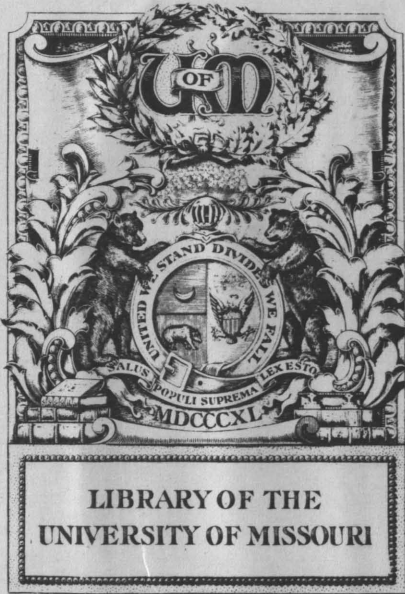


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THE  
SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE  
INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY

by

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

in the

GRADUATE DEPARTMENT  
(COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE)

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE  
SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE  
INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

In this thesis the term family means a human group consisting of father, mother and their offspring, of whom the last named are cared for by the parents until maturity. The term instability of the family implies that, by reason of divorce, desertion or other sufficient cause, the group is disintegrated. And by social effects of the instability of the family is meant the effects upon society of such disintegration.

The thesis which I shall attempt to prove has been well stated by one of our foremost social psychologists, when he affirms that "with few exceptions, all who have given serious attention to the question are agreed that the stability of the family is the prime condition of a healthy state of society and of the stability of every community".<sup>1</sup> In short, I shall endeavor to show in the following pages that the social effects of the instability of the family are undesirable.

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1. McDougall, Social Psychology, p.268.

I am not alone in the discussion of my thesis for the subject has been debated ever since human society began to be studied but an especial impetus has of late been given to the topic in the United States by the recent government report on "Marriage and Divorce" published by the Director of the Census in 1908. People had been aware that there was more or less disintegration of the family taking place in society but the cold figures of Mr. North startled the thoughtful citizens of our republic.

The Census Report shows that in 1870 there were 28 divorces to 100,000 population in the United States but that in 1900 there were 73. This large number is even more appalling when we consider the number of divorces which the statistics of other countries show. In 1900 there were only 2 divorces per 100,000 population in England and Wales, 15 in the German Empire, 23 in France and 32 in Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> And the 1908 Census Report gives us even more food for thought when from its totals we calculate that to every 12 marriages in the United States as a whole <sup>2</sup> there was 1 divorce in 1905 and that in Montana and Washington there was 1 divorce to every five marriages in that year.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Hill, "Statistics of Divorce", Quar. Pub. of Amer. Statis. Ass'n, June, 1909.
  2. More accurate figures are 11.8 for the U.S., 54 for Mont. and 49 for Wash.

The following twenty-three states, Maine, New Hampshire, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, Oregon and California had more than 1 divorce to every ten marriages in 1905. The rate is even higher in some of our cities. In 1903 there was 1 divorce to every 3 marriages in San Francisco.<sup>1</sup> And, great as our increase in population has been, it has not kept pace with the divorce rate. From 1870 to 1880 the increase in number of divorces was 79.6 per cent, in population 30.1 per cent; from 1880 to 1890 the increase in number of divorces was 70.2 and in population 25.5 per cent; and from 1890 to 1900 the ratio was 66.6 to 20.7.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is seen that in the decade 1890 to 1900 the number of divorces increased over three times as fast as the population. In 1867 there were 9,937 divorces in the U.S., in 1887 there were 27,919 and in 1906 there were 72,062.<sup>3</sup> The total number of divorces from 1887 to 1906 was 945,625.<sup>4</sup> The above figures, then, express statistically the status of the modern American family in regard to stability, although they fall far short of showing all the

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1. U.S. Census Bulletin, 1903, no.20.

2. U.S. Census Bulletin, 1908, no.96.

3. U.S. Census Bulletin, 1908, no.96.

4. Ibid.



instability of the family since such matters as desertion among the poor involve an equal instability of the family. So the significance of such movements as the National League for the Protection of the Family becomes evident, for such statistics fill with apprehension those who believe in the social importance of the stability of the family.

The method which I shall use to show the social effects of the instability of the family is both deductive and inductive. I shall endeavor, first, to deduce from 4 the nature and social function of the family and from child psychology what must be the inevitable results of the instability of the family. In the second place, I shall give the results of my study of the reports of Charity Organization Societies of nearly all the larger cities of the United States, as showing the results of family instability on dependency. I shall conclude my inductive evidence by a statement of the results of my own investigation of the effect of family instability on dependency and delinquency, as shown by reports obtained from reform schools, juvenile courts and orphan asylums of the United States.

C H A P T E R   I I

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE FAMILY  
AND NECESSARY RESULTS OF ITS INSTABILITY.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Social Function of the Family and Necessary Results of its Instability.

To make the social function of the family clearer, I will first sketch the evolution of the family. Its prototype begins far down in animal life. But at first we do not find parental care and so there must be an immense number of offspring. Among fish the average female deposits more than 600,000 spawn of which only 1 or 2 survives.<sup>1</sup> But among those species that do not care for their young the yearly average is over 1,000,000 per female, while in the 200 species in which there is some parental care during infancy the average falls to 56.<sup>2</sup> As we ascend the scale of organic life we find an increasing parental care and a diminishing number of offspring. Among mammals the offspring number only 3.2 annually per female.<sup>3</sup> This parental care which is so conducive to survival is up to the higher mammals chiefly maternal care, although in the case of birds there is frequently

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1. Sutherland, Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct, Vol.I, p.2.

2. Ibid, Vol.I,p.4.

3. Ibid., Vol.1, p.5.

care of offspring by both parents. Parental care is, indeed, very highly developed among many birds. Both parents help build the nest, the male takes the female's place while she leaves the nest, he feeds and protects the young and the union is usually for life.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the mammals, however, with the exception of man and some of the anthropoid apes, the same male and female scarcely ever live together over a year.<sup>2</sup> The anthropoid apes have a rude sort of family life. The orang-outang and gorilla males are often seen with two offspring of different ages.<sup>3</sup> The males of both these species build nests in trees for their consorts and offspring.<sup>4</sup> The chimpanzee, too, which is the animal nearest man, lives in families and the males of this species also build nests in trees for their mates and progeny.<sup>5</sup> Now since care by both parents is so conducive to survival, powerful instincts become developed to keep male and female together to care for their offspring.

Along with the advance in type and furnishing a basis for it, has gone a prolongation of infancy which makes possible adaptation to a more and more complex environment and necessitates more and more parental care. The lengthening of the period of immaturity is steady from the lower

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1. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Mar., p.11.

2. Ibid., p.517.

3. Ibid., p.13.

4. Ibid., p.14.

5. Ibid., p.14.

animals which are fully mature at birth to the birds and mammals which are guided through the period of helplessness by devoted parents. The animal prototype of the human family was developed by the forces of natural selection to secure this parental care during the helpless infancy of the offspring.

This brief sketch serves to show that the human family, which must be regarded as but a further development of its animal forerunner, is deeply rooted in the instincts of parental care and, of course, of sex, which in all forms above the unicellular organisms brings about the mating of the parents. Since these instincts are so directly conducive to survival they have by the human stage become very strong. The instinct of jealousy, may I add, makes for permanent relations between the sexes.

It used to be believed that the human family arose out of a state of primitive promiscuity but Westermarck has, by a detailed study of savage groups, effectually disproved that theory.<sup>1</sup> He shows that in savage tribes the relations between the sexes are more or less durable, the mother having the immediate care of the children and the father the protection of the family.<sup>2</sup> The earliest human family

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1. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Marriage, ch. V and VI.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

was probably a heritage from man's nearest animal ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

The first form of the human family is now generally <sup>2</sup> conceded to have been the maternal type. This form is found in its best developed form among the North American Indians, where the clan "comprehends all the descendants, in the female line of an ancestral mother, real or hypothetical."<sup>2</sup> In this form of family the husband joins the wife's clan and kinship follows the female line. But women have not very much real power. Their's is "household royalty."<sup>3</sup> The maternal family is not very well unified and governed; it is relatively unstable. And in this stage there is little training of the young by the parents. Where it is easy to procure food and shelter, children from seven to ten are able to look out for themselves but where some skill is required, the parental training is longer. But the mother family conserved the traditions of the past and the learning that had been accumulated. It was also <sup>2</sup> a place where sympathies were cultivated.

The more stable paternal family succeeded the maternal and it is this family that has influenced most the modern family. The typical patriarchal family is the old Roman family. It consisted of the Pater, all his descendants in

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1. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Mar., p. 538.
  2. Letourneau, Evolution of Mar., p. 278.
  3. Ibid., p. 282.

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the male line and his slaves. The patria potestas over the group was absolute, extending even to life and death. The Pater was high priest of the ancestral religion and this religious sanction was a source of much of his authority. The main purpose of the paternal family was to preserve the cult of the ancestors. The paternal family was also a well knit little industrial and political unit. In this family child labor was valuable and so there was better training of the child that he might do his share of the work of the group. The patriarchal theory with its necessary corollary of the subjection of woman and child has held down to our own times.

✓ As civilization has advanced, marriage has become more durable<sup>1</sup> and the family has become increasingly stable, although it has been variously affected by different economic, political, religious and social conditions through the centuries. There have been, however, reversions to a less stable family life, the best known of which perhaps is the unstable family of later Roman times. This was the time of that "complete dissolution of Roman morals which began shortly after the Punic Wars, which contributed very largely to the destruction of the Republic" of which Lecky speaks.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Marriage, p. 535.
  2. Hist. of European Morals, Vol. II, p. 302.

The vice of this time pervaded the whole life of the Romans but it was of such a nature as to especially demoralize family life. This has led to such statements as the following: "It has been well said that Rome fell because it had lost the old Aryan idea of the family".<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the instability of the later Roman family cannot properly be said to be the cause of the fall of Rome but the decline of morals, which did cause the fall first undermined family life. If the family life had been kept stable <sup>2</sup> and pure, the vices of the time could not have effected the ruin of Rome. At least, it is the general opinion of Roman historians that the decay of the family was a chief cause of the extinction of the early Roman stock and ultimately of the decadence of the Roman state and of Roman culture.

Christianity, through the influence of the early <sup>2</sup> church and of the more stable Teutonic family, after many trials, succeeded in reestablishing the family upon a stable basis.<sup>2</sup> The type of family that it succeeded in establishing was naturally modelled more or less along partriarchal lines. As it is not the purpose of this

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1. Thwing, The Family, p.62.

2. Schmidt, Social Results of Early Christianity, p.389.



thesis to discuss the historical aspects of the instability of the family, we may pass at once to the nineteenth century.

Under the conditions of the nineteenth century the old patriarchal theory of the family began to break down. The industrial revolution took, one by one, the productive industries from the home to the factory until now only the production of food for the table is left and the idea of common kitchens is gaining ground. Modern education has transferred education from the family to the schools. The state has even made education compulsory. Religious training has been taken up by the Sunday School and church. The state has adopted the political functions of the old patriarchal family. The play of the child is directed by the modern playground. The state has also the power of removing children from the home if the home conditions work an injustice to the child. In view of all this, it is not surprising that some would abolish the family altogether and place children directly under the larger control of the state.

Since the state has taken over so many functions of the family, as in its compulsory education, its child labor laws, juvenile courts and even the right to take the child away from an unfit home, it is advocated by some that the state not merely stand in loco parentis but be the parens ipse. They argue that the intimate association of the

family is opposed to the larger state solidarity which progress demands. "For if a man is compelled to choose between the happiness of his son and the happiness of a native of Ceylon, he will, under existing conditions, prefer the happiness of his son."<sup>1</sup> But Bray answers this argument well. He says: "To pervert a parable: it is only from the well plenished board of a rich family love that Dives has any crumbs of affection to spare for the poor beggar, Humanity, sitting cold and forlorn on his footstep."<sup>2</sup> When the social virtues are not learned in the family, they are as a general rule not learned at all. And the family has instinctive forces to utilize which the impersonal state lacks.

Plato in his "Republic" advocates a community of wives and children and that the state be the child's only parent. Campanella's "City of the Sun" is a similar sort of place where the government is to have immediate control of children. Both of these schemes are purely theoretical but there have been a number of practical attempts to reorganize society on another than a family basis. A wild attempt was the Oneida Community of the nineteenth century which existed over a generation but which finally had to give up its cardinal principle, which was that of a complex marriage or sex communism.<sup>3</sup> There have been other such

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1. Bray, The Town child, p.301.

2. Ibid.

3. Thwing, The Family, p.140.

attempts to overthrow the family but none of them have been conspicuous successes.

From this it would seem that the family has a social function to perform which cannot be successfully delegated to other agencies. Indeed, the brief sketch of the development of the family by the forces of natural selection must surely show the value of the family to survival and progress. Powerful instincts have been gradually built up, to go against which is to invite failure. I will now state what I believe to be the social function of the family.

1. ✓ The primary function of the family is to furnish new individuals to society. Although there have been different forms of union for this purpose as polygyny and polyandry under special conditions, yet the most highly civilized races have monogamy as their ideal. This function has not varied since the very beginning of the family, for it is the sex or reproductive instinct which brings male and female together to form the family.

2. A further function of the family as of every sex-united couple in the organic world is to secure variation. Not only is physical variation secured but also psychical variation which is of more importance for society. This function of the family is important for social evolution for, as in organic evolution, advantageous variations are seized upon by selection and perpetuated. Thus the social

life is enriched and improved upon. But these psychological variations must be encouraged or imitation will undo much of the effect. It is in the intimate family group held together by strong natural ties that individuality and initiative are encouraged.

