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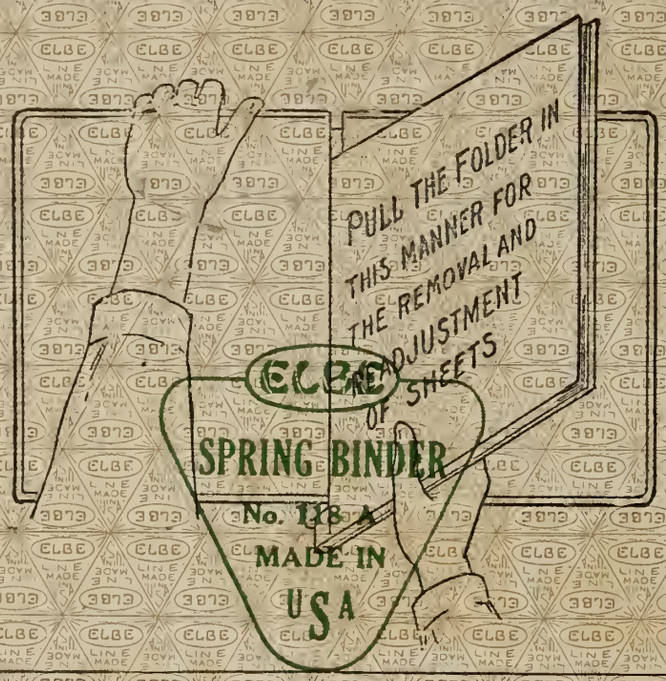

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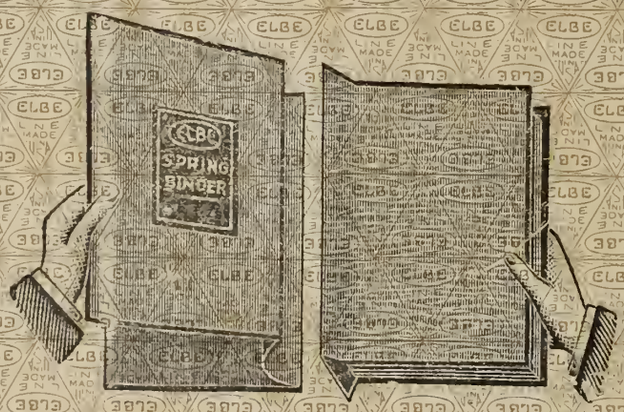

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A STUDY OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN LAWRENCE MASSACHUSETTS.

(in 1914)

Alice M. O'Connor

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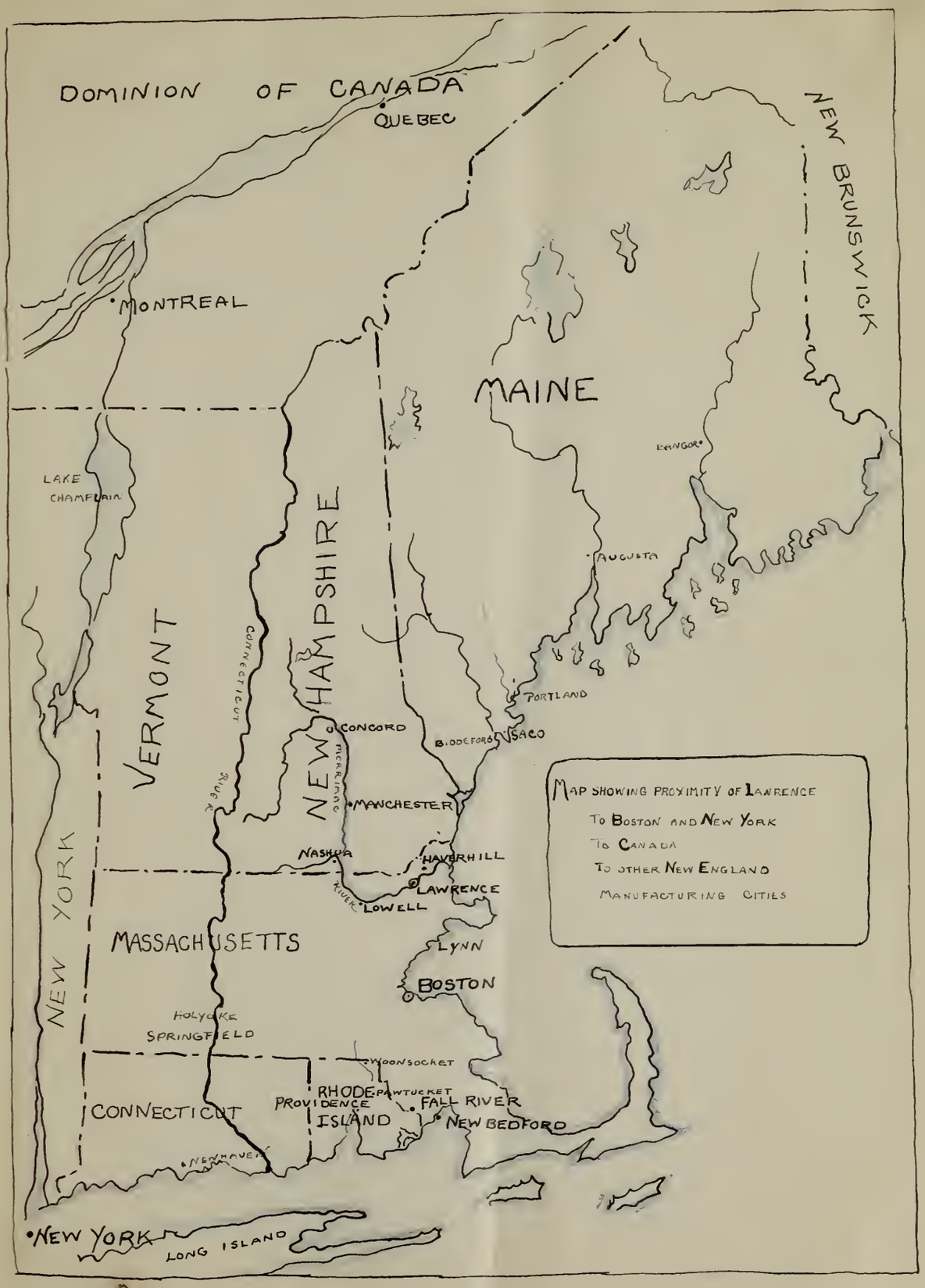
FOREWORD.


DOMINION OF CANADA
QUEBEC
NEW BRUNSWICK
MONTREAL
MAINE
BANGOR
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
AUGUSTA
VERMONT
CONNECTICUT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
PORTLAND
CONCORD
BIDDEFORD
SACO
MERRIMAC
RIVER
MANCHESTER
NASHUA
HAVERHILL
LAWRENCE
LOWELL
NEW YORK
MASSACHUSETTS
LYNN
BOSTON
HOLYOKE
SPRINGFIELD
WOONSOCKET
RHODE ISLAND
PROVIDENCE
PAWTUCKET
FALL RIVER
NEW BEDFORD
CONNECTICUT
NEW HAVEN
NEW YORK
LONG ISLAND
MAP SHOWING PROXIMITY OF LAWRENCE
TO BOSTON AND NEW YORK
TO CANADA
TO OTHER NEW ENGLAND
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FOREWORD.

The mill city of Lawrence offers a particularly good field for the study of immigration. Its situation near the great port of Boston sends to it a flock of unskilled immigrants who find in its textile industry their first work in America. Its proximity to other textile and industrial centers attracts the roving alien in search of work. Since its foundation as an industrial enterprise by Boston capitalists in 1845, it has received in turn practically every race of the westward tide. Its development occurred when the great potato famine sent the Irish immigrant to America. In close succession came the English and Scotch seeking wider fields for skilled labor, the German escaping from industrial and political troubles, the Canadian coming over the border from farmland to mill, the Hebrew "flying the Old World's poverty and scorn", the Italian, Slav, Syrian, Armenian, Greek and Portuguese, all in search of livelihood. In the seventy years of the community's development, the older races have had opportunity to work out, to some degree, their problem of assimilation with American life. Their progress has been practically unaided by the guiding hand of philanthropy or culture, since the capitalists lived away from the city and Lawrence had no history before her industrial development. The later immigrants of varied stock and ideals had not yet had time to accustom themselves, except in small part, to city life in America. The small size of the community forbids excessive segregation of racial groups and, in general, the cosmopolitan population work side by side in the mills, live side by side in the streets, and seek recreation, education, and development from the same sources.

A STUDY OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN LAWRENCE MASSACHUSETTS.

I HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION.

History of Immigration.

Foundation of the City. Lawrence was created as an industrial community. A local historian of early times writes thus: "Where population is so dense, there was scarcely a dozen habitations; in all the city, less than 150 souls in less than three-score homes. No church dedicated to the service of Almighty God stood within the present city limits. There was, here and there, an ordinary farm-house, with rude surroundings." At a time when the Yankee invention of the cotton gin and the Southern practise of slave labor combined to make an abundance of cheap raw cotton, and while the successes of such mill cities as Lowell made manufacturers eager to expand and develop New England industries by the utilization of the water power of swiftly flowing rivers, a long-headed and foresighted manufacturer discovered valuable water water power in the Merrimac River near the site of the present city of Lawrence. At his urging, a group of capitalists from the nearby city of Boston,--the majority of whom were already stockholders in the prosperous mills of the neighboring city of Lowell--financed the development of the water power and the building of a mill city. The name of the city is that of one of the most able of the capitalists, a man known beyond the local range of New England interests--Abbot Lawrence.

Immigration to Lawrence was coincident with the erection of the dam, the first step in the industrial progress of the city. "To the southwest of the dam and above the north end of the same were the shanty villages, built on leased land by Irish laborers." (Lawrence Up to Date). When the dam was completed, mills constructed, and industry begun, there poured into the city a continuous and

1848 — 5949

NATIVE BORN - 3766	FOREIGN BORN 2183.

1875 — 34,916-

NATIVE BORN - 15,546	FOREIGN BORN — 19,370

1890 44,654

NATIVE BORN — 24,136		FOREIGN BORN
NATIVE PARENTAGE 2	FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE	

1910 85,892

NATIVE BORN		FOREIGN BORN
NATIVE PARENTAGE 11,699	FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE 32,553	41,319

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF POPULATION OF LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1848 — 1875 — 1890 — 1910

swelling stream of immigrants, yearly growing more diversified as to race.

Racial Statistics. The census of 1848, the first year of maunfacturing, is given as follows.

Born in America	3766
" " Ireland	2139
" " England	28
" " France	3
" " Wales	2
" " Scotland	9
" " Italy	1
" " Germany	1
Total Population	5949

The pioneer races, as shown in the above table are American and Irish. As the textile production of the new city increased other races entered the field. Skilled textile workers from the mill districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire of England were welcome additions to the corps of mill workers. The greatest number of this race came perhaps in 1865, but the immigration of English factory workers is still continuing, though in diminishing numbers. Many textile workers from Bavaria, Silesia, and Saxony of Germany came to Lawrence from 1848 to 1890. Scores of French Canadians came in the late60's and are still coming.

The census of 1875 gives the population as:

Native born	15,546
Born in Ireland	8,232
" " England	4,265
" " Canada	1,924
" " Germany	963
" " other For. Countries	163
Total Population	34,916

The immigration to Lawrence continued to be of the same character until after 1890, the census of that year showing no considerable number of other races.

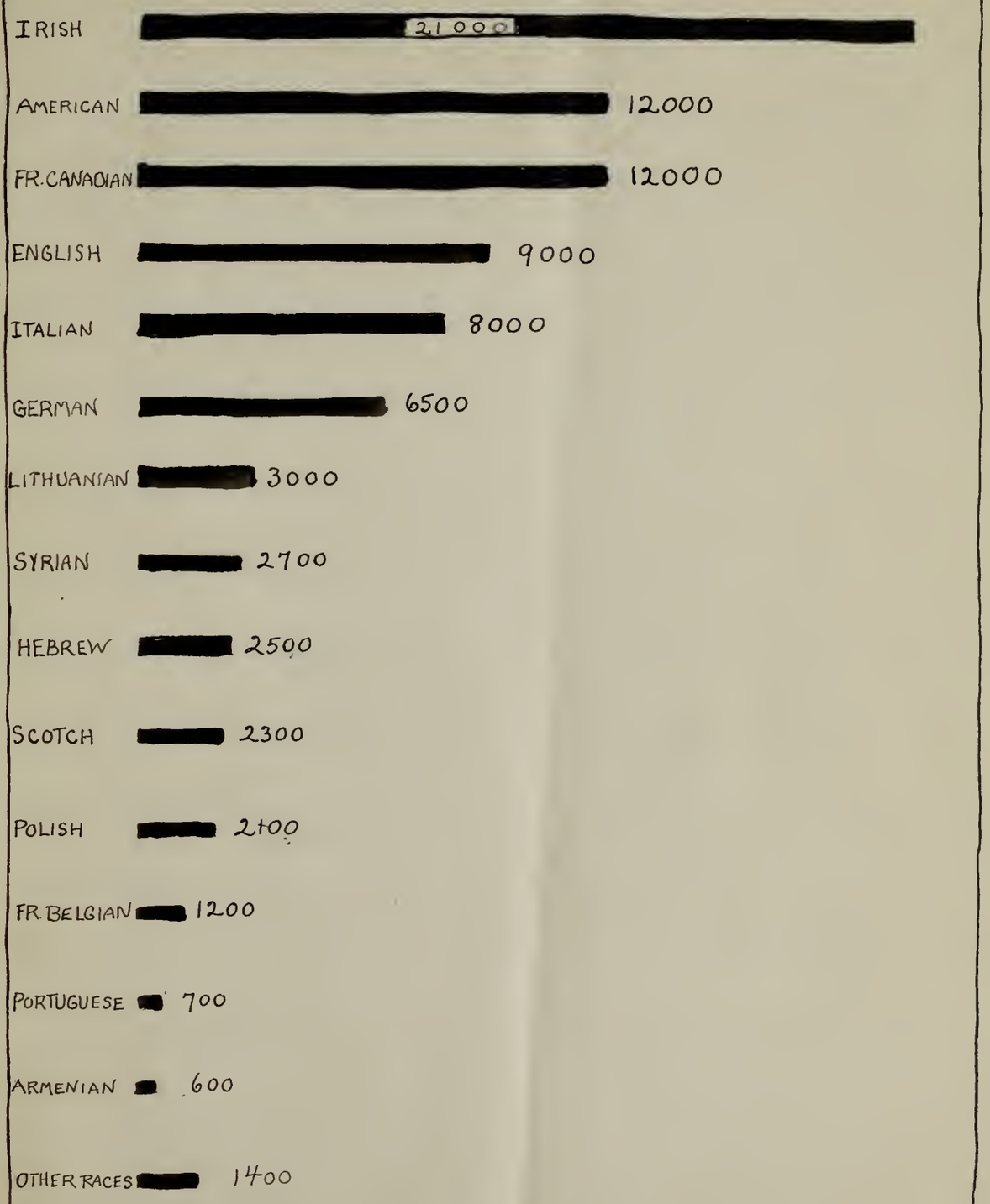
Census of 1890.

Native born	24,136
Born in Ireland	7,697
" " England	4,985
" " Canada	4,459
" " Germany	1,830
" " Scotland	1,079
" " Russia	60
" " Italy	46
Total Population	44,654

From 1890, the Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, Hebrew, Syrian and Armenian have come in constantly and rapidly increasing numbers. The foreign born population was given as follows in the Federal Census of 1910:

Native White native parentage		11,699
" " foreign & mixed parentage		32,553
Born in Canada French	7,698	
" " Italy	6,693	
" " Ireland	5,943	
" " England	5,659	
" " Russia	4,366	
" " Germany	2,301	
" " Turkey (Europe 1,986 (Asia 91	2,077	
" " Canada not French	1,800	
" " Austria	1,450	
" " Scotland	1,336	
" " France	788	
" " Portugal	389	
" " Belgium	314	
" " Greece	171	
" " Sweden	121	
" " Finland	36	
" " Roumania	34	
" " Hungary	28	
" " Wales	26	
" " Denmark	11	
" " Norway	8	
" " Switzerland	7	
" " Atlantic Islands	6	
" " Newfoundland	5	
" " Other For. Countries	52	
Total foreign born	41,319	41,319
TOTAL POPULATION		85.892

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF W.J. LAUCK'S ESTIMATE OF POPULATION OF LAWRENCE.



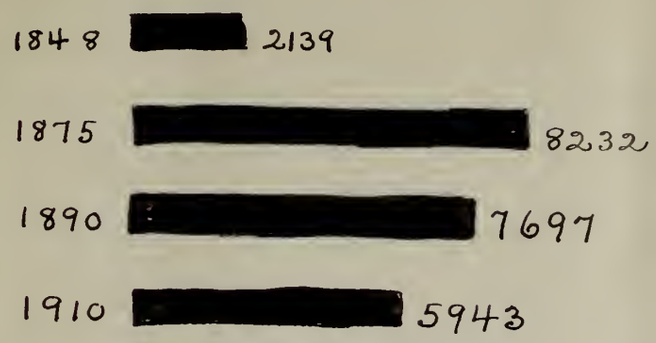
In the Federal Census the immigrants are given according to the country of their birth,--an arrangement which does not always clearly designate the race. Immigrants of the Polish race may, therefore, give as their birthplace Austria, Germany, or Russia and yet racially they should not be classed as either Austrians, Germans, or Russians. Hebrews born in Russia or Germany are ethnically of totally different stock than the Russians or Germans. Syrians, Armenians and Turks are all born in Turkey. An estimate of the racial population in Lawrence is given by W. T. Lauck, formerly in charge of the Industrial Relations of the United States Immigration Commission, in an article in the "Survey" of 1912 called "The Significance of the Situation in Lawrence". His estimate follows.

Irish	21,000
American	12,000
French Canadian	12,000
English	9,000
Italian	8,000
German	6,500
Lithuanian	3,000
Syrian	2,700
Hebrew	2,500
Scotch	2,300
Polish	2,100
Franco-Belgian	1,200
Portuguese	700
Armenian	600
Other races	1,400
	85,000

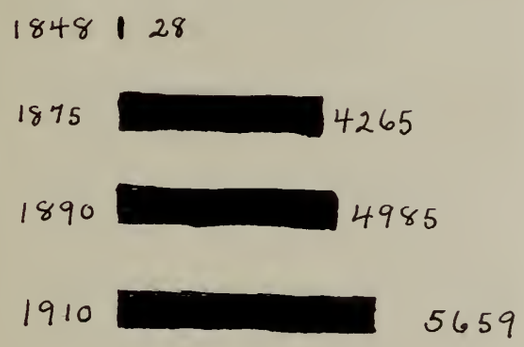
Causes of Immigration. The different alien people who have chosen Lawrence for their home in the new world have done so for economic reasons. Work was either available or it seemed to be. Secondary causes vary but slightly for the different races, and include political and religious oppression, and industrial unrest.

The first comers of the immigrant races to Lawrence, the Irish, came from the south of Ireland during the famine years when even bare existence was impossible in their native land. Among the early Irish

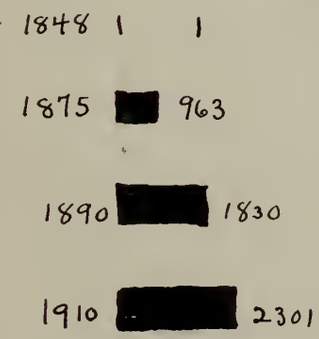
IMMIGRATION FROM IRELAND TO LAWRENCE 1848—1910



IMMIGRATION FROM ENGLAND TO LAWRENCE 1848–1910



IMMIGRATION FROM GERMANY TO LAWRENCE 1848-1910



IMMIGRATION OF CANADIAN FRENCH TO LAWRENCE 1848-1910

1848 0

1875 [redacted] 1924

1890 [redacted] 4459

1910 [redacted] 7698

IMMIGRATION FROM ITALY TO LAWRENCE 1848-1910

1848 1 1

1875 ?

1890 [redacted] 46

1910 [redacted] 6693

IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA TO LAWRENCE 1848-1910

1848 0

1875 0

1890 [redacted] 60

1910 [redacted] 4366

settlers were not only those of the laboring class, but also numerous small tenant farmers whose agricultural hopes were forever ruined by a combination of landracking landlordism and the great potato famine. The Irish, Jewish, Polish and Lithuanian peoples may all be properly described as immigrants from countries to which they owed no allegiance and all found in the new land a common escape from political and religious persecution. The basic cause of the German immigration was the political revolution which sent to America the famous exiled "Forty-Eighters", but a condition of local industrial unrest accelerated the movement to America of the textile workers of Silesia, Bavaria and Saxony who came to Lawrence. The German immigrant, however, knew no such hardships of religious or political pressure as the Celt or the Hebrew. The English people who have come to Lawrence have been textile workers of more or less skill and have left their mother country for no motive of religious or political persecution, but solely for financial betterment. The Scotch can be classed with the English in this respect and indeed have been closely allied with them in their interests in Lawrence. The Scotch and English being similar in religion to native stock have assimilated and mingled with it more rapidly than any other racial group, the division coming on religious as well as racial lines. To this group may be added for similar reasons those immigrants who have come to Lawrence from Canada and who are not Canadian French.

The immigration of the Canadian French has been solely for economic reasons and in many cases the severance from the home country is not absolutely complete, many Canadian operatives habitually returning to Canada during the summer months or in times of financial depression. Rapid money-making is the lure which entices Syrians and Armenians as well as the smaller groups of Greeks and Portuguese.

Similar commercial motives caused the Italian influx to the city. Some sociologists contend that the southern Italians and Sicilians are escaping from a system of landlordism fully as disastrous to tenant farming as that of Ireland in the famine days, and there is no doubt that the lot of the Italian peasant is far from an easy or prosperous one. The element of religious or political persecution does not enter into the Italian exodus.

Fully as potent a factor of the recent heavy immigration as conditions in the home land and the Lawrence market for labor is the activity both here and abroad of steamship agents and the comparative cheapness and quickness of Transatlantic travel. The pioneers to Lawrence made their voyage to America in sailing vessels, the trip taking several months of disagreeable travel. The present trip on an ocean liner is an affair of much shorter duration and less harrowing experience, yet anyone who has ever seen the steerage conditions on a wet rough day will cherish no illusions of the excessive ease or luxury of the voyage. Each returned immigrant whether he be a "Come home Yankee" or a son of sunny Italy is always a self-constituted advance agent of the new world, since by his tales of prosperity and show of hard cash he convinces the stay-at-home that the path to success is easy in America. There is no doubt that paid steamship agents circulate among the small towns of southern Europe and urge immigration by every kind of direct and psychological persuasion.

Furthermore, certain rumors concerning posters circulated by local mills picturing operatives emerging from the mill with overflowing money bags to deposit in an adjacent bank recur at intervals. The one who has ever seen such posters or is able to produce one is,

however, impossible to locate, as are those who have received direct promise of employment. Federal investigation failed to find any violation of the contract labor law by Lawrence concerns, but it must be admitted that the consensus of opinion in the city is that the mills did entice this class of help, and in the words of the man on the street, they were clever enough to "get away with it."

The selection of immigrants which is made by itinerant steamship agents is not such as will make for permanent or desirable settlers--in fact, since profits come to the steamship company for return trips as well as for the voyage over,--the immigrant selected is often one who intends to return to his native land. It is probably a truism that the undesirable element in the community is that encouraged to immigrate by such methods.

Economic Equipment. The Irish coming to Lawrence from the southern provinces of agricultural Ireland had no previous experience as textile workers for the most part, and their first work in the city was not as operatives but laborers. While the Irish girls entering the mills proved to be reliable and skillful operatives, the English and some of the Scotch operatives being mill workers of more or less skill in their past environment, fitted all the more readily into their places in a mill city. Operatives coming to Lawrence from Lancashire and Yorkshire in England not only were used to city life and proof somewhat against its dangers but their previous development as organized labor protected them from industrial exploitation. The Germans, because of their industry and thrift, as well as their familiarity with textile work in the Fatherland, have been the most sucessful as mill workers. The French Canadians, with no previous experience, have worked up from unskilled work to positions of more

or less skill.

Of the later races but few have had textile experience of any kind, except the small group of French and Belgian weavers skilled in their own land. A considerable number of the Lawrence Hebrews come from Warsaw and are accustomed in some degree to textile work and, for that reason, perhaps more than is usual of that race have remained in the mill. The Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, Syrians, Armenians and Portuguese have come as the Irish did, fresh from the farm. While a number of Polish women work as weavers, the majority of the other later races remain at unskilled work.

Educational Qualifications. The massof immigration has had slight education, although individual members of each race may have been rich in education or culture. The Irish petty landlords who came in the famine days were able to read and write, and their wives had generally received an education in convent or needlework schools, but those of the laboring class were deficient in some degree of even the rudiments of reading and writing. Education in rural Ireland until the seventies was difficult to acquire without loss of faith or patriotism. The English operatives rarely had any large amount of education for in industrial England at the time of the heaviest immigration there were slight educational opportunities for the children in mill districts.

Of the immigrants who have not English for a mother tongue few are beyond the rudimentary stages of learning, even in their native language. Some of the Syrians living in Lawrence were educated in English mission schools of their own land. Large numbers of the South European races are illiterate. Those immigrants coming from rural districts are the more frequently lacking the ability to read

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and write, Sicilians in particular having few opportunities for schooling. Of the later immigrants, the Belgians and French possess a fair education, as a rule.

