea of the work done and the good results accomplished. The parole period, lasting three times the length of the unexpired term, is given after two-thirds of the actual time of the sentence has been served, if certain conditions have been met. Those receiving shortened sentence must agree to parole conditions. The agreement card reads: " to obey the law, to work steadily at what ever honorable work I can get, to keep out of bad company, to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors, to report to the office of the Superintendent of the Parole Department of the Board of Public Welfare at the city hall every Saturday before eight p.m. until-----." But on account of the variation of morals, further conditions, depending upon the individual case are generally imposed. A careful personal record of the offender is kept from the time he enters the "holdover".

Records of his past, his habits, his home, his associates, his physical condition and his employment are kept, and all of these, together with his present conduct aid in determining the special conditions of his parole. Thus each particular parole is given particular and individual attention. This is one of the secrets of its success. The finger is put on the weak spots gleaned from a study of the offenders records, and on these stress is placed. He is shown where his mistakes have been and how, in the future, to avoid them. At the time of his parole, just as throughout the period of detention, he is made to feel, if possible, that the parole board stands as his friend whose sole duty is to help him. He is given to understand that he has a clean slate and that nothing is held against him.

It was mentioned that weekly reports are made, by those paroled, to the superintendent of the Parole Department. But cases are further followed up. Part of the time of the eight district superintendents is spent in visiting those paroled within their districts. To those living outside of these districts a parole officer gives his full time. They are visited, then, in their homes, looked after, and encouraged in every way possible. Very often in these homes there are domestic troubles. A woman visitor in this case assists in the reconstruction of the home. Too often the

wife is indifferent to her responsibilities and needs to have impressed upon her those things which will show her her duty in the case. It is only right that her husband, living under new restrictions and obligations should have a home to take the place and give him the comfort he formerly received in the saloon, which perhaps caused him to err. A different atmosphere in his home will tend to encourage him and give him new hope. The great good done right in the homes, by suggestion, advice and the most friendly interest makes this home follow-up work of the most importance.

The real workings of the parole system can be seen from a few figures. During the fiscal year 1911-1912 there were two thousand seven hundred and forty-eight prisoners paroled, and but two hundred and eleven were returned into custody.¹ Looking at the whole life of the parole system, which is four years old, it is found from carefully kept records that three out of every four men and women paroled have atoned for their faults and have taken their places in the ranks of real citizens; of the remaining twenty-five per cent but ten per cent as far as is known have violated their paroles; the remaining fifteen per cent have never been heard from.² But should the whole twenty-five per cent have lapsed back there is still the splendid record of seventy-five per cent who

1. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.276.

2. Jacob Billikopf, Address ^{State} Conference of Charities and Corrections. 1912.

are now living useful lives.

The time saved to the 2,748 who were paroled last year was 205,043 days. From the weekly reports the signed cards showed along with other data their weekly earnings. From this the estimate made of the earnings of those paroled during the length of time they would have been in custody was \$234,350.80. It is obviously cheaper for the city to have a large number of men outside of detention places earning a decent living for themselves and those depending on them. But the amount of money passed to the credit of those paroled although most gratifying, is not to be compared with the gain to society in the way of moral reformation. Through steady assistance, moral support, friendly advice and assistance, many are straightened out and checked in their manner of living.

The parole system goes beyond the limited field of dealing with only those who have been confined in either the reformatory or at the farm. It is sometimes utilized by the Governor of the state of Missouri, who has, at times, paroled cases from the penitentiary and not having an officer to follow up the case, the Board, because of its equipment, has assumed this responsibility.

Always an important phase of any such activity is the

preventive work which it does. Requests come to the parole office from those interested in a young man who is growing lax and careless in his associations, in the places he frequents, and in his habits generally. Sometimes such a man is brought into the office, or an officer may visit him in his home, or his place of business. The seriousness of the situation and its possible and probable results are put before him. Hereafter he knows he is being watched. In case the situation grows worse, an arrest is sometimes made and the case paroled to get satisfactory results.