3 ✓ After bringing the offspring into the world, it is the function of the family to provide for their physical care. The human infant is dependent upon parents an increasingly long time as civilization advances and it is in the family that the required physical care can best be given. This is strikingly illustrated by the high death rate in foundling hospitals where, although the conditions be ever so sanitary, the babies receive no mothering-and fathering. "A death rate of 97 per cent per annum for children under three years of age is not uncommon".<sup>1</sup> Later statistics of infant mortality in institutions show almost as high a death-rate. In a recent investigation of this subject by the Department of Child Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, reports were secured from twenty-two institutions and these reports showed an average death rate of 40 per cent of infants received.<sup>2</sup> These statistics must show very definitely that the place for the physical care of children is not the institution but the family. But the home is not only for the sake of the children. It also ministers

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1. Warner, American Charities, p.266.

2. Hart, "Infant Mortality in Institutions", Children's charities, Mar.1910.

to the physical comfort of the adult members of the family.

4 ✓ In the fourth place, the family, probably the earliest form of human association, is the natural training place of the child for life in a wider society. The child is born into the family a helpless infant and the parents have been provided by a long course of evolution with instinctive parental sympathies which make them ready to respond to every need of the offspring. Nowhere else can the infinite patience which is needed to introduce the child to a complex world be secured with so little resistance. ( Although these parental sympathies might conceivably be aroused by any helpless infants, yet it would not be doubted by any one that such sympathies can only be aroused to their fullest extent by one's own children.

The influence which family life exerts over the child has its basis in child psychology. For the child is directly under the control of the family when he is in his most plastic and imitative stage. It is this which makes parental responsibility so great, for according to the influences thrown about the child, so is the child. And Galton has suggested that one reason that parents have such a great influence over their own children is because of the resemblance between parents and their children and that parents could not be so successful with other people's children.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Thorndike, Edu.Psy., p.55.

✓ The family, "the social world in miniature"<sup>1</sup>, is the first social group of which the child is a member and it is there that he gets his first training in relations. It is there that he gets his first experience of the social virtues. Only in such an intimate group bound together by natural ties can there be the stimulus to co-operation, service, self-sacrifice and the other social virtues which life in general society demands. "The necessity of mutual forbearance where there are several children, of sharing fairly, of learning to give and take, is the best possible method of training for membership in the larger society".<sup>2</sup> The esprit de corps developed is valuable for life in larger groups.

In the family too the child gets his first experience in social regulation and he will probably be law-abiding later to the extent that these first lessons have been ingrained. "The Home is the place in which to begin to cultivate those virtues of reverence for constituted authority, of the love of truth and righteousness, of honesty, self-denial, and devotion to high ideals, which make the foundations of society enduring, and whose lack brings all we hold dear into peril, and threatens the republic with discord and revolution".<sup>3</sup> The authority of the

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1. Henderson, Social Elements, p.62.

2. Dewey and Tufts, Ethics, p.584.

3. Report of Nat'l Divorce Reform League, 1896.

parents must be at the basis of good family government.

✓ The home is indeed the child's whole world. What he ✓  
gets from the outside world is interpreted by the family.  
And family life only flourishes in privacy. There must  
be intimate relations to a few people. Much of this  
association is about the dining room table for that is  
often the only place where the whole family meets.

Although we may some day have common kitchens, let us never  
permit common dining rooms. The family represents so  
largely the whole world of the child as of the primitive  
man that Henderson has called it "the real primary school,  
the original temple, the first government".<sup>1</sup>

✓ Our race ideals, democracy and Christianity with its  
cardinal principles of the fatherhood of God and brother-  
hood of man, are but extensions of primary ideals formed in  
such primary groups as the family, the playground and the  
neighborhood.<sup>2</sup> Such ideals as brotherhood and kindness  
are borrowed from the family. And freedom, the emphasis ✓  
of individuality, was first a virtue of the primary group.  
It is only in the family that there can be the proper exer-  
cise in freedom, for the protection that the family affords  
is necessary for it. Indeed Howard goes so far as to say  
that "the state is ... the result of the expansion of its  
primordial cell".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Social Elements, p.66.

2. Cooley, Social Organization, p.51.

3. Hist.of Matrimonial Institutions, Vol.I, p.13.

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A very important phase in the socialization of the child, which has been dealt with more or less fully in the preceding section, is the development of his moral character. The family is the place of all places for this, since it, as Sutherland has said, is the birthplace of all moral relations.<sup>1</sup> Our corrupt political conditions and the thieving corporations and the love of the almighty dollar so prevalent in American society are much due to faulty home training. They are the fruit of the ideals instilled into child minds. Now, since moral training consists largely in the formation of proper habits<sup>2</sup>, the earlier these are formed, the better. ✓ It is certain that in childhood habits are formed easily and the importance of instilling the right kind of habits into children during early childhood cannot be overestimated. And naturally the parents are best fitted for this task not only on account of their instinctive<sup>2</sup> equipment but also because of their authority over their children. This, then, represents the opportunity of parents for the moral training of their children.

Now among the social virtues which are instilled into the individual in the family is preëminently that of altruism. Maternal love has always been cited as the very

- 
1. Orig. and Growth of the Moral Instinct, Vol.I, p.291.
  2. Pyle, "The Psy.Basis of Moral Train.", School and Home Educa., Feb.1910.



height of altruism. In the altruistic atmosphere of the family the child imbibes altruism, such as he could never gain elsewhere for nowhere else can there be such a stimulus for altruistic conduct.

Through the generation of altruism the family performs an important function in the social life, especially in regard to progress. All the way up the scale of animal life there is an increase in sympathy and this is even more apparent in the advance of human beings from savagery to civilization. Sutherland says: "The sympathetic type is thus the one which is more and more distinctly emergent as we ascend in the animal scale; for not only does an increasing parental care give to a species some preference over competitive types; but an increasing conjugal stability also allies itself with this parental care, to form the home circle, and to build up the family".<sup>1</sup> He continues: "The law of sympathy has therefore been the law of progress".<sup>2</sup> For it is altruism which has made possible that coöperation that has created our civilization. And this sympathy which is brought out by family relationships can be as active an agent of progress in the future as it has been in the past. Drummond rightly says: "It [the family] is the generator and repository of the forces which alone can carry out the

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1. Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct, Vol.I, p.291.

2. Ibid., p.9.

✓

social and moral progress of the world".<sup>1</sup> For this reason the family is indispensable to society, for it is the chief source of altruism.

✓ But it is not only the moral training of the young for which the family is responsible. What the intellectual life of the child is, depends very largely upon his family training. For intellectual habits are formed through imitation, the family educational method, in the family group. The intellectual training of the school can only build upon the foundation which the home supplies.

✓ It is in the family too that the economic training of the child must be mainly given, for it is there that the child first learns values. And by virtue of being a responsible member of an intimate group the child's economic training is deeply fixed. He should learn habits of industry in the family.

✓ (As to religious training) it is pretty nearly only in the family that it can be inculcated, for religion is a thing that must be woven into the very life if it is to be a force. Most people, as any one may observe, are of the same religious faith and intensity of faith as their family.

*This just said*

✓ In short, in all the things that go to make up "complete living" the family must be a starting place. For it is in the ascendancy when the child is in the formative stage of

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1. Ascent of Man, p.316.

✓

life and must be influential in shaping what the child's later life shall be.

The great superiority of the family as a socializing agency is well shown by a consideration of institution training in this respect.

The routine of institution life is deadening to the child's best faculties. Everything is done at the tap of the bell. The child is instructed as to rising, eating, playing, working; indeed all that he does is directed. There is no opportunity for expression. The child's individuality as a rule has no chance to develop. And it is not hard to establish routine among children, since their minds are so plastic and habits are so easily formed. The intellectual, moral and religious training, which the child gets in the institution, is much inferior to that received in the family, for no institution employé has the time and patience to devote to the child's training that the parents of the child have. And as to the child's economic training, how can the child learn the value of things when he never handles money, when his assistance in the common life is entirely unnecessary and when everything is done for him? He cannot learn to co-operate in the institution. Such matters as property rights cannot be learned in an institution for there are no personal possessions. The child cannot learn well the social virtues. "Childhood is too mighty a potentiality to be handled on the ready-made

plan."<sup>1</sup> The child should be brought up in a family if he is later to live in a family.

Modern philanthropy is recognizing this fact and the institutional treatment of dependent children is rapidly giving way to the placing-out system. Charles Loring Brace, quondam secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, has said, "It [the success of the placing-out system] is a living witness to the old social order--family life, parental love and influence, the training of each day's common experience".<sup>2</sup> In this country child-placing began in New York in 1853 when Brace organized the Children's Aid Society. The Children's Home Society movement began in Illinois in 1883 and has extended into twenty-nine states. Many of the states have adopted the child-placing system. Michigan has a public school from which children are placed as soon as prepared in free homes; New Jersey has a State Board of Guardians which places children directly in families; the Indiana State Board has temporary county homes from which children are placed in private families; in Pennsylvania children are boarded at the expense of the county till homes are found for them.<sup>3</sup> There is a growing sentiment in favor of public supervision of the placing-out work of private agencies, such as is carried on in New York,

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1. Hirsch, "The Home vs. the Institution", Children's Charities, Mar. 1909.
  2. Rept. of C.A.S. of N.Y., Charities, Dec. 6, 1902.
  3. Williamson, "Destitute and Neglected Children", Charities, May 16, 1903.

New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other states.<sup>1</sup> All this shows that we are coming to recognize the fact that the place to bring up the child is not an institution but the family.

And a change has been made in the institutions themselves. The cottage plan, in which the children live in groups of not more than twenty-five in cottages, preferably with a foster father and mother, is the most approved form. The New York Juvenile Asylum has recently moved from New York to a country place on the Hudson, reorganizing on the cottage plan.<sup>2</sup> When the children are not placed in families, the conditions are being made by our philanthropists as nearly like those of family life as possible.

This is one more testimony to the value of the family for bringing up children.

And, too, charity is more and more utilizing outdoor relief to keep families together. Often a family can be kept together by securing employment for the father, by bringing back a truant father, by a reconciliation with relatives, by arousing the personal interest of neighbors who will help look after the children or by some material aid. No matter how poor the home, scientific charity does not separate the children from their parents unless it is absolutely necessary as in the case of cruelty, immorality

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1. Warner, Amer. Charities, p. 295.

2. Travis, The Young Malefactor, p. 197.

or physical or mental incapacity. When parents are unable but suitable and willing, aid is given. For the mother who is of good moral character is the best person to care for her children. A home may, however, sometimes have to be temporarily broken up on account of sickness or the like. Often by keeping the children in the family, the father and mother are made to feel responsibility and so the family is saved.

✓ But the family does not exist merely for the sake of the child as the foregoing discussion might lead one to believe. The family has a social value for adults. It is in the family that they live and have their most intimate association. It is true that "there is no anvil upon which a man and woman can beat out their spiritual perfection to be compared with the task of the education of their children".<sup>1</sup>

✓ It is in the family that the higher feelings are developed. The close association of the family is good soil for them, whereas they could not grow in the broad state where relations are not so intimate. Would not many of the tenderer feelings which add so much to the richness of the feeling life be absent if there were no family relationships?

✓ Another important function of the family is to develop stability of character. Life in such a closely knit group is calculated to produce such a result. "The Northern

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1. Adler, Marriage and Divorce, p.24.

peoples, obliged by climate to center their lives on the circle about the fireside are more resistant to popular currents than the Southern peoples, passing their lives in the buzz of the street, the plaza, and the foyer".<sup>1</sup> Close relations to a few individuals make for depth of character and such stability of character must surely be for the stability of society.

✓ The family has also an economic function to perform. The family supplies a motive if not the chief motive to work. There must be provision for the young and something must be saved against sickness or lack of work. The occupation of the head is a family matter for there is a common family interest in the work. And the family method is the best way to care for the weak members of society, for in no other way would it be done so willingly. Helen Bosanquet in her study of the family says: "It seems clear, then, that this grouping together of individuals into economic units comprising both strong and weak elements would be in itself, if it were nothing more, a most successful device for maximizing the economic efficiency of a people".<sup>2</sup> And property and wealth under existing social conditions are family rather than individual possessions and are transmitted via the family. In nearly all families, too, there is an industrial coöperation in which the wife is the spender

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1. Ross, Social Psychology, p.88.

2. The Family, p.224.

of the income and has charge of the home and children while the husband earns the income. The children have more or less responsible positions in this scheme.

Another function of the family as now constituted is the transmission of the name. Other methods might conceivably be devised for the performance of this function but the family is the means which society has worked out for the purpose.

The family, again, has one function that has been so largely usurped by the school, public libraries and like educative agencies that its importance as a function of the family is likely to be overlooked. In addition to the material heritage there is also a spiritual heritage which descends along family lines. An illustration of this is the fact that language is learned in the family. And very much racial experience is passed down in the family-- in fact ideas of all kinds pass from parents to children and become more thoroughly a part of the lives of the children in this way than they could in any other way.

And the family, which is the "binding together of the generations"<sup>1</sup>, performs still another and most valuable function in the progress of the race. For it renders possible a closer continuity in working out race ideals than could otherwise exist. Since it is such an intimate congenial group, it contributes toward the spiritual unity of

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1. Bosanquet, The Family, Preface.



the race in a way that would be impossible to larger and less closely united groups.