Capital. The majority of the immigrants have brought small capital save their household goods , and in many cases, hand luggage is all that is brought from the home land. Of the storekeepers, a few had previous mercantile experience and invested old world savings in an American store, but, as a rule, the small merchant acquires his capital by a few years' work in the mill. The bulk of the capital possessed by the new-comer has been strong muscles and willing hands.

Industrial Displacement. The immigrant, as a rule, has found his first work in the mill. He remained in the mill if, possessing skill and intelligence suitable for the higher grades of work, he was given opportunity to attempt the higher branches of labor; or if he was content to do dirty, heavy, unskilled work. The Irish were the first of the immigrants to leave the mills, and rarely does the second generation enter. The English, Germans and Canadians have remained more steadily in the mills. The principal races at this time, however, are probably Italians, Poles and Syrians, or the American-born children of those races. It can hardly be said that the older immigrants or the native born have been forced out of the mills by the recent immigration. Some of the older races have advanced to positions of more skill. The rapid expansion of the textile industry requires more laborers than can, at present wages, be recruited from native stock or from earlier immigration. This need of low-paid, unskilled labor the later immigrant fills. As a new race enters an industry, however, there seems to be a more or less rapid exodus

of other racial groups of an earlier day.

Permanency of Residence. At the time of the original departure from the homeland, it is probably the intention of each immigrant, save those fleeing persecution, to return when prosperity has come. This desire for return dies out, as a rule, and even when, in many cases, immigrants have actually returned to the native land with every intention of remaining, the attraction of America was too strong, and re-immigration occurred. The exceptions to this rule are those young immigrants of the later races who have no family ties in America and are thus willing to journey at will as the spirit moves.

Assimilation. The early immigrants had the advantage of common speech and somewhat similar customs. For the majority--early and late--the arrival in Lawrence was the first introduction to city life. To the great advantage of the earlier class was the small size of the community. Housing conditions, while not ideal, were abreast of the times. The later immigrant comes to a city of tenements where the complexities of city life are as difficult to learn as the learning of the new occupation. Because of the tendency of the non-English speaking people to live in colonies, the immigrant comes to a street which bears as close a resemblance to that of Naples as America. He is living in America but apart from American life.

Popular Prejudices. No one of the immigrant races which have come to Lawrence has been received without prejudice. The Know-Nothing party, directly opposed to the Irish immigrant, polled a large vote in the city in theearly days. The Scotch, English and Canadian English were received a trifle more graciously since there was the link of a common religion, but the English operatives were not rated as a particularly desirable class of help, in fact, in the report of the

Massachusetts Department of Labor for 1881, in a questionnaire concerning prosperity in Lawrence, a mill operative was quoted thus: "The reason for the non-existence of strikes in Lawrence was the absence of the English element, which he considered was always harmful". The criticisms of the Canadian French were equally severe. The publication of the following indictment in the twelfth Annual Report of Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts gives the tone of popular feeling:

"With some exceptions, the Canadian French are the Chinese of the Eastern States. They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political, or educational,..to earn all they can by no matter how many hours of toil, to live in a most beggarly way, so that out of their earnings they may spend as little as possible, and to carry out of the country what they can thus save,....this is the aim of the Canadian French in our factory districts." Similar drastic criticism has been made of each succeeding racial group. A mill overseer was thus quoted in 1912 in the "Survey".

"The Slavs and the Latin races are money savers. They come here with greed to save, live in dives until they have accumulated a pot. Their methods allow $1.25 a week for sleeping, four to eight in a room,--with washing, cooking and bread. The Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Saxonized live under our conditions and are self-reliant." It would seem that criticism of the addition of new races to the Lawrence melting-pot was viewed with the same spirit as that described by A. Piatt Andrew in an article in the North American Review, June, 1914, when he says: "It looks as if in the eyes of some Americans the only good immigrants were the dead immigrants, and the only opportunities for the country's development lay in the past".

The most severe criticisms of the new racial groups, however, have usually come from those people who are working in the in-

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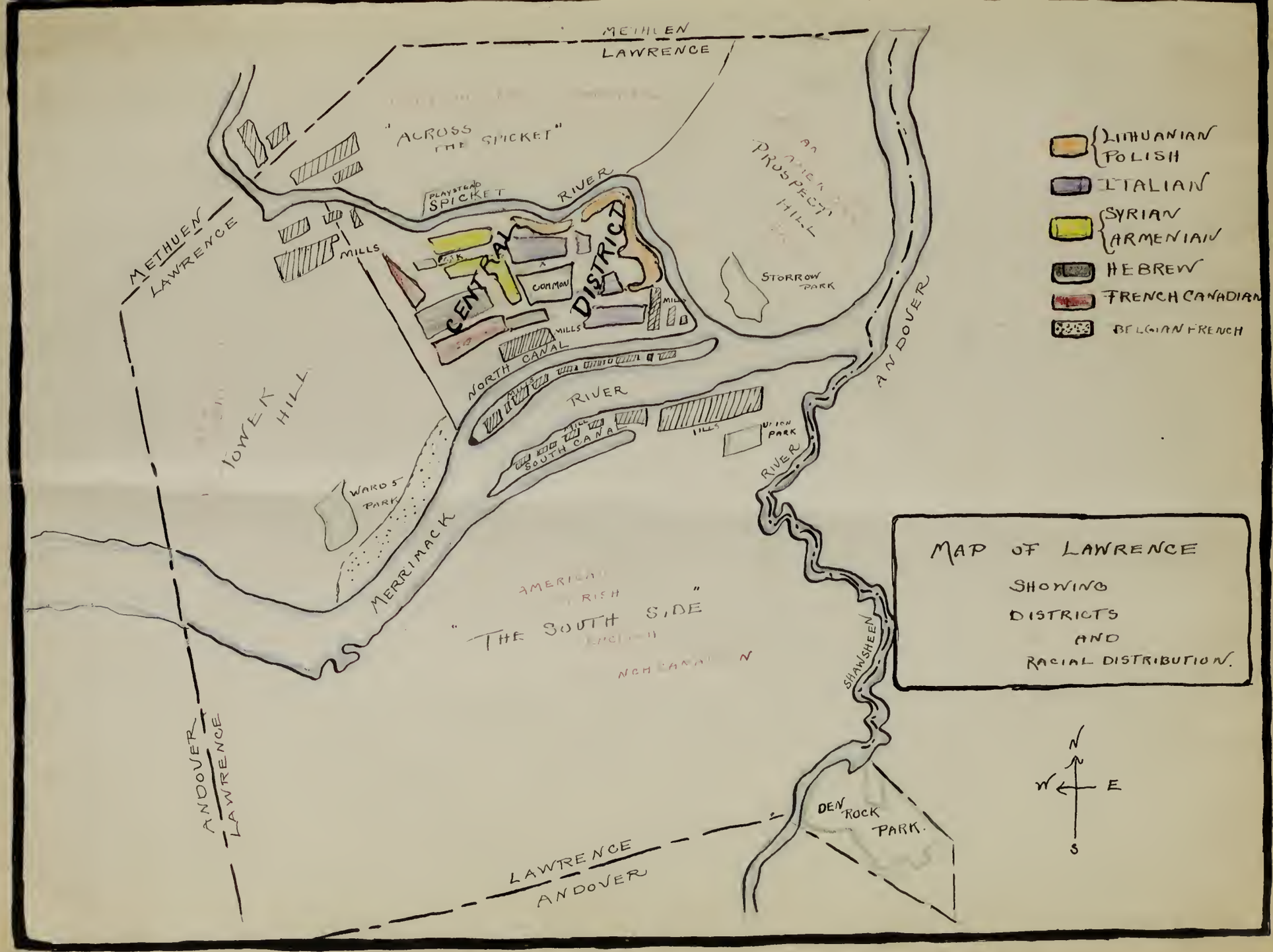
austries to which the immigrant has flocked; and the hostility is probably due, not so much to racial antagonism, as to economic pressure.

II HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT.


MAP OF LAWRENCE
SHOWING
DISTRICTS
AND
RACIAL DISTRIBUTION.
LITHUANIAN
POLISH
ITALIAN
SYRIAN
ARMENIAN
HEBREW
FRENCH CANADIAN
BELGIAN FRENCH
METHUEN
LAWRENCE
"ACROSS THE SPICKET"
PLAYSTEAD
SPICKET
RIVER
PROSPECT HILL
STORROW PARK
CENTRAL DISTRICT
COMMON
MILLS
NORTH CANAL
RIVER
SOUTH CANAL
UNION PARK
ANDOVER
TOWER HILL
WARD 5 PARK
MERRIMACK
"THE SOUTH SIDE"
SHAWSHEEN
DEN ROCK PARK.
N
W
E
S

Housing and Living Conditions of the Immigrant.

Geography of City. Lawrence is situated on a broad and fertile rolling plain on both sides of the Merrimac River about twenty-three miles from the river mouth and about twenty-six miles from Boston. Four hills of moderate height surround the city, which is encircled by the towns of Methuen, Andover and North Andover. Lowell, larger textile city of older growth, is nine miles above it on the Merrimac, and Haverhill, a smaller shoe city, is about the same distance below it on the same river. The Spicket River runs midway in an easterly direction through the northern portion of the city and discharges into the Merrimac River one-half mile below the Shawsheen, --a river which forms part of the eastern boundary of the city. These rivers are navigable for pleasure purposes only, and the Merrimac is practically the only one used even for pleasure craft within the city limits. The city territory extends one mile and one-third north, and one mile and one-fourth south, and about three miles in extreme width east and west. With a total area of 4,577 acres, the city is smaller and more compact than most Massachusetts cities, and moreover, one-third of its population is living on one-thirteenth of its area. The great dam, 900 feet long, crosses the Merrimac obliquely at a little above the center of the city, and running from it are the two canals down along each bank of the river, the larger on the north, the smaller on the south. The most populous districts as well as the mill and business sections have always been on the north side of the river, although perhaps the earliest settlement in Lawrence was the shanty village on the south side of the dam, occupied by the Irish laborers during its construction. The shanties have long since given way to

a permanent settlement, but this settlement and that of the other parts of South Lawrence comprise a relatively small portion of the total population of the city.

City Planning. "The laying out of the city streets curving with the river, and a central common at the heart, midway between the enclosing hills with three outlying parks, was mainly the work of Mr. Storrow, and residents can but commend the way in which it was done. The artistic taste and knowledge of best things, here and abroad, possessed by Mr. Storrow and Mr. Lawrence, prompted them, though they were both stockholders seeking profit, to adopt a course which, for the time, was liberal, broad and progressive", is the comment on the early city planning in a book written in commemoration of the Fiftieth anniversary of the city.

The majority of the mills have always been on the narrow strip of land between the river and the north canal, while the section of the city between the canal and the principal business street of the city has contained the boarding and tenement houses owned by the mills. The housing offered by the mills was never adequate forthe total number of employees, and the majority of operatives have either owned their own homes or rented them from private individuals.

The Central District. The first section built upon was that directly north of the principal business street in the central section of the city. With the exception of the comparatively small numbers of brick houses built by the mills, the majority of the houses were small frame structures accommodating not more than one or two families. These houses were occupied by Americans, Irish and English, but it must be remembered that at the start, the majority of the settlers were native born and the immigration was almost entirely Irish.

This central section north of the Merrimac and south and west of the Spicket is now and always has been not only the most densely populated part of the city, but also the receiving ground for successive groups of new immigrants. In about the center of this densely settled tract is the Common, a park of seventeen acres given to the city, under certain conditions, in the early years by the Essex Company. The streets facing the Common and leading directly from it were evidently planned and selected for the best residences. At present, these streets have not wholly lost their residential aspect, but the encroachments of business and semi-public institutions are noticed, and directly back of this residential fringe are the most densely populated foreign districts of the city. It is practically impossible to reach the City Hall or the main business street from the north side of the river without passing through some section inhabited by recent immigrants.

As the industries expanded and more varied racial groups became a factor in the city's population, there was a corresponding expansion of housing accommodations. The earlier immigrants and the native born gradually moved to the outlying districts, leaving the congested portion for the later arrivals. Certain streets and portions of other streets in this district, however, are still residential, doctors particularly, finding the district a convenient one. On the streets given over to immigrants, small frame houses were replaced by large tenement houses--still of wood--and, inmany cases, every available foot of land was utilized by building several houses on one lot. The alleys which run between the streets in the older part of the city facilitate this method of crowding houses on the lot. For a time the original small frame house moved back on the lot constituted the rear dwelling, but these old houses are being rapidly re-

placed by larger structures. In the central district, where this crowding of houses on the lot is most common, the front house frequently contains a store on the street floor, and while sometimes the entrance to the rear house is from an alley, in many cases there is no entrance save by a narrow passageway between the houses. Until 1875, there were very few three-story frame houses in Lawrence, but since that date, an increasing number of three and four-story frame houses have been built, the majority of which have been at the center. A "Survey of Housing Conditions in Lawrence" was made in 1912, under the direction of the White Fund', and gives the following interesting data.

"In Lawrence, not only is there a rapid increase in the number of families which are being provided for in the larger houses, but there is a steady growth in the process which is crowding houses together at the center of the city....the density of the apartments in the central district is about four and one-half times the density in the rest of Lawrence, and more than twelve times the density in South Lawrence....with Boston's brick center excepted, the map of the Lawrence center is the worst in New England."

In the Federal Investigation of the Lawrence Strike, housing conditions are thus described: "One of the most striking things observed in Lawrence is the large number of rear houses. As before stated, these rear houses are generally reached through passageways between the front buildings. These passageways in the older sections of the city are, in many cases, narrow. A court separates the front and rear buildings. In a few cases the court is less than four feet in width, and in many other cases, where it is ten to fifteen feet in width, the entrance of light and air is seriously interfered with

by porches and ash chutes and by clothes hung out ot dry.....of the total number of 822 rear houses in Lawrence, 145 of them are three stories in height and 51 are four stories high. The existence of the front and rear dwellings seriously interferes with the light and air in many of the apartments. In the older sections of the city, the light is very poor in many of the lower apartments, and the rooms are damp..... The stairways are dark.....The spaces between the front and rear houses are poorly cared for, and in many cases, littered with rubbish.....Practically all the rooms had outside windows, but an outside window which opens into a space only firteen to twenty inches in width between three-story frame houses is of very little practical use so far as the admission of light is concerned."

Recent immigrants are now acquiring property at the center of the city and their first aim is to increase the number of tenements in the property acquired. The report of the Lawrence Building Inspector for 1912 says, "The great increase in the foreign population of this city has brought with it a class of contractors who have little conception of modern construction, and many of whose workmen have barely an elementary knowledge of the building trades. When in this connection, the tendency to use the cheapest of materials is considered, results are such as to cause the gravest apprehension to citizens, who appreciate the importance of substantial construction". The Italians are perhaps the greatest offenders in their methods of remodelling old houses. The roofs of the old two-story and a half houses purchased by them are raised to make room for another tenement and the flat roof so created is fenced in by a high picket fence for use as a clothes-yard. A dove cote is frequently also added, and roof gardens may become a feature of this colony. The work of re-

modelling is done directly by the owners or by carpenters working under no more skilled supervision than that of the owner or an equally unskilled padrone. Some of the worst appearing houses in the center, and indeed, in the city are the result of this hit or miss method of building which, with the common practice of utilizing old lumber for these additions, is not conducive to strength or architectural beauty. While it is a commendable and excellent plan for immigrants to own their own homes, the business of supplying tenements for other people is a different matter, yet the immigrant is acquiring property, not merely as a home, but as an investment. The proper sort of house for tenement use in a crowded section is a problem for a skilled architect. Unfortunately, some of the houses built by immigrants will furnish poor accommodations for a much longer period than the lives of their owners. Not all the bad houses at the center, however, are owned by foreigners, and very few of those owned were originally constructed by them. The bad housing was there before the later immigrant had acquired real estate, but, obviously, there is less and less chance for improvement when the landlords are immigrants with small capital and less knowledge of proper housing. The Armenians, Syrians, Lithuanians, Poles and Hebrews are all, like the Italians, rapidly acquiring tenement house property, and while less apt to indulge in amateur architecture, they show no other advantage over the Italian landlords, and in some cases, a slighter regard for cleanliness. The American custom, no where perhaps more manifest than in Lawrence, of building frame houses complicates the problem of fire hazard and safety. The habits of the immigrant popultaion who inhabit the three and four-story wooden buildings crowded together at the center are not conducive to fire prevention,

since children, alone in the tenement, often kindle the fires, using kerosene for the purpose, while the accumulation of rubbish and loose papers in the yards and cellars wait a spark to start a conflagration. The majority of the newer houses are piped for gas, but in the older ones oil lamps or candles are used. The thing w ich has saved the city from terrific fire loss has been the excellence of the fire department and not the care of the citizens.

Rents. The rents in the central district are not perhaps excessive when one considers the wastefulness of the tenants as regards water, their careless use of property, and the uncertainty of payment. The rents range from $1.75 weekly to $4.00 or even $5.00 for tenements of two to six rooms. During the strike and the months following it, the landlords were forced to allow their tenants to remain, rent free, and either because of strong public opinion or personal reasons, few cases of eviction occurred. Undoubtedly, instances have occurred of exorbitant rents and many tenements with moderate rents are kept in wretched repair, but the $3.00 rent, which is quite usual, is not excessive in a densely populated community like Lawrence.

Overcrowding. To further augment the density of the central population, there is an increasing tendency to sublet a portion of the tenement or take in boarders. While a few of the earlier immigrants are left in the central portion of the city, the later comers from eastern and southern Europe are in the majority, and apparently are not disturbed by overcrowding. The Italians frequently sublet a portion of the tenement to another family, the Poles and Lithuanians take in lodgers or boarders, families of relatives share tenements in the Syrian colony, while the Jewish immigrant often

adds to his already large family a boarder who is a relative near or distant. Of the 188 families visited by the Federal investigators at the time of the strike, 109, or fifty-eight per cent, kept boarders or lodgers. Among the Italians, Poles and Lithuanians, it was found that one-third of the members of the household were boarders and lodgers. This overcrowding is not always necessary for financial reasons, although, when the head of the household is only an unskilled worker, it is almost a necessity for the wife to augment the income by taking in boarders or working outside the home. Occasionally, of course, the custom which is almost universal among the recent immigrants, is carried on when financial need has ceased to exist. A Lithuanian family, the father of which earned a steady wage of $10 or $12, occupied a five-room tenement in a three-tenement block which they owned. Besides the father and mother and four children ranging in age from five to fourteen, this tenement was occupied by five boarders, some of whom were men and some women. The children were well-dressed and clean, two were taking music lessons, the family owned a violin and piano, and in general, the conclusion would be that the boarders were being taken in to provide luxuries and not necessities for the family. The tenement houses are badly enough designed for their original purpose, but as a lodging house they are insufferable, and the addition of adult boarders to the life of a family already large enough to overflow the tenement is often a grave evil, socially and physically. The central district has, then, a threefold crowding, of houses on land, of tenements in the house, and of people in the tenement.

Lighting. On account of the overcrowding of the houses on the land, kitchens are often dark at midday, and the kitchen in

an immigrant household is not only the place where the food is prepared and household tasks accomplished, but the sole living-room the family possesses. It is small wonder that the children prefer the street to a room where the light is never more than a dim twilight. The poor lighting, besides ruining the eyesight, is an important factor in permitting uncleanly and unsanitary conditions. The stairs and public passageways are not only in utter darkness, but also usually cluttered with washing day impedimenta.

At night, the lighting is but little superior. The illumination in the kitchen, the only room lighted at night, as a rule, is usually furnished by a dimly burning lamp or flaring gas jet high on the wall. The smoky, dingy walls furnish a poor reflecting surface and the foreign population very naturally seeks the moving pictures shows, rather than a domestic evening. Recent immigrants rarely bother with such conventional necessities as window shades, and at night it is often possible for the occupants of one tenement to observe all the occurrences--public or private-- of the adjoining tenements. The obvious consequence to premature or immature minds, especially when the moral character of the neighboring tenants is not of the best, is disastrous. Halls and stairways are seldom lighted in the tenement houses, and the social dangers of such unlighted passageways in houses where the street doors are not locked are too apparent to need description.

Hygienic Conditions. Practically all the tenements in the city are piped for city water and the water closet facilities are considered the best in Massachusetts. The older houses are not usually supplied with bathtubs and there is considerable complaint that the plumbing is not kept in repair by the landlords. That a

great number of the recent immigrants are careless and destructive in their use of plumbing, and wasteful of water is a well-known grievance of American landlords. The fallacy, fathered and fostered by commercial interests, that bathtubs in tenement houses will be utilized as coal-bins, has prevented their construction in some cases. No greater necessity exists in a tenement house which accommodates a large family and boarders of mixed sexes than a place for bathing more private than the kitchen sink.

Cleanliness of Immigrants. The standards of cleanliness vary more perhaps among the individual immigrants than among the different races. All the later immigrant races, however, and many of the earlier ones, come to the city, ignorant of city life, conveniences, or conventions. The smaller size of the community, the smaller number of apartments in the house, the common language and less complicated conditions of life were an advantage to the earlier immigrant. The peasant woman who has lived in a stone or earth-floored house finds it difficult to learn that primitive methods of throwing water on the floor and swabbing it with a broom will be disastrous to the ceiling of the apartment below her. The Polish woman who washed the floors of the entire house, then scrubbed down the front steps, and wound up the cleansing process by washing her feet in the pail for the benefit of the street, undoubtedly strove for cleanliness, but excellent as were her motives, her methods were hardly adapted to urban life. Such a procedure might cause no adverse comment, however, in the small village community which was her former home. Similarly, another immigrant when confronted with pile of garbage which she had successfully concealed in the closet, explained the situation by saying that her neighbors had objected to

her throwing it out of the window, and there seemed no other available method of disposing of it. To women for the first time experimenting with an American stove, sink, gas, and running water, housekeeping presents some serious problems, but the aspect of immigrant homes after a few years in the country shows that remarkable progress can be made. The Lawrence immigrants rarely have the opportunity of seeing an American home for a model since the inhabitants of the neighboring tenements are usually immigrants of but few years longer residence. To aid in preserving their property and to Americanize more quickly their immigrant tenants, six landlords of the city, owning 122 tenements, have employed a visiting housekeeper to instruct the foreign women in American housekeeping methods, and to enforce certain standards of cleanliness and care of dwellings. The city also employs inspectors to see that the Board of Health rules are observed.

The personal habits of the Russian Hebrews are not suggestive of excessive personal cleanliness, and he seems to be more often in trouble with the health authorities than any other race. The Jew is anxious to leave the center and live in the Gentile quarter but he is found to be an unwelcome neighbor, not so much because of his Judaism, but because of his unsanitary habits, disregard of health regulations and the tendency of the little children to roam the streets clad in an irreducible minimum of attire. Some of the Jewish immigrants have brought with them old world brass utensils and articles for ceremonial use, but the race as a class have small reputation for household care. A considerable number, however, do not deserve this opprobrium for they have homes well furnished in American fashion and neatly kept. The ceremonial with which the Jewish religion dignifies some of the household tasks should tend to increase the pride

in home keeping. The desire to save is probably a large cause of poor living conditions.

Household Furnishing. The homes of the recent immigrants have one common characteristic, the use of the kitchen for the living room of the family. The kitchen stoves are usually of good make and ten cent stores furnish a variety of kitchen utensils at a slight cost. The double-ended washtub of oblong shape peculiar to the Italians, is furnished by a local carpenter of that race. The interiors of Italian homes often show pleasing vistas of spotless beds piled high in old world fashion, the frames of white-enameled iron or more pretensious brass surmounted with feather beds rising to enormous heightand crowned with crochet-edged pillows. The better class of Italiansoften bring from their native country wool mattresses of peculiar make and bed linen in large quantities. The love of decoration, always manifested by these people, is shown by nailing up bright calendars, and exhibitions of the children's work in school beside the gaudily lithographed pictures of saints,and frequently the dimly glowing taper before such a little shrine testifies that the piety of the Italians is not always discarded on arrival in America. A familiar mural decoration is the circular loaf of rye-bread hung on a nail out of reach of tiny hands. All foreigners readily acquire the American custom of sash and drapery curtains, although the cleanliness, texture and taste of such window decorations leave much to be desired. Tin cans and starch boxes form window gardens in many a tenement for the Italian loves green herbs for culinary as well as decorative purposes.

Until the Italians were seized by the "movie mania", the evenings were passed gaily even in dimly lighted rooms, for while

the father cobbled the shoes for the active feet of Tony and Assunta, and the busy mother sewed and kept a watchful eye on her daughters lest they lack industry in lace making, some of the boarders played "lotto" or games of cards, while the musically inclined enlivened the evening by tunes on the harmonica, accordion,or mandolin, while all occasionally joined in singing Italian songs.

After a few years'residence in the central district, the more ambitious Poles and Lithuanians tend to move to the outlying districts, assuming American luxuries of life, usually beginning with a graphophone which grinds out raucuous music unknown to Chopin. The Polish people are very fond of music, however, and in many a home of quite moderate circumstances,the purchase of a piano or violin shows the musical ambition for the children. In their early years in the country, their houses are often not attractively kept or in cleanly condition. The barest necessities are found such as beds and chairs enough for the occupants, and seldom such commodities as bureaus. The Polish people take less pride in their beds than the Italians. Every room is used as a bedroom save the kitchen, and the multiplicity of boarders and children together with the desire to acquire savings makes for a minimum attempt at household decoration.

The Syrian colony which occupies the western end of a street well-populated with Italians shows but little difference to the casual observer. The Syrians love above all articles of furniture a shiny and ornate brass bed, and aside from that one extravagance have a minimun of furniture.