The parole system has proved especially effective in cases of non-support and neglect of the family. Wife and child abandonment is one of the serious problems which engages the attention of social workers. Between five and ten per cent of all cases of distress dealt with by charity organizations in large cities are concerning deserted wives.¹ Fifteen per cent of the funds distributed is given to deserted families. In the old method the man was taken to the place of detention and the family in want bore the heaviest end of the punishment. Now, many of the cases come directly from the police court without fine or a term at the farm, while others are handled without even making an arrest. The

1. Ellwood, Modern Social Problems, p.255.

policy of forcing husbands to provide for their families while under supervision has resulted in many hundreds of families being kept together which otherwise without this surveillance , would have been broken up. Many men are weak and what they need is not the prison cell but some form of practical help to overcome their weakness. During the year 1911-1912 the parole office collected \$8,585.43. This amount¹ would have been larger if this office had not made it a rule to release the man when it is seen that he can and will do the proper thing by his family.

This whole principle of parole is not a fanciful theory nor a sentiment, "but a truth fixed and fundamental in the facts of science of human nature." We are all on parole - that is we are all on trial in our lives in the sense that what is done today determines what will be the fate of tomorrow. The average adult makes the connection, offenders generally do not. These have to learn in the language of the psychological science as truly as in that of the preacher that "whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." They have to learn that they cannot put their hands in the fire and have them burned off, and continue to use them tomorrow, and that they cannot clog and mutilate their minds and bodies and tomorrow have their proper use.

1. Annual Report, 1911-1912, p.282.

In the training of every child this fundamental principle is stressed. Many who are paroled are mere children in mind and the same method must be used; slowly and painfully the elementary facts and experiences must be taught. Parole then is a law of reform as it is of education.

Such a system of corrective agencies as has been worked out by the Board of Public Welfare becomes the savior of men and women instead of their destroyer. A gospel of social service has turned the old prison into a home of hope for both the individual and for society.

C H A P T E R V

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

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CHAPTER V.

The Board of Public Welfare idea is a universal one, by which we mean that such an institution is applicable to other communities. Its spirit, aim, and principles have been tested, and found not wanting; they meet the fundamental needs of a growing, modern, progressive city. Several years ago there developed in Galveston, Texas, a unique form of municipal government. So practical and so successful did this prove to be that within a short time this idea became nation-wide, and now we see scores of cities embracing the commission form of government. The welfare work in Kansas City is attracting to itself quite as much attention in the world of philanthropy. Its experience, which is so successful, is likely to be adopted widely. Weekly, numerous visits are made at its office, and several cities have either adopted, or are considering the adoption of similar plans and activities. To be sure, most social problems are essentially local and concrete, and must be measured by the condition of the social group in which they are found; institutions cannot always be lifted bodily from one place and imposed on another; for local conditions

demand local treatment. The Galveston plan of city government was modified by the people of Iowa to meet particular needs, and so naturally some change may be made by different communities in attempting the Kansas City system of municipal welfare work.

It may be asked whether such an institution could be made successful in other places, or whether its success in Kansas City is due to the personality of its board and secretary. Of course, the success of any institution depends much upon the personality and breadth of view of those who have within their keeping its growth and future. To be sure, these were far sighted men, and men with visions beyond the ordinary. Too much credit cannot be given them. But with the increasing number of schools of social economy and departments of sociology, men are being trained for just such social work.

Some may ask why we need such institutions. The answer is not far away. The era of the city is just beginning. As society becomes more complex and more highly organized, men congregate into cities in increasing numbers and desert the country. Moralists for hundreds of years have been deploring this fact but it is irresistible and inevitable. In our country, the urban population has increased during the last one hundred years from three per cent of the entire

population to forty-six per cent. In the place of lamenting the fact legislation and social reformers must come to recognize it in time and make plans and provisions for growing problems. This is what society has almost invariably failed to do. Here-to-fore, the town has been considered as a mere accident which could be "left to chance and its own devices." This attitude has caused much trouble. Social problems must be met if social progress is to continue. In our own swarming cities with the tide of humanity continually rising, conditions of unprecedented and bewildering complexity are arising, and forces of unprecedented power for good or ill are in perpetual action and reaction. Many evils have been recognized late, but not altogether too late. There is hope for many of our cities of the future, if precaution is taken. In the library at All Souls' College, Oxford, there is a plan of London drawn by Christopher Wren, as he would have constructed it after the great fire. His plan was to have a city something like Washington with broad straight avenues, radiating from circles and triangles so designed as to make traffic easy. This man looked into the future. The Common Council of 1666 did not, and London again grew in the former haphazard way. The opportunity was thrown away.