Again, the family is a conservative element in society. Thwing expresses this fact thus: "It is to the family that the commonwealth looks for conservative tendencies. The individual is radical and progressive."<sup>1</sup> (But perhaps the individual could not work out his radical tendencies with such safety if he were not protected by the family.) And herein is one of the chief values of the family. It checks many of the wild vagaries of individuals.

Finally, an important function which the family incidentally performs and yet which is extremely necessary to social well-being is the regulation of the sex instinct in society. Through the long course of evolution this instinct, being so all-important for survival, has become very strong, a fact to which the existence of the large prostitute class of modern society abundantly testifies. This is one of the hardest modern social problems to solve, for its instinctive basis is so deeply imbedded in human life. It is impossible to conceive that society could devise as excellent a way to regulate sexual desires as the family affords. Although the family fails to a certain extent in this task, yet would not any other conceivable agency fail far more?

Now in modern life with its rising standard of living,

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1. The Family, p.109.

emancipation of woman, its hotel life, its intense individualism, the popularization of law, increased general learning, modern religious and ethical adjustments, higher age of marriage, city life and various other conditions of civilization, the family is not adapting itself rapidly enough to social change. The family was once the unit of society but Christianity, the Reformation, the individualistic philosophy of the eighteenth century and other such influences have combined to exalt the individual until now the individual is the social unit. And there is at present a marked instability of the family.

Of the various forms of family instability divorce is most prominent. This is not the place to go deeply into the history of divorce but suffice it to say that the right of repudiation of the wife by the husband prevails among most savages.<sup>1</sup> When wives were procured by capture, purchase or service, they were the property of men and so could be more or less easily disposed of. Among some primitive tribes the bond is lax, for instance among many African, Asiatic, American and Oceanic peoples; but among some it is indissoluble, as among the Papuas of New Guinea and the Veddahs of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> Among other tribes divorce is permitted only for specified reasons. Barrenness and adultery of the wife are almost universal causes for divorce. But

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1. Letourneau, Evolution of Marriage, p.229.

2. Howard, Hist. of Matrimonial Institutions, Vol. I, pp.226-8.

as civilization advances, the wife secures some rights. Taking Rome as an example, because there divorce evolved more completely than anywhere else, at first the husband had the right of repudiation but at length divorce by mutual consent was introduced, although it was pecuniarily disadvantageous for the husband if he was at fault; finally the wife became emancipated and by the second century B.C. divorce became easy.<sup>1</sup> Slowly under Christianity the indissolubility of marriage was established. During the middle ages marriage was only dissoluble when it was shown to have been contracted within prohibited degrees of affinity. But marriage became again dissoluble at the Reformation. And just now in our own United States there is a tendency toward the freer granting of divorce. Only 15 per cent of the divorces granted from 1887 to 1906 were contested.<sup>2</sup> The causes of divorce in the U.S. range from only adultery in New York to Washington, where divorce may be granted "for any cause deemed by it [the court], sufficient, and when it shall be satisfied that the parties can no longer live together".<sup>3</sup>

Divorce may be of two kinds. There may be absolute divorce, which allows remarriage or there may be a judicial

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1. Letourneau, Evolution of Marriage, p.244.

2. Howard, "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?", Amer.J.Soc., May, 1909.

3. Bryce, Marriage and Divorce, p.52.

separation, which allows the couple to live apart but which does not dissolve the marriage bond. Judicial separation is, however, very little used in the United States.

Perhaps the divorce movement is, as Howard suggests, only an incident of a transition process in social evolution.<sup>1</sup> To him it is perfectly clear that "it [the divorce movement], is but a part of the mighty movement for social liberation which has been gaining in volume and strength ever since the Reformation".<sup>2</sup> In the emancipation of woman the old patriarchal family is becoming a thing of the past and there is a consequent confusion. Howard says: "The old legal patriarchal bonds have not yet been adequately replaced by spiritual ties".<sup>3</sup> Perhaps women (and they seem to be the main actors here since 66 per cent of all divorces granted from 1887 to 1906 were granted to the wife.<sup>4</sup>) are as yet thinking more of rights than duties.

In a modern book on ethics is the statement: "If the permanence of the family rests on the maintenance of a relation of inferiority, it is indeed in a perilous state".<sup>5</sup> But it surely does not for, as Parsons well says, "it is to ignore the history of political progress to suppose that organic relations founded on equality and democracy are less stable than those resting on superiority and subordi-

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1. "Social Control and the Function of the Family",  
Internat. Cong. A. and S., Vol. VII.

2. Ibid.

3. "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?",  
Amer. Jour. Soc., May, 1909.

4. Ibid.

5. Dewey and Tufts, Ethics, p. 570.

nation".<sup>1</sup> Material progress is in nearly all civilized countries coexistent with increase in suicide, lunacy and divorce.<sup>2</sup> Will we not some day see that divorce is abnormal just as suicide and lunacy? Perhaps some day measures will be taken to prevent unhappy marriages. Marriage laws should be stricter. Howard explains much of our divorce as follows: "While bad legislation and a low standard of social ethics continue to throw recklessly wide the door which opens to marriage, there must of necessity be a broad way out".<sup>3</sup> But it is not merely legal restrictions on marriage that will help matters. Where there are merely legal restrictions on marriage and public opinion is not yet educated up to it, the illegitimacy rate is increased.<sup>4</sup> What we want is a feeling for the profound social importance of the stability of the family. But whether or not the divorce movement is merely a passing matter, I hold that the social effects of the instability of family relations are bad.

Besides divorce, there are several other forms of family instability which we must mention. Family desertion, which is one of the chief causes of divorce and which is on the increase in America, is a cowardly way of evading family

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1. The Family, p.112.
  2. Bryce, Marriage and Divorce, p.80.
  3. "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?", Amer.J.Soc., May, 1909.
  4. Bailey, Modern Social Conditions, p.211.

responsibility. And, of course, the family may be disintegrated by reason of the death of one or both parents. But this natural instability need not concern us, for we cannot restore dead parents to needy children. It is only disintegration by social causes that we can hope to remedy. Also, families in which there are step-parents must be classed as unstable, for there is not in such a family the natural affection that is necessary to complete family life. And where both parents are working, the family life cannot as a rule be normal. (Nor can the family perform its highest function, when the father is engrossed in business and the mother in society.) Finally, a family demoralized by sickness, drink, vice, crime, or other such abnormal condition is an unstable family. ✓

From the foregoing discussion of the function of the family in society the social effects of the instability of the family can be deduced.

There are, in the first place, two sides to the divorce problem, the individual and the social side. In our mad pursuit after happiness we often claim as individual rights that which wrongs the social body. Even though divorce puts an end to cruel sufferings of the individual man or woman, it may work an untold social wrong. Mr. Felix Adler prefaces his discussion of the divorce problem as follows: "If I were a preacher of the old school, there are two things that I should pray for, in approaching this difficult

subject of divorce: the one, that respect for the great moral principles underlying the divorce problem might not make me hard and unfeeling toward the human suffering involved; and the other that the contemplation of that suffering might not make me less inflexible to voice the supereminent moral considerations that should determine our judgment in this matter".<sup>1</sup> And in this thesis I must necessarily be oblivious of the purely individual side of the divorce question, for I am dealing with the social side. But let me say here, that I would sanction judicial separation, which does not permit remarriage, when it is necessary, as it sometimes is, that a couple be separated.

Disintegration of the family too often concerns children, although they are too little considered in matters of divorce. Among others, Parsons has called attention to this lamentable fact. He tells us: "It is notable that as yet the existence of offspring is rarely taken into consideration in questions of divorce".<sup>2</sup>

Taking one of the primary functions of the family, the physical care of the child is directly affected by the instability of the family in the majority of cases. When the child must be placed in an institution, it simply cannot receive the physical care that the home furnishes. Especially is this true in the case of very young children, for they

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1. Marriage and Divorce, p.31.

2. The Family, p.331.

require so very much physical care and the attendants in an institution have so very many children to attend to. Now the mother is the normal person to whom the physical care of the child is entrusted. So when in case of divorce or desertion the child is left with the father, it must be placed in an institution or entrusted to the care of those who have no natural affection for it or it must receive only a father's care which must needs be imperfect since the father's occupation in the outside world demands so much of his time. Now if the child remains with the mother, it usually happens that the mother must work to support it and so must neglect its physical care. And where both father and mother are working, the child must needs be neglected. (Statistics show that infant mortality is lessened very much when the mother does not work away from home.) Newman has computed that in eight English towns where the per cent of occupied women averages 41.6, the infant mortality from 1896-1905 averages only 150 per 1000 infants, but where there is an average of 88.4 per cent of occupied women the infant mortality rate averages 182.<sup>1</sup> And where the home is demoralized by sickness, drink, vice, or crime, there must of necessity be a neglect of the physical care of the child for it requires a great deal of the attention of normal people to care for children. All of these and numerous

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1. Infant Mortality, pp.103-5.



other demoralizing influences interfere with the physical care the child should receive if he is to grow up strong and healthy.

An unstable home cannot minister properly to the physical comfort of the adult members of the family either. This is especially true when the instability of the family involves the labor of the mother.

Nor can the child be well trained for life in a wider society when the social virtues have not been instilled into him at home. When the child is cared for by only one parent or by relatives, no matter how kindhearted they may be, he cannot learn the relations of life so well, for there are not so strong natural forces to call forth forbearance, service, self-sacrifice, coöperation and all the other social virtues which make for good citizenship.

And divorce often takes place, when the children are in the most plastic and imitative stage and when of all times the family should be a stable unit. The average duration of marriage is 9.17 years and the period between the actual separation and the granting of the divorce is about 3 years.<sup>1</sup> At this time the children of the family need the guidance and care of not only one but both parents. Children especially need care during the critical period of adolescence and the average divorced couple are apart then.

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1. Bailey, Modern Social Conditions, p.208.

It has been found in France that boys are oftenest sent to reformatories from the ages of twelve to fifteen, girls from fourteen to fifteen.<sup>1</sup> The average age of commitment to the Lyman School for Boys in Massachusetts is 13½ years.<sup>2</sup> And it is the duty of the parents to be united in the training of their children for only in that way can the child's character be made wholesome. "The sons and daughters who come from pure homes wherein they have never witnessed anything but the tenderest affection between their parents are far more likely to succeed in life than those brought up in families subject to the disruptive influences of jealousy and strife".<sup>3</sup> And even if there is no financial burden on the mother when she is left with the children, they are deprived of a father's care, which is as necessary as a mother's in their preparation for life in society. "The acquisitions of a manly life are as necessary to human character as the virtues which gather their sweetness by the cradle; and these robust elements--strength, courage, manliness, endurance, self-reliance--could only have been secured away from domestic cares".<sup>4</sup> It is more and more coming to be believed that pauperism, vice, crime and the

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1. Macdonald, "Decay of Fam. Life and Increase of Child Crime", Education, Sept. 1907.
  2. Report of Lyman School for Boys, 1908.
  3. Sutherland, Orig. & Growth of Mor. Instinct, Vol. I, p. 9.
  4. Drummond, Ascent of Man, p. 293.

like may be traced back to faulty socialization in the home. And where the family is unstable, how can the training be other than defective?

So the function of the moral training of the child cannot be well performed when there has been desertion, divorce, death of one or both parents, where there are step-parents, where both parents are working or where the home is demoralized by sickness, intemperance, vice or crime. When the child has not the united care of both parents, his moral training cannot help but be faulty. And no matter how conscientious step-parents may be, there are not the natural bonds between them and the children that are necessary to a vital influence over the children's lives and characters. Bryce sees clearly an evil effect of divorce when he says: "Few things can be more harmful to the moral well-being of the offspring of a marriage than the divorce of their parents which destroys one or other of the two best influences that work on childhood and may poison even the influence that is left".<sup>1</sup> When the mother is at work and an older child is kept out of school to care for the younger ones and all are half-starved and live on the streets, "the reformatories and charitable societies pay the bill in the next generation".<sup>2</sup> Henderson voices the

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1. Marriage and Divorce, p.75.

2. Buffalo C.O.S. Report, 1908.

opinion of many when he says: "A poor woman has done her full industrial task when she has performed mother work".<sup>1</sup>

And altruism, which is so significant for social order and progress, is not generated in the unstable as in the stable family. When the child is brought up with only one parent or with others than his parents, ~~there~~ simply cannot be the stimulus for altruistic conduct that there is in the normal family.

It is true that in the case of the instability of the family a valuable discipline is lost. Without the sense of responsibility, which children entail, characters lose a refining influence. Unselfishness, altruism, and the other parental virtues cannot be called out to the same extent as in the case of the normal family. Instability of the family has, too, a bad moral effect. For when people know that divorce is easy to obtain, they do not make the same effort to adapt themselves to the hardships of married life. And all new relations require accommodation. Incompatibility of temperament is an abominable excuse for divorce; for to give up on so slight ground has a bad effect upon character. And the members of a family are complementary to each other and so have a beneficent moral effect each upon the character of the rest. The man's rougher virtues are complementary to the gentler characteristics of the woman. And the helplessness of the offspring

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1. Social Elements, p.75.

finds a response in the authority-loving protection of the parents. It is when parents are united by love and desire for the welfare of their children that the virtues grow.

And when the child is brought up by only one parent or by those who have not the natural affection for him that the child's own parents have, the higher feelings cannot be developed to the same degree as when both parents are united in the care of their offspring. It stands to reason that the breaking of the marriage tie should harden some of the finer feelings that the family should give rise to.