Food. In no one custom do the immigrants differ so greatly as in their food, yet in all races there is a considerable difference from American food. The operatives, mostly foreign, who

testified at the congressional hearing on the Lawrence strike were unanimous in saying that meat was a weekly and not a daily article of diet. The Italians use but little meat and that usually stewed, but their staple article of diet is macaroni, vegetables dressed with oil, and rye bread. Tomato conserve spread out in every available spot of sunlight is an autumnal sight in the Italian quarter. Many thrifty housewives make their own macaroni, finding it cheaper than the manufactured article. In the spring, Italian women and children are frequent figures on lawns and fields, collecting herbs and dandelions, while summertime finds them incessant berry pickers. Sometimes the herbs and berries are sold to the grocers of the quarter, who also buy mushrooms collected by these same individuals. Green vegetables of all varieties, some strange to Americans, are used by the Italian cooks, and the food is highly seasoned with peppers and sometimes garlic. The condensed variety of milk meets with most favor with the housewives, who consider the care needed for the regular milk an excessive burden, and long for the goats which were driven through the Italian villages and milked at the door. Some Italians use tea but it is a custom almost entirely acquired in this country, and coffee is the more general beverage. Light wines are universally used even among the children of the family, the Italian frequently buying the grapes from vines of American yards and making his own wine. Since most of the Italians are from the province of Sicily, the wine known as Marsala is a favorite beverage. The Italians is quite willing to experiment with American drinks, however, andthe use of beer as well as soda water and ginger ale is quite common. No feast is really complete without American soda water and ice cream.

When the Poles and Lithuanians first entered the mills,

their customary noon meal was a piece of rye bread torn from the loaf and eaten with no more appetizing sauce than cold water. Since they have become more Americanized, a favorite dinner consists of bread and canned fruit eaten direct from the tin, varied sometimes in summer by a cucumber without dressing. Two girls often share a noonday lunch of a five-cent pie or a small pan of bakers' biscuit, and a bottle of milk has replaced water as a beverage. The girls who are boarding and providing their own meals frequently drink a quart of milk daily, and their principal food, aside from this, are the different varieties of bakery products. When meat is used, pork is the favorite kind, and smoked shoulder, salt pork and Polish sausage are the usual varieties. The boarders are, as a rule, furnished bread and soup or coffee by the housewife. The Polish men particularly are heavy drinkers of beer. They, however, do not seem to lose much working time on account of this habit.

The Syrian diet seems to be a rather nutritious one. Lamb and mutton are the favorite meats, and rice forms a considerable part of the diet. Vegetables and fruits constitute a considerable part of the food and garlic is used very freely. The Syrian women make the different varieties of cakes and sweets peculiar to this people.

The peculiar diet rules of the Jews sets them apart from the other races. The varieties of meat eaten must be purchased at kosher shops. Unsalted butter is often made by the individual housewives. The Jewish people use a considerable amount of fresh and salt fish also.

In considering the racial idiosyncrasies in food of the different immigrant races which have come to Lawrence, the food con-

sumed by the earlier immigrants seems more closely resembling that in American families. The Irish, Germans, English, and to some extent, the French Canadians live on a diet of both meat and vegetables, although recent rise in price of meat has caused a curtailing of that article of diet even among families of those races. On the other hand, Italians, Hebrews and Polish people consume relatively samll quantities of meat. That the diet of any one of the newer races is innutritious or unhealthful can hardly be stated. The children of the ignorant immigrant mothers suffer from injudicious feeding of articles suited to an adult diet, but the racial peculiarities of food for the adult are probably less dangerous. The highly seasoned vegetable food of the Italian balanced by his use of macaroni and cheese as articles of diet give a menu quite as capable of sustaining life at a much lower cost than the meat and potatoes which usually constituted the Irish diet. To the peculiar food of the Jews is attributed their longevity and resistance to disease. While the diet of those Polish girls, who away from their homes satisfy with no dietetic advice the craving for sweet and sour common to adolescence, does not seem conducive to health and strength, the diet of the family in the home is perhaps somewhat more rational. Of all the races, the Slavic one seems to give the least example of a balanced ration. The diet of the others, while not attractive to American palates, does not lack in food value or digestibility to persons who are doing, for the most part, heavy work. The bread and cheese diet of the European peasant, the pork and beans diet of the New England lumberman, and the more diversified menues of the recent immigrants all satisfy a real need in the cravings of a people engaged in heavy labor.

Fuel. There is rarely any fire in the immigrant tenement save in the kitchen stove and often in Polish and Lithuanian homes the fire is kindled only to prepare a meal. The Poles, Lithuanians and Jews suffer less from the cold New England winters than the immigrants from warmer climes. On account of the small closet and storeroom facilities it is quite customary for the races living at the center to buy coal and wood in very small quantities. It is also the custom for the women and children of the immigrant races to collect kindling from houses in process of construction, boxes from stores, and the coal is replenished by pickings from the tracks and the dump. It is not always the poorest families who are most incessant and insistent scavengers, for often this habit is caused by a desire to acquire property and by stinginess. Before the passage of the state law prohiting children from dump picking, among the group of juvenile dump pickers who went dailyto this unhealthful task, were the children of an Italian landlord, owner of a twelve-tenement block in the city and of a farm in Pleasant Valley, the daughter of a prosperous Polish storekeeper, and the children of a contractor. It was not the need but the greed of the parents that sent children on such tasks.

Clothing. The Polish and Lithuanian people become the most rapidly Americanized as to costume. Merchants generally consider them good customers who will pay almost any price for a desired article. The women willingly buy the latest frills, and desire, moreover, to be shown just how the purchased article should be worn. The congregations on their way to the Polish and Lithuanian churches on Sunday morning are remarkably well-dressed in by no means cheap attire. Their color schemes are somewhat garish but in

general the costumes are close copies of the latest mode. The children of school age are usually neatly dressed, as a rule, in ready-made garments, but those too young to go to school are clad in a minimum of clothing. At their work, either at home or in the mill, the women do not dress neatly. The favorite costume inside the mill is a slip-over apron, often worn in lieu of a dress, while at home the slatternly appearing housewife is frequently in her bare feet.

Although the second generation of Italians affects American clothing entirely, the older generation rarely becomes thoroughly Americanized in appearance. The older women wear voluminous skirts and very full aprons, and usually wear a gaily colored neck kerchief, if not a colored head scarf. The older men are satisfied with ordinary rough clothes, brightened by a gay tie, but the younger ones love showy clothing of noticeable color. Imitation fur coats are very generally worn by the women in the wintertime, but uncovered heads are by no means unusual throughout the year for both young and old. The Italian women dress their hair with elaborate combs and are thus more willing to dispense with hats. The Italian children are more apt to wear clothes made at home than the other nationalities, and patches of every size and shade testify to the mother's thrift. The children of all the foreign nationalities have the habit of wearing their clothes in layers, and in this respect, the Italians are perhaps the worst offenders. One Italian school boy in a heated room had on three blouses, one on top of the other, a vest and a coat. This multiplicity of garments is worn in place of underwear, which is seldom owned by the children of poorer parents. The Italian love for color is shown in their choice of wearing apparel. Economy in purchasing cloth in large quantities is a noticeable

feature in clothing children. One family in the central school was easily recognizable by the peculiar blue check blouse worn by all from the fourteen-year older to the five-year older. Another family specialized in a large black and white plaid, and still another family of boys brightened the classrooms by wearing blouses made of a brilliantly flowered material, generally used for kimonas.

Syrian and Armenian girls love American finery, and dress quite tastefully in new world style, but the older married women wear black very frequently and for a head-dress the black lace scarf, draped like a Spanish mantilla. The young girls love showy jewelry and receive elaborate gifts of watches and bracelets when they become brides.

The Jew is rapidly removing all traces of foreign attire. Only the old men wear beards, and wigs are almost a thing of the past for the women. The school children are very well dressed. The younger children are sometimes not very clean, and the boys are rather careless about their personal appearance, but the older boys and girls are usually well clad in quite tasteful attire. Jewish girls are frequently very pretty and affect the very latest styles in coiffure and attire.

Life on the Streets. The streets in the center of the city are broad, straight, and in many cases, paved, with wide sidewalks in good condition. The district receives as much if not more attention from the street cleaners than any other portion of the city and yet the litter of old boxes, papers, and rubbish of all kinds makes passage through the district a disagreeable sensation. Peelings from bananas and oranges dropped on the sidewalk instead of into barrels, papers torn and scattered to the four winds of heaven, doors, steps, and walls chalked over with pictures and writing, fence pickets whittled andbroken, show the lack of civic pride in the rising gen-

eration, for the condition is largely due to the children. A janitor or caretaker is an imperative necessity for some of the large tenement dwellings, since when dozens of families share an entrance no one feels the responsibility of keeping it clean, and when the yard is common no one clears away the rubbish. Education in these matters would remedy the condition and although many of the evils are due to the children, the schools can not with profit assume supervision of street cleaning in addition to their already heavy burdens. The pupils are frequently instructed in the duties of cleanliness in regard to the streets, but until the parents enforce the practice of cleanliness and tidiness, the academic instruction will be of little avail. The paved streets in the district are kept clean by the street cleaners, and the Board of Health is doing considerable educational work in posting clean-up signs in the different languages in the foreign neighborhoods, as well as installing Civic Pride boxes for waste and organizing clean-up weeks for the children. The Municipal League has also issued literature on the subject and stimulated the children's enthusiasm by offering prizes to children having gardens in the tenement district.

Some of the streets running the length of the central district include several different nationalities, and the character of the street shows a distinct change with each racial group. One street, purely Italian at its beginning, becomes the dwelling place of a mingled population of Jewish, French, Portuguese, and some colored people at its end. Another street starting out with a combination of an Italian and Polish colony ends up in the Syrian and Armenian quarter. As the different races work side by side in the mills, so they live side by side in their homes, and while certain nationalities flock

to a certain section, it is not altogether unusual to have several different races under one roof.

The streets in the central district and the Common at its heart are becoming more andmore, especially in warm weather, the living rooms of the immigrant population. The Italians more particularly than any other race congregate in the streets. The majority of that race in Lawrence come from Naples, Southern Italy, or Sicily, and they bring with them their habits of gregarious living. The men form groups, smoking, talking, and gesticulating as only the Latin can; the women sit at the doors or hang out the windows; and the children select the most travelled part of the street for their play. The small store where the entire family, including the baby and the dog, spend their days shelters often a group of neighborhood gossips. Occasionally the card players have their table set in the courtyard or passageway. Family disputes and reconciliations are alike open to the public gaze. On hot nights, the entire population moves to the Common and the grass is covered by family groups.

The Syrian colony presents a somewhat similar picture. The men are more frequently to be found inside the coffee-houses which are a characteristic of this district, and the women are even more assiduous in the handwork than the Italians, and work is finer and more elaborate. The peculiar high notes of the Syrian voice and the increasing swarthiness of the people are the principal distinguishing note to the street of the Syrian colony.

The Polish and Lithuanian children play on the streets as frequently as the children of other races, but the adults do not so frequently congregate there, although the women hang over the fences occasionally in attitudes expressive of the most complete and passive

indifference.

The streets in the Jewish quarter are crowded with their characteristic pawn shops, where anything not absolutely worthless finds refuge under the three balls. The push carts of the peddlers and the live chickens displayed outside the kosher butcher shops are a typical Jewish note. The children swarm all over the place, but the adults, except for some venerable graybeard too old to work, are seldom seen loitering on the streets.

Social Events. Weddings, christenings, and funerals are the social events in the immigrant quarter. The Polish weddings with their usual accompaniment of unrestrained beer drinking have become a dangerous element in the social life. The Polish and Lithuanian immigration is practically all of young people, and thus the restraint of the older folk is lacking on these festive occasions. Money is spent more freely on strong liquor than in the old country, with unhappy results of fighting and other social evils. The most serious troubles among these people are caused during the laxity of behaviour attendant upon such celebrations. The wedding usually includes a dance. The invited guests instead of giving presents, as is the American custom, give money. The wedding feast is not elaborate usually.

The Italian wedding celebration usually includes a tour of the foreign quarter in hacks or automobiles. The gayly dressed bride and the wedding party to the cousin of the remotest degree are driven around the town, the expedition usually ending with photographing of the happy pair. The Italian girls are rather strictly supervised before marriage and are seldom permitted to go on the streets at night without older persons. They give in their entire wages to the family budget, but as a usual thing money is set aside for their

marriage portion. Syrian girls as well as Italian ones marry very early. Usually the Syrian bridegroom is much older than the bride but this is not so common among the Italians. Girls of sixteen are considered quite old enough for marriage in the Italian colony.

The Jewish immigrants are also noted for their celebration of the marriage ceremony. For the proper celebration, a hall is hired, and dancing and a general good time follows the ceremony. The Jewish girl, like the Italian, still has the old world dowry even if she come of humble parents.

With the Italians, the christenings are even more social gathering than the weddings, and often the baptism is postponed until the necessary amount is secured to have a feast. The godfather and godmother are quite important features in the child's life and often make substantial gifts to them. Similarly, the circumcision of the Jewish boys is a ceremonial which is combined with festivity.

On the festal day of a patron saint, the Italian quarter is gaily decorated with bunting and flags and illuminated by electric bulbs strung in designs, Japanese lanterns and the small Italian tapers. On the festival night, the entire population is on the street and processions, music and firing of cannon end the exciting day. In direct contrast are the observances of the religious holidays of the Jews. The entire religious ceremonial, rich often in detail and significance, is carried on within the house or the synagogue, and one passing on the streets would have no knowledge of the holiday time, save by the closed shops and air of quiet.

Racial Characteristics of Central District. In the central district of the city are represented all the races of the later immigration. Their various characteristics have been taken up in

detail except for the Greeks, Armenians and Turks who have come to the city only in small numbers.

The Greeks who form but an insignificant part of the population are mostly in the western part of the central portion. The immigration of this race is mostly male, and there is little family life. The Portuguese who are a comparatively small racial group, comprising less than 400 at the last census, live almost entirely in the lower part of the central section on a street near the business district. The families seem to be very poor, for the most part. The children in the schools are frequently confused with the Italian, the racial similarity being great. While the majority of the Armenians live under similar conditions and in adjacent quarters ot the Syrian colony, a small group have made their homes among the Germans on Prospect Hill. Their arrival was at first looked upon with disfavor but their apparent prosperity has made their advent less unwelcome. There are some Turks in the city besides the Syrians and Armenians who come from Turkey, but the immigration of these people, like that of the Greeks, is almost entirely masculine, and merges into the Syrian population. The Chinese of whom there are but 56 in the city are usually situated in the central district and their laundries form a characteristic note on the streets.

Immigrants and Their Descendants Away From the Central District. While some of theearlier immigrants and the native born still live in the central districts, the majority of these races are now living away from the center and in the more or less outlying districts. What their habits of life were when in the central district is not a valuable subject for comparison with that of the present population since housing conditions at the center are so radi-

cally different today than even a decade ago. When these earlier races lived at the center, they were housed in much less crowded quarters, in a much less congested district than in the present day, and it would be manifestly unfair to blame the particular races now inhabiting the central districts for evils for which bad housing is alone responsible.

The English, Irish and Scotch. The Irish in their exodus from the central district left their early quarters, familiarly known as the "Plains" and"Irishtown",to the Syrians and Italians, and first moved northward to a district called "Across the Spicket". Near this district and similar to it is a section occupied chiefly by operatives in the Arlington Mills--a group of mills built later and in a different section of the city than the original mills and utilizing the water power of the Spicket rather than the Merrimac. A large number of English people coming to work in this mill sought tenements and boarding places in this district adjacent to their work, and although the mill furnished no tenements, the district soon acquired a tenement house population. Similarly, the expansion and building of new mills on the south side of the Merrimac River caused a similar settlement in that part of the city. These settlements are mainly British in character, although French Canadians settled just south of the Arlington district and on the south side of the river in later years. These districts for the most part house the more recent immigrants of the British races and those of the earlier immigration who are content to remain in tenements or who desire housing accommodations near some particular mills, although Polish and Jewish people are gradually invading the section. The houses in these sections were originally cottages or two-family frame houses but the rapidly

appearing stretches of three-decker tenement houses will repeat sooner or later the poor conditions of lighting and crowding on land and tenement shown in the central district. The streets and sidewalks are not usually as good as those in the central section, although rapid improvements are being made in this direction. The general absence of tree planting takes away from the attractive appearance of the section. In general the poorest representative of both English and Irish are taken as typical of these districts, not because they are characteristic of the whole population but because their proclivities put them more strongly before the public eye. Scores of sober and industrious workmen, who live in these districts blush unseen for their brawling.counrtymen who disgrace the streets when under the influence of John Barleycorn. The saloon on the street floor of a tenement house and the location of many such places in the district render temptation easy to the intemperate. In those households where the heads of the family are victims of intemperance, there is no advance in standards of cleanliness or thrift over recent immigrants. Fortunately, the majority of the English, Irish and Scotch, when removed form the bad influence of tenement life and proximity of saloons have standards fully as high as the native born.

The majority of the English, Scotch and Irish immigrants and their descendants cannot be found in any one section but are scattered throughout the city in residences of the best type the city affords and in no way distinguish themselves, either in the upkeep of their homes or their manner of living, from the native born. In fact, so complete is the assimilation that the word immigrant hardly seems to apply to these people, who seem completely fused to American standards. The small size of the city has madethe more prosper-

ous residents and those desiring suburban life move to the surrounding towns where with the use of automobiles, the p easures of city and country life are combined.

The Germans were perhaps the one racial group which formed the exception to the rule of beginning life at the center, for the thrifty Teutons were early in the outlying districts. The tiny cottages surrounded with vegetable and flower gardens, characteristic of the German colony, have always dotted the slopes of Prospect Hill in the eastern part of the city, although some of the German settlement has been on the eastern edge of the"Across the Spicket" district. The German keeps his house in order and his garden in flourishing condition. The majority own their own homes, but often those who pay rent have a share in the land for a garden, and find an occupation and no doubt a pleasure in gardencraft after a day in the mill. One sagacious German had his garden planted where it was well lighted by the bright rays of the neighboring street lamp so he could cultivate it after the sun had set. Some of the Germans have moved over the border line to Methuen cultivating small lots and raising poultry. The German colony which is perhaps the best appearing section of moderately priced homes in the city is fast feeling the blight of the three-decker, for the money-loving son of the Fatherland sees the profits in three rents instead of one, and is erecting a block in his yard instead of cultivating a garden there, to the detriment of the appearance and the character of the district. Elmer S. Forbes, chairman of the Housing Committee, Massachusetts Civic League, writes thus of the three-decker problem: "The 'three-decker' is terribly destructive of surrounding property values. Let one be built ona good residence street and the selling price of a nearby place is automati-

cally cut in two".

The Germans live economically but decently. The children are well clothed and cared for, but all the members of the family from the grandmother to the baby assist in the economic production. There are no drones in the German hive and the worst that can be said of this hardworking people is their willingness to send their children to work as soon as the legal age is acquired. The more progressive are fast seeing the profit in educational advantages, however. Although the German loves his house and his garden, he also enjoys social intercourse with his neighbors, and the entire family spend their evenings in the German halls and club-houses, where beer drinking is part of the evenings' entertainment. Drunkenness among this race seems as rare as total abstinence , and temperance seems to be the racial virtue. The German's love for music is proverbial, as well as his approval of gymnastic exercise. The Christmas festivities beloved of German children are quite the rule in the district, and a passerby may see the brightly lighted Christmas tree where candles and glazed gingerbread figures and marvellous German toys are gazed upon with admiration.

The French Canadians are gradually disappearing from the central districts and moving to the western side of the city or the south side of the river. The districts formerly occupied by the French Canadians are being filled with Jews. The French are quiet and orderly in a neighborhood and keep to themselves as completely as possible. The families are large and the tenements are often overcrowded, but the Frenchman rarely takes boarders into the family circle. The French lodging or boarding houses are a separate institution from the family life usually. The French live cheaply, dress taste-

fully and work faithfully, and desire to mingle neither with other races or the native born. French girls occasionally marry Irish men, however. The French, like many of the other immigrant race, prefer pork to any other meat and their diet is considerably different from the American one. The feather beds and the hand-woven rag-carpets are being discarded in Canadian households for American furnishings of far less beauty.

The Belgian-French, and the French from France, have a settlement on the northwestern bank of the Merrimac near an older colony of Irish immigrants. Others of these races are scattered throughout the central district, and a small group have taken up their abode in the German colony. Outwardly there is little difference in the living and housing conditions of these people from those of the French Canadians. The Franco-Belgians, however, have a co-operative association which is of value in reducing the cost of living.

The Swedish people of whom there are less than 200 by the last census live mostly on the south side of the river, and have become Americanized to a degree almost undistinguishable from the native born.

Recent Housing under Mill Control. One of the largest corporations in Lawrence, the Wood Mill, has since 1907 built houses for 142 families. There are twelve one-family houses for overseers; fifty-two cottages; forty-two tenements in two-story brick houses; and three six-family frame houses. These houses are considered superior to most houses erected by manufacturing companies. The twelve one-family houses and the fifty-two cottages are very attractive dwellings, but they filled no great need in the community. It has always been possible for overseers to obtain suitable dwellings; the

erection of these houses, however, has given the operative a good, detached house for a small rent. The brick houses, while attractively planned, are so situated facing the tracks that they can hardly be classed as extremely pleasant buildings. The three-story frame houses built by the mills have no particular superiority over the commercially built houses. Themill operatives have not been over-anxious to hire these houses.

The "Lawrence Survey" in commenting on these houses says, "In view of the fact that this Company employs from three to four thousand operatives who rent apartments, the 142 apartments in these good houses are as a drop in a bucket. If any one asserts that the purpose of the corporation in maintaining the houses as a financial burden is to benefit the employees, he should be asked whether the method is not still missing fire like an old flint-lock gun". The Wood Mill is noted for its employment of Italian and South European help, but these races find housing accommodations in the crowded tenements on the north side of the river, not in these model tenements.

It would seem to the casual observer, that the building of these houses necessarily for the better class of employees has been entered upon more for the purpose of advertising the American Wooden Company than for any altruistic effort toward the mass of the help.

For a five cent fare on the electric cars, it is possible to reach a farming district on all sides of the city. A former country club estate was sold recently in small house lots and the purchasers, in the main, were Italian immigrants. This colony, known as Pleasant Valley, presents a distinctly foreign appearnance.

The houses, mostly amateur construction, are of the shack variety, and ocassionally a house resembling the three-decker of the tenement district is seen. The scenic effect of the colony is distructive to the landscape, and judging from the comment of the older farmers in the district, the advent of the immigrant farmer with his family of young children continually on the forage for fruit and vegetables, is not an unmixed joy. Many of these farmers occupy their farms only in the summer and return to the crowded tenement district in the winter months. The Italian seems to have adaptability as a truck-farmer, but this settlement has hardly been long enough in existence to judge of its outcome. Syrians, Armenians and Portuguese have also gone in for small-scale farming, but there has been as yet no decided colony of these races. The Poles and Lithuanians have had one or two individuals make the attempt, but the Italian is the one colony of any considerable size.

Housing of unmarried girls and men. The housing of non-family groups will always be a problem in an industrial center. Married men come before their families to prepare the new home and earn sufficient money for the passage over of the rest of the family. This custom has nothing novel about it since it was followed by all the immigrant races, and while fraught necessarily with dangers, cannot be absolutely condemned. Unmarried men, always among those most willing to immigrate, must have housing accommodations. Since the textile industry has always been, to some degree, a woman's industry, there is also an immigration of young women to be considered. Polish and Lithuanian girls venture the long voyage from their native country and begin industrial life in America at a very early age, and with no more guardianship than that furnished by a cousin

or a former neighbor. Syrian and Armenian girls also come, but usually with a relative, and while the older male members of the family remain at home, the young men are very willing to immigrate. The young Italian men are more apt to immigrate than the women who seldom come alone unless to a relative or to their husbands. The earlier Irish immigration sent as many single girls as men, and the Irish influx now is more usually single men or women that family groups. The German and French Canadian was almost entirely a family immigration. The Jewish is, like the German, a family affair almost wholly.

The corporations in the beginning had cognizance of the difficulty of housing a non-family population and the mill boarding houses, with their strict rules together with the small size fo the community were a powerful incentive to morality. Men and women were not allowed to board at the same house, and inmates were required to retire to their respective rooms at the hour of closing--ten o'clock--and stay there until morning. "No tenement was to be leased to persons of immoral or intemperate habits, and any tenant who after occupancy, shall be found to be of such habits, or to recieve boarders of such habits, will be notified to vacate the premises." So run the oldtime rules of one corporation. The direct and somewhat strict supervision of mill boar ing houses by the agents or other mill officials made city life safe for the native born country girls and the young female immigrants who came alone to mill work.

The census of 1875--a date previous to the new immigration--shows that of the operatives of that time, 3,069 were boarders, 831 being males and 2,238 females, while the number at home was 6,235--3,127 being males and 3,108 females--making the number at home two-

thirds and the boarders one-third of the total operatives.

From the last census of 1910, there was no great preponderance of males over females of the foreign born population, as is sometimes the case in immigrant communities, the numbers being 19,479 and 18,644 females. Of the men 6,625 or 34% were single, while of the women, 5,254 or 28.2% were single. Of the total population native and foreign born, 30,836 were males and 30,757 were females, and 41% of the men and 37.4% of the women were single. It will be seen by these statistics that there is in the community no great difference in numbers of immigrant men and women. This equality in the numbers of the sexes is probably due to the industry--the textile mills employing women as well as men in the different processes.