1. Living Age, Vol.267, p.503.

Our scientific philanthropy and our enlightened communities are furnishing us plans whereby the problems of the town may be timely met. This philanthropy is pointing out ways whereby many of the situations existing in the larger and older cities may be avoided or met by our newer growing communities. The Kansas City method of doing it as we have seen is to apply the social preventive medicine. One would rather pay a physician for preventing sickness than to pay him for curing it, especially when prevention costs much less than does the cure.

No one would willingly live in a city which did not care for its unfortunates. Every agency looking after the delinquents and dependents and those just approaching dependency is an asset to the city. Since these institutions are necessary and indirectly benefit every citizen, an obligation is upon all for their support. There is no reason why a few hundred should bear the expense of the entire city. And obviously the community as a whole has ample resources and is better equipped to deal with social problems on an adequate scale than any private organization can be. By having them combined under one central head, coordination and cooperation of activity become possible. In viewing the conditions as they exist in so many of our cities today, we wonder how much higher the standard of life would be today if our

American communities had begun to consider their duty to citizens two or three decades ago. New York with its half million helpless would have a larger population of useful citizens had some such organization as a welfare board siezed the problems before they became too vast to deal with adequately.

A further question naturally arises as to the Board's relation to politics, and how far politics enters into it. If any administrative work is to be conducted successfully it goes without saying that politics must be kept out of it. From any logical point of view, to allow politics to get into such an institution is " precisely as absurd as it would be to attempt to run a railroad by selecting or retaining clerks, freight agents, and engineers according to their views upon the various questions of policy that it was the function of the directors to decide." As was stated in referring to the ordinance creating the Board of Public Welfare, the members of the Board are to be appointed by the mayor with reference solely to their fitness for the position and without consideration to political affiliations. And shortly after the establishment of this institution, the employees of all departments of the city, including this one of course, were subject to civil service examinations. This Board, composed of five members appointed by the mayor has since its creation been absolutely non-partisan. Further

than this, its members are not divided between the two leading parties, as supposedly non-partisan boards quite frequently are, and the political affiliations are probably unknown to most persons in the city. There developed soon after the institution was founded, a custom whereby the successor of the retiring member is nominated by representatives of private philanthropies of the city, and his name is presented to the mayor for appointment. In every case thus far the person so nominated has been appointed. There is a firm belief in Kansas City that public opinion will keep the board efficient and non-partisan, for the public conscience is aroused to such an extent that a public board devoted to the cause of securing justice and fair treatment for those who are in misery or those who are pulled about by adverse conditions will not be made a football of party politics. Indeed, during the past month when a proposal was made by the private philanthropies of the city that the retiring member of the Board succeed himself, an attempt was made by certain politicians to insert a wedge whereby they might get some control of this department. But so greatly was the public mind aroused and so unaminously did the newspapers support the Welfare Board that these politicians, seeing the revulsion which it was causing in the public mind and the likelihood of its bringing in a

reaction against them, considered it unwise to make an attempt to mix politics with the work of this department. And the man nominated by the philanthropies, who has been a guiding influence of this institution since its beginning was appointed to the place. The problem of politics will have to be met here as in other phases of administrative life. But so strong a force is public opinion, and so strongly can it be brought to bear upon such situations, that if the mass of people are progressive and alert enough, they can free such institutions from political handicaps.

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A city which will not provide liberally for the welfare of its people is a city with past century ideas and methods, and one which in time will find itself far behind in the race. Kansas City is doing a great work for better citizenship. It has ceased to be indifferent about everything but size. This movement is extremely significant. It points to the fact that in this day when we hear on all sides of " soulless commercialism and sacrifices for the almighty dollar, some cities where commercialism is most rampant, are experiencing an awakening of civic conscience which prompts them to do something for better citizenship. No longer is the transformation of social waste into social and economic profit a dream of some fine-haired theorist, but it is a living, growing reality in Kansas City, Missouri.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

First Annual Report

Second Annual Report.

Third Annual Report.

Ellwood, Modern Social Problems.

Industrial Accidents of Missouri (pamphlet).

Smith, Social Pathology.

(Note. A visit was made to Kansas City to study the work of the Board of Public Welfare first hand).

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