Again, instability of the family is not conducive to the development of stability of character. (The sense of permanence found in stable family groups is lacking.) The close intimate relations in a small group which were such a source of strength in the old patriarchal family are becoming foreign to the restless excitement-seeking American of to-day. In our spreading out to larger interests we often lose sight of the homely relations that are able to lend stability to character and ultimately to society.

Furthermore, instability of the family has an important bearing upon the economic function of the family. Without family responsibilities a great motive for work and thrift is gone. And, too, very often, especially in the case of desertion, the burden falls upon the mother and when she is compelled to support the family, the children are deprived

of her care. Very often the children must be supported by the state. Then the social effects of the instability of the family are very apparent. Appropriations of the legislature for charitable institutions appeal to the public. And why should all be compelled to bear the burden which rightfully belongs to two? As society is now constituted, the unit for the care of children is the family and a frequent social effect of the instability of the family is the shifting of the family responsibility to the state, which is not by nature so well fitted to support the rising generation. The family has strong natural forces to utilize in this task which makes it far superior to the more impersonal state.

The dependency caused by family instability will be considered statistically in the following chapter but I will say here that the removal of the husband, the natural supporter of the family, often brings in abnormal elements which charity must take up. When this happens by natural causes, it is a legitimate cause for charity but when by social causes there is opportunity for reform.

And when the family is unstable, the spiritual possessions of the race cannot be so well transmitted. For it is in the intimacy of the normal family group that that the transmission take place best. The work of two parents is necessary for when there is but one or none, some of the spiritual heritage is lost. And thus there is introduced

a greater or less discontinuity in social evolution which is harmful to progress. The intimate<sup>^</sup> congenial family association is the only place where the spiritual unity of the race can be worked out. For in larger and less intimately connected groups the continuity cannot be so close.

To consider another function of the family, the family is a conservative element in society chiefly because it is a large body burdened by numerous helpless elements and proverbially large bodies move slowly. When for any reason the family is ~~disintegrated, the burden is thrown off and there is danger that individuals will go off on undesirable tangents.~~ The burden of the family is valuable in keeping individuals in the path of duty. ✓

Furthermore, since the family has another important function in social progress, that of producing variation and developing individuality in the offspring, a social effect of the instability of ~~the family is that the individual variation is not fostered and encouraged.~~ Who but parents possess ~~the vital interest in the child~~ and the sympathy that can give encouragement to the natural bent of the child? When others care for him, his individuality must ~~suffer some loss.~~ And thus social progress is hindered by the instability of the family. ✓

Now, marriage has become more durable as civilization has advanced. ✓ Shall we go backwards by making the tie less durable? The keynote of the late White House Conference on

Dependent Children was, "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization".<sup>1</sup> Bryce is surely right when he says: "Physically, psychically, ethically, the Family is the masterpiece of Evolution".<sup>2</sup>

It seems to me that the instability of the family prophesies a reversion to barbaric moral standards.<sup>2</sup> Free love would undermine the moral nature of the race. Just so time and trial marriages must be bad. Among savages when there are frequent marriages there is no modesty. Surely a constant change of consort is not conducive to the modesty which has been acquired with civilization. Chastity was only slowly developed among women by virtue of their condition as property of men and chastity among men through the higher moral standards of civilization is a very much later acquisition. A great thinker has said, "Different as were the conditions of life, and especially of religious life, in the Roman Empire, the experience of Rome may not be without some warning for our own time".<sup>3</sup> For in Rome a decline of morals attended the disintegration of the family. The complex marriage of the Oneida Community, which involves of course a still more frequent change than our unstable family causes, has certainly much in common.

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1. Children's Charities, Mar., 1909.
  2. Marriage and Divorce, p.75.
  3. Ibid., Preface.



with the group marriage of some savage tribes. So permanence of the marriage bond must be important for civilization. ✓

People do not as a rule get divorces to remarry. Prussian and Swiss statistics show that divorced men rewed within the first three years at about the same rate as widowers, although divorced women marry somewhat more rapidly than widows.<sup>1</sup> Yet the permanence of the marriage relation may not continue under the present regime. As Adler says, "if this permanence is constantly disavowed in practice, if in thousands of cases the courts are busy dissolving the unions which were entered into ostensibly with the expectation of permanence, it must follow that the expectation of permanence with respect to marriage, which is the foundation of civilized society and of the social order, should grow more and more feeble".<sup>2</sup>

To continue, the social effects of the instability of the family in its relation to the regulation of the sex impulse in society are profound. Surely the flitting about from consort to consort, which is not an exaggeration in many cases in these modern days as in the laxer days of late Roman civilization, does not have a good moral effect. Is there not a tendency to revert to lower moral standards?

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1. Howard, "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?", Amer. Jour. Soc., May, 1909.
  2. Marriage and Divorce, p. 56.

Is it not endangering the moral ideals which we have so slowly built up?

And shall we diminish the care of the child developed by the forces of evolution? All the way up the scale of animal evolution parental care increases with advance in type. So in the advance from savage life to civilization the care of the human child has increased until the modern child is dependent upon parents almost until he is thirty years old. As the parental care increases, the infant mortality decreases. Among the low Bontoc Igorrotes who, by the way, have trial marriage, 60 per cent of the children die before maturity.<sup>1</sup> Surely care of offspring has been a chief agent in progress. And shall we obstruct further progress by lessening the parental care?

The care of parents by their children is a late acquisition. Shall we lose it by allowing instability of family relations? When there is divorce or other disintegrating influence, one or both of the parents lose the care which they might otherwise have had. And so they may become dependent upon charity. Is not that a bad effect of the instability of the family?

My final defense of my thesis I will draw from psychology. According to the psychological law of habit, it stands to reason that the same family can do the work of the family better than a new one. For family duties, as

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1. Mangold, "Waste of Children", Pop.Sci., June, 1907.

other activities, become easier by practice. Is the instability of the family, then, not wasteful? Would not permanence of the marriage bond increase the efficiency of the family in society?

The foregoing reasons seem to me to establish from a deductive standpoint my thesis, that the social effects of the instability of the family are undesirable.

C H A P T E R   I I I

THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY  
AS A CAUSE OF DEPENDENCY  
AND DELINQUENCY

THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY  
AS A CAUSE OF DEPENDENCY  
AND DELINQUENCY

Believing that the instability of the family results in an increase of dependency and delinquency in society I have endeavored to establish this fact.

I first examined recent reports of charity organization societies of twenty-two cities in the United States with over 100,000 population. The librarian was unable to procure such reports from the other sixteen cities of over 100,000 population in this country. I found to my disappointment, however, that all of these societies did not consider the conjugal condition of the cases worth mentioning. But from these reports and that of Lincoln, Nebraska, which has somewhat less than 100,000 population, I have compiled the following table:

TABLE I  
CONJUGAL CONDITION OF C.O.S. CASES.

| City       | Total:<br>no. cases | Married:<br>couples | Widowed | Divorced:<br>leg. sep.<br>or<br>deserted | Single           | Orph. or<br>aban. chil. | All<br>others |
|------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------|--|------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| St. Louis  | 2339                | 1319                | 599     | 314                                      | 107              |                         |               |
| St. Paul   | 310                 | 143                 | 66      | 42                                       | 40               | 15                      | 4             |
| Minneap.   | 1940                | 817                 | 368     | 275                                      | 456              |                         | 24            |
| Louisville | 76                  | 50                  | 10      | 10                                       | 6                |                         |               |
| Washington | 3620                | 1722                | 959     | 423                                      | 398              | 26                      | 92            |
| Denver     | 2874                | 691                 | 225     | 85                                       | 777              | 1096 <sup>2</sup>       |               |
| Buffalo    | 3097                | 1375 <sup>1</sup>   | 705     | 266                                      | 378 <sup>1</sup> |                         | 373           |
| Chicago    | 6760                | 3001 <sup>1</sup>   | 1338    | 882                                      | 825 <sup>1</sup> |                         | 714           |
| New Or.    | 556                 | 178                 | 143     | 60                                       | 173              |                         | 2             |
| Worcester  | 551                 | 327                 | 82      | 49                                       | 79               |                         |               |
| Cincinnati | 3098                | 2061                | 870     | 107                                      | 58               | 2                       |               |
| Lincoln    | 346                 | 134                 | 64      | 57                                       | 101              |                         |               |
| Boston     | 1304                | 668                 | 351     | 137                                      | 109              | 5                       | 34            |
| Baltimore  | 2935                | 1477                | 772     | 257                                      | 293              |                         | 136           |
| New York   | 1527                | 938                 | 419     | 136                                      | 28               | 1                       | 5             |
| Total      | 31333               | 14,901              | 6,971   | 3,100                                    | 3,828            | 1,145                   | 1,384         |
| Per cent   |                     | 47.6                | 22.2    | 9.9                                      | 12.2             | 3.7                     | 4.4           |

1. Estimated on basis of average of all the other societies.
2. Denver's cases of dependent children come before the C.O.S.

From these figures it is seen that of all the cases considered 22.2 per cent were from homes broken by death; 9.9 per cent were from homes rendered unstable by desertion; and 3.7 per cent more were from homes broken up by death, desertion or other influence sufficient to cause orphaned or abandoned children to apply for aid. But the numbers under the head of "orphans or abandoned children" do not tell the whole story for such cases are not usually dealt with by the charity organization societies. This makes a total of 35.8 per cent of cases from unstable families. In the general population, of all over twenty in the United States the married comprise 64.5 per cent, the single 25.6, the widowed 9.2 per cent, the divorced .5 per cent and the unknown .2 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Thus, there is a total of 9.9 per cent of persons from unstable families in the general population. So it may be seen that among those applying for aid to the charity organization societies there are nearly four times as many from unstable families as in the general population. This dependency cannot, of course, all be attributed to the instability of the family but it is significant that in the total number of cases so large a per cent should be those of unstable families. Family instability must be a factor in the dependency.

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1. Twelfth Census of U.S., Vol. II, Part II.

Edward T. Devine in his "Misery and Its Causes" has given the results of Miss Caroline Goodyear's study of 500 cases which had been for some time under the care of the Charity Organization Society of New York City.<sup>1</sup> She found that 30.4 per cent of the cases were of the widow type, 21 per cent involved non-support and 3.6 per cent were motherless. Thus, 55 per cent of her cases involved instability of the family.

Mr. Devine himself investigated 5000 families that came under the care of the Charity Organization Society of New York City in the two years ending Sept.30, 1908.<sup>2</sup> He found over 25 per cent of the cases widows and 10 per cent deserted women. Adding to the 10 per cent the 14 deserted husbands and the 93 cases with a record of a previous desertion or persistent non-support by the husband, the proportion rises to 12 per cent. Thus a total of 37 per cent of the cases involved instability of the family.

Miss Brandt found that from year to year deserted families form from 7 to 13 per cent of the total number of families applying to the New York Charity Organization Society for aid.<sup>3</sup>

All this relates for the most part to adults but the influence may be also shown in reference to children.

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1. P. 174.

2. Misery and Its Causes, pp.178 ff.

3. Five Hundred and Seventy-Four Deserters and their Families, p.10.



Before giving the results of my own investigation of the subject, however, I will give some of the statistics already obtained by others in the same field.

When we examine the reports on the commitment of children to institutions the percentage due to desertion rises. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the commitments of children to institutions in New York City is due to desertion.<sup>1</sup> Supt. Bauer, of the Bureau of Dependent Children in that city, places it still higher. He said in 1903, "If I were asked to name the most important question before charity workers to-day, I would unhesitatingly reply, 'Desertion by men of their wives and children'. More than 30 per cent of the applications received by the Department of Public Charities for the commitment of children are due to the desertion of the father of the family".<sup>2</sup> Not many studies have been made of the percentage of inmates of children's charitable institutions due to desertion but the sidelights that have been thrown upon the question here and there lead one to suspect that it is not small. During 1902, however, special attention was given to this subject by the New Jersey State Board of Charities.<sup>3</sup> Of 261 children studied, 36 per cent were deserted by one or both parents.

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1. Brandt, Five Hundred and Seventy-four Deserters and their Families, p.10.
  2. Rept. of State Char.Aid.Assoc., N.Y., 1903.
  3. Editorial, "Deser. as a Cause of Child Commitment", Charities, July 18, 1903.

If the foundlings are classed as deserted the proportion is swelled to over 45 per cent.

In a case study of delinquent boys who appeared before the Juvenile Court of Chicago, Mabel Carter Rhoades investigated family conditions in 100 cases as causally affecting the conduct of the child.<sup>1</sup> The most striking column was headed "Conjugal Condition of Parents". In this the author showed that 37 per cent of the boys lacked the care of a man and woman legally their parents or even step-parents and living with them and that 11 per cent more had step-fathers or step-mothers or adopted parents. This made a total of 48 per cent from unstable families.

The author also brings out the fact that of the half-orphans more than two times as many had lost the father as had lost the mother and that, when adopted parents and step-parents are concerned, three times as many of these boys were without any sort of paternal as were without corresponding maternal care. And of the 10 cases where the parents were living apart, the boy was with the father in only 4. She concludes from this: "Apparently for the sort of outbreaking sins that bring youngsters into court the father's strong right arm is a better preventive than the mother's gentle influence". But she explains this is due largely to the fact that when there is no financial support by the

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1. "A Case Study of Delinquent Boys in the Juvenile Court of Chicago", Amer. Jour. of Soc., July, 1907.

father, the mother has to work for a living and so cannot give sufficient attention to the children.

In this investigation the occupation of the mother was also inquired into. It was found that, excluding adopted mothers and step-mothers, in only 54 per cent of the cases was the mother at home and "even nominally free to make her family and household duties her sole business". Of the mothers 16 per cent were not living at all or not living with the child, 20 per cent were at work more or less regularly away from home and of the remaining 10 per cent gainfully employed at home most had exceedingly little time to devote to the care of their children.