The mills no longer offer boarding accommodations for anywhere near the number requiring them, and such corporation boarding houses which remain in existence are not generally used by the recent immigrants. While some non-family groups of Italian and Greek men have adopted the system known as the "boarding boss", that is, hiring a tenement and living in groups of ten and twenty with one housekeeper, a still larger number board with families in the tenements. The woman of the tenement sometimes cooks the food provided by the boarders, but in other cases the boarders buy and prepare their own food. In very few cases is the food furnished prepared for the boarders. The tenements thus used as boarding houses are not built in any way to adapt them to the purpose. The bedrooms usually open on and are only heated by the kitchen, the bathroom is common to the family and the boarders, and cases are not unknown where the boarders share rooms and beds with children or adults in the family, while in extreme cases, when the mills are running full time, two sets of

boarders are using the same rooms--one set working days and one set working nights. The usual reason for taking boarders is that the children are too young for the mother to leave for mill work and additional money is needed for necessities. The crowding of too many people in a small number of small poorly ventilated rooms is in itself unsanitary, but its social effects are alike detrimental to the family and the boarders. No living room is available save the crowded kitchen, and no supervision of the young people for the first time away from home and exposed to the temptations of the new country can be given by the overworked, indifferent or ignorant housekeeper. The unmarried girl is oftentimes, by her ignorance of American laws and customs, at the mercy of her unscrupulous fellow countryman who tells her that the formalities of the marriage service are dispensed with in America, and shows her a marriage license, or what he professes to be one, in place of the proper legal or clerical procedure. The lack of privacy is equally hard on the boarder and on the young children of the family, who grow up without any family life, but regard the home merely as a place for sleeping and eating. In some cases, where the children of the family are of school age, the mother of the family works in the mill, leaving the lodgers who are out of work or those working at night and the children of the family together in the tenement. The very common practice among the lodgers of keeping their savings in their trunks instead of depositing them in the bank offers an opportunity for theft to those youngsters whose desire for pocket money for "movies" or cigarettes is stronger than their honesty. The overcrowded conditions of the tenement tend to personal uncleanliness. The children come dirty to school because there is no place to wash up but the kitchen sink and the kitchen is so occupied by boarders as

are too young

to make a private bath impossible.

Of the 188 households of immigrant textile workers visited by Federal investigators of the Lawrence strike, 109 or 58% kept lodgers or boarders.

Moreover, the lower cost of living afforded by this tenement house accommodation is a menace to American standards. The immigrant lodger who pays $3 or $4 a month for lodging in a crowded tenement and feeds himself or herself on bakers' bread and canned goods can afford to work for a lower wage than either the American or the less recent immigrant single person who has to pay $5 or $6 a week board, or to the American wage earner who does not wish to destroy the privacy of the home by taking in boarders.

The lodging houses on commercial lines have not been particularly successful. Oftentimes the women running them are strictly honorable and desire to keep a respectable house, but they find it hard or impossible to discriminate between applicants for rooms, especially since there is such a small margin of profit. In other cases, the proprietress condones laxity of behaviour on the part of the lodgers because she considers her only interest is their financial standing, while still others, unfortunately, are only too willing to foster improper conditions. The lodging house, moreover, is not as congenial a spot for the later immigrant as the flat whose housekeeper speaks the same language and comes, maybe, from the same district. The immigrant Polish or Lithuanian girl who, no doubt, prefers the noise and discomfort of a crowded tenement of a fellow countryman does not go to a room in a lodging house managed by a different race.

It is quite evident from knowledge of the living and hous-

ing conditions of the recent immigrants that their standards of living are far different from the typically American standards. The overcrowding of individuals in the tenements and the relatively small expenditures for any but the barest necessities is a condition one finds hards to reconcile with the popular conception of the life of the American workman.

President Mitchell of the United States Mine Workers of America describes his idea of American standards of living: "In cities of from five thousand to one hundred thousand inhabitants, the American standard of living should mean, to the ordinary unskilled workman with an average family, a comfortable house of at least six rooms. It should mean a bathroom, good sanitary plumbing, parlor, dining room, kitchen, and sufficient sleeping room that decency may be preserved and a reasonable degree of comfort maintained. The American standard of living should mean, to the unskilled workman, carpets, pictures, books and furniture with which to make his home bright, comfortable and attractive for himself and his family, an ample supply of clothing for winter and summer, and above all, a sufficient quantity of good, wholesome, nourishing food at all times of the year." With wages now earned at the woolen and cotton industries, such a standard of life is, obviously, impossible.

III THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT.

III The Economic Status of the Immigrant.

The Immigrant in Industry. The primary industry of Lawrence has always been that of the textile mills, and while smaller industries have always existed, their object, with a few exceptions, is to furnish something needed in the mills. The textile industry includes, in Lawrence, both cotton, and woolen and worsted manufacture. Lawrence is now especially prominent in the manufacture of worsteas, and in 1912 the federal investigators of the textile strike in Lawrence brought out the fact "that fully one half of the population fourteen years of age or over is employed in the woolen and worsted mills, and approximately 60,000 (including employees and members of their families) of the 85,892 people living in Lawrence are directly dependant upon earnings in these textile mills". Lawrence, fourth in rank of the manufacturing cities of Massachusetts, has both the largest woolen mills and the larges cotton print works in the United States. The text le industry in the city has always been an immigrant occupation, although the percentage of foreign and native-born is much different from the earlier days. The development and expansion of the textile industry has stimulated the immigration to the city of the numerous races which now inhabit it. W. J. Lauck, formerly in charge of the investigations of the United States Immigration Commission, sums up the situation in Lawrence as follows:

"Only about one-eighth of the woolen and worsted mill operatives at the present time are native Americans. Slightly more than three-fifths are foreign born, chiefly immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. The remainder are the native born children of parents

born abroad. During the past twenty years, the American and the British and the Northern European immigrants have been rapidly leaving the mills, owing to the pressure of the competition of the recent immigrant. The South Italian, Polish and North Italian are the three principal races of Southeastern Europe engaged inthe industry, while the English, Irish and German of the races of the past immigration are represented in the largest numbers."

In general, the immigration of textile operatives to Lawrence was more of a family type than that of Lowell although a considerable portion of the textile workers lived in the corporation boarding houses during their first stay in the city. The corporations in Lawrence, while they built some boarding houses, did not go so deeply into the scheme of housing female help as the Lowell mill owners because while American girls came to the city from neighboring and back country farms and from other mill towns, the Irish girls who came also, in ever increasing numbers, spent but a short time in boarding houses, for they were soon joined by their families. The textile population at the start was probably two-thirds American and one-third foreign, with the Irish by far the dominant racial group of the foreign. The American mill workers were some of them possessed of mill experience in other textile centers, but the Irish, although rapidly passing to positions of more or less skill, had practically no previous experience. The English workers who came to the mills a little later were skilled workers from Yorkshire and Lancashire, the textile districts of England where the greatest advance in skilled workmanship and trade unionism has been made. They were more willing to remain in the mills and to send their children into them than either the Americans or the Irish, possibly because their previous environ-

ment in English mill towns accustomed them to the industry as a permanent occupation. The Germans, coming to the city at the same time, furnished a considerable quota of skilled workers of textile experience in Bavaria and Saxony, and they, like the English, were content to allow the second generation to enter the mill. Skilled weavers came from the cotton and silk districts of France, but the Canadian French who came during the period following the Civil War, although they had no previous experience, by adaptability and industry rapidly worked their way up in the mills, particularlyin the cotton mills. Each succeeding race is apt tobegin at the roughest and most unskilled labor, and only a small portion of the immigration which came since the '90's has progressed beyond the rough unskilled work. With the invention and perfection of modern mill machinery, there is less and less need of skill on the part of the textile worker and a wider use for untrained labor.

The comparative efficiency of the different races is not easily ascertained or determined. The characteristics essential for a good mill worker under present conditions would seem to be industry, sobriety, a temperament which can withstand the monotony of repeated tasks, a certain amount of health and a fair amount of intelligence. The Irish would not seem to possess these qualities in a maximum amount and to have temperamental qualities not desirable in a textile worker. The Celt is a creative, an imaginative, and an essentially social being, and none of these qualities are essential or desirable in an industrial unit. The descendants of the craftsmen who designed the Cross of Cong, Tara brooch and the Book of Kells have made no noticeable progress in textile designing in America, and yet their capability of invention and enrichment of design is shown by the work of the modern

lace-makers of the South of Ireland and the linen-makers of the North. The American mills with their marvelous development of machinery have not, however, developed the aptitude for design in this racial group since the Irish in the mills have been less successful than has their race been in any other calling in America. Perhaps if industrial training had been the educational opportunity of the Irish immigrant, the race, as a whole, would have been more willing to remain in the textile industry and less anxious to gravitate to professional and commercial fields. The more phlegmatic English temperament and the steadiness and stolidity of the Germans have made them valuable additions to the industrial world. The monotony of the work does not seem to pall upon them or upon their temperamental opposites--the French Canadians. The German, the French and the Belgian operatives, like the Irish, have a heritage rich in industrial art, and members of those races, in the homeland are in the foremost ranks of designers. Germany's system of trade and design schools have given her this industrial pre-eminence. Among the new workers, the Poles are in many cases preferred because they are less excitable than the Italians and somewhat more skillful. The Polish weavers, if one can believe current report of their fellow workers, the remnants of an earlier day, do not acquire any excessive skill nor have recent industrial developments shown them of a particularly pacific nature. The men of that race, however, have a certain strength and stolidity which, coupled with habits of industry and willing ness to work, makes them valuable for heavy labor. Syrians are most often found in spinning rooms and seem to reach their maximum of efficiency in that sort of work.

The immigrant of all classes who has come to industrial America has been used more for his strength than his skill and the

children of the immigrants, through the combination of lack of industrial training and ambition to leave the industry occupied by the parents, are very little higher in the industrial world than the parents if they remain in it at all. It is the tendency of the ambitious immigrant parent of any race to train his child to obtain a position outside of the textile world. About the only race which has shown any variances to this rule is the English who have taken advantage of the textile training offered to prepare their children for positions of skill in the mill. The Irish, as far as the second generation is concerned, are not sending into the mills the most ambitious or progressive of their race. The Canadian French and the Germans are progressing no higher than their predecessors on account of particular training, but are occupying the more skilled positions because the lower grade positions are filled by the more recent immigrant. The later immigrants have not been in the country long enough to form any opinion of their stability in the industrial world, but at present they seem to enter the textile industry simply for monetary reasons. As the textile industry is constituted at present there is apt to be little joy in the work for the worker is simply a tender of a machine and can have no creative power or sense of achievement. The number of skilled workers is relatively small to the total number employed.

Perhaps the most serious effect of textile work upon the health of employees is to foster a tendency to tuberculosis. In the cotton mills, in the earlier days, the use of shuttles threaded with the breath spread the disease among the Irish who were perhaps particularly susceptible to it. Among the women operatives, certain occupations in the mills have a bad physical effect because of the continual standing or stretching over the machines. Women are for-

bidden by law to work in the factories at night or more than ten hours a day and fifty-four hours a week. There is also a law forbidding the employment of women two weeks before and four weeks after child-birth, and it is probably obeyed as far as conditions after birth are concerned. It is the custom of the foreign women to work almost until the day of child birth. This fact, together with the ignorance of child feeding and care noticeable among recent immigrants, no doubt is a contributory cause of the high rate of infant mortality in Lawrence,

Certain occupations in the mills are dirty and disagreeable and others involve a varied amount of exposure to intense heat and also to dampness. Such a combination has a serious effect on some nationalities--notably the Italian--who are pre-disposed to rheumatism. The nervous strain of monotonous machine tending takes its toll in increased nervousness and listlessness among the employees. The nervous diseases are particularly disastrous to the immigrant since he has small chance of sympathetic treatment or prolonged rest.

The textile industry as manifested in Lawrence is not particularly hazardous, although there are many opportunities for accidents to ignorant or careless operatives. The employees are protected, however, under the Workmen's Compensation Act of Massachusetts, in case of injury.

Buildings. The modern factories of Lawrence are built in accordance with State laws and are usually safe and comparatively healthful places of employment. The majority of the mills have systems of ventilation and the health conditions are generally good. Some of the more recent buildings have escalators to convey the operatives to the upper floors. Yet in spite of these modern improvements, the newer mills lack certain natural advantages possessed by the older ones. The erection of immense buildings has removed the air spaces and pleasant vistas which were featuresof the old days. In a book called

"Loom and Spindle" written by a pioneer Yankee factory girl, Harriet Robinson, is the following comparison between old and new conditions: "The cotton factories themselves are not so agreeable nor so healthful to work in as they used to be. Once they were bright, well-ventilated and moderately heated; sunlit windows, cheerful views, and fresh air from all points of the compass. But these buildings are now usually made into a solid mass of connecting 'annexes' and often form a hollow square, so that at least one half of the operatives can have no outlook except upon brick walls, and no fresh air but that which circulates within this confined space."

Conditions of work in the early days were probably not a great deal superior to those of the present and the hours were undoubtedly longer. The progress made in shortening the hours has been due to legislative effort rather than to capitalistic philanthropy. One advantage of the earlier mill operative, however, was the homogeneous character of the mill population, and the resulting congeniality of shopmate. The foreign help are not treated with the same sort of consideration as that shown to native born or even English-speaking operatives; on the other hand, the foreign workers are often not agreeable fellow-workers, and the general atmosphere becomes intolerable to those of American standards. Among the women operatives the standards of personal cleanliness, of modesty and of behavior are not always American ones, and the majority of the English-speaking employees, except those either of a high degree of skill and consequent high remuneration, or those too old to acquire a new trade, are willing enough to leave the mills for less remunerative work in more congenial surroundings.

Opportunities of advancement. The invention of machinery has lessened the need of skill among the workers and consequently

lessened the chances of promotion from unskilled to skilled work. There is not much prospect of advancement in the textile industry; the work soon becomes mechanical and for women, particularly, the maximum of efficiency is reached at an early period of the employment, and the remaining years hold out a vista of monotonous days in not too congenial surroundings. As far as advancement for men is concerned, the positions with greater responsibility and higher pay have not been filled, as a rule, from the ranks of Lawrence employees. While overseers and, in some instances, higher officials of minor standing have worked up from the ranks, the chances of rise for the average employee and the immigrant in particular are very slight. Positions of importance are frequently filled by transfers from mills in other towns. Each year a new collection of youths, sons of stockholders, come to Lawrence to learn the wool business. The local newspaper reports that John Smith, formerly quarterback at Harvard, is at present engaged in learning the wool business from the bottom up, but the comparison of the meteoric rise of John Smith of Harvard in his career at learning the wool business and the progress of John Smith of Lawrence who longs for a chance to learn the wool business is an illuminating if not disheartening fact. The mills, with rare exceptions, have offered the remunerative positions in the plants to the sons of the absentee stockholders rather than to the Lawrence men who have begun in the ranks. There is as truly an aristocracy in the mill business in New England as in the institutions of an older and less democratic land.

Age and Sex of employees. The textile industry is one which employs men, women and children and is not one in which the head of the family, if an unskilled worker, will receive sufficient

compensation to maintain his family without putting wife or children to work. There is an apparent surplus of labor at all times. The unemployed offer their services at the various mill gates every day, and there are always more remaining unhired than those fortunate enough to secure work. Unfortunately, immigrant women, particularly of the Italian race, often find it easier to get work than the men, and the children find work still more available than their mothers, with the sad result that in many an Italian home the economic conditions of the family can be summed up in the words of the one-time popular song, "Everybody works but father". Men of forty and fifty are supported by the earnings of their children, to the detriment of the home, society and the child. While this is apparently true of individual immigrant families, the sum total of employment relative to age and sex is a somewhat different matter. The figures relative to the sexes of the cotton mill operatives show a slight majority of males over females employed; the figures of the Massachusetts Statistics of Manufactures for 1913 giving 2,300 males and 2,234 females employed in cotton manufacture. In the wool and worsted manufacture the proportion of males is still larger, there being 10,228 males and 7,712 females.

During the Federal investigation of the strike of 1912, data concerning age and sex of employees of four woolen and worsted mills and three cotton mills were collected by the Federal Bureau of Labor. Overseers and clerks were not included in the investigation. The information was secured for the week ending nearest November 25, 1911.

"The total number of textile employees for whom wages and hours of labor were secured was 21,922, which was approximately two-

thirds of the total number employed in the textile mills of Lawrence immediately preceding the strike. Of the 21,922 employees for whom data was secured, 12,150 or 55.4% were males and 9,772 or 44.6% were females. There were 11,075 males over eighteen and 1,075 males under eighteen in tht total of 12,150 males, while there were 8,320 females over eighteen and 1,452 females under eighteen in the total of 9,772 females. 11 1/2% of the total number of employees were under eighteen years of age. The males under eighteen formed 8.8% of the total number of males and the females under eighteen formed 14.9% of the total number of females."

Child Labor Laws. Labor legislation as regards children in Massachusetts is not only much more restrictive than formerly but it is also considerably in advance of that of the countries from which the immigrant comes and of that of many of the other states of the United States. The minimum age for Great Britain is twelve years, with half-time labor for children between twelve and fourteen; for Germany and France, the minimum age is thirteen years and for Italy twelve years. It can hardly be stated fairly that the recent immigrants are more eager than theearlier ones to put their children in the mills. At all events, the law at present forbids the labor of children under fourteen in the mills altogether, whereas the laws in the early day allowed children to work at twelve and even younger. It was quite customary for the children of the English, German and French immigrants to send their children to the mills as soon as the laws permitted, and the only races which have been notable in their educational ambition for their children are the Irish and the Jews. It must be admitted that some of the more recent immigrants, notably the Italians, will falsify about their children's age and send them

to work byusing fraudulent age certificates, if possible. Judging from the early school reports such falsification was not unknown, though perhaps less carefully planned out in the days of the North European immigration. While exploitation of children should be condemned in any race, its cause is more nearly economic pressure than racial tendency. Mary Antin says, "If we wish to know whether immigrant parents are the promoters or the victims of the child labor system, we turn to the cotton mills, where 40,000 native American children between seven and sixteen years of age toil between ten and twelve hours a day, while their fathers rot in the degradation of idleness".

The latest law limiting the hours of labor for children under sixteen has had the effect of keeping the children out of work until that time as many establishments will not bother with keeping differenttime schedules. Whether all the children between fourteen and sixteen are in school all the time when not at work is a mooted question even with school authorities. Properly to enforce this part of the law would require a force of inspectors and truant officers greater than the tax-payers would wish to pay for, while in order that the school attendance of benefit to the childrenprovision of more school accommodations and special courses of study would be necessary.

Hours of Labor for Women. The enforcement of the law relative to the hours of labor for women in textile industries was one of the contributory causes of the Lawrence strike of 1912. Up to this time, Lawrence had perhaps suffered less from strikes than the average mill city. Her industries before the erection of the mammoth plants of the American Woolen Co. and the expansion of the Arlington had progressed with a gradual development and equally gradual assimilation of newcomers. The erection of these mammoth

mills, with the corresponding influx of alien labor, brought another factor into the undustrial life of the city.

The Lawrence Strike. The Lawrence Strike of 1912 focused the attention of the industrial world upon Lawrence for a time. Many contributions to current magazine literature as well as the sensational newspapers gave to the outside worldan altogether false representation of the Lawrence situation.

The federal report on the strike says, "The textile strike in Lawrence and the conditions which followed were not primarily due to any condition peculiar to Lawrence. The general conditions of the textile industry in all of the large distinctly textile towns, and the strike in Lawrence and the conditions attending might just as easily have occurred in any other of these towns".

The immediate cause of the strike was a reduction in pay which in turn was caused by a state law which became effective January 1, 1912, and which reduced the hours of labor for women and children under eighteen from fifty-six to fifty-four hours a week. Two years before, the hours of labor for this same class of employees had been reduced from fifty-eight to fifty-six hours a week, and at that time the earnings of both time workers and piece workers were readjusted so that their earnings were not diminished by the fifty-six-hour week. With the reduction in hours in 1912, however, the time and piece rates were not readjusted, and this reduction in hours resulted in a reduction fo weekly earnings of 3 4/7%. Moreover, while according to law, notices were posted in the mills concerning the hours of work per day under the new law, no notice was posted concerning reduction of wages although naturally the operatives were very anxious on this point. Up to January 1, no official statement had been made by the mill officials concerning the subject. At a

meeting of the Lawrence English branch of the I. W. W. on January 2, 1912, a committee was appointed to confer with the mill officials and to ask for a definite statement concerning the effect of the change of hours upon the wages of the employees. The officials at some of the mills refused to confer with the committee and no definite statement appears to have been made to the committee by any mill. There was a definite determination among the unskilled non-English speaking operatives to strike if their weekly pay envelope contained less than under the fifty-six-hour schedule.

The strike began following the first payday under the new law, and while a few small strikes occurred during the first ten days of January, 1912, the general strike and walk-out commenced on the afternoon of January 11, 1912.. The strike lasted fifty-seven working days and the total number of employees out of work varied from 14,000 to 23,000 according to the Federal Report. According to the Massachusetts Statistics of Labor, of the employees thrown out of employment, 8,404 were strikers and 12,786 were non-strikers.

Of the racial groups active during the strike, those most in evidence were the Italians and the Poles, although the Syrians were somewhat active also. These races did most of the picketing, came into most frequent conflict with the police, and in fact, were the advance guard although the planning and directing of the strike was done by the Franco-Belgian branch and the English speaking leaders. The strike was notable in that it was the first manifestation on a large scale of the I. W. W. in the textile world.

Labor Organizations at the Time of the Strike. Of the 30,000 to 35,000 textile mill operatives in Lawrence, there were probably considerably less than 3,000 enrolled definitely in labor

organizations prior to the strike. The skilled crafts, which were mainly composed of English speaking workers, had approximately 2,500 members. These organizations among the skilled workers included mule spinners, wool sorters, loom fixers, cotton and woolen yarn workers, warp preparers, dyers and finishers, menders, slashers, printers and engravers and these unions were organized along trade lines aiming for a general bettering of conditions of labor, while still accepting the existing social order and wage system. They constituted but a small portion of the textile population, however, since trade unions had been ignored by the corporations and condemned by individual overseers and superintendents prior to the strike.

The I. W. W. claimed a membership of 1,000 at the time of the strike, but it has been stated on reliable authority that there were not more than 300 paid up members at the beginning of the strike and that two-thirds of these were in the Franco-Belgian branch. This Franco-Belgian branch had been organized in Lawrence for seven years before the strike. A Portuguese and a Polish branch had been organized four years before but had maintained an active existence for but a short time. An Italian branch had been organized during the summer preceding the strike. The Industrial Workers of the World, organized on racial or national lines, aims to bring together in a single union all wage earners whether skilled or unskilled, and although like the traditional labor unions, the organization aims for the betterment of the conditions of labor, it is opposed to the existing undustrial methods and to the wage system. The motto is the "abolition of the wage system".

Examples of their propaganda are shown by the following quotations from proclamations issued by the Strike Committee:

"Workers have dared to rebel against conditions that were unbearable. Because they have dared to assert their manhood and womanhood and determinedly insisted for an opportunity to live by their labor, hired military Hessians have been sent to Lawrence to terrorize the workers into going back to work.

"They have taken away our wives from the home, our children have been driven from the playground, stolen out of the schools and driven into the mills, where they were strapped to machines, not only to force the fathers to compete but that their young lives may be coined into dollars for a parasite class, that their very nerves, their laughter and joy denied, may be woven into cloth."

In the statement made by Lawrence Textile Workers' Strike Committee issued in March 24, 1912, the date on which it went out of existence, the nature of its sentiments is clearly stated.

"The power of the Industrial Workers of the World increases hourly. Its mission will be accomplished, the battles will cease, the class struggle will end only when the working class has overthrown the capitalist class and has secured undisputed possession of the earth and all that is in it or on it.'

To this final overthrow of the present capitalist system, the I. W. W. works unceasingly. Every member of the organization is pledged to a revolutionary policy that admits no compromise and knows nothing of contracts with employers, of arbitration or of peace."

Not by any means all fo the textile operatives were at any time members of the I. W. W. , but a considerable majority of unskilled workers of the recent immigrant races were not only members but active followers of the propaganda. Of the leaders of the I. W. W., the most prominent were Joseph J. Ettor and Wm. Haywood, although Arturo

Giovannitti and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn were also prominent. Ettor, a young Italian of great personal magnetism and an agitator trained by work in the McKeesport strike, by his knowledge of the Italian language held the key to the Lawrence situation and is still more or less a popular hero with his race. He and Giovannitti were arrested quite early in the strike on charge of inciting to murder following a riot in which a woman was shot. It was claimed that incendiary speeches by the two men inflamed the crowd to commit this outrage, although neither were present at the actual shooting. Giovannitti and Ettor were both acquitted by a jury on November 25, 1912, after a trial in the Superior Court of Essex County.

After the imprisonment of Ettor, Wm Haywood, notorious as the man tried for the murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, assumed leadership and seemed even more lawless and incendiary in his speeches than his predecessor.

A local leader who achieved considerable notoriety as the head of the local Italian branch, Angelo Rocco, was notable only because of the fact that at the time of the strike he was a pupil of the Lawrence High School. Certain newspapers made considerable capital of this fact but since he was a man of twenty-seven who was in the Lawrence High School after years of mill work in order to prepare himself for college, it will be seen that his revolutionary tendencies were not due in any way to that institution or to the American system of education, since he entered the high school without an elementary public school education.