The summary of apparent causes of delinquency is as follows:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Death or absence of one or both actual parents.... | 48 |
| Mother gainfully employed more or less regularly.. | 30 |
| Very large families (more than 10).....            | 3  |
| Poverty.....                                       | 36 |
| Bad condition of home.....                         | 30 |
| Probable ditto.....                                | 3  |
| No home.....                                       | 1  |
| Bad neighborhood influences.....                   | 36 |
| Apparent gang connection.....                      | 50 |

Since gang connections are a result as well as cause, the leading cause of delinquency is shown to be the loss or absence of parents. ✓

Mr. Homer Folks tells us that in 1890, of the 5,479 children committed to reformatories in the United States, 2624 or 48 per cent were orphans or half orphans and that, adding those whose parents were separated, over one half of the children committed were homeless.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Travis in his book, "The Young Malefactor", has made a few estimates as to the importance of the instability of the family in causing juvenile delinquency. He says that step-parentage, illegitimacy and orphanage furnish 40 per cent of juvenile offenders.<sup>2</sup> Travis also gives us a few estimates as to the success of institutional methods in dealing with children. Of the destitute and delinquent children dealt with by the New York Juvenile Asylum 20 per cent do not do well after treatment.<sup>3</sup> In France Raux gives a 10 year record and 44 per cent fail.<sup>4</sup> The George Junior Republic refuses mental and moral defectives and 40 per cent of its citizens fail.<sup>5</sup> The Rahway Reformatory fails in only 23 per cent of cases but the records have only been kept for a few years.<sup>6</sup> Travis sums the matter up thus: 20 to 50 per cent of lighter juvenile offenders are not cured by institutional treatment, although at least 90 per cent

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1. "The Child and the Family", Nat. Conf. of Char. & Correc., 1892.

2. P. 181.

3. P. 200.

4. Pp. 200-1.

5. P. 201.

6. P. 203.

of these are normal and curable and furthermore those that are reclaimed are institutionalized and branded.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the statistics of the adult population of reformatories are enlightening. Supt. Jas. A. Leonard of the Ohio State Reformatory at Mansfield gives us some statistics.<sup>2</sup> He says that from investigations made in his institution it was found that 75 per cent of the young men came from homes where one or both parents were dead. Over 50 per cent came from homes in which there had been desertion or divorces.<sup>3</sup> In all 90 per cent came from broken or defective homes. And Bishop Sam'l Fallows of Chicago stated before the National Prison Association in 1902 that three-fifths of the inmates of the Illinois State Reformatory came from defective homes.<sup>4</sup>

I will now give the results of my own investigation into the social effects of the instability of the family. Believing that delinquency and dependency were among such effects I have endeavored to establish the fact by statistics from reform schools, juvenile courts and orphan asylums.

To procure the necessary reports a letter containing five questions was sent in the name of the Department of Sociology of the University of Missouri to 75 reform schools, 5 juvenile courts and 125 orphan asylums. The questions were as follows:

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1. P. 201.
  2. "Home Influence in the Preven. of Crime", N.P.A., 1906.
  3. There is an overlapping here but obviously desertion or divorce preceded the death of parents in a number of cases.
  4. Discussion on "Preventive & Reformatory Work".

1. Number of your inmates from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime?

2. Number that come from families in which there has been desertion or divorce?

3. Number that come from families in which either father or mother is dead?

4. Number that come from normal homes?

5. Total number of your inmates?

The privilege of an estimate was given if more accurate information could not be furnished. Also an expression of opinion from the superintendent or the one in charge on the whole subject of the relation of the instability of the family to the problem of child dependence and delinquency was asked.

The reform schools were selected from the list of all the reform schools in the United States contained in the Report of the National Prison Association for 1905 by excluding institutions for negro delinquent children as in general having less accurate records.

The juvenile courts selected were the two main ones in our own state and three other well known ones, one from the east, one from the west and one from the central part of the United States.

The orphan asylums were selected from the list contained in the 1904 Special Report of the Census on Benevolent Institutions by excluding (1) those for negro delinquent children for the reason assigned above in connection

with reform schools for negro delinquent children; by excluding (2), for the most part, Roman Catholic institutions as being less willing to furnish data; by excluding (3) fraternal orphanages as being less likely to contain children from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime or in which there had been desertion or divorce; by excluding (4), for the most part, day nurseries and temporary homes; and by excluding (5) institutions having less than 50 inmates as not being representative. Some of the institutions, to which letters were sent, however, had dropped their numbers to below 50 since the 1904 report. Furthermore, about one fourth of these letters were sent to orphanages east of the Mississippi Valley, about one half to orphanages in the Valley and about one fourth to those west of the Valley.

Through these letters more or less significant returns were secured from 34 reform schools, 4 juvenile courts and 42 orphanages. It was possible to determine somewhat from the tone of the letters and the nature of the figures which reports were the more accurate. For final comparison there were taken, therefore, after a critical examination, 15 reform schools, 4 juvenile courts and 19 orphanages.

It was evident from notes appended and from the character of the figures that the term "normal home" had been so much misunderstood that answers under this head could not be made the basis of any accurate conclusions. Furthermore, the answers to the first question showed great differ-

ences of interpretation, though these were not so various as in the case of "normal homes". A further complication was introduced by the fact that some of the answers to the questions were exclusive and some not. Some, that is to say, had included the same case under two or more different heads, showing all the causes operating in the case. This obviously made a difference in the meaning of the figures but did not affect the answers to all the questions in the same degree. It was seen to be most likely that when desertion, divorce or orphanage entered into the explanation of any case, that fact would invariably be set down as the most obvious cause. If, however, the answers assigned but one cause for any one case, demoralization by drink, vice or crime would only be shown when the other causes were not operating. Hence, it seemed that not much weight could be given to the comparison of the answer to this question with the others.

Reports were received from the following reform schools: Industrial School for Girls, Mitchelville, Iowa; Whittier State School, Whittier, California; Delaware Industrial School for Girls, Wilmington, Delaware; Industrial School for Boys, Lansing, Michigan; Oregon State Reform School, Salem, Oregon; State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Missouri; Industrial School for Girls, Middletown, Connecticut; New York State Training School for Girls, Hudson, New York; State Industrial School, Ogden, Utah; Nat'l



Training School for Boys, Washington, D.C.; Boys' Industrial School, Topeka, Kansas; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; Girls' Industrial School, Beloit, Kansas; Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys, Waukesha, Wisconsin; Reform School for Girls, Washington, D.C.; State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; Industrial School for Girls, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Girls' Industrial Home of Ohio, Delaware, Ohio; State Industrial School, Rochester, New York; Montana Reform School, Miles City, Montana; State School for Boys, Portland, Maine; Philadelphia House of Refuge, Philadelphia, Pa.; Indiana Boys' School, Plainfield, Indiana; South Dakota Training School, Plankinton, South Dakota; Industrial School for Boys, Eldora, Iowa; Preston School of Industry, Waterman, California; Industrial Reform School, St. Anthony, Iowa; State Industrial School, Golden, Colorado; Sockanosset School for Boys, Providence, R.I.; St. Mary's Industrial School, Baltimore, Maryland; Alabama Boys' Industrial School, East Lake, Alabama; Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass.; New Jersey State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, New Jersey; Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska.

The following tables were compiled from the reports received from the reform schools. Table II consists of the reports, the answers of which were mutually exclusive.

TABLE II.

FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN IN REFORM SCHOOLS.

| Location          | Demor.     | Deser. or divorce | Orphans    | Normal     | Total       |
|-------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Salem, Ore.       | 29         | 34                | 39         | 17         | 119         |
| Middletown, Conn. | 76         | 32                | 140        | 34         | 282         |
| Hudson, N.Y.      | 132        | 39                | 88         | 58         | 317         |
| Sockanosset, R.I. | 77         | 39                | 116        | 154        | 386         |
| Ogden, Utah,      | 9          | 21                | 36         | 19         | 85          |
| Mitchelville, Ia. | 44         | 65                | 55         | 36         | 200         |
| Baltimore, Md.    | 200        | 130               | 170        | 250        | 750         |
| East Lake, Ala.   | 35         | 40                | 120        | 20         | 215         |
| Washington, D.C.  | 218        | 22                | 74         | 24         | 338         |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>820</b> | <b>422</b>        | <b>838</b> | <b>612</b> | <b>2692</b> |

With the answers in per cents the table is as follows:

TABLE III.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN IN REFORM SCHOOLS.

| Location                   | : Demor.: | : Deser. or: | : Orphans: | : Normal: | : Total |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| Salem, Ore.                | : 24.4    | : 28.6       | : 32.8     | : 14.2    | : 119   |
| Middletown, Conn.          | : 27.0    | : 11.3       | : 49.6     | : 12.1    | : 282   |
| Hudson, N.Y.               | : 41.6    | : 12.3       | : 27.8     | : 18.3    | : 317   |
| Sockanosset, R.I.          | : 19.9    | : 10.0       | : 30.0     | : 40.0    | : 386   |
| Ogden, Utah                | : 10.6    | : 24.7       | : 42.4     | : 22.3    | : 85    |
| Mitchelville, Ia.          | : 22.0    | : 32.5       | : 27.5     | : 18.0    | : 200   |
| Baltimore, Md.             | : 26.7    | : 17.3       | : 22.7     | : 33.3    | : 750   |
| East Lake, Ala.            | : 16.3    | : 18.6       | : 55.8     | : 9.3     | : 215   |
| Washington, D.C.<br>(Boys) | : 64.5    | : 6.5        | : 21.9     | : 7.1     | : 338   |
| Weighted av.               | : 30.5    | : 15.7       | : 31.1     | : 22.7    | : 2692  |

According to this table 30.5 per cent of the 2692 children in the above 9 reform schools were from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime, 15.7 per cent were from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 31.1 per cent were orphans and 22.7 per cent were from "normal homes". Thus 46.8 per cent were from unstable families. Adding the per cent from demoralized homes the percentage rises to 77.3. This is a very high estimate.

The following table is composed of the replies of the reform schools which did not make mutually exclusive answers to the questions.

TABLE IV.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN IN REFORM SCHOOLS.

| Location                      | Demor.      | Deser. or<br>divorce | Orphans     | Normal     | Total         |
|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| Jamesburg, N.J.               |             | 15                   | 121         |            | 257           |
| Beloit, Kan.                  |             | 17                   | 20          | 9          | 201           |
| Waukesha, Wis.                |             |                      |             |            | 382           |
| Whittier, Cal.                | 593         | 741                  | 862         |            | 2,292         |
| Washington, D.C.<br>(Girls)   | 77          | 21                   | 43          | 13         | 77            |
| Geneva, Ill.                  | 434         |                      | 14          | 10         | 482           |
| Milwaukee, Wis.               | 72          | 20                   | 174         | 46         | 240           |
| Delaware, Ohio,               | 500         | 300                  | 300         | 290        | 590           |
| Rochester, N.Y.               | 350         | 35                   | 135         | 30         | 642           |
| Miles City, Mont.             | 21          | 14                   | 29          | 23         | 62            |
| Portland, Me.                 | 922         |                      |             |            | 2,719         |
| Wilmington, Del.              | 8           | 3                    | 22          | 16         | 31            |
| Topeka, Kan.                  | 49          | 44                   | 78          | 44         | 185           |
| Lansing, Mich.                | 84          | 20                   | 135         |            | 348           |
| Philadelphia, Pa.             | 136         | 109                  | 181         | 53         | 404           |
| Geneva, Neb.                  | 15          | 20                   | 18          | 15         | 50            |
| Chillicothe, Mo.              | 89          | 37                   | 117         | 47         | 240           |
| Plainfield, Ind. <sup>1</sup> |             |                      |             |            |               |
| Plankinton, S. Dak.           | 16          | 26                   | 18          | 9          | 90            |
| Eldora, Iowa                  | 248         | 95                   | 152         | 19         | 381           |
| Waterman, Cal.                | 81          | 50                   | 115         | 125        | 323           |
| St. Anthony, Ia.              | 121         | 40                   | 100         | 20         | 201           |
| Adrian, Mich.                 | 1338        | 1058                 | 811         |            | 2,438         |
| Westboro, Mass.               | 124         | 87                   | 101         |            | 268           |
| Golden, Colo.                 | 62          |                      | 151         |            | 417           |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>5340</b> | <b>2752</b>          | <b>3697</b> | <b>769</b> | <b>13,320</b> |

1. Answers given in per cents but no total given.

With answers in per cents the table is as follows:

TABLE V.

FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN IN REFORM SCHOOLS.

| Location                    | Demor. | Deser. or<br>divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total  |
|-----------------------------|--------|----------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Jamesburg, N.J.             |        | 5.8                  | 47.0    |        | 257    |
| Beloit, Kan.                |        | 8.4                  | 10.0    | 4.4    | 201    |
| Waukesha, Wis.              |        |                      |         |        | 382    |
| Whittier, Cal.              | 25.9   | 32.3                 | 37.6    |        | 2292   |
| Washington, D.C.<br>(Girls) | 100.0  | 27.2                 | 55.8    | 16.8   | 77     |
| Geneva, Ill.                | 90.0   |                      | 3.0     | 2.0    | 482    |
| Milwaukee, Wis.             | 30.0   | 8.3                  | 72.5    | 19.1   | 240    |
| Delaware, Ohio              | 84.7   | 50.8                 | 50.8    | 49.1   | 590    |
| Rochester, N.Y.             | 54.5   | 5.4                  | 21.0    | 4.6    | 642    |
| Miles City, Mont.           | 33.8   | 22.5                 | 46.7    | 37.0   | 62     |
| Portland, Me.               | 33.9   |                      |         |        | 2719   |
| Wilmington, Del.            | 25.8   | 9.6                  | 70.9    | 51.6   | 31     |
| Topeka, Kan.                | 49.2   | 23.7                 | 42.1    | 23.7   | 185    |
| Lansing, Mich.              | 24.1   | 5.7                  | 38.7    |        | 348    |
| Philadelphia, Pa.           | 33.6   | 26.9                 | 44.8    | 13.1   | 404    |
| Geneva, Neb.                | 30.0   | 40.0                 | 36.0    | 30.0   | 50     |
| Chillicothe, Mo.            | 37.0   | 15.4                 | 48.7    | 19.5   | 240    |
| Plainfield, Ind.            | 50.0   | 27.0                 | 26.0    | 10.0   |        |
| Plankinton, S. Dak.         | 17.5   | 29.0                 | 20.0    | 10.0   | 90     |
| Eldora, Iowa,               | 65.0   | 25.0                 | 40.0    | 5.0    | 381    |
| Waterman, Cal.              | 25.0   | 15.4                 | 35.6    | 38.7   | 323    |
| St. Anthony, Iowa,          | 60.0   | 20.0                 | 50.0    | 10.0   | 201    |
| Adrian, Mich.               | 54.9   | 43.3                 | 33.2    |        | 2438   |
| Westboro, Mass.             | 46.2   | 32.4                 | 37.6    |        | 268    |
| Golden, Colo.               | 14.8   |                      | 36.2    |        | 417    |
| Weighted av.                | 42.8   | 29.5                 | 36.1    | 17.1   | 13,320 |

From the figures of this table 42.8 per cent of the 13,320 children in the above 24 reform schools were from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime, 29.5 per cent were from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 36.1 per cent were orphans and only 17.1 per cent were from "normal homes". It is quite to be expected that the per cent of those from demoralized homes should be larger than in the preceding table for, since the figures are mutually exclusive in that table, demoralization, being less obvious than the other causes, would not be set down when the other causes were also operating. Why there should be almost twice as many from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce is inexplicable from the data at hand. The answers to the other two questions do not vary greatly from those in Table III.

The following table was compiled from the reports which appeared to be more accurate than the rest.

TABLE VI.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN IN REFORM SCHOOLS.

| Location                   | : Demor. : | : Deser. or :<br>: divorce : | : Orphans : | : Normal : | : Total |
|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|-------------|------------|---------|
| Mitchelville, Ia.          | : 22.0 :   | : 32.5 :                     | : 27.5 :    | : 18.0 :   | : 200   |
| Whittier, Cal.             | : 25.9 :   | : 32.3 :                     | : 37.6 :    | :          | : 2292  |
| Wilmington, Del.           | : 25.8 :   | : 9.6 :                      | : 70.9 :    | : 51.6 :   | : 31    |
| Lansing, Mich.             | : 24.1 :   | : 5.7 :                      | : 38.7 :    | :          | : 348   |
| Salem, Ore.                | : 24.4 :   | : 28.6 :                     | : 32.8 :    | : 14.2 :   | : 119   |
| Chillicothe, Mo.           | : 37.0 :   | : 15.4 :                     | : 48.7 :    | : 19.5 :   | : 240   |
| Middletown, Conn.          | : 27.0 :   | : 11.3 :                     | : 49.6 :    | : 12.1 :   | : 282   |
| Hudson, N.Y.               | : 41.6 :   | : 12.3 :                     | : 27.8 :    | : 18.3 :   | : 317   |
| Ogden, Utah                | : 10.6 :   | : 24.7 :                     | : 42.4 :    | : 22.3 :   | : 85    |
| Washington, D.C.<br>(Boys) | : 64.5 :   | : 6.5 :                      | : 21.9 :    | : 7.1 :    | : 338   |
| Topeka, Kan.               | : 49.2 :   | : 23.7 :                     | : 42.1 :    | : 23.7 :   | : 185   |
| Adrian, Mich.              | : 54.9 :   | : 43.3 :                     | : 33.2 :    | :          | : 2438  |
| Westboro, Mass.            | : 46.2 :   | : 32.4 :                     | : 37.6 :    | :          | : 268   |
| Jamesburg, N.J.            | :          | : 5.8 :                      | : 47.0 :    | :          | : 257   |
| Geneva, Neb.               | : 30.0 :   | : 40.0 :                     | : 36.0 :    | : 30.0 :   | : 50    |
| Weighted av.               | : 39.6 :   | : 30.0 :                     | : 36.2 :    | : 16.8 :   | : 7450  |

According to this table 39.6 per cent of 7450 children in 15 reform schools were from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime, 30 per cent were from homes in which there has been desertion or divorce, 36.2 per cent were from homes rendered unstable by death and only 16.1 per cent were reported as being from "normal homes". These figures do

not vary greatly from those of Table V.

To sum up, then, the question of unstable families as being the source of juvenile delinquency as shown by reports from reform schools, it is seen in my most accurate table, No.VI, that 39.6 per cent of the 7450 children in 15 reform schools were from demoralized homes, 30 per cent from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 36.2 per cent were orphans and only 16.1 per cent were called from "normal homes". There is a great deal of variation in the replies to the first question. There is also much variation in the case of the second and third questions but the largest number of institutions representing about 6000 out of the 7450 children came within 15 per cent of 30 per cent for desertion and divorce as causes and of 36.2 per cent for orphanage as a cause. As has been explained, the figures under the head of "normal homes" are not statistically accurate but the weighted average of 16.8 per cent does show what a small percentage of the inmates of reform schools are, in the opinion of the superintendents, from normal homes.

Some of the opinions of the superintendents are expressive. Chas.H.Dunton, Superintendent of the Preston School of Industry, Waterman, Cal., says, "I do not know how it is in Missouri but I do know home life in California is very, very far from what it should be, and it is certainly having its effect on juvenile crime". Supt. T. E. Young of the South Dakota Training School, Plankinton, S.Dak.,



says, "After investigation, one could fairly conclude that the number of inmates who come from homes where the child has a fair chance, where parents have good sense and have an appreciation of their obligation to their children, is very small, probably not one in a hundred". After answering the questions Mr. Young continues, "I usually put it this way--

30 per cent from homes in which there has been separation or divorce.

30 per cent have no parents living or one parent only who is not able to care for the child.

30 per cent from bad homes where the child has not had good influence and training.

10 per cent from homes that might be called good, that is, the family has good standing in the community. But here, if investigation be made, we will find mothers that are weak and lax, indulgent, frivolous, given to society and without common sense. Fathers will be found who are fully absorbed in business and indifferent to the training and education of the children". A.J.Hutton, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys, says, "We have to-day 362 inmates. Nearly all of them come from homes demoralized by drink, vice, crime, separation, desertion or divorce."

Reports were received from the juvenile courts of St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver and New York. From these reports I have compiled the following table.

TABLE VII.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN BROUGHT BEFORE JUVENILE COURTS.

| Location                  | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|---------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| St. Louis<br>(Delinquent) |        | 441               | 316     | 640    | 1397  |
| St. Louis<br>(Neglected)  |        | 127               | 84      | 73     | 287   |
| Kansas City               |        | 297               | 298     | 510    | 1157  |
| Denver                    |        | 155               | 335     | 568    | 1058  |
| New York                  | 39     | 16                | 133     | 284    | 379   |
| Total                     | 39     | 1036              | 1166    | 2075   | 4278  |

Giving the answers in per cents the table is as follows:

TABLE VIII.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN BROUGHT BEFORE JUVENILE COURTS.

| Location              | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|-----------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| St. Louis, Delinquent |        | 31.6              | 22.6    | 45.8   | 1397  |
| St. Louis, Neglected  |        | 44.2              | 29.2    | 25.4   | 287   |
| Kansas City           |        | 25.7              | 25.8    | 44.0   | 1157  |
| Denver                |        | 14.7              | 31.7    | 53.6   | 1058  |
| New York              | 10.2   | 4.2               | 35.0    | 74.9   | 379   |
| Weighted av.          | 10.2   | 24.2              | 27.3    | 48.5   | 4278  |

Only the New York report gives any figures for the first question. The weighted average for the second question is seen to be 24.2 per cent, for the third 27.3 per cent and for the fourth 48.5 per cent. The opinion of Roger N. Baldwin, Chief Probation Officer of the St. Louis Juvenile

Court, on this subject is decided. He says, "It is perfectly clear that in almost all of the serious cases, home conditions are a very large factor in creating delinquency--indeed greater than any other one factor".

Reports were received from the following orphanages:  
J.M.Gusky Orphanage and Home, Allegheny, Pa.; Presbyterian Orphans' Home, Barium Springs, N.C.; N.H. Orphans' Home, Franklin, N.H.; St.Louis Protestant Orphan Asylum, Webster Groves, Mo.; Miss. Baptist Orphanage, Jackson, Miss.; Orphans' Home, Vasa, Minn.; Fort Wayne Orphan Home, Fort Wayne, Ind.; German Evangelical Lutheran Orphan Home, Addison, Ill.; Central Wesleyan Orphan Asylum, Warrenton, Mo.; Orphan Asylum Society Orphanage, New York City; Evangelical Lutheran Orphans' Home, Waverly, Iowa; Campbell Co. Protestant Children's Home, Newport, Ky.; Bethesda Orphans' Home, Savannah, Ga.; Albany Orphan Asylum, Albany, N.Y.; State Home for the Friendless, Lincoln, Neb.; Norwegian Lutheran Children's Home, Chicago, Ill.; Fairmount Children's Home, Alliance, Ohio; Gillis Orphans' Home, Kansas City, Mo.; United Lutheran Church Orphans' Home, Beloit, Iowa; State Home for Destitute and Dependent Children, Twin Bridges, Mont.; Belle Lenox Nursery, Denver, Colo.; Orphans' Home, St.Louis, Mo.; New Haven Orphan Asylum, New Haven, Conn.; White's Ind. Manual Labor Institute, Treaty, Ind.; Methodist Deaconess Orphanage and Epworth Children's Home, Lake Bluff, Ill.; Chicago Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum, Chicago, Ill.;

Washington City Orphan Asylum, Washington, D.C.; St. John's Orphanage, Washington, D.C.; Fred Finch Orphanage, Fruitvale, Cal.; Tressler Orphans' Home, Loysville, Pa.; Boston Children's Friend Society, Boston, Mass.; Orphans' Home of the North Georgia Conference, Decatur, Ga.; Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Orphans' Home and Industrial School, Joliet, Ill.; Georgia Industrial Home, Macon, Ga.; Receiving Home, Children's Home Society of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.; Christian Orphan Home, Holdrege, Neb.; Home of the Friendless, Detroit, Mich.; Cincinnati Orphan Asylum, Cincinnati, Ohio; Protestant Foster Home, Newark, N.J.; Hartford Orphan Asylum, Hartford, Conn.; Boys' and Girls' Home School, San Francisco, Cal.; San Francisco Nursery for Homeless Children, San Francisco, Cal.

In tabulating the data received from these institutions it soon became apparent that the orphanages as a whole could not be compared with one another or with the other institutions. Some of the reports showed simply that an institution that adhered rigidly to the rule of admitting only orphans would show 100 per cent of orphans among its inmates. Some <sup>more significant</sup> conclusions, however, were to be drawn from two classes of these institutions: first, those that professed to admit only orphans and yet apparently found the pressure so great that children from homes rendered unstable by other causes were admitted; second, institutions whose announced policy was to receive both orphans and other destitute children.

The following table, composed of the reports which had mutually exclusive answers to the questions, has some value in showing the trend of things.

TABLE IX.

FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                         | :Denor.:   | :Deser.or:<br>:divorce | :Orphans:  | :Normal:   | Total       |
|----------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Decatur, Ga.                     | 51         | 36                     | 36         | 22         | 145         |
| Joliet, Ill.                     | 14         | 10                     | 78         | 4          | 106         |
| Macon, Ga.                       | 49         | 40                     | 30         | 6          | 125         |
| St. Louis, Mo.<br>(Home Socy.)   | 34         | 4                      | 2          |            | 40          |
| Holdrege, Neb.                   | 12         | 10                     | 36         | 4          | 62          |
| Detroit, Mich.                   |            | 77                     | 9          |            | 86          |
| Cincinnati, Ohio.                | 40         | 50                     | 16         |            | 106         |
| Newark, N.J.                     | 15         | 30                     | 55         | 12         | 112         |
| Hartford, Conn.                  | 9          | 31                     | 50         | 23         | 113         |
| San Francisco,<br>(Boys & Girls) | 50         | 20                     | 40         | 20         | 130         |
| New York,<br>(O.A. in Cy.)       | 40         | 60                     | 100        |            | 200         |
| San Francisco,<br>Nursery        | 40         | 20                     | 20         | 20         | 48          |
| <b>Total</b>                     | <b>354</b> | <b>388</b>             | <b>472</b> | <b>111</b> | <b>1273</b> |

The same table expressed in per cents follows:

TABLE X.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                        | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| Decatur, Ga.                    | 35.0   | 25.0              | 25.0    | 15.0   | 145   |
| Joliet, Ill.                    | 13.2   | 9.4               | 73.6    | 3.8    | 106   |
| Macon, Ga.                      | 39.2   | 32.0              | 24.0    | 4.8    | 125   |
| St. Louis<br>(Home Socy.)       | 85.0   | 10.0              | 5.0     |        | 40    |
| Holdrege, Neb.                  | 19.4   | 16.1              | 58.1    | 6.4    | 62    |
| Detroit, Mich.                  |        | 89.6              | 10.4    |        | 86    |
| Cincinnati, Ohio                | 37.7   | 47.2              | 15.1    |        | 106   |
| Newark, N.J.                    | 13.4   | 26.7              | 49.1    | 10.7   | 112   |
| Hartford, Conn.                 | 8.0    | 27.4              | 44.2    | 20.4   | 113   |
| San Francisco<br>(Boys & Girls) | 38.5   | 15.4              | 30.7    | 15.4   | 130   |
| New York,<br>(O.A. in Cy.)      | 20.0   | 30.0              | 50.0    |        | 200   |
| San Francisco,<br>(Nursery)     | 40.0   | 20.0              | 20.0    | 20.0   | 48    |
| Weighted av.                    | 29.8   | 30.5              | 37.0    | 13.2   | 1273  |

This table shows 29.8 per cent of 1273 inmates of 12 orphanages to be from demoralized homes, 30.5 per cent from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 37 per cent of orphans and 13.2 per cent from "normal homes". The percentage of orphans, as has been explained, is valueless to us.