Violence during the Strike. The strike was marked throughout its duration by lawlessness of such a nature that the city had to seek outside assistance, not only of the Metropolitan Police but also

of the State Militia. At one time during the strike, twelve companies of infantry, two troops of cavalry andmany members of out of town police aided in the establishment of law and order. The Federal report says: "After the first few days, there were but few clashes between the police and the strikers which approached the nature of a riot. While on one hand, it may be stated that few strikes involving so large a number of employees, unorganized, undisciplined, and many of them unfamiliar with our language and methods of government, have continued so long as the Lawrence strike with so little actual violence or riot, it must also be said that during almost the entire period the situation was a tense and threatening one, and there was hardly a time that a slight cause might not have produced the gravest disorder culminating in riot and bloodshed". Two lives were lost as the result of the strike, one being that of a young Syrian bayonetted by a militiaman in pushing back a crowd, and the other that of an Italian woman shot by a stray bullet of a rioter. The person who caused the death of the woman was never found and the militia seem to have shrouded in mystery the unfortunate bayonetting of the young Syrian, which, however, was manifestly more accidental than intentional.

Militia during Strike. The quartering of the militia upon the city, while probably a necessary precaution to prevent severe rioting, had, nevertheless, certain regrettable effects. While it convinced the excitable foreign population that the law must be obeyed at whatever cost, it also gave them the idea that the militia of the Commonwealth was connected in some manner with the capitalistic class and that even in America there was no real spirit of fair play. In a certain interesting symposium collected in the "Survey" showing different viewpoints in the Lawrence strike, a member of the militia givesan interesting side light on this phase of the question.

"There was too much of the feeling that we were fighting on the side of the mill owners. Our orders were to guard the mill property and to keep strikers who were known to us or who were wearing badges from approaching within two streets of the mills. No one of us felt that he was like a policeman in the employ of the city to do justice to all its citizens. We were quartered in the mills and were fighting on the side of mill men to protect them from the violence of the enemy. We had excellent accommodations in the mills and were constantly receiving favors from mill men. I doubt whether any officer of the militia was particularly interested in protecting the strikers. Nothing was said to us about their rights and no suggestion was handed down that we treat both sides fairly."

In direct contrast to the sympathy to the strikers latent in the ordinary militiaman is an article written by one of the officers quartered in Lawrence for twenty-five days, Walter M. Pratt. In an article in the New England Magnazine which is principally laudatory of the mill owners and the militia, he shows his total lack of conception of the point of view of labor by this sentence.

"It is largely a man's own fault if he receives only the average wage. Any intelligent person may become a skilled weaver and receive twenty to twenty-five dollars. " He, however, neglects to enumerate the details by which any intelligent man may acquire the weaving art if he happens to be only fortunate enough to get an unskilled job. The mill owners are not in the habit of allowing the unskilled help to practice on the looms in spare time.

Exploitation of Children in Lawrence Strike. Among the unique methods instituted by the I. W. W. in the course of the strike, none caused more sensational discussion than the sending away of the

children of strikers to be cared for in distant cities. Equally sensational was the comment on the subsequent refusal of the police authorities to allow the children to leave the city. About 200 children were sent to New York, 30 to Barre, Vermont, 40 to Philadelphia, and 40 to Manchester, New Hampshire. The first 114 sent to New York were sent on a bitter cold winter day, paraded through New York streets and exploited in order to gain money for socialistic propaganda. This action was condemned by the press throughout the country and feeling was particularly strong in Lawrence that there was no necessity of sending the children out of town since adequate relief could be obtained within the city. Mary Boyle O'Reilly in a newspaper comment said, "Under existing laws, children cannot beg or sing in the streets. Why should scores of children be taken from school and sent from state to state to chant revolutionary songs and plead for funds on the claim that such a course is a demonstration fo conditions? The $500 expended to carry the children to New York would provide them with food for a considerable period". Moreover, several children had been sent to New York and other cities without the consent of their parents, some operatives had been terrorized into sending their children away and parents had received word from their children that they were not satisfied with conditions in the homes in which they were placed and they wished to return home, while one or two children claiming to have come from Lawrence had been found wandering on the streets of New York. The dissatisfied parents could get no assistance in the return of their children from the I. W. W. authorities, and public sentiment was strong in urging the municipal authorities to prohibit the further exploitation of children. The City Marshall of Lawrence proceeded to stop the removal of any children from Lawrence without the written or oral

consent of their parents, in order that no child should be sent from the city unnecessarily. On February 22, a large number of children were to be sent from the city. These children and those accompanying them were interviewed by the city marshall at the railroad station and informed of relief obtainable in the city with the result that all but eight women and fifteen children left the station. Since the eight remaining women would make no answer to the inquiries of the police as to whether they were the proper guardians or parents of the children, these women and children were conveyed to the police station in an auto truck. These women and children were never technically placed under arrest but were detained at the City Farm until the fathers of the families came and acknowledged the parentage of their children and agreed to have them in Juvenile Court the next Tuesday. Later, forty or fifty children were sent to Philadelphia. On this occasion there was no interference by the police except that they required the lists of names and addresses of those sent away.

While the press and the public of Lawrence and other cities had unanimously condemned the exploitation of the children, nevertheless, criticism of the action of the police in preventing their exodus was equally drastic. While there may be honest difference of opinion concerning the wisdom of such a course or the particular methods employed, the Lawrence authorities were clearly justified in thinking that parents by their action in sending their offspring out of the state to homes about which they had no knowledge were violating the law providing for the care of neglected children and which describes a neglected child as one which is "growing up without education, without salutary control, without proper physical care, or under circumstances exposing him to lead an idle or dissolute life". Certainly

there was justification in this viewpoint since reports had been received of Lawrence children wandering about New York streets. A great deal has been written concerning the rights of parents to send their children on vacations whithersoever and whenever they may desire, but such a right presupposes an investigation by the parent of the place to which he is sending the child. Much sentimental sympathy has been wasted on the mothers of these children, who, if they were so timorous as to be injured for life by a ride in an auto truck and a few hour's detention by the police, might have better intrusted the sending off of the children to their valiant husbands who remained safe at home, quite willing to have their womankind bear the brunt of the situation. Moreover, the police detained only those children who were accompanied by persons who refused to divulge their relationship to them, a precautionary measure necessary on account of rumors of kidnapping.

Two of the parents of the children prevented from going away on February 22 admitted that they were sending their children away because they had been told strike relief would be stopped if they did not do so, and that if they applied to the city for aid their children would be taken from them. Two children were being sent away by their mother without the knowledge of their father who was working in Wakefield; one woman who was sending her children away had $748 on her person; another had $176; while one other parent was sending away a child then on probation for delinquency. The sensational statements in the yellow press and by I. W. W. agitators concerning the clubbing of women during the affair and the separation of mothers and children in different cells at the police station were alike unfounded on fact. One of the women in the truck tried to push to the ground an officer mounting the side of the truck, and he in turn pushed her

into her seat, while an officer in the truck tried to restrain her further activity. The women and children were not put in cells at the police station but remained in the guardroom for a short time until they were transferred to the City Farm and kept there only until the fathers came to claim their children.

Of all the children sent away, it is much to be doubted if any but a very few could not have been cared for by agencies within the city. Many of those sent away had parents amply able to provide for them. The newspaper notoriety acquired by some of the little wanderers featured them as utterly destitute when neither necessity nor want existed. A long article illustrated with the photograph of a little French girl described her as so needy of clothing that a complete wardrobe was of immediate necessity. An interview with her disclosed pitiful tales of constant underfeeding and overwork, while her parents were described as toiling ceaselessly for a mere pittance. As a matter of fact, the girl in question, a particularly bright and attractive girl of thirteen, was the only child of French parents who were both highly skilled weavers. She had been noticeable in the school which she attended for her neat and tasteful attire and generally well-groomed appearance, and her parents since they were receiving strike relief and had always had good wages were probably far better able to provide for her than the New York woman who, with a large family of her own and no great means, had taken her her in to save her, as she thought, from utter misery.

Relief Organizations Assisting Strikers. The strikers who belonged to the unions affiliated with the Central Labor Union represented the better paid operatives and had, aside from individual savings, a regular system of relief to strikers.

Under the auspices of the Women's Trade Union League of Boston, a relief station was established at the headquarters of the Central Labor Union. Milk, bread, shoes and clothing were given direct to applicants from this station. Regular days were fixed for the distribution of relief--English and non-English speaking applicants coming on different days. Certain commodities were given by orders on different stores. A trained nurse was maintained to assist sick families.

The Strike Committee which was organized the fourth day of the strike had for its chairman an official of the Industrial Workers of the World. This committee was in charge of the strike and was composed of representatives of organized and unorganized strikers. This strike committee sent out appeals for aid during the strike and it has been estimated that relief funds averaging $1,000 a day were contributed during the strike. The strike committee organized a relief committee of twenty-four members--six forming a central committee and eighteen conducting the investigations necessary to determine whether applicants for relief were strikers or not. Eleven races represented on the relief committee were Armenians, English, French, Franco-Belgian, French Canadian, German, Irish, Italian, Lettish, Polish and Syrian.

The Relief Committee provided soup kitchens for men without families, but for families and for women, food was generally sent to the home. In some cases, store orders were used. The families were also provided with small quantities of fuel. The weekly food allowance varied with the size of the family, the minimum for one person being $2 and the maximum amount $5.50 for a family of ten. Two doctors gave medical attendance to members of the I. W. W. The appli-

cants for aid were supposedly investigated by the relief committee. Records were kept of all persons working through the strike and no aid was furnished to these people. At the different soup kitchens, food desired by a particular nationality was served. There were two kitchens maintained by the Italians, one by the Syrians, one by the Polish, one by the Armenians and one at the Franco-Belgian Hall for nationalities not otherwise provided for.

Certain contributors to the relief fund of the strikers felt that the money was being used to pay salaries, transportation expenses forchildren's exploitation in distant cities and for special food for Ettor while he was in jail, instead of relief for strikers and their families who were in want, and an injunction was asked for by the Attorney General in the name of three contributors, James M. Prendergast, Herbert S. Johnson and Robert A. Woods, on March 11, 1912, against withdrawal of funds from the Lawrence Trust Co. for other than relief purposes, for the appointment of a receiver that an account be taken and that restitution be made of money wrongfully withdrawn. A temporary injunction was granted and the matter referred to a Master who reported that the fund was being used for spreading I. W. W. propaganda, for exploitation of children, for board of Ettor and Giovannitti while in jail, for legal expenses and for bonds for those requiring them and that the bookkeeping was so conducted that it was impossible to distinguish for what purpose amounts had been contributed. Approximately $62,564 had been received up to March 16, $46,188 had been deposited in the bank, not to the credit of the Lawrence Strike Committe but to the Industrial Workers of the World, leaving a large balance unaccounted for. Later, a sum of $10,800 was transferred from the Lawrence Bank to a New York one. Judge

Loring of the Supreme Court of Suffolk County, in his finding of October 11, 1913, ordered several members of the strike committee, including Joseph Bedard, Wm. Trautman, and Joseph Shaheen, to account for the sum of $15,379.85 which was spent from the strike funds for other than relief purposes, and also that Wm. Yates account for the sum of $5,800 paid out of funds and unaccounted for. These individuals were ordered to pay these sums with interest from time of filing bill to time of payment to the Clerk of the Supreme Court. The cases have been appealed and re-appealed but a misappropriation of funds seems clear.

A relief station maintained by out of town social workers from outside funds supplied a few hundred school children with cocoa, soup and sandwiches.

In spite of all the relief furnished by labor organizations both of the trade unions and the I. W. W., a considerable number of people who were not entitled to strikers' relief suffered extremely from the strike. These persons were forced out of work because of the strike and remained idle either because they were intimidated by the threats of the strikers or were deprived of work due to lack of material on account of strike conditions in some departments. To such workers no aid was given by labor organizations but private organizations and charitable individuals, as well as merchants who gave credit, helped a great deal. A new organization, the League of Catholic Women, sprang into existence as the direct result of conditions caused by the strike. In the grammar school of the central district, it soon became evident that some children were suffering from lack of food in spite of abundant relief furnished by the labor organizations. As a result of thorough investigations made by the

teachers at the homes of the pupils, it was found necessary to feed in the school daily from twenty to fifty children. The food given was prepared by one of the teachers aided by the pupils, and consisted usually of cocoa and bread and molasses in as large quantities as the children desired. No children were fed who were receiving aid from any labor organization but only children of those families who were out of work on account of the strike but not directly participating in it. This policy was adopted not in criticism of the strike but because relief of different kinds was furnished to the strikers and there was no need of supplementing such aid. The children were fed in a small room where the food was prepared, and with as little publicity as possible. The money supplying the food was given by the Women's Club. All the investigation was done by different teachers under the supervision of the principal. There were but few cases of imposition unearthed, but startling discoveries were made concerning destitution prevailing after such a comparatively short period of unemployment. Through the help of the Aventine Club, another organization of women in the city, additional aid was furnished to particularly needy individuals, and by co-operation with charitable persons, complete rehabilitation of several families was accomplished. Relief work of a similar kind was done in the primary schools of the Central District.

The investigation for relief given by the labor organizations was on the basis of whether the applicant was a striker or not. Otherwise, apparently, his needs were not closely scrutinized, for it was a matter of common gossip that many received aid who were in no sense needy or worthy of it. At several times during the strike, breadlines were established and to them, naturally, was a ready flow of all anxious

to get something for nothing. Free distribution of shoes and rubbers in the same haphazard fashion fitted out boys with rubbers who had never before known the use of such commodities.

Result of the Strike. As a result of the strike, some 30,000 textile mill operatives in Lawrence secured a wage increase of from 5 to 20%, increased compensation for overtime and the reduction of the premium period from four weeks to two weeks. As an indirect result of the Lawrence strike, textile mill operatives throughout New England received wage increases.

As to thejustice of the cause of the strikers, one must conclude either that the mill owners were satisfied with the justness of the claims or else, intimidated by either the incendiary methods of the I. W. W. or the prospect of a Federal investigation, they granted the wage increase for politic reasons.

In general, the feeling of the public in Lawrence was that the operatives in the mills were very poorly paid and it was hoped that the wage increase would be given. The socialistic and anarchistic propaganda of the I. W. W. antagonized some of the strike sympathizers, and the lawless attitude of the strikers and their interference with the rights of peaceable citizens caused a still further lack of sympathy. It may be said also, that although the Lawrence public was very glad that the strikers gained their demands at the close of the strike, they regretted that the labor agency chosen to represent so many of the strikers was the I. W. W.

The Wages in the Textile Industry. Technical improvements in the machinery used in the textile industry have increased the output of the workers by enabling them to manage more machines or secure a larger output from one machine. The benefit from these inven-

tions, however, has been largely to the manufacturer since by lowering the piece rates the operatives' earnings do not advance.

The Federal report on the strike gives the following summary of the situation at that time. "The actual economic condition of the families of the workers in the textile mills of Lawrence cannot be easily pictured by a mere statement of individual earnings. It is obvious from the figures of the earnings that the full-time earnings of a large number of adult employees are entirely inadequate to maintain a family. Thus the full-time earnings of 7,275 employees, or about one-third of the total covered by this investigation, are less that $7 a week. Of the 7,275, earning less than $7 a week, 5,294 were eighteen years of age or over, and 36.5% of the 5,294 were males. These wages, however, are not peculiar to Lawrence. The wages in that city are not lower than in most other textile towns. The plain fact is that the textile industry, as far as earnings are concerned, is in large part a family industry. It gives employment to men, children and women. The normal family of five, unless the father is employed in one of the comparatively few better paying occupations, is compelled to supply two wage-earners in order to secure the necessaries of life. From a study of a table showing earnings, it is very apparent that in many occupations if the father of the family has not at least one child old enough to go to work, it becomes necessary for the wife to enter the mill to supplement the earnings of the husband, in order to maintain a family. Where, as is often the case, the father, the mother and three or more sons or daughters are at work and contribute their earnings to a common family fund, the family can live in comfort and lay a tidy sum aside weekly in the way of savings. But, on the other hand, the economic condition of the head of the family in one of

the poorer paid occupations, with two or three children so young as to necessitate the mother remaining at home to care for them, is one of extreme hardship".

While it is a fact that the wages in Lawrence are no lower than in any other textile center, it is also true that wages paid in the American cotton mills are higher than in Engl nd, and the English mills pay a higher rate than the continental ones. With regard to the wages in the wollen and worsted mills, John Bruce McPherson, in the September, 191:, Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers say: "Whether or not the wages paid are as high as the industry can afford, I do not say, but if the figures of the Tariff Board are to be accepted, then the wages paid in Lawrence are higher than those paid for similar service in either Providence or Philadelphia, two other important centers of the worsted industry; and for all classes of help in the mills are from 43.3% to 184% higher than those paid in Great Britain".

While comparison with other industrial centersshows conditions worse than in Lawrence, it is obvious that the fact that there exist worse paid individuals is of small consolation to the underpaid toiler.

Irregularity of Employment. The wages paid per week can never be an index of the earning capacity of the worker since the weekly wage does not show slackness of employment. Previous to the strike of 1912, there had been much complaint concerning the slackness of work, and conditions, in the opinion of Lawrence tradesmen and operatives, have been worse since the strike. Idleness of the unskilled operative with a small weekly wage is a great hardship whether this idleness is caused by complete cessation of work for a period or part-time work for seri es of weeks. It is plainly evident by contrasting

the greatest and smallest numbers of those employed in the different industries that there are, within the city and within the call of the mill, large numbers of persons awainting employment when the rush seasons begin and obviously without work in the dull seasons. The figures for the 1913 Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts show a maximum of 5,313 persons and a minimum of 3,476 persons in the cotton industries, and a maximum of 22,692 employees and a minimum of 11,384 employees in the woolen and worsted manufactures. These figures indicate a surplus of 13,145 workers on hand, to be called on when the plant is running at its fullest capacity, and not used when times are slack, yet there is nothing inherent in either of these industries which justifies a seasonal production although, no doubt, greater profits may be secured in that way. Sometimes workmen out of employment at one plant find work at another in the same city, but in general, when work is slack in one mill the conditions are similar throughout the city.

The much heralded wage increase gained by the strike was more apparent than real since slackness of work since that time has greatly reduced the yearly earnings. Whether this scarity of work for Lawrence mills is due to general financial depression or to artificial depression by the incorporated companies owning Lawrence mills because of the strike activity in the city is a much discussed point. It is claimed that Lawrence companies having mills in other sections of the country send to them their orders in preference to Lawrence, thus punishing the Lawrence strikers. The general industrial depression since the war has added to the tensity of the situation in Lawrence and the winter of 1914 and 1915 was memorable for unemployment and underemployment. The Massachusetts Report on Unemployment for

the quarter ending December 31, 1914, in regard to Lawrence, says: "There appeared to be an unusually large number of people unemployed at the close of the year, a conservative estimate being 7,000. For the most part, these were unskilled operatives in textile mills, but the estimate included also a large part of the men who were formerly employed in the machine shops.....The distress seemed so acute that a committee was appointed and an appropriation was voted by the City Council to relieve the distress by furnishing provisions, clothing, fuel, etc."

Industrial conditions in other textile cities in Massachusetts do not show as high a per cent of unemployment as Lawrence, the percentages of unemployment in thetextile industry in other textile cities given in the same report show only 3.7% out of work in Fall River, 12.9% in Lowell, 19,2% in New Bedford, contrasted with 49.2% in Lawrence. It would seem that there might be some truth in the persistent rumor that Lawrence was being selected for the textile scapegoat. The immigrants being the bulk of the unskilled labor have been the heaviest sufferers from the unemployment.

Practically all the Lawrence mills are in the hands of incorporated companies and the active management is in the hands of an agent or superintendent, the financial end, including the buying and selling, in the hands of a treasurer, while the stockholders are almost entirely from out of town. That this absentee ownership has been a detriment to the welfare of the employees is a self-evident fact for the very human reason that stockholders, like employees,are human beings who are capable of sympathy and good-fellowship. The individual stockholder or director may have known that a portion of the mills were idle during the past winter and may have even had an

inkling of disciplinary measures, but it is safe to say that if he did know of it he did not realize it. If a realization of the misery and squalor into which a family is plunged by continued unemployment or underemployment were possible for him, an amelioration of conditions if possible would ensue.

The average yearly earnings in the city of Lawrence are estimated by Massachusetts Statistics of Manufactures for 1913 as $478.80. The average yearly earning in the woolen and worsted mills which is the industry employing the majority of the foreigners was $455.40, and in the cotton mills $461.91. It will be seen that the majority of the immigrants in the city who are operatives are receiving a wage by this estimate less than that which most economists consider a living wage. Fr. Ryan, in his book, "A Living Wage", says: "First of all, anything less than $600 per year is <u>not</u> a Living Wage in any of the cities of the United States; secondly, this sum is probably a Living Wage in those cities of the Southern States in which fuel, clothing, food and some other items of expenditure are cheaper than in the North; third, it is possibly a Living Wage in the moderately sized cities of the West, North and East; and fourth, in some of the largest cities of the last-named regions, it is certainly <u>not</u> a Living Wage".

<u>Other Industries</u>. The other industries in Lawrence employ immigrant help as well as the textile mills, especially in the rougher occupations. The machine-shops, foundries and bobbin shops utilize Poles for heavy work. Canadian workers are used in the wood-working trades, both as carpenters and bobbinmakers. The Canadians seem to have a natural aptitude for this sort of work and have varied degrees of skill in it. The paper mills which are a rather important industry in the city formerly employed principally Irish among the immigrant

help, but Poles are fast finding their places in the mills for heavy work. In the one mill in the city which makes rugs and carpets, possibly more of the help is Irish and German than in the other mills.

In the pioneer years from 1845 to 1849, the dam, the canals, the mills and the dwelling houses for operatives were constructed . In these constructive years, the Irish were the hewers of wood and drawers of water. In later years when the construction of new mills was undertaken, the Italian had displaced the Celt as a day laborer. The Irish working at the time of the construction of the dam were paid lower wages than their Italian successors, although it was probable that the money had a greater purchasing power. Laborers in those days earned from $.84 to $1.00 a day, while mechanics earned from $1.50 to $2.00.

In the building trades, all classes of immigrant labor have always been employed by the contractors who themselves are of the different races. Italian contractors are forging their way ahead in the last few years. Many of them are illiterate and have progressed merely by dint of industry and thrift rather than by knowledge of the work. They employ as cheap labor as can be found. In the making of cellars, cement and granolithic walks, plastering and bricklaying, they are perhaps most proficient. The earlier Irish and German contractors worked in precisely the same manner as the American contractors. Many of them were heavy investors in real estate, building and selling at considerable profit. The building trades are, in general, well organized by the trade unions, although, the workers are undoubtedly feeling the competition of immigrant labor, especially in skilled work.

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Lawrence is so situated within easy reach of the two indus-

trial centers, Lowell and Haverhill, and within good commuting distance from the great city of Boston, that some of her inhabitants find work in these cities. Many Italians found work in the shoe shops of Haverhill during the 1912 strike depression in Lawrence and have since retained this work, but prefer to live in Lawrence because of the advantage of the larger Italian colony. In a similar way, members of Polish, Syrian, French and Italian races find occupations sometime in the small textile mills in the Andovers and in the rubber factory there, but they live in Lawrence because they prefer city to rural life. Not many of the immigrant races except the Jews have business which takes them to Boston daily, but many of the Italians and Syrians, merchants in Lawrence have had previous experience in Boston and are in touch with the foreign colonies there.

The Immigrant in Business. The numbers of non-English speaking people in the community presupposes not only the necessity of clerks in the larger stores able to speak the different languages but also the establishment of stores catering to the varied wants of member of the different races. Food products are first of all desired from merchants cognizant of racial tastes. The employment of many women of the immigrant races in the mills makes a correspondingly large demand for bread and bakery products since the operative has little leisure for household tasks. There are twenty-three manufacturers of bread and bakery products within the city, prominent among which are the bakeries on strictly racial lines. The English bakers who were the pioneers in the occupation catered to public at large, but the succeeding immigrant bakers have a trade confined almost wholly to their own race or neighborhood. The various qualities of rye bread and varieties of kuchen desired by German palates, the bread peculiar

to the Jews, the different breads of each province in Italy are all supplied by bakers who have a distinct clientele. The Italian women sometimes make their bread at home and sand it to the baker for baking, as is the custom in Italy. The numbers of Polish female operatives in the mills, and the peculiar custom of the boarders in each house preparing their own food, make the Polish bakeries do a thriving business. The Polish people, too, show a great fondness for American pastry and sweet cakes as well as their own particular products.

It seems to be the ambition of some of the later races to leave the industrial world and enter the mercantile one as rapidly as possible, and the wages of the first years of work in the mills are hoarded to set up a business enterprise. Some of these storekeepers have been in business in their own country and have followed their customers to America. Others have acquired in America the capital necessary for a start. While grocery and provision stores are established by each race, the Syrians tend to specialize in dry goods, Jews in the clothing, shoe and millinery business as well as in second-hand stores, pawn shops and in the junk busines, while the Italians achieve their best mercantile development as proprietors of fruit and provision stores. The Italian storekeeper employs few, if any, clerks outside of the family circle and often makes no attempt at the delivery of goods, but his abundant stock of fruit and green vegetables testifies to the Italian tastes in food since the majority of the trade is with his own race. The artistic and attractive displays of fruit and vegetables by the Italian venders have stimulated the interest of the American public in such articles of diet, and this race, while themselves acquiring American habits, have educated America to a wider consumption of fresh fruits. On the streets little frequented by Amer-

icans and in stores not generally patronized by them, the attractive and bountiful stock is typical of the artistic temperament of the dealers. Italians are found also in tailoring and cobbling establishments, usually working for a time in native establishments before starting up for themselves. A considerable number of the Italians work at seasonal work in railroad construction and other outside work and return to the city in the winter months. The profits of the boss or padrone who usually hires the gang are in such cases highly superior to the wages of the individual laborers, while the living conditions in the construction camps are often a disgrace to American civilization. As the Italian is a desirable farm laborer also, many find employment on the farms of the neighboring country. Some, too, work their own small plots at Pleasant Valley or work as laborers for their own race. The farming in Pleasant Valley as yet has not assumed large proportions commercially, although many proprietors of the Italian stores acquire their vegetable stock from this source to some degree.

The Syrian grocery stores are not as attractive to the eye or as heavily stocked as the Italian ones but the Syrians have a prosperous business in dry goods, a field practically untouched by the Italians. These small stores cater to their own race and to other immigrant races who think they can buy cheaper than at the larger American stores. Syrians and Armenians also have stores where lace and embroidery and such goods are sold to a purely American trade. The Syrian peddler of laces and embroideries is becoming as familiar a figure as her Jewish predecessor and her trade is most frequently outside the foreign district.

The Jewish provision stores do not present an attractive appearance and cater to their own race entirely. The Mosaic laws,

still strictly adhered to by the recent immigrants at least, make the butcher shops where meat is prepared according to law a necessity. The clothing, furniture and jewelry business which is done principally on a credit basis is not by any means confined to a racial trade. The class of customers is naturally, however, those receiving small pay. The Jewish shoe dealers specialize in so-called sample lots of cheap shoes and have almost a monopoly on that sort of trade.

The German delicatessen and provision shops have been so long established as to be taken as a matter of course. The excellence of the product of the German sausagemakers and the cleanliness of the butcher shops have given the race an American trade. The successful working out of the principle of co-operative buying, in the establishment of the German Co-operative Association, which maintains a store dealing in groceries and provisions, has perhaps lessened the field for private enterprise in that direction. There are manufacturers of the felt shoe worn by the Germans in the house, which cater only to German trade. Of the higher positions in commercial life, requiring a larger amount of capital, the Germans are well represented in the hay and grain business, in the building and contracting trades and in the jewelry business. The fondness of the Germans for beer has necessitated an establishment of several brewing and bottling plants. The number of German saloonkeepers, while there are some, is probably lessened by the fact that the German prefers to drink at his club or at his home rather than at the bar.

The American banks have not wholly met the needs of the recent immigrant, and for that reason, racial banks have had a thriving existence. The Italian bankers, who usually do a thriving steamship business also, are a potent factor with that race. Unfortunately,

two of the Italian bankers in Lawrence, who happened, by the way, to be related to one another, absconded a couple of summers ago, leaving their depositors without security. For one bank, the claims of the depositors were about $8,000, part of which was deposited by the people in the bank for safe-keeping, and part of which was deposited for transmission and which was never received by the people to whom it was sent. The assets of the bank consisted of a safe and some furniture of a total value of $150. Both of the bankers who disappeared were under personal bonds of less than $5,000. The only property owned by one was a house and lot mortgaged by his bondsman who foreclosed after his disappearance. Obviously, a strict enough accounting was not demanded of these particular banks. The steamship agencies, in all cases, are of course a great stimulation of further immigration. The undertaker of the race of the immigrant is a figure of importance in the foreign district. Deaths, like weddings and births, are events of social importance in the colony and the extravagance of the funeral is, by no means, a measure of family prosperity. The tendency to extravagance in funerals is a well-known failing of the poor in every race, and has had its manifestations in the immigrant from the poor Irish widow who gives her husband an "ilegant wake", in spite of the needs of her children, to the Italian whose ideas of funeral decorum include a band as well as numerous carriages. Like their Irish predecessors, the immigrant undertakers, who also reap a profit on hacks for weddings and christenings, are soon on the road to prosperity and become important socially and commercially in the foreign colony.

The poolrooms which are often attached to Italian barber shops and fruit stands are the gathering places for the men of the

neighborhood. Sometimes, the shop is a meeting place without any necessary equipment. In the Syrian colony, coffee houses supply the need of a gathering place and the proprietors shortly assume positions of pre-eminence in the colony. Greeks, of whom there are very few in Lawrence, tend to run candy stores, fruit stands, boot-blacking establishments, and in these occupations are the keenest competitors of the Italian.

Practically all of the immigrant races in Lawrence have been consumers of some form of alcohol. At present, there are eighty-six saloons and the races are well represented both by the patrons and the dealers. The liquor dealers have had more Irish representatives than of any race and Irishmen havefrequently found this business a road to prosperity. The Germans too have been in the business a great deal. It became necessary when the Poles came to the city for the Irish to employ Polish bartenders to cater to that thirsty race. In consequence, some Poles have gone into the business. The Poles consume enormous quantities of beer at all times but particularly on Sundays and at weddings. In spite of this, the Pole loses less time by his debauches than the Irishman, who drank whiskey rather than beer. The Irish, being convivial drinkers, found the saloon a greater temptation than any other race, although the English and Scotch were very similar in their attitude toward liquors. While the Italians drink wine very frequently, they, like the Germans, are rarely intemperate. Members of the race are in the liquor business and are also manufacturers of soft drinks. The Italian is abandoning his native light wines for American beer and whiskey, much to the detriment of the temperance of the race. The French Canadian who in Canada uses only "whiskey blanc" becomes accustomed to American drinks but is not often an offender by

intemperate habits.

Concerning the immigrant in business, the 1914 Report of the Immigration Commission says: "The fact that the immigrant, peculiarly handicapped by his ignorance of the language and American customs, succeeds in so many instances is more remarkable than that he shares in the failures of the ordinary beginners in business. In his business undertakings, therefore, the immigrant presents no special problem, nor one, in the absence of fraud, with which the State, as such, is concerned".

The Immigrant in Domestic Service. The immigrant, with the exception of the Irish, has not entered into domestic service to any great extent. Irish housemaids constitute the majority of those in service in Lawrence, although a few Polish, and Swedish girls are to be found. The Polish girls are very unskilled and usually work at housework only because mill work is unavailable. The Swedish girls are skillful but there are a very small number in the city. German women frequently go out at day work but the unmarried women consider mill work more desirable. The Italian women occasionally work for the more prosperous members of their own race but almost never for any other race. The Irish married woman, if forced to work either because of the unsufficiency of her husband's wages or his inability or unwillingness to work, takes more willingly to the wash tub as a source of income. Very frequently in those unfortunate Irish homes where the husband and father is the victim of either drink or tuberculosis, the heroic efforts of the mother will accomplish the almost impossible task of being bread-winner and homemaker, and her educational ambition for her children is often in inverse ratio to her income. French Canadians are also capable laundresses but rarely enter

domestic service. Both the Irish and French Canadian women enter the field as boarding and lodging housekeepers. The Irish, particularly, seem to have the field of mealing houses. The French boarding houses and those run by Canadians not French have not the highest reputation usually as regards the standards of morality of the inmates. Sometimes the proprietres considers this none of her business, sometimes she is ignorant of conditions and sometimes, also a partner to such proceedings.

Very naturally, when women work in the mill the traditional work in the home such as washing, cooking and sewing is done outside. Milliners and dressmakers are found of every race but probably the most successful with their own racial patrons as well as a wider circle of clients are the French. The Jewish tailors are making competition keen in the suitmaking line, but they have not complete possession of the field by any means, since Italian and Polish are catering to those of their own race.

The Italians, Portuguese, French and Germans are all represented as barbers--some having independent shops and some working for American firms.

Many of the immigrant women who have come to Lawrence have been accustomed in their own countries to the use of midwives at childbirth, and prefer such attendance to that of doctors. The midwives are some of them trained and skilled women from continental schools of midwifery but others are untrained, illiterate and dirty. Their fee was much less than that of a doctor also. The effort to enforce the law forbidding them to practice this year has been fraught with more or less hardship for their immigrant clientele, whose feelings are shocked by the necessity of a male physician. The problem of

eliminating the midwife has not yet reached the stage where the resulting conditions are capable of analysis.

In the professions of law and medicine, the immigrant is by no means unknown. Of the doctors and lawyers in the city, a large percentage are of Irish descent--American sons of Irish parents. The Irish mother has unbounded ambition for the rise of her son in professional circles. There are but few Italian lawyers, although many of the law firms employ interpreters to get the Italian trade. The Jews have come to the front in the legal profession and have a large clientele among their own race who do a great deal of law business. In the medical lines, there are doctors of almost every race in the city. The immigrants do not altogether patronize the doctors of their race. Judging from the exterior appearance of the homes of some of the Italian doctors, one does not wonder at this preference. The dental profession is a favorite for French Canadians and Jews as well as for the older immigrant groups.

In the field of education, the Irish, in the second generation, furnish the largest number of workers since a considerable majority of both men and women teachers are of Irish descent. The Germans have supplied the largest number of music teachers, although the Italian is now offering a little competition in that line. In fact, the immigrant or his descendants can be found in almost every line of human endeavor in Lawrence. Naturally, the second generation to the older immigration occupy the positions socially and economically important.

IV EDUCATION AND THE IMMIGRANT.

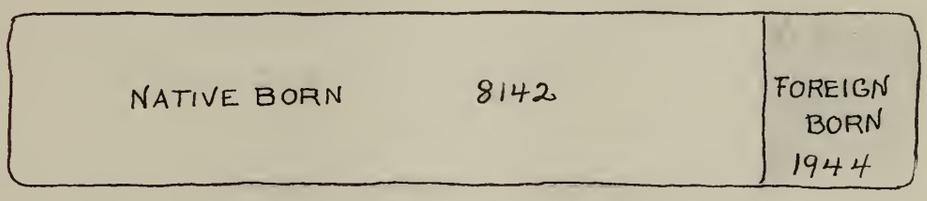
DIRECT AGENCIES.

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF NATIONALITY

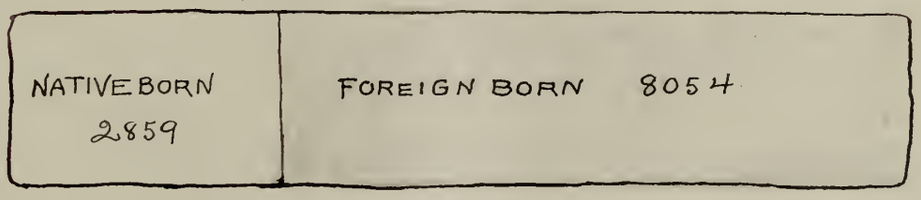
OF PUPILS AND THEIR PARENTS

OF THE LAWRENCE PUBLIC SCHOOLS — 1914.

PUPILS



THEIR PARENTS



Education and the Immigrant.

Public Schools. The problem of educating the immigrant has always been a task for the Lawrence schools. The early immigrants being of the English speaking races fitted into the machinery fo the schools and no adjustment of the subject matter to the foreign child was necessary. In the past twenty years, the task has become more difficult through the ignorance of the English tongue on the part of the school children.

An investigation of the nationalities of the different pupils in the public day schools of Lawrence made by the Superintendent of Schools for his report of 1914 reveals the following conditions.

Birthplace of Pupils.

In Lawrence	6,494
" Mass. outside of Lawrence	959
" U. S. " " Mass	689
" Foreign Countries	1,944

or

Native born	8,142
Foreign born	1,944

The investigation of the nationality of the parents gives the following tabulation:

American	2,859
Italian	1,560
English	1,071
Russian	999
Irish	819
German	563
Canadian French	540
Polish	397
Syrian	308
Scotch	268
Austrian	190
French	129
Portuguese	69

Armenian.....	67
Belgian.....	61
Lithuanian.....	34
Swedish.....	34
Greek.....	9
Roumanian.....	8
Turkish.....	6
Nova Scotian.....	6
Canadian.....	4
Newfoundlanders.....	4
Dutch.....	3
Finnish.....	3
Australian.....	1
Hungarian.....	1
East Indian.....	1
Welch.....	1
Others.....	79
TOTAL.....	10,913

The majority of the foreign children in Lawrence attend the schools in the central district, although the entire school system receives the children of immigrants of earlier or later groups.

The special school for non-English speaking children was created in January, 1906 in accordance with the law passed by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1905 compelling attendance at day schools of all minors below the age of sixteen who were unable to read and write legibly simple sentences in English. The pupils who originally attended this school were those illiterate foreign children working in the mills up to January 1906, together with the recent arrivals from foreign countries. The school started with a registration of less than fifty, but owing to the strict enforcement of the law, the enrollment soon passed 200, and for the first year of its existence, the school enrolled 442 different pupils. As soon as the pupils attained the power to read and write or reached the age of sixteen, they were permitted to return to work. Of the 442 children enrolled the first year,

191 were French
172 were Italian
52 were Syrian

and the remainder were Hebrew, Polish and other nationalities. The necessity of a permanent school for children under working age arriving from foreign countries has led to the continuance of the school. The average membership of the school for the year ending June 1913 was 220 and during the year, 631 different pupils were enrolled. The majority of the present pupils are Italian. The other nationalities represented are French, Polish, Syrian and Hebrew as wellas some of the minor racial groups. Pupils of the school sometimes enter the grammar grades, but the majority go to work direct from the school.

The primary schools in the central district accommodate the younger pupils. Many of these children, although born in America, hear no word of English until their arrival in school. Italian and Polish children attend the s chools at the lower end of the district, Syrians, Armenians and Portuguese, as well as Italiansand Poles, those at the center, while at the upper end of the district, the nationalities are Hebrew and French.

The central grammar school receives pupils of divers nationalities. A questionnaire of 200 pupils selected at random in the fifth, sixth and seventh grades of this school gave the following data as to birthplace of pupils,

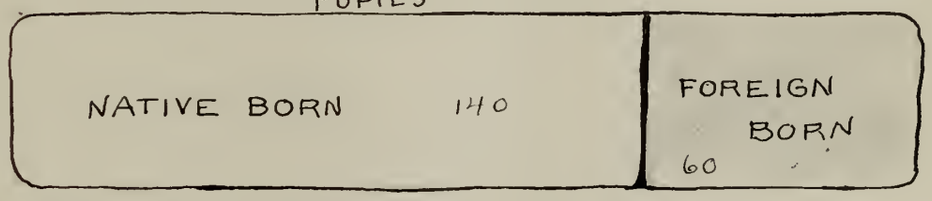
60 pupils born in foreign countries
140 pupils born in America.

The nationality of the parents is summarized thus:

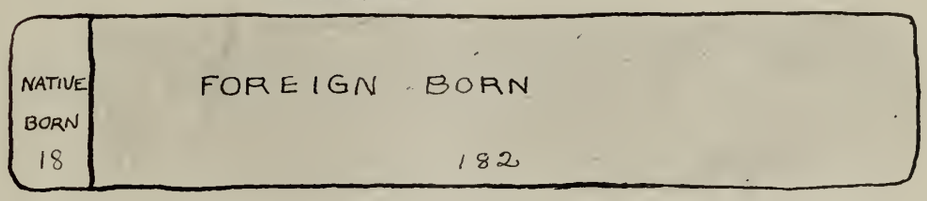
60	.....Italian	(8 Polish
42	.....Russian including	(22 Hebrews
18	.....American	(10 lithuanians
18	.....Irish	
14	.....Austrians (Poles from Austria)	

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF 200 PUPILS SELECTED AT RANDOM FROM THE CENTRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN LAWRENCE SHOWING NATIONALITY OF CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS AND THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME

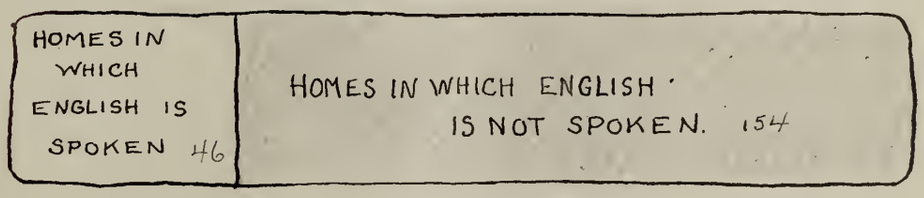
PUPILS



PARENTS



LANGUAGE OF HOME



11	Syrian
9	Polish (not Russian or Austrian)
9	Canadian French
5	Canadian English
4	English
4	French
2	Portuguese
1	German
100	Total

The number of homes in which another language but English was spoken was 154. The language difficulty, therefore, would exist for many American born children.

No estimate of the relative ability of the immigrant school children in learning capacity is possible because of the great divergence of the time in the country, the language in the home and the enrollment of the pupils. Certain racial traits are characteristic. The Irish excel in oratory, language and history, but rebel at mathematical drudgery, while the canny Scot and cooler Briton revel in calculations and figures. The German children resemble the Polish and Lithuanian children in slowness of start followed by a gradual and steady progress. The mercurial Italian seems clever in the lower grades but academic grind reduces his apparent brightness to mere vivacity, and, like the French Canadian, he seems unattracted by present schemes of education. The Hebrews take to books as a duck takes to water for the most part, but no race is more eager or more insistent for the marks that are the visible signs of progress. In spite of language difficulty, the Syrian and Armenian show steadiness of purpose when the early days are past. Of the lesser groups, the Portuguese resemble the Italians in motor-mindedness. The Swedes show brain power, slow but sure, like the German, but with a greater brilliancy. All races have their intellectual and stupid members; all have certain natural aptitudes.

Expenditure for Schools. In 1846, at the beginning of the development fo the city, but three schools were standing within the present city limits, two on the north and one on the south side of the river. All were small wooden buildings but one story high, and containing but one classroom. The new town was not content long with such meager accommodations, and so zealous was it in providing educational opportunities for its children that in 1850, in respect to school appropriations, it stood first in Essex County and nineteenth in the State of Massachusetts. In comparison with other cities of Massachusetts--a state considered foremost in educational matters--Lawrence still seems to expend a proportionally large sum per capita for each child. The Superintendent's report showing a comparative table of per capita costs of education in different cities of the state in 1910 follows:

Worcester.....	$35.62 per capita
Springfield.....	34.18
Lynn.....	32.32
Lowell.....	31.86
Cambridge.....	31.86
New Bedford.....	31.79
Lawrence.....	35.11

Of these cities, Lowell and New Bedford more closely resemble Lawrence because they, too, are textile centers.

The following data concerning expenditures for school purposes is from the 1913 school report.

"Apportionment of Expenditure.

Of the $328,951.74 expended for school maintenance, over 78 1/2% went to pay teachers, almost 12% was spent for fuel and care of schoolhouses, 4% was spent for books and supplies, 3% for cost of general administration, and over 2% for minor miscellaneous expenses.

Per Capita Cost.

It cost $36.97 to give a year's schooling to each pupil in the average membership of the day schools for the year 1913. It cost $30.17 for each pupil in the grades, and $48.35 for each pupil in high school".

School Housing at the Center. At present, the central district has within its borders, the majority of the recent immigrants, the district containing in all 3,125 pupils, native and foreign in 1913. Eight primary schools, a large grammar school and a special school for non-English speaking foreigners house the children located within this district. In no field has public sanitation progressed more in the last twenty years than in the construction of school buildings. The newest of the buildings in the central district has been in use thirty-two years and the oldest sixty-six, and in consequence, these buildings, excellent perhaps in their day, are not up to modern standards. The seating accommodation, ample for a population living in one or two-family houses, is manifestly inadequate for a tenement house population. The inadequacy of school accommodations is not a recent matter, but conditions have become much more critical within the last five years. As the city grew and the population moved toward the outskirts, new school houses were an imperative need in the outlying districts. While conditions were steadily growing worse in the center, the need of school accommodations was equally important outside. For the last few years, not only has there been overcrowding within this central district. but children have been sent to different schools outside the district, temporary buildings have been erected and for a portion of the year, part-time sessions have been held. In 1913, a survey of the school accommodations in the central district

was made by R. Clipston Sturgis, for many years, chairman of the School House Commission of Boston, and an architect of such rank as to make his opinion an interesting and valuable one. His findings, while not entirely in accord with local opinion, are of unquestionable value as expert advice.

As to the population of the district, he makes this statement. "In six years, the school population has increased 820. 400 of this increase occurred between 1910 and 1911. The district is small, it can grow but on one side of the Common, and relief seems possible there. The population is largely foreign, is therefore, apt to shift, and it is difficult to locate accurately where the future pressure will come. In this, there is a possible hint that a large building on the dead end of the district might prove too large in a few years. The district with a normal number of about 35 in a room, would accommodate 2,400 pupils. It actually has 1,000 more than that. The children are many of them foreigners .....and should be in small classes".

With one thousand children more than the district has schoolrooms for, with thirty-five pupils in a room and a self-confessed need of smaller classes for foreign children, there would seem to the unprejudiced observer. little danger in the erection of a large school building. The foreign populationis, it is true, a somewhat shifting one, but that the Italians and Syrians have every intention of making the district their permanent home is evidenced by their buying of old and building of new houses. Moreover, every old house bought by foreigners is soon increased as to the number of tenements, the new houses are all large buildings, the foreigners have large families, and every year the state laws require longer attendance in

school. The shortening of the hours of labor for children under sixteen has had the effect of preventing their employment in large measure and consequently, sending them into school. While the street floors of many houses in the central district contain stores, there is also an ever increasing number in the tenements above the stores.

In the center of the district is, at present, on one lot, a large brick grammar school building of eighteen rooms, a small brick primary school of seven rooms, four small portable buildings and a wooden annex of five rooms which is a portion of larger building partially destroyed by fire in 1910. On this site, Mr. Sturgis advised the erection of a twenty-four-room modern building with an assembly hall and administrative offices for the school department, although he thinks a twenty-four-room building may prove needlessly large for the site. This new building will house the pupils now attending the schools on the site as well as furnish future grammar school accommodations for the children of the district. There are already thirty-four schoolrooms on this site and pupils enough for two more rooms have been sent to be housed in the basement of a school outside the district, while two rooms of primary grade are accommodated in a hall. A total of thirty-eight classrooms must find accommodation in a twenty-four-room building or find accommodations outside their present school district. Work on the erection of this much need central grammar school which was to have been started April 1, 1915 has been postponed for a time, on account of a controversy as to whether the building should be erected by the city itself through its public property department or by private contractors.

The remodelling of two of the smaller buildings in the central district recommended by Mr. Sturgis was attempted in the summer

of 1914. One of the schools to be remodelled was a four-room brick building erected in 1852. The original plan by Mr. Sturgis was "that it be enlarged by adding four rooms to seat forty each, but not otherwise changing the building". Unfortunately, after work was begun, the foundations were found unsafe and as a result of the remodelling attempt, the building had to be torn down and new one erected with a consequent great cost, and delay in construction.

The other building to be remodelled was also a four-room brick structure, but of more recent construction, being built in 1882. It stood the strain of remodelling and was ready for occupancy shortly after the beginning of the school year. In January of 1915, the same school year, it was necessary to close the building, send the pupils elsewhere and thoroughly overhaul the heating and ventilating apparatus. Judging from popular comment, it is yet not an unqualified success.

Mr. Sturgis in his comprehensive plan for improving the housing of school children in the central district made several additional plans which have not yet been carried out by the city. The three old four-room brick buildings on the East Side of the district, he would replace by a new twelve-room lower elementary school building on a new lot. The old buildings could still be used to accommodate the overflow until an opportunity came to sell them. Two woodenfour-room buildings on the West Side would also be replaced by a twelve-room lower elementary school building on the site of one of the schools. Outside the district, and north of it, across the Spicket, he would replace two wooden buildings containing eight rooms by a sixteen-room upper elementary school of brick. Whether it will be possible for an immediate action on the complete plan is unknown. It is hardly probable

that the plan will be carried out in its entirety in the immediate future. The construction fo new buildings at the center will give the immigrant child a brighter educational future. His past school environment has been detrimental to his health, his character and his educational progress.

Description in detail of present and past School Accommodations at the Center. When the schools were being established in Lawrence, the advice of Horace Mann was sought in connection with the site of the principal grammar school at the center. The site chosen did not meet with his approval and he advised putting the school in the center of the Common, thus securing a maximum of light and air. His advice, however, was not followed, and much to the detriment of the health and eyesight of numerous succeeding generations, the building was so constructed as to be a menace ot the health of those attending it. The increase of population in the central district made enlargement of the school necessary, and though it has been condemned by school committees for generations, it is still in use, and will continue to be until the erection of the new school. The building faces the Common, but only a few rooms get the benefit of that pleasant vista. On the west side for three-quarters of its length, it is hemmed in by a church, while on the east side, the high school building, erected in 1868, blocked off the light, until its destruction by fire in 1910. In a history of the city written in 1868, the building is referred to "as that incongruous pile of brick and mortar--the Oliver School House". As long ago as 1888 a special committee reporting upon the future educational needs of Lawrence referred to the Oliver School thus: "the building is old, many of its rooms are poorly lighted and its safety has been more than once called into ques-

tion". In 1897, the Superintendent of Schools thus summarized its conditon: "It has no system of ventilation whatever; it has sanitary features that make it decidedly objectionable from a sanitary standpoint; it is woefully ill-lighted. No infrequently, all the rooms must be lighted by artificial means. Two rooms upon the second floor and six upon the lower floor are artificially lighted a great part of the time. Some of these classrooms are familiarly know among the pupils as 'dungeons'. It is criminal to oblige children to occupy a building in which nearly every hygienic law is disregarded.....The stairways are inadequate and the entrances are insufficient. The result of a fire or a stampede would be something terrible to contemplate. It is even more dangerous for evening classes than for day pupils because in the evening it is ablaze with lights". In the school report of 1908, the superintendent, after quoting the earlier reports of his predecessors, emphasizes the need of better schooling facilities. "There has been since 1904 a steady increase of the school population of this district, due to the incoming of an entirely new population, mostly of non-English speaking pupils who have taken up their abode in the home of the original inhabitants. The children of these immigrants need the best, and deserve the best school facilities that can be contrived. They are not getting them now, and cannot get them until we can get them out of crowded and unsuitable classrooms."