Taking the reports which did not give mutually exclusive answers to the questions, the following table was compiled:

TABLE XI.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                  | Demor.      | Deser. or divorce | Orphans     | Normal     | Total       |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Waverly, Iowa             | 13          | 1                 | 75          | 62         | 83          |
| Allegheny, Pa.            |             | 2                 | 53          |            | 55          |
| Newport, Ky.              | 8           | 4                 | 16          | 7          | 24          |
| Savannah, Ga.             | 73          | 16                | 81          |            | 97          |
| Albany, N.Y.              | 58          | 79                | 59          | 13         | 175         |
| Barium Spgs, N.C.         | 25          | 2                 | 165         |            | 167         |
| Lincoln, Neb.             | 6           |                   | 12          |            | 18          |
| Chicago (Nor. Luth.)      | 6           | 10                | 46          | 8          | 70          |
| Alliance, Ohio            | 97          | 66                | 50          | 19         | 116         |
| Franklin, N.H.            | 105         | 30                | 128         | 8          | 150         |
| Kansas City, Mo.          | 50          | 75                | 15          |            | 90          |
| Beloit, Iowa              | 111         |                   | 83          |            | 166         |
| Webster Groves, Mo.       | 6           | 21                | 50          |            | 77          |
| Jackson, Miss.            | 89          | 9                 | 140         | 47         | 187         |
| Twin Bridges, Mont.       | 76          | 33                | 69          |            | 140         |
| Vasa, Minn.               | 18          | 7                 | 25          | 9          | 76          |
| Denver, Colo.             |             | 27                | 70          | 7          | 109         |
| St. Louis (O.H.)          | 46          | 21                | 24          | 34         | 91          |
| New Haven, Conn.          |             |                   | 70          |            | 125         |
| Treaty, Ind.              | 127         | 58                | 90          | 15         | 153         |
| Ft. Wayne, Ind.           | 20          | 10                | 90          |            | 100         |
| Lake Bluff, Ill.          | 23          | 45                | 58          | 9          | 135         |
| Chicago (Nursery)         |             | 92                | 32          | 20         | 177         |
| Addison, Ill.             | 8           | 9                 | 102         |            | 110         |
| Washington<br>(Cy.O.A.)   | 68          |                   | 54          | 14         | 135         |
| Washington,<br>St. John's |             | 71                | 60          | 14         | 85          |
| Fruitvale, Cal.           | 25          | 15                | 127         | 93         | 133         |
| Loysville, Pa.            | 16          | 23                | 150         |            | 189         |
| Warrenton, Mo.            | 16          | 13                | 57          | 7          | 87          |
| Boston, Mass.             | 30          | 37                | 104         | 17         | 211         |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>1120</b> | <b>776</b>        | <b>2155</b> | <b>403</b> | <b>3531</b> |

With the answers in per cents we have the following table:

TABLE XII.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                  | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|---------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| Waverly, Ia.              | 15.6   | 1.0               | 90.3    | 74.7   | 83    |
| Allegheny, Pa.            |        | 3.6               | 96.4    |        | 55    |
| Newport, Ky.              | 33.3   | 17.0              | 67.0    | 29.1   | 24    |
| Savannah, Ga.             | 75.0   | 16.5              | 83.5    |        | 97    |
| Albany, N.Y.              | 33.1   | 45.1              | 33.7    | 7.4    | 175   |
| Barium Spgs., N.C.        | 15.0   | 1.2               | 98.8    |        | 167   |
| Lincoln, Neb.             | 33.3   |                   | 66.7    |        | 18    |
| Chicago (Nor. Luth.)      | 8.5    | 14.3              | 65.7    | 11.4   | 70    |
| Alliance, Ohio            | 83.6   | 56.9              | 43.1    | 16.3   | 116   |
| Franklin, N.H.            | 70.0   | 20.0              | 85.0    | 5.0    | 150   |
| Kansas City, Mo.          | 55.5   | 83.3              | 16.6    |        | 90    |
| Beloit, Ia.               | 66.7   |                   | 50.0    |        | 166   |
| Webster Groves, Mo.       | 7.8    | 27.2              | 64.9    |        | 77    |
| Jackson, Miss.            | 50.0   | 5.0               | 75.0    | 25.0   | 187   |
| Twin Bridges, Mont.       | 54.2   | 23.5              | 49.2    |        | 140   |
| Vasa, Minn.               | 23.6   | 9.2               | 32.9    | 11.8   | 76    |
| Denver, Colo.             |        | 24.7              | 64.2    | 6.4    | 109   |
| St. Louis, O.H.           | 50.5   | 23.0              | 26.3    | 37.3   | 91    |
| New Haven, Conn.          |        |                   | 56.0    |        | 125   |
| Treaty, Ind.              | 83.0   | 37.9              | 58.8    | 9.8    | 153   |
| Ft. Wayne, Ind.           | 20.0   | 10.0              | 90.0    |        | 100   |
| Lake Bluff, Ill.          | 17.0   | 33.3              | 42.9    | 6.7    | 135   |
| Chicago, Nursery          |        | 51.9              | 18.0    | 11.3   | 177   |
| Addison, Ill.             | 7.2    | 8.1               | 92.7    |        | 110   |
| Washington,<br>Cy. O.A.   | 50.0   |                   | 40.0    | 10.0   | 135   |
| Washington,<br>St. John's |        | 83.5              | 70.5    | 16.4   | 85    |
| Fruitvale, Cal.           | 18.8   | 11.2              | 95.4    | 69.9   | 133   |
| Loysville, Pa.            | 8.4    | 12.1              | 79.3    |        | 189   |
| Warrenton, Mo.            | 18.4   | 14.9              | 65.5    | 8.0    | 87    |
| Boston, Mass.             | 14.2   | 17.5              | 49.3    | 8.0    | 211   |
| Weighted Av.              | 37.6   | 25.1              | 61.0    | 18.3   | 3531  |

According to this table 37.6 per cent of 3531 inmates of 30 orphan asylums were from demoralized homes, 25.1 per cent were from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 18.3 per cent were from "normal homes". The percentage from demoralized homes should be larger than in



the preceding table for the reason assigned above in connection with reform schools.

Taking the reports which appeared most accurate I have compiled the following table:

TABLE XIII.  
FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location             | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|----------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| Loysville, Pa.       | 8.4    | 12.1              | 79.3    |        | 189   |
| Fruitvale, Cal.      | 18.8   | 11.2              | 95.4    | 69.9   | 133   |
| Boston, Mass.        | 14.2   | 17.5              | 49.3    | 8.0    | 211   |
| Holdrege, Neb.       | 19.4   | 16.1              | 58.1    | 6.4    | 62    |
| Chicago (Nor. Luth.) | 8.5    | 14.3              | 65.7    | 11.4   | 70    |
| Warrenton, Mo.       | 18.4   | 14.9              | 65.5    | 8.0    | 87    |
| Cincinnati, Ohio.    | 37.7   | 47.2              | 15.1    |        | 106   |
| Newark, N.J.         | 13.4   | 26.7              | 49.1    | 10.7   | 112   |
| Webster Groves, Mo.  | 7.8    | 27.2              | 64.9    |        | 77    |
| Hartford, Conn.      | 8.0    | 27.4              | 44.2    | 20.4   | 113   |
| Vasa, Minn.          | 23.6   | 9.2               | 32.9    | 11.8   | 76    |
| Denver, Colo.        |        | 24.7              | 64.2    | 6.4    | 109   |
| St. Louis (O.H.)     | 50.5   | 23.0              | 26.3    | 37.3   | 91    |
| Treaty, Ind.         | 83.0   | 37.9              | 58.8    | 9.8    | 153   |
| Lake Bluff, Ill.     | 17.0   | 33.3              | 42.9    | 6.7    | 135   |
| Chicago, Nursery     |        | 51.9              | 18.0    | 11.3   | 177   |
| Waverly, Ia.         | 15.6   | 1.0               | 90.3    | 74.7   | 83    |
| Newport, Ky.         | 33.3   | 17.0              | 67.0    | 29.1   | 24    |
| Joliet, Ill.         | 13.2   | 9.4               | 73.6    | 3.8    | 106   |
| Weighted av.         | 25.1   | 24.3              | 53.2    | 17.9   | 2518  |

According to this table 25.1 per cent of 2518 inmates of 19 orphan asylums were from demoralized homes, 24.3 per cent were from homes demoralized by desertion or divorce, 13.2 per cent were orphans and 17.9 per cent were from "normal homes".

But the most fruitful tables of all those dealing with the children of the orphan asylums are the two following.

No. XIV is composed of the reports of the institutions that profess to take only orphans but have broken over their rule.

TABLE XIV.  
FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                 | Demor. | Deser.or:<br>divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|--------------------------|--------|----------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| Loysville, Pa.           |        | 3.6                  | 96.4    |        | 55    |
| Barium Spgs., N.C.       | 15.0   | 1.2                  | 98.8    |        | 167   |
| Franklin, N.H.           | 70.0   | 20.0                 | 85.0    | 5.0    | 150   |
| Webster Groves, Mo.      | 7.8    | 27.2                 | 64.9    |        | 77    |
| Jackson, Miss.           | 50.0   | 5.0                  | 75.0    | 25.0   | 187   |
| Vasa, Minn.              | 23.6   | 9.2                  | 32.9    | 11.8   | 76    |
| Ft. Wayne, Ind.          | 20.0   | 10.0                 | 90.0    |        | 100   |
| Addison, Ill.            | 7.2    | 8.1                  | 92.7    |        | 110   |
| Warrenton, Mo.           | 18.4   | 14.9                 | 65.5    | 8.0    | 87    |
| New York,<br>O.A. in Cy. | 20.0   | 30.0                 | 50.0    |        | 200   |
| Weighted av.             | 28.8   | 13.5                 | 75.3    | 14.2   | 1209  |

In these 10 institutions 28.8 per cent of the 1209 children were from demoralized homes, 13.5 per cent were from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, only 75.3 per cent were orphans and 14.2 per cent were reported as from "normal homes". The fact that in institutions that profess to take only orphans there was but 75.3 per cent of orphans is significant. The fact that

desertion and divorce are a large enough force in the community to bring pressure to bear upon orphan asylums to break over their rules to this extent testifies to the dependence caused by family instability due to social causes.

From the reports of institutions whose professed policy it is to take destitute children whether orphans or not the following table was compiled.

TABLE XV.

## FAMILY CONDITIONS OF INMATES OF ORPHANAGES.

| Location                       | Demor. | Deser. or divorce | Orphans | Normal | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| Waverly, Ia.                   | 15.6   | 1.0               | 90.3    | 74.7   | 83    |
| Newport, Ky.                   | 33.3   | 17.0              | 67.0    | 29.1   | 24    |
| Savannah, Ga.                  | 75.3   | 16.5              | 83.5    |        | 97    |
| Albany, N.Y.                   | 33.1   | 45.1              | 33.7    | 7.4    | 175   |
| Lincoln, Neb.                  | 33.3   |                   | 66.7    |        | 18    |
| Chicago, Nor. Luth.            | 8.5    | 14.3              | 65.7    | 11.4   | 70    |
| Alliance, Ohio                 | 83.6   | 56.9              | 43.1    | 16.3   | 116   |
| Kansas City, Mo.               | 55.5   | 83.3              | 16.6    |        | 90    |
| Beloit, Ia.                    | 66.7   |                   | 50.0    |        | 166   |
| Twin Bridges, Mont.            | 54.2   | 23.5              | 49.2    |        | 140   |
| Denver, Colo.                  |        | 24.7              | 64.2    | 6.4    | 109   |
| St. Louis, O.H.                | 50.5   | 23.0              | 26.3    | 37.3   | 91    |
| New Haven, Conn.               |        |                   | 56.0    |        | 125   |
| Treaty, Ind.                   | 83.0   | 37.9              | 58.8    | 9.8    | 153   |
| Lake Bluff, Ill.               | 17.0   | 33.3              | 42.9    | 6.7    | 135   |
| Chicago, Nursery               |        | 51.9              | 18.0    | 11.3   | 177   |
| Washington, Cy. O.A.           | 50.0   |                   | 40.0    | 10.0   | 135   |
| Washington,<br>St. John's      |        | 83.5              | 70.5    | 16.4   | 85    |
| Fruitvale, Cal.                | 18.8   | 11.2              | 95.4    | 89.9   | 133   |
| Loysville, Pa.                 | 8.4    | 12.1              | 79.3    |        | 189   |
| Boston, Mass.                  | 14.2   | 17.5              | 49.3    | 8.0    | 211   |
| Decatur, Ga.                   | 35.0   | 25.0              | 25.0    | 15.0   | 145   |
| Joliet, Ill.                   | 13.2   | 9.4               | 73.6    | 3.8    | 106   |
| Macon, Ga.                     | 39.2   | 32.0              | 24.0    | 4.8    | 125   |
| St. Louis, Home Soc.           | 85.0   | 10.0              | 5.0     |        | 40    |
| Holdrege, Neb.                 | 19.4   | 16.1              | 58.1    | 6.4    | 62    |
| Detroit, Mich.                 |        | 89.5              | 10.4    |        | 86    |
| Cincinnati, Ohio               | 37.7   | 47.2              | 15.1    |        | 106   |
| Newark, N.J.                   | 13.4   | 26.7              | 49.1    | 10.7   | 112   |
| Hartford, Conn.                | 8.0    | 27.4              | 44.2    | 20.4   | 113   |
| San Francisco,<br>Boys & Girls | 38.5   | 15.4              | 30.7    | 15.4   | 130   |
| San Francisco,<br>Nursery      | 40.0   | 20.0              | 20.0    | 20.0   | 48    |
| Weighted av.                   | 37.4   | 31.4              | 47.5    | 17.0   | 3595  |

This table shows 37.4 per cent of 3595 inmates of 32 orphan asylums from demoralized homes, 31.4 per cent from homes broken up by desertion or divorce, 47.5 orphans and

17 per cent from "normal homes". It is to be expected that these institutions should have more inmates from demoralized homes or homes broken up by desertion or divorce and a smaller percentage of orphans.