For forty-five years, the Oliver School was the only grammar school on the north side of the river, for twenty years, it also housed the High School, and in its sixty-five years of existence, it has undoubtedly done incalcuable harm to both immigrant and native born. It is a momument to public inertia since agitation for its destruction has been going on since 1868. Its evil effects have borne most heavily

on its recent occupants since it continued for them the evils of home environment. Children from dimly lighted tenements suffer more from dimly lighted classrooms than thosemore fortunate pupils whose homes are of the best.

The agitation for the destruction of the school has made it seem an economical policy to reduce to a minimum all efforts at repairing and re-decorating. Walls from which the paint has peeled in unsightly patches, ceilings discolored by leaky radiators and showing numerous patches, blackboards from which the blackness has long since been worn away, schoolrooms and furniture grimy with daily and nightly use for many years combind to create an environment falling far short of what a modern school should be.

The Special School for non-English speaking children in existence since 1906 has had accommodations even poorer than those of the grammar school. The pupils were originally housed in the old high school building then vacant on account of the erection of a new high school. The building was perhaps not ideally constructed for a high school but it had no qualifications for an elementary school. The large assembly hall, never particularly well-lighted, was divided into four small classrooms by board partitions which went only part way to the ceiling. This arrangement gave a minimum of light and a maximum of noise. Other small classrooms were used and since the school seemed to be but a temporary affair, the smallest amount of money was expended in remodeling the building. It was supposed that the number attending the school would rapidly decline since either by reaching the age of sixteen or acquiring the knowledge required by law, the attendance would rapidly lessen. The increasing number of children between fourteen and sixteen arriving in the city form foreign countries,

however, and the congestion of the central district compelled the continuance of the school. The old high school building was destroyed by fire in ~~the early morning of~~ December 1910, fortunately not when school was in session for whether the children would have been able to get out of the building in case of fire is a doubtful point. Portable buildings were erected in the yard of the building and these, together with an annex not destroyed by fire and classrooms improvised in the basement of this annex, have furnished the accommodations of the special school until April 1915, when the children were distributed in various classrooms and the erection of a central grammar school begun. The housing of the special school has been so poor that it seems impossible for the school to have accomplished the excellent work which it has during the years of its existence. The basementroom, poorly ventilated, noisy and dark,in which the "steamer" classes composed of the most recent immigrants were held differed but very little from the steerage of a transatlantic liner, and must have given to the new arrivals in America, a strange dea of the "land of the free and the home of the brave". In direct contrast to the dinginess of the building, however, were the brave attempts at schoolroom decoration made by the teachers of this school.

The smaller schools in the district are not in as poor condition as those first mentioned , and if not overcrowded, would be pleasant, although not modern schools. Unfortunately, however, three of them are situated on streets where the constant passing of electric cars makes the rooms noisy. None has playgrounds or yards adequate in size.

A summary of the past and present school accommodations of the central district shows school sitesoften ill-suited to school needs,

fairly good methods of heating, an almost total absence of modern ventilation, lighting almost invariably bad, seating, inadequate to the numbers of pupils, no attempt at school art or decoration and a large number of classrooms out of repair. The schools of Lawrence are managed by an unpaid board of four members elected at large, with the mayor as chairman. The school committee may recommend or request the erection of school buildings or reconstruction or repairing of old ones, but its powers are purely advisory. The City Council must vote for the erection of the new buildings and the public property department has charge of the repair of school buildings. The public at large, of course, in the last analysis gets the kind of school buildings it wants and whenit wants them, if it is sufficiently interested to make an issue of the matter. Of the American tendency in such matters, Edward Howard Griggs pertinently remarks: "The poorer the quarter of the city, the more crowded and sordid the conditions of its home life, the greater is the need for spacious, beautiful school grounds and buildings with artistic rooms. It is a sardonic evidence of the breakdown of our democracy that we reverse the principle, putting the most beautiful school environment just where the children need it least, because its main physical and moral effects are accomplished in their homes".

Health of Children in School. Medical Inspection. By act of the Legislature, medical inspection of public schools in Massachusetts became mandatory in all towns and cities throughout the state, September 1,1906. The provisions of the act require the appointment of a physician or physicians who shallexamine all pupils referred to him or them by their teachers, diagnose any disease which these pupils may have, notify parents of defects discovered and , if

necessary, dismiss pupils from school for treatment. The law further provides for the annual examination, by the teacher,of the sight and and hearing of every child in the schools, and the notification of the parents from the same source of the existence of any eye or ear defects, with a recommendation for treatment by an oculist or aurist. The school physicians were at first appointed by the school board, but, at present, the medical inspection of the school children in Lawrence is under the direction of the Board of Health. Two physicians and one nurse comprise the medical corps.

By the wording of the act, the physicians are only compelled to examine and diagnose pupils referred to them by their teachers, a ruling which has the obvious effect of causing the medical inspection to be done by teachers who may or may not have interest or knowledge of the subject. A booklet supplied to the teachers describes the symptoms of contagious diseases and the signs of adenoids,and based of such instruction, the teachers select such pupils as they think need the physician's care, for his inspection. The physician may dismiss pupils from school but such dismissal will not necessarily secure for them medical treatment. The school doctors visit the school on an average of once a week, usually visiting the different classrooms.

The annual examination of the eyesight and hearing of the children and the subsequent notification of the parent of defective conditions with a recommendation for treatment by an oculist or aurist is perhaps the greatest farce in educational procedure of the day. More especially is this true in the schools that are attended by immigrant children or the children of immigrants. The number of these children who receive medical treatment as the result of these notices has been pitiably small. It is usually requested that the

notice sent home be returned to the school with the signature of the parent. Such messages as "there ain't nothing the matter with him", "she can have glasses when she can earn them", "there ain't no doctor", and others of similar import are only a little less disheartening to the teacher than those compliant parents who feel that their full duty is accomplished by the purchase of glasses from the five and ten cent stores, or the consultation with some quack who precribes magic balm for the ear ache. In a room of forty children who were grouped together as a peculiarly backward class in 1914, there were eighteen children who were defective in either eyesight or hearing or both. Notices were sent to the parents and in the majority of cases, a personal interview with the parent, but in no case were glasses procured, although it was evident that the backwardness of the children was caused at least to some degree by lack of medical attention. The excuses were that the children were small and would break glasses, that if an Italian girl wore glasses, her matrimonial chances were ruined, that there was nothing the matter with the eyes and ears of the child, while the excuse that was most frequent and often accompanied the others, was that the family could not afford medical attention. This was true in some few cases, and in many cases, the outlay of money at one time for examination of eyes and purchase of lenses would have been a hardship, yet it could safely be said that there was no child unable to afford glasses or aural treatment who did not attend the "movies" at least once a week. In an arrangement whereby expenditure for examination and glasses could be made in weekly installments, many parents unwilling and perhaps unable to make the complete payment at one time and not desirous of charity would procure the glasses. No teacher who has the already heavy burdens of a large

class of foreign children can, with profit to herself or her pupils, dissipate much of her strength and energy in visiting the homes in an effort to persuade parents to give their children proper medical treatment. A follow-up system of school nurses and school visitors might secure co-operation of home, school and some philanthropic agency. As a result of the poor response in some districts to the reports of defective hearing and eyesight, there has been an inevitable lack of interest on the part of the teacher in making and reporting the tests, and the whole procedure is fast degenerating into a mere perfunctory unrolling of red tape.

In 1914, the Massachusetts Commission of the Blind reported over one thousand children in need of medical attention because of poor eyesight, to the Lawrence City Mission--a philanthropic agency. As yet, however, no noticeable result has been accomplished.

Med cal inspection without school nurses is useless and with one nurse for a school population the size and character of that of Lawrence, it is not at its best. As expressed by Jane Addams, "The best of medical inspection succeeds only in sending the child home; they say such and such a child would have a bad effect on the other children, and therefore, he is sent to the family physician for treatment. In most cases the family physician is not called in, because, in the words of Artemus Ward 'there ain't none'; and, therefore, the child is kept out indefinitely, and the public school so far as that child is concerned, is doing nothing, and the child continues to play in the alley and on the street or sit in the doors of the tenements with the rest of them. The medical inspection got the child out of school, and the visiting nurse got the child back. It seems almost foolish to have medical inspection without the visiting nurse".

According to Dr. R. C. Cabot of Harvard Medical School, the school nurse rapidly comes to excel the young doctor in detecting the first symptoms of infectious disease. In "Health Work in the Schools" by Hoag and Terman, the following data is pertinent: "In Boston, under the inspection of doctors and teachers, the average number of cases of scarlet fever discovered annually in the schools was fourteen. In 1908, the school nurses found one thousand cases. This disparity in efficiency, however, is in reality a disparity between nurses and teachers, as previous to the introduction of the nurses, the physicians had examined, for the most part, only those children sent to them by the teachers as suspects".

The nurse in Lawrence has a much larger number of children to care for than is conducive to efficiency, and she has the added handicap of poor equipment in caring for the children. Since the majority of the diseases which require her attention are caused by dirt, a first requisite for her work is a place where the child may be bathed and taught to repeat the process for himself. In most of the schools which house the poorest population, the only place available is a corridor through which there is constant travel. There is no hot water and no suitable apparatus for bathing. If the child is taken to the home, as is often done, the parents are at work and the house deserted. When the mother is present, there are no facilities for medical care. It is real missionary work which the nurse is called upon to perform in the majority of her cases, and it false economy to hamper excellent work with poor equipment.

Medical inspection, at its best, as it is required by Massachusetts law, if the school physician shows no tendency to give more service than the law requires, does little more than remove from the school, those pupils whose presence is a danger to the school or

give the parent a formal notification of a defect or illness of the child requiring medical attention. It furnishes no medical care and examines, generally, only those cases recommended by the teacher, who is qualified neither as a physician or a nurse. Since in the majority of cases, at least among the foreign children, no action is taken by the parent, the employment of the physician do not necessarily effect the health of the city. Both physicians in their annual reports give the number of children examined and advised and excluded but no distinction is made as to whether the same child is examined several times or several different children are examined.

One of the school physicians has summarized the defects and diseases causing dismissal of pupils as well as giving a table of percentages of diseases and defects. Such tabulation ought to serve a useful purpose in outlining a course in preventive work, and shows the best side of the school medical work as it now appears, for the medical inspection which consists merely of a cursory examination of pupils and leading to no constructive program, while it may increase the sum of knowledge of the person inspecting, is of little benefit to the general public. The need of a definite plan and a definite method of supervision is as necessary in the medical inspection of the schools as in the teaching of the school. A standardization of the duties of the physician and nurse is just as essential as that of the teacher.

With the classroom teacher a considerable amount of health work will always remain. It is she who must be on the alert for symptoms of contagious disease to notify nurse and doctor; it is she who will determine what are healthful habits in the schoolroom and upon her will fall the greatest burden of insistence on cleanliness

and the subsequent freedom from disease of the children within her charge. The major part of the instruction the children will receive in hygiene must come from her. It is manifestly to her interest to foster the health of her pupils since she is the one who suffers most from unhygienic conditions in the classroom, for unlike the pupils who are promoted from room to room, she frequently remains in a dark poorly ventilated room for her entire school career, and she also is the one most subject to contagion because she must correct papers handled by the children, and in very many lessons such as writing and drawing, she must come in close contact with the children in order to properly instruct them. In some districts, moreover, she is exposed to contagionfar different from that children's diseases, since uncleanly home conditions and poor inheritance sometimes result in communicable diseases not generally connected in public opinion with school children. If the efforts of the teacher to safeguard the health of her pupils and herself together with remedial efforts of the nurse and doctor were supervised by a director familiar, not only with medecine, but expert in public health work, invaluable public service could be accomplished. In addition to this, if the co-operation fo the public and private philanthropy could be secured for the treatment of cases now neglected because of poverty and ignorance, not only the health of the individual pupils but the community health would be improved .

Perhaps the person who has the most inportant relation toward the health of pupils is neither physician or nu se . but the janitor. On him, in great measure, depends the cleanli ess of the building and of all itsappurtenances. By the rules of the Lawrence School Committee, feather dusters have been forbidden, and the sweeping is done

with material to lay the dust and never during school hours. One most modern building in the city has a vacuum cleaner. The janitor's ideal of cleanliness for floors, furniture and windows is perhaps setting the standard for some of the children in the schools. A complete system of safeguarding the health of the child would devise instruction of the janitors as well as the teachers, in hygienic matters.

In some schools, notably the older ones, school equipment is lacking for hygienic effort. Some children, often those of immigrant parents, come to school dirty and unfit to associate with other cleaner children. The hands are roughened and chapped from picking coal on the tracks or the dump, and it is an almost impossible task to get them clean. The lack of a proper place to wash up at home sends the child to school in a condition to be a nuisance to himself and his neighbors. In Lawrence schools there are no school baths nor warm water. Liquid soap was experimented with but ordinary bar soap common to all is now in general use. Individual towels are, however, supplied. The washing facilities of the Oliver School, which contains over 800 pupils, consist of three sinks, one on each floor, in a public corridor, and equipped with a faucet for washing hands and a bubbler for drinking. The water will not run in the bubbler if the faucet is in use or vice versa, neither can the three sinks be used simultaneously since the pressure or piping is defective, so that one floor, as a rule, has water at a time. Allowing five children from each of the eighteen classrooms who require washing up--not an excessive number--it means one hundred and twenty children in all, a much too large number for a maximum of three sinks available for use. And when as is usual, a large number of children would like to get drinks or obtain water for painting or similar activities, the dif-

ficulties of instilling the habit of cleanliness are considerable.

Under ordinary circumstance, a child should wash up at home, but in the tenement district extraordinary circumstances sometimes occur and it is then that the poor facilities are felt. Aside from the washing up that is necessary after ball games or rough play, the chilrden who give trouble about uncleanliness are frequently chronic offenders whose parents are often responsible for their condition. Although cleanliness is not particularly cheap in circumstances where every penny must be counted, itis not, by any means, the poorest children who are the dirtiest, but more often the wayward, uncontrolled or neglected children of those parents whose excessive greed or thrift prompts them to spend little money and less time on their offspring. The wife of an immigrant business man of unusual financial success absolutely and flatly refused to wash the hair of her two little girls on the plea that she had never done so and was too busy in the shop to bother. On the other hand, one mother of eight children, said that she washed every night after her day's work in the mill in order to have the meagre wardrobe of her family presentable. It is, moreover, not so much that large numbers of children are dirty, even in the central district, but that the chronic offenders are so excessively and incessantly dirty as to make efforts at reform a discouraging task, and also to make it difficult to protect the clean children from such consequences of uncleanliness as pediculosis, scabies, or the itch.

Physical Instruction. The prescribed amount of teaching relative to health in the schools has made necessary the adoption of excellent system of health readers written under the direction of Dr. Gulick of the New York Public Schools. There is no system of physical education in the schools. Twenty-three years ago, a system of physical

instruction was adopted by the school committee and a director appointed, but the experiment died in its infancy and since that time the only physical instruction furnished is that supplied by the individual teacher. A two-minute exercise or setting-up drill prescribed by the school committee at various times during the day can hardly be considered adequate instruction for proper physical development. A few years ago, a movement to introduce physical instruction by means of games taught by the individual teacher both in school and at recess was inaugurated and was, in some measure, successful. The outdoor games were, of course, practicable only for a portion of the year and not in all the school yards was there sufficient space to play a game or suitable surface to play on. Practically all the teachers in Lawrence are women and would be successful only in game teaching for girls and very small boys. The playing of games in the classroom met with obvious difficulties. In the first place, it was dangerous in the older buildings because the rapid movement of the children caused a noticeable vibration, secondly, the crowding of desks in the classrooms left so little space that any running game was a hazardous pursuit, and thirdly, it was manifestly unhygienic because of the floating dust caused by the marching, running and calisthenic exercises, and last of all, it was inevitable variable because it rested on the iniative of the individual principal and teacher. It is still carried out, in some degree, but large classes and small and crowded classrooms generally reduce the physical ability as well as the willingness of the teacher to play games. The masters of the grammar schools usually coach a ball team and there are occasional games between schools. Baseball and football reach only a small portion of the total school population, however.

School Standards . Requirements for Elementary Teachers.

School standards in Massachusetts are perhaps as high as in any state of the Union and Lawrence is by no means below the Massachusetts standard. Richer communities may spend more money on their schools and outside agencies may co-operate to a greater extent, but the standard of instruction has always been high. In 1875, the Lawrence Training School was established and there,until 1900, Lawrence teachers in the elementary schools received their training. The requirements for an elementary school teacher in Lawrence now demand a diploma showing successful completion of a two years' course at the State Normal School and a further five months' practice in the Lawrence Model School. The standard Lawrence sets for its teachers in then practically higher than that set for the state at large. For the last five years, most of the new teachers have had a year or more experience outside the city as well as the normal school education and the practice school training. It is perhaps unfortunate that the state in providing for the education of its teachers does not especially train them for work with the immigrant since this is an educational need felt all over the state. In the courses of study of the Lowell Normal School, which is the one which Lawrence girls attend, no mention is made of any special study of the immigrant child nor is any but a cursory mention of the problem evident in the report of the Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts for 1913 and 1914. The training of the teachers in the most approved methods of dealing with language and social difficulties is left, consequently, almost entirely to the city, which is working out the problem in the lower grades under the able direction fo the supervisor of primary grades. It is, however, the study of the State to aid its teachers in solving the problem of the immigrant

child instead of leaving the cities and the individual city to work it out unaided.

Efficiency Tests. In 1909, Mr. Leonard Ayres, secretary of the Backward Children Investigation, under the Russell Sage Foundation, came to Lawrence, gave a course of five lectures upon the backward child illustrated with numerous charts representing graphically conditions in Lawrence as regards elimination and retardation. As a result of investigation, it has been ascertained that the average school system carries less than one half of its children through the elementary grades. Lawrence carried half of its children through at this time. The percentage of pupils repeating the work of the grades offers a measure of the efficiency of the school system. In the average system, these pupils constitute one-sixth of entire membership. In Lawrence in 1909, they constituted one-eighth. Although in both these particulars, Lawrence was above the average, from that time the schools have endeavored to reduce this retardation. The causes of non-promotion at the time seemed to be principally irregularity of attendance, and defectiveness. To remedy these evils, recommendations for special classes for truant or irregular attendants and subnormal children were proposed. These plans were never carried out.

In June, 1913, 8% of the pupils in the Lawrence schools failed of promotion. There were 400 trial promotions made. In reviewing the progress, the Superintendent says: "It would seem that we have gone as far as perhaps it is sensible to go in the reduction of non-promotions or in the increase of trial promotions. I suppose, under our present organization, 8 or 10% of non-promotions ought not to be regarded as a high rate of loss. I think the decrease of non-promotions has so far been entirely wholesome, and I am satisfied that

the experiment of trial promotions has been handled with good judgment."

The teaching body in Lawrence, as in any other city, is loath, however, to measure the efficiency of a school system by promotions or non-promotions, for indeed there are points in any system which cannot be measured by any such rule of thumb measures.

Courses of Study. The children who attend the Special School for foreigners have a special course of study adapted to their needs. In the early years of the school, only reading and writing were taught, but the course has now been enriched by arithmetic, language, music and drawing. The books used are the special texts for foreigners, augmented and supplemented by reading books and phonetic methods suited to the requirements of foreign born children.

Except for the Special School, however, the courses of study in use in the schools of the central district are supposedly identical with those throughout the city, but only the most optimistic of persons would say that the standards of work are the same. Adjustments of the need of the child are inevitable whether the directions for adjustment are printed , or verbal or tacitly understood. Work has been progressing for the last few years in standardizing the results in the various classrooms of the different grades in the city and from the data thus collected, future plans will probably be made for the different schools.

That language work will furnish many difficulties for the pupil coming from abroad is obvious, and the educational difficulties are almost as serious for the child born in America of foreign parents. The vocabulary of the street and home is a language compounded of many and divers elements including the foreign tongue, the slang of the day, the wrongly heard and wrongly enunciated English as it is

spoken in the tenements. Although the school in its five hours cannot give much conversational opportunity to large numbers of children, the English words which constitute the school vocabulary are generally acquired correctly. The patient effort and constant hammering necessary to eradicate such errors as "Yes, man", for "Yes m'am"; "I didn't was doing it", for "I didn't do it"; "I stratched my paper", for "I tore my paper" show not only that the English is not automatic but that the errors proceed from a variety of causes. "Yes,man" is caused by poor auditory training; "I didn't was doing it" by lack of language sense; and "I stratched my paper" is a corruption of the Italian "stracciare" meaning "to tear". When a child has left school and entered the mill, it takes but a few short weeks to obliterate the school accent and phraseology, and make a child who speaks a hybrid tongue of weird combinations. Thus, a child stating the fact that the mills are not running full time or are slack may express it in various phrases such as "I don't work for slack", "I make a slack today", "The loss gives me slacks". As each race has its own particular weakness in pronunciation and as the classes in the day schools are not separated racially, various types of error often occur in one class.

When the time is all too short for systematic drill in spoken and written English, it sometimes seems as though the so-called cultural subjects of music and drawing are, in their advance toward technical perfection, absorbing more effort than they should, although only a limited time is assigned them. From time immemorial, melody has been the traditional relaxation of the race. In schools of not far remote date, the singing of songs was recreative period of the day and had an ethical uplift as well as a musical value. The technical work which now fills the music period with studies of harmonic

and melodic minors and mental gymnastics in key reading may be disciplinary and educational, but its cultural and relaxing value are gone. To the average child of immigrant parents or of foreign birth, life will furnish small opportunity for technical study of music, but there is no life in however barren a tenement whose sordid outlook cannot be brightened by a hearty song of goodwill and cheer. Children can learn technicalities in music as they have learned equally senseless and difficult things in the past, but discrimination is sometimes needed even in striving for perfection. Henry Turner Bailey sums up the situation of modern music teaching in the following words: "Music is too often present as mathematics or mechanics. The souls of children are vexed daily with sharps and flats, with bars and dots, and meaningless monosyllables, when they should be first awakened and stirred by melody and harmony".

Love of color is a characteristic dormant in us all and especially strong in some of our recent acquisitions from over seas, yet to read the truly artistic drawing course, one would imagine monochromes the only expression of the artistic ideal. The ability and the ambition displayed in the drawing course makes us fear the ultimate result on the inartistic multitude. Elementary drawing limitations are discussed by Albert H. Leake in "Industrial Education": "At present, it looks as though we were trying to turn every elementary school pupil into an artist, and the attempt must in the very nature of things fail. The course must be both practical and aesthetic, training the many to become artisans, and all to be able to appreciate and derive pleasure from the contemplation of great masterpieces of nature. painting, and construction".

Many of the children in Lawrence schools require instruction

in civic duties. Civics is undoubtedly the one subject that a public school should be expected to teach in a city having a racial composition like Lawrence. The work is somewhat hampered by the fact that the textbooks on the subject seem invariably to be descriptive of New York, and the analogy to Lawrence is not convincing to the elementary pupil. Textbooks of different kinds have been introduced into the schools amd although they are simple enough for the comprehension of the child, the work lacks vitalization and interest to some degree. Much minor instruction in citizenship, however, has long been the portion of the schools. It is doubtful if the ordinary citizen, who has not been inside of a schoolroom since he escaped from it as a pupil, realizes the breadth of information which a well-wishing but somewhat thoughtless public passes on to the teacher to impart to young America, forgetting that this instruction is a tax on the time of the child and the ingenuity of the teacher.

First of all comes the signification of the holidays--who else but the teacher can explain to the foreigner that Thanksgiving, all signs to the contrary, is not the feast of the turkey, but an event truly commemorative of American history. Then come the numerous days to be properly described and explained,--Peace Day, Flag Day, Memorial Day , Clean Up Day, Tuberculosis Day, Mothers' Day, Arbor Day, and no doubt, the inventive American genius will, in time, devise a meaning for every one of the 365. In short, instruction in anything and everything which is useful in the sum of human intelligence is the popular dictum concerning the school. Although well-meaning philanthropists urge further social and civil instruction, the Lawrence schools have not yet, reached the state thus described by Agnes Repplier: "And this irrational, irrevelant medley, this educa-

tional vaudeville, must be absorbed unconsciously by children roused to sustained enthusiasm by their teachers, whom, may Heaven help! If the programme is not full enough in can be varied by lectures on sex-hygiene, lessons in woodcraft (with reference to boy scouts) and pictures illustrating the domestic habits of the house fly".