So it is seen that according to Table XIII, which is probably the most accurate of all dealing with the inmates of orphanages, 25.1 per cent of 2518 inmates of 19 orphan asylums were from demoralized homes, 24.3 per cent were from homes demoralized by desertion or divorce, 53.2 per cent were orphans and 17.9 per cent were from "normal homes". There is much variation in the answers to the first question. There is also a great deal of variation in the answers to the second and third but in the case of the second all but one institution came within 15 per cent of 23.2, the weighted average for that cause. As has already been explained, the figures of the first question are not of great value, the figures of the third question merely show the policy of the institution and the figures of the fourth question are almost valueless because the question was so variously interpreted. The fact that 28.8 per cent, however, are returned "demoralized by drink, vice or crime" and only 24.2 per cent from "normal homes" shows that, in the opinion of those in charge of orphan asylums, home conditions are a large factor in causing child dependence. But, of course, by the words "normal homes" was meant homes normal with regard to demoralization by drink, vice or crime,

to desertion, divorce or death of parents.

R. R. Reeder, Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum Society Orphanage in the City of New York, says, "From my experience with Orphanage work in New York City, I should say that except for the instability of the family there would be but a very small percentage of the present child dependency and delinquency".

It may be objected that such connection between delinquency and dependency and family conditions is not necessarily a causal relation; but such marked coincidence, if it does not denote a causal relation, at least signifies that which approaches causal relations. If so large a percentage of dependency and delinquency is from unstable families, there must be some causal connection. And, again, some say that formal divorce does not add to the dependency and delinquency of the world but that the child would suffer lack of socialization in a home where divorce is desired just the same because the home would be demoralized by discord. Even though the child would suffer then, yet the loss could not be so great, for the child would not be placed in an institution or with those who have no natural affection for him. And when the parents know they cannot get a divorce, they will often adapt themselves to their hardships and their natural feelings for the child will make his socialization not entirely bad.

To sum up the results of the various estimates and

investigations, we see that the investigation of the charity organization societies shows 9.9 per cent of dependence as due to desertion, divorce or legal separation and that 3.7 per cent more is from homes broken by death, desertion or other influence sufficient to cause orphans or abandoned children to apply for aid; that Miss Goodyear attributes 21 per cent of dependence to non-support and 34 per cent to death; that Devine says 12 per cent is due to divorce or desertion and over 25 per cent to death; that Miss Brandt calls from 7 to 13 per cent due to desertion; that an estimate of the commitment of children to institutions in New York calls 25 per cent due to desertion; that Bauer says this should be over 30 per cent; that it has been estimated in New Jersey that 36 per cent of the inmates of children's charitable institutions are there because of desertion; that the Rhoades study shows 48 per cent of boys coming before the Juvenile Court of Chicago to be from unstable families; that Homer Folks tells us that of the children committed in 1890 to reformatories in the United States 48 per cent were orphans or half orphans and that adding those whose parents were separated over one half of the children committed were homeless; that Supt. Leonard of the Ohio State Reformatory estimates that 75 per cent of the young men in that institution came from homes where one or both parents were dead, that over 50 per cent came from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce and that in all 90 per cent came from broken or defective homes;

that Bishop Fallows stated that three fifths of the inmates of the Illinois State Reformatory came from defective homes; that Travis attributes 40 per cent of juvenile delinquency to step-parentage, illegitimacy and orphanage; and finally that my own investigation shows 39.6 per cent of juvenile delinquency resulting in commitment to reform schools to be due to demoralization of the home by drink, vice or crime, 30 per cent to desertion or divorce, 36.2 per cent to death of parents and only 16.8 per cent to be from "normal homes"; that my own investigation shows further that of juvenile delinquency resulting in appearance before the juvenile court 24.2 per cent is due to desertion or divorce, 27.3 per cent to death of parents and that only 48.5 per cent are from "normal homes"; that my own investigation shows, moreover, that of child dependence 25.1 per cent is due to demoralization of the home, 24.3 per cent to desertion or divorce, 53.2 per cent to orphanage and that only 17.9 per cent of inmates of orphan asylums are from "normal homes".

The foregoing seems to me to be an inductive defence of my thesis. The fact that so much dependence and delinquency is attributed to the instability of the family must be a proof that the social effects of the instability of the family are undesirable. ✓



CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM A STUDY OF THE  
SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM A STUDY OF THE  
SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the American family is becoming increasingly unstable. I have attempted to show, moreover, that instability of the family produces undesirable social effects, since the family performs important functions in society. The functions of the family, as I see it, are, as previously stated, to furnish new individuals to society, to secure variation in society, to provide for the physical care of children and adults, to socialize the child, to discipline the parents, to develop higher feelings in society, to develop stability of character in individuals, to furnish the chief motive to work, to care for the helpless members of society, to transmit material possessions, names and the spiritual heritage of the race to the following generation, to form a conservative element in society and finally to regulate the sex instinct. I have, furthermore, attempted to show that, with the exception of the functions of mere physical reproduction and of the transmission of the name, the instability of the family injures the performance of these functions and so produces undesirable social effects. As I conceive it, when there are unstable family relations, the physical care of the child and of the adult members of the family is neglected, the socialization of the child must needs be imperfect, the parents

lose a valuable discipline, stability of character cannot be so well developed in individuals, a chief motive to work is lost, dependency is caused, the spiritual heritage of the race is not so well transmitted, society is more likely to go off on disadvantageous tangents, variation is not so well encouraged, the sex instinct in society is not so well controlled, there is reversion to less training of the young and to less care of parents, and finally there is a loss of efficiency in the work of the family on account of change. All of these conclusions are deductive but inductive evidence also testifies to the evil social results of family instability.

Miss Goodyear's investigation showed 55 per cent of dependency to involve instability of the family, Mr. Devine's investigation showed a percentage of 37 per cent and my own study of the reports of Charity Organization Societies showed an average of 35.8 per cent of dependency to come from unstable families. Other investigations including my own study of reports from orphan asylums, which showed 25.1 per cent of inmates of orphan asylums to come from homes demoralized by drink, vice or crime, 24.3 per cent from homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, and only 53.2 per cent of orphans, showed varying percentages of dependency to come from unstable families.

And as to delinquency, the Rhoades study in Chicago showed 48 per cent of juvenile delinquency as being from unstable families. Bishop Fallows said, in regard to adult

delinquency, that three fifths of the inmates of his institution were from defective families. My own investigation showed that of juvenile delinquency as expressed by commitment to reform schools 39.6 per cent came out of demoralized homes, 30 per cent out of homes in which there had been desertion or divorce, 36.2 per cent where one or both parents were dead and that of juvenile delinquency as expressed by appearance before juvenile courts 23.7 per cent was due to desertion and 27.8 to death of parents. Other estimates and investigations gave various percentages of delinquency as due to family instability.

All of the effects above mentioned are, comparatively speaking, present social effects of the instability of the family but society must take a long view in this matter. What will be the ultimate result, if family instability continues to increase in the future as it has in the past? Professor Willcox has calculated that, on the assumption that the population continues to increase through this century at the rate of 28 per cent a decade as it did during the last century and that divorces increase at the rate of 69.2 per cent per decade as they did during the nineteenth century, in the year 2000 divorce will end 58.8 per cent of marriages and death only 41.2 per cent.<sup>1</sup> The incalculable factors, which of necessity enter into such a

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1. Willcox, "The Divorce Problem", Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Columbia College, Vol.I.

situation as this, make Willcox's conclusion far from being an assured fact, but such a prophecy does emphasize the danger inhering in the present rapid increase of divorce.

Is the constitution of our civilization strong enough to resist the poison of divorce? What will be the consequences to our splendid culture of which we are so justly proud? It is true that individual character limits any civilization.<sup>1</sup> Now if on account of family instability the characters of the individual units fail to be rightly developed, if the child's training in the social virtues is defective, will not society suffer? For, as I have attempted to show in the preceding chapters, it is only in the family that the preparation for life in a wider society can be well given. Are we not embittering the fountain at its source?

The civilization of ancient Rome was not able to withstand the insidious vices that demoralized Roman family life--family life that was once perhaps the most stable of any of which history tells us. Price sees aright when he says, "Rome would not have fallen before the barbarians, if the Roman people had not first been diminished and weakened by the loss of the virtues that sustain the family."<sup>2</sup> If our family life continues to be unstable, will we not fare as Rome did? Have we any assurance that we will be

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1. Ellwood, Lectures.

2. "The Family as an Element of Government," Amer. Philosoph. Socy. Proceed., Jan. 1864.

more favored?

As I have already suggested earlier in this paper, the present marital unrest may be only a period of transition. The old semi-patriarchal family has broken down and a new ethical family of stable character and adapted to modern conditions has not yet been developed, that is, the present period is one of transition from one social habit to another and so is necessarily a time of normal confusion.<sup>1</sup> It behooves society, then, for its own best interests, to hasten the formation of the new and better adapted social habit, before the confusion of family relations, which should normally be transitory, becomes fixed and our society declines.

It is not the province of this thesis to discuss remedies for the divorce evil but manifestly society must take strenuous measures to oppose its evil effects. The state must have good marriage, desertion and divorce laws, that is, laws having as their aim the preservation of the permanence of the marriage bond. Not only direct marriage, desertion and divorce legislation but also all sorts of measures to make wholesome family life possible must be a concern of society. All measures to better social conditions in the interests of the family are distinct gains to society. Henderson well says, "It will ... be seen that

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1. Ellwood, "The Psychological View of Society", Amer. Jour. of Soc. Mar., 1910.

those engaged in the 'labor movement', trade unions, mutual benefit societies, factory inspectors and reformers of legislation are really contending for the very cradles and altars of national life".<sup>1</sup> Indeed the interests of the family are bound up with all social interests, for the family is so fundamental to society.

Not only law, however, but also public opinion which must be back of laws, if they are to be well administered, must stand for family stability. When we shall have a public opinion alive to the necessity of preserving the stability of the family, we shall have gone a long ways toward the solution of the divorce problem. And to develop this popular feeling, society must devise ways and means.

But society must place the main reliance upon prevention and, indeed, nearly all the measures, that I have been discussing, are preventive rather than remedial. The ultimate and most fundamental means of prevention, however, is education, for legislation is necessarily an external thing. When all the youth are instructed in matters of sex, marriage and the family, conditions will improve. And, too, there must be education for home duties. We will learn some day that girls cannot become skilful homekeepers without some knowledge of domestic science, nor can boys

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1. Social Elements, p.73.

become suitable patres familias without training. And when families are well conducted, divorces are not desired. And when the idea of the necessity of family stability for social welfare is instilled into youthful minds, a right start will have been made toward the formation of a public opinion on this subject. Some day our school curriculums will be more adapted to life conditions.

✓ Education of the young will bear fruit in succeeding generations and is the surest way to improve society, but much can be done in the way of education of the present generation of fathers and mothers. The educational work of the National League for the Protection of the Family through public lectures, pamphlets and the like is doing good. The present interest in child study will lead to better things in the way of the training of the young. Mothers' clubs, all kinds of periodicals devoted to the interests of the home and, indeed, whatever will help the family life to perform its highest functions must be of social interest.

The Church, too, has a duty in this matter, for religious sanction has a powerful influence in society. As an illustration of this may be cited the smaller number of divorces among Catholics than among Protestants, where divorce is easier. In Switzerland in 1879 there were eight times as many divorces in the Protestant as in the Catholic cantons, although the population was only a half larger.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Muirhead, "Is the Family Declining?", Internat. Jour. of Ethics, 1896.





The church should certainly lend its influence for stable family life.

It will require the combined efforts of state, school and church to restore family life to its pristine stability but, since the social effects of its instability are exceedingly undesirable for the present and even more so for the future, it behooves society to set about this task.

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