In the Lawrence schools, the girls in the fourth, fifth and sixty grades are taught sewing by special sewing teachers. No machine sewing is done. The material is furnished by the child. This method has certain advantages in that it gives the child the responsibility of providing a certain definite piece of work to be done, but it has obvious disadvantages. In many homes, the additional cost of buying material is a hardship and sometimes the child, unable to buy on the installment plan, has to remain idle for some time while waiting to save up the necessary money. Then come the inevitable comparisons of material,--Annuciata's is coarse and Helen's fine. That there might be some economy in purchasing such material in bulk is of course, true. Why furnishing material for sewing would pauperize the child anymore than furnishing high school boys material for manual training and chemistry experiments or elementary pupils drawing and writing materials is a difficult question to answer. For the boys, there is no handwork provided. Various simple forms of manual work were experimented with, with defferent degrees of success. Among them was cardboard construction work, basketry, and the simplest forms of sloyd. This handwork for the boys was discontinued primarily because of the expense. Manual work to be of much educational value should be in the hands of expert instructors. Cardboard construction and basketry were forms which the classroom teacher was competent to teach, but it is doubtful if wood-cutting classes conducted by the

average woman teacher have much educational value.

The Parent and the School. The foreign parents, as a class, are desirous that their children do well in school. They are, however, prone to keep their children at home when their services are desirable as interpreters or housekeepers. The spirit of the home is usually with the school but this co-operation has but little effect, unfortunately, for it is frequently impossible for an illiterate or at best a Non-English speaking parent to understand school conditions to a degree sufficient to aid the school. He is far more apt to ask the school to aid him, for parental authority is difficult to maintain in America, and when Carmelo is sleeping out instead of under the parental roof, or when Jennie is suspected of rifling the treasure trove in the boarder's trunk, it is to the busy school principal that the distracted parents go for advice and assistance. When the parent comes to school to interview the teacher or principal, there is usually the disadvantage of talking through an interpreter. These interviews between parent and pedagogue in the foreign district are apt to sound like a snatch from a comic opera. "Everybody kick my Alberto!" reiterated a foreign parent, "The principal kick him, the teacher, she kick him, and the truant officer, he kick him too." The indignant denials from the teaching corps only mystified the bewildered Sicilian, until his son explained that his father meant that the different officials had complained or "kicked about him".

One afternoon, a griefstricken father arrived in search of his son who had not come home to dinner. In tones and sighs rivalling Caruso's he bemoaned, "Oh, my boy, he dead! My Antonio, he dead--I kill myself!" When the teacher, cognizant of Antonio's failings, suggested as a consolation that he might be playing "hookey" instead

of being a corpse, the father as enraged at the suggestion as he was griefstricken before, shouted: "He play hookey, I kill him." So the chances of Antonio's surviving the day seemed slight at all events. Italian tempests are like April showers, and by the next day, all was forgotten by both parties.

Loss to School of Children of Working Age. In Lawrence, during the year ending June, 1912, 320 boys and girls left the public schools to go to work, before the completion of the grammar school course, according to the report of the Superintendent of Schools. Of these, 53 left from the eighth grade, 157 from the seventh grade, and 111 from the sixth grade. The number leaving the fourth and fifth grades or from the ungraded schools when attaining sixteen years was not ascertained. There were certainly a considerable number who left from these grades. The majority of children who leave school to go to work below the sixth grade are immigrants or the children of immigrants whose linguistic difficulties have kept them below grade.

In the report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor, published as Senate Document 936, is the following indictment of the American public school system in its relation to the child who must earn a living in the industrial world.

"The present system is inadequate and unsatisfactory. Only a small fraction of the children who enter the lower grades continue through the grades until they complete the high school course. The reasons, which seem to be the prime causes for withdrawal, are, first, lack of interest on the part of the pupils, and, secondly, on the part of the parents, and a dissatisfaction that the schools do not offer instruction of a more practical character. The pupils get tired of

of the work they have in hand and see nothing more inviting in the grades ahead".

The problem of children leaving school before completion of the school course is, it would seem from this report, a national, not a local problem.

The reasons for this drift from school to work were thoroughly analyzed for Massachusetts by the Commission on Industrial and Technical Education. Their findings were that:

"Universally five-sixths of the children in the cotton mills have not graduated from the grammar schools, and a very large proportion have not completed the seventh grade, while practically none of these children have had high school training. Forty per cent of these families have shown a decided interest in a school which would give their children wage earning powers, and have declared they wanted their children to remain in school; and what is more tragic, sixty-six per cent of them could have kept them there. It is the dissatisfaction on the part of the child which takes him from school, and ignorance on the part of the parent which permits him to enter the mill. .....The responsibility of the school is great. We know how valueless is the constant and universal complaint against the 'teacher'. Is it not rather the subject taught and the way of teaching it, in addition to the numbers taught, which are responsible? Out of 35 or 40 superintendents interviewed in all sections of the State, all except <u>three</u> are of the opinion that great lack is in the system, which fails to offer the child of fourteen continued schooling of a practical character introduced and maintained by a central authority, especially qualified as to what should be done and how to do it, as local powers could not."

Investigation of the United States bureau of Labor on Woman and Child Wage-earners showed of the 682 children investigated by them i in seven localities only 30% left school to go to work through real necessity.

While this evidence, gathered by experienced social workers over the country, may seem well-nigh incontrovertible, a pertinent suggestion on the matter is found in"Industrial Education" by W. J. Leake: "We in the New World are in the habit of flattering ourselves by drawing comparisons between our conditions and those that exist in the Old. We are told that if poverty exists at all, it is found only in a very modified form.....In the report of the first Massachusetts Industrial Commission, in 1906, parent after parent declared that they could have kept their children in school had they wished to stay. How far are these representations reliable? There is a tendency in all people to exaggerate the difficulties of their social and financial conditions. It is highly probably, however, that a large number of parents are actually in need of the earnings of the boy and girl from thirteen to sixteen years of age, and that a number of parentswho make the necessary sacrifice to give their children extended training, do so at the expense of their own health and usefulness."

In a textile city like Lawrence, a family whose head is an unskilled worker and who has no income save his earnings finds it, undoubtedly, a necessity to put the child at work as soon as possible. In the Federal Investigation of wages at the time of the strike, it was found that one-third of the textile workers investigated earned less than $7 for the week for which pay-roll data was secured. Obviously the children of such families leave school from economic pressure. Doubtless all the children who leave the schools to go to work are

not driven by the direst need, but a larger percentage leave for that reason than would appear from school statistics. John Spargo wisely says: "The children who go to work in the factories or mines because they are 'tired of school' or because 'they could not learn' are, it is feared, not always, but too often the victims of malnutrition. The school spends all its energies in the vain attempt to educate wasting minds in starving bodies, and then, the child, already physically and mentally ruined, goes to the mine or the factory, thereto linger on as half-starved plants sometimes linger, or to fade away as a summer flower fades in a day".

The family may not be on the actual verge of starvation when the child leaves school, but the additional pay-envelope, small as it is, may furnish some of the conventional necessities or minor luxuries of life which even the poor crave in this modern age. The majority of those who go to work leave school because the family need their help. In many cases, an effort might be made by the family to keep the child in school if the subject was approached tactfully.

Often the child is willing and anxious to leave school because when he becomes a wage-earner, his position in the family circle is a much more favored one. Although, as a rule, his wages are turned in to the family treasury, he receives better clothes, more money to spend on the "movies" and is allowed a very much wider latitude in his pleasures and privileges.

Parents ambitious to acquire property or savings, sometimes force the child early into the economic world because the mere pittance the child earns helps in the great American game of "getting ahead".

As a result of economic pressure, parental greed and youth-

ful distaste for school, a large number of the school children in Lawrence who are immigrants or the children of immigrants go to work at an early age. This is not a recent development, although there is often current comment on the recent foreign arrivals' forcing their children to work. Some children have always gone to work at the earliest opportunity and some children always will, until that far distant Utopia arrives when poverty, disease, youthful folly and parental greed are unknown.

Children are more willing to leave school if the school environment is unpleasant and the lessons difficult. It is sometimes hard for those outside the school to realize that there is no royal road to learning in the twentieth century anymore that in previous ones, and a child must make an effort to acquire knowledge even in this age of pre-digested and simplified education. Not all children are inclined to learn from books, and the opportunities for motor-minded children under fourteen are very slight in the Lawrence schools. Investigations, not particularly in Lawrence, but cities of similar type, show a class of children who leave school because the school, the work and the teacher were alike disagreeable to them. It is not beyond the province of the principals and higher officials in the schools to investigate such complaints. If there is any teacher in the personnel of a city's corps of teachers whose antagonistic and unsympathetic attitude toward any considerable number of children is such that they will forego school rather than continue in her class, there is something radically wrong, either with the general discipline of the schools or the individual teacher. If a teacher is assigned an inelastic course of study, a rigid standard of promotions, and a large class of pupils, difficulties in discipline cannot fail

to ensue. Schools in their present form do not appeal to certain types of pupils and it is a delicate question whether it is the duty of the school to adjust itself to the needs ofthe abnormal pupil or to continue in its beaten path of appeal to that famed myth of the average child.

When the law limiting the hours labor for children under sixteen was passed, some employers not only did not make over their schedules to adjust their mills to the demands of the eight-hour law for these children, but discharged all under that age on their payrolls. By this action, 600 boys and girls lost their employment around September 1, 1913. The problem of keeping track of these children is reported on in the Lawrence 1913 School Report:

"The names and addresses of these discharged minors were furnished to the superintendent by the mills, and from this list an alphabetical and a street catalogue were made for follow-up purposes. This was supplemented by a list of children between fourteen and sixteen, furnished by the school census enumerators. Much systematic follow-up work has been done upon these cases, and at present writing, practically all of these boys and girls have been accounted for. More than 100 of them re-entered school of their own accord. Many others received employment as soon as they reached their sixteenth birthday. A considerable number of them found employment, even before they became sixteen, in the two or three mills which continued to employ children under sixteen, in spite of the eight-hour limitation. About 50 were found to have removed from the city. Nearly all the rest are at home, in not a few instances, taking the place of the mother, who, in order to keep the family income sufficient for actual needs, has gone into the mill in the place of the son or daughter forced out

of employment by the eight-hour law. The law authorizes the Superintendent of Schools to issue permits to children under sixteen who are profitably employed at home."

A new system of Employment certificates was instituted by the State Board of Labor and Industries, September 1913. The re-certification was completed in Lawrence on October 15 of that year, Lawrence being the first large city outside of Boston to complete the re-certification.

Under the Massachusetts Statute, which limits the hours of children under sixteen, the children under that age are finding it increasingly difficult to get work. Some of the mills do not hire under sixteen, preferring not to bother with different time schedules, andthe mills who do employ children of this age have not nearly enough places to accommodate those seeking them. The law then has had the effect of keeping from work and in school a majority of these children from fourteen to sixteen. The work which was done by the children in the factories had no educational value. Whether the work accomplished by the children from fourteen to sixteen in school when they have lost interest in school work is of any educational value either is a mooted point. The mere occupation of a seat in school hardly constitutes an education.

The High School. There is but one high school in the city which accommodates pupils whether immigrant or American from all parts of the city, the central districts or the outskirts. It is the one spot in the public school system of the city where all the children of all the people have a chance to meet. The high school has had the children of immigrants since its beginning as a high school because the Irish parents--the first-comers--were even more eager

than the Americans for their children to acquire booklearning. The children of the other races are seeking its opportunities more and more. The Hebrews are a distinct element to be felt in the high school at present. The Germans have been present in more or less number for a long time, although the German child was rather apt to leave school at fourteen until recent years. In comparison with the number of French Canadians in the city and the length of time they have been in the city, a relatively small number attend the high school--a fact explained by their early entrance into the mill and by the tendency of the Canadian parent to send his child to Canada to complete the education. In the last few years, Polish and Italian and Syrian children are entering the high school. This is due to their more rapid progress through the grades in recent years, and to the shortening of the hours of labor for children under sixteen as well as to the recent industrial depression which makes work for children difficult to find.

Enrollment. 1,000 pupils were attending high school in 1913, and 8,529 in the elementary schools. In other words, one child in every ten in Lawrence enters the high school, or 10% of the children are in the high school. The Lawrence High School is perhaps unique among New England high schools in that there are more boys than girls as students.

The enrollment for December 1913 showed:

First Year	Boys.....208 Girls....186
Second Year	Boys.....141 Girls....142
Third Year	Boys..... 94 Girls.... 78

Fourth Year	Boys..... 71 Girls.... 80
Post Graduates	Boys..... 9 Girls.... 2
Total	Boys.....523 Girls....488
TOTAL	1,011

There were 128 graduates in June 1913. Of these graduates, 28 entered college and 8 entered normal school. The number of pupils who go to college from the Lawrence High School is thus a very small one in comparison to the number of graduates and an even smaller fraction of the entire number who attend high school.

Housing. The Lawrence High School Building is modern, in excellent repair and by the efforts of the pupils very extensively decorated with works of art. It is, however, much overcrowded at present, holding two sessions daily to accommodate pupils.

Standards of Teaching. The standard of teaching in the school is high, the teachers, before obtaining a position, being required to be graduates of a college and also to pass an examination, generally considered extremely difficult. About one-third of the teachers are men. The teachers of the commercial department are not required to have either a college diploma, previous experience, or success in passing in an examination--the requirements in this department being in some respects lower than those for the elementary school teachers.

Physical Training. The physical training of the high school pupil is limited to those selected athletes who represent the school on the gridiron, diamond or track. The majority of the school under the present policy is relegated to the grandstand or the side

lines. One of the men teachers acts as coach to the athletes, his salary for this work being furnished by the Athletic Association, which in turn gets its main revenue from the gate receipts at the games. For girls, no physical instruction is given. There seems to be a growing realization, sensed in educational journals of the day, that physical training would be a good thing for every student in high schools as well as for the few athletic specialists who have in the past monopolized the field, often injured their health permanently in contests ill-suited for school boys and almost inevitably reaped little benefit save an overweaning sense of importance.

Courses of Study. Practically no choice is offered between a college preparatory class and a commercial course except for the boys who may take manual training. This has the effect of making the high school a cross between a college preparatory school and a commercial school, while lacking some of the good features of both institutions. The college preparation is needed by so minute a fraction of the school population that it seems to be a rather expensive investment for the taxpayers, and the commercial department is catering to an already overstocked market.

The grammar school graduates select their courses of study usually with the help and advice of the grammar school principals. The parents of the immigrant child are usually unable to aid him in his choice of subjects. Many pupils choose the commercial course because it is the only training offered in work to be taken up after school, and is, moreover, considered particularly easy by the pupils. Many pupils also who will never enter college take the college courses, some because they have no definite ideas of what they will do when high school is over, and the college course suits them as well as

any other, some aspire to the college course because Young America is snobbish enough to assume that the college course includes the cream of the school, and still others because they fancy the best teachers are assigned to college classes.

The arbitrary requirements which the colleges make concerning methods and subject matter of the studies taken by those pupils whom they receive from the high school has an effect on the school curriculum extending beyond the college course. Because of an idea of economy in expenditure for textbooks, the books read in English literature classes throughout the school are mainly those selected by the college requirement board. In the acquisition of general culture which must be acquired by easy steps rather than aerial flights, other books less classical but of stronger human interest would be of more use for average high school pupils.

The manual training course, which has no special trade-training importance, however, is taken by 101 pupils--all boys.

The one subject which all pupils must take is English. There are different choices of prescribed subjects in the different courses for the different years. Pupils must have passed a certain number of courses to obtain a diploma. In former times, pupils falling below standard were automatically dropped, a process having some good results and some bad, since it kept a high standard of work and reduced the number of loafers. Such procedure is not allowed now, since public opinion holds the high schools, like the lower schools responsible for teaching the dullards as well as the shooting stars. Unfortunately, occupation of a seat in a high school classroom never has or never will automatically educate a boy or girl unwilling to work in school, or unable to absorb the variety of educational food

offered. A drastic criticism of the coddling resulting from allowing easy standards of work is found in "Some Reflections of a Philistine", an article in the Educational Review for September, 1914 by Alice B. MacDonald, for several years English teacher of the Lawrence High School. She says: "The theory seems to be that tho' the heavens fall, tho' standards be lowered, tho' courses be sweetened to the indigestible point, retarded or unambitious youth must be encouraged, not to do laborious study, but to graduate--as if mere graduation could mean anything! The reward of the system seems to be either the memoryof a pleasant time spent in school or an alluring, if ephemeral job, waiting somewhere with outstretched arms in that vague place called the world". and again, "One only has to be a teacher in one of the large high schools upon which this system has been thrust, to know that the chief object of these pupils is to 'get by', and finally to obtain the position which they have a confident, if vague notion is waiting for them as soon as they shall have droned their way thru school. For, a system which, in order to carry out its sentimental purpose, lowers its standards of ranking, offers elective courses, allows these courses to be dropt as soon as they appear too hard or likely to cause failure in 'getting by' or in making the football team, and which commands its teachers, to promote and graduate 100% of its pupils, such a system, I say, is little fitted to teach the cold, hard doctrine of the survival of the fittest, or to make the aspirant for material prosperity understand that in the roomy empyrean at the top of the golden ladder, few there be that enter, if indeed they succeed at all in climbing the rungs of the ladder."

It is evident that the studies offered in the Lawrence High School give no direct training for a life pursuit except in a commer-

cial career, and that there is no training of the girls in domestic science or household arts. Even educational authorities are at variance as to the value of this mooted subject and while few will go so far as to agree with the statement of Mary L. Harkness in her article in the "Atlantic" on the "Education of a Girl" in which she says: "It is no more essential to the progres of the universe that every woman should be taught to cook than that every man should be taught tp milk a cow", it is undeniable that the need of instruction in household economy has not, until recent years, been crying need in Lawrence, since the majority of the homes solve the problem without the assistance of the school. It must not be forgotten that the High school in Lawrence has served the needs of the community well in the past. The equipment of the school building when it was erected in 1901 was abreast if not in advance of the time and if changes in educational ideals consign to the scrap-heap, science laboratories and order them to be replaced by kitchens and millinery parlors, a small and conservative city like Lawrence with a limited amount of money must necessarily lag in the race for the new school idea. Undoubtedly, further adjustment between school, child and community will be a feature in the Lawrence High School in the not far distant future.

The Industrial School An Industrial School was established in Lawrence about eight or ten years ago. The city seems particularly well-suited for the experiment on account of its industrial and racial character, but, unfortunately, the school was not a decided success. It was not under the control of the school board, and mismanagement or politics or both, together with apparent inefficiency in the teaching force made its downfall easy. It was perhaps unfortunate that in the minds of many people, an industrial school is considered a place to which pupils

ONE CHILD IN TEN IN THE LAWRENCE PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOES TO HIGH SCHOOL

too stupid or lazy, or troublesome to learn should be relegated. Industry, brains and right ideals are as indispensable to the industrial worker as to the professional man, and these qualities are possessed by all industrial workers in some degree. One mistake in the Industrial School was the popular conception that the Industrial School was primarily for those who didn't make good in any other school. The need it could have filled for those pupils who were motor-minded was weakened by the presence of pupils who had no desire to learn any subject. The resulting laxness of discipline, increased because desire of large enrollment prohibited expulsion of troublemakers, gave the school a poor reputation.

The Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor thus enumerates the subjects it offered when in existence. "The Lawrence Independent Industrial School offers in day courses the following: Machine shop work, electricity, pattern and cabinet making, textiles, dressmaking, millinery and household arts. Enrollment, 179. In the evening, the following courses are offered: Steam engineering, chemistry and dyeing, cotton spinning and carding, cotton and worsted loom fixing, designing, yarn calculations, electricity, blue-print reading, architectural drawing, woolen and worsted manufacturing through spinning, cooking and dressmaking. Enrollment, 886."

The difficulties of the school were thoroughly advertised and drastic criticisms of the management and discipline as well as the results appeared in the wordy controversies concerning the subject in the local papers. Whosever and whatever the fault, the school was unsuccessful and the day school department was abolished. The entire school was placed under new management, and the evening classes

which have been in existence since the new regime have been of a high standard of excellence.

The building used for the evening classes is an old manufacturing building in the center of the city. The situation, though central, is a poor one for evening classes since it is in a district partly given over to business and containing likewise the poorest variety of lodging houses. Next door is a stable and the stable odor is strong throughout the building.

The pupils are drawn from all over the city and are of varying races--predominantly, Englishspeaking, however. So great is the popularity of the classes, especially those of the household arts, that there is a long waiting list of pupils who wish to enter and names are drawn for entrance to classes.

Classes in cooking have recently been organized in the afternoon, and this is probably a first step toward the re-organization of a day school. The evening successes of the last two years have proved the worth of the school to the community.

Evening Schools. Evening schools meet the needs of the adult foreigner. These schools were inaugurated by the City Missionary in 1859 and were taught by a corps of volunteer teachers. The average attendance was 300. The city furnished the buildings, and later, part support, until finally the evening schools were established under city auspices. The original evening schools met two evenings a week for a four months' term. They are now open seventy evenings, having sessions three times a week.

Compulsory attendance at Evening Schools. By the Massachusetts law, every minor between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, employed or unemployed, married or single, who is unable to pass the

Graphic Description of Illiteracy in Lawrence Mass.

9067 illiterates over 10 yrs. old in Lawrence by Federal Census 1910

1543 illiterates attended public elementary evening schools in 1913

Attendance at evening schools compulsory only for illiterate minors between 16 and 21.

188 pupils attending Special day school for non-English speaking pupils - [These pupils are probably not all illiterate] in 1913.

Illiterates in Lawrence

Attending day or evening public schools	Not attending public schools

requirements in reading, writing and spelling for completion of fourth grade of the public school is required to be in regular attendance at public evening school while it is in session.

The elementary evening schools instruct not only those required to attend, but also a certain number of adult foreigners who voluntarily attend--396 is the number given for 1913.

Racial Make-Up of Evening School. In the Report of the Superintendent of Schools for 1913, the following data is given concerning the nationalities attending the Elementary Evening Schools in October, 1912.

Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Italian	302	266	568
Syrian	95	90	185
Polish	81	66	147
Lithuanian	44	47	91
Armenian	102	4	106
French	108	124	232
Russian	31	29	60
Greek	5	1	6
Hebrew	13		13
German	11	8	19
Portuguese	8	8	16
English	44	26	70
Irish	11	8	19
Other nat.	7	4	11
	862	681	1543

Housing. The evening schools for all except the Evening High and High School preparatory classes are held in the various schools of the central district, and the accommodation varies greatly with the different schools. The worst feature is the crowding of a large-size man in a small-size seat. The lighting and ventilation is poor in some instances. It will probably always be necessary for economic reasons to house the evenings schools in day school buildings.

Course of Study. The object of the elementary evening school is to give the immigrant as rapidly as possible, a working

vocabulary of English. To facilitate the work, special texts for foreigners are used. The work in Lawrence has progressed rapidly in the last decade, and, in all probability, Lawrence is handling the problem as well, if not better, than other municipalities. The teachers in the evenings schools are mainly elementary day teachers. Their training and experience makes them better fitted for the work than any other group for the purpose, but, of course, the night and day work must be an additional strain on the health of the teacher.

The progress of the pupils in the evening school is, in most cases, hampered by the fact that the pupil is already wearied by a hard day's work and is in no condition to learn, however willing he may be. Attendance alone is a heroic effort on the part of some of the evening pupils. The Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration truly says: "Indeed, the amount of education that can be successfully and profitably planned for this group, largely depends upon the stimulating quality fo the teachers and the physical endurance of the pupils, and the latter is extremely important. In the case of the immigrant girl, although she brings the physique and endurance of the country bred, the change from long hours of work out of doors to ten hours of work in the spinning room of a mill, or of dish-washing in a basement kitchen, usually means physical exhaustion, after the slow easy going pace they have known in Europe, find the change to the highly specialized industrial organization of the United States equally trying. Neither group is in proper condition to receive instruction four, or even two or three evenings a week. The phenomenal past is only a proof that their eagerness overcomes their physical weariness".

Large numbers of adult foreigners and more particularly the

foreign women, being over the compulsory age limit, do not attend evening schools.

An effort to make the evening school reach more pupils and hold them for a longer period is stimulated by having occasional lectures in the native tongue of the immigrant. Social activities, are also held held in the different classrooms.

The instruction of the immigrant in his civic duties is attempted in all the evening classes and is carried to its logical conclusion in the classes which prepare the immigrant for naturalization.

Preparatory and Evening High Schools. Opportunity is offered to the working child who leaves school after the sixth grade to finish the grammar school course at night and an evening high school offers opportunity of work in high school subjects.

Enrollment. In 1913, there were 652 pupils in the Evening High School and 265 in the preparatory department, making a total of 917 pupils, almost as large an enrollment as the day high school. These pupils are for the most part members of the immigrant races.

Housing. The school is housed in the same building used by the day high school and has excellent facilities for work.

Work. The evening high school offers academic courses of general interest and commercial courses similar to those of the day schools. The social life connected withthe school and the alumni association connected with it furnishes a strong incentive to attendance. If it did no more vital work than to provide a social center for the youth that attends it, it would perform a valuable community service.

Excellent as has been the work of the evening high school

and the department preparatory to it, their very success has made them susceptible to certain dangers. Pupils who are not absolutely obliged to leave school do so because they think their education can be continued as well in the evening as in the day schools. The evening schools can and do accomplish much of educative value, but a course in the evening can never equal that offered by a proper day school, nor should the child who is financially able to receive a day school education overtax his system by attending school at night after working in the daytime. There is a growing tendency among parents and children, especially those of moderate circumstances, to feel that if day school work is at all difficult that it will be much easier and just as good from social and economic standpoints, to finish the education via the evening school. The overenthusiatic proponents of evening school education should not make of it what it never was intended to be, a substitute for a day school. It should properly minister to the educational wants of those children unable by stress of circumstances to finish day school, and also to those maturer persons, who, from early environment or economic pressure, lack proficiency in education. The evening high school which leads the child or the general public to suppose that, in one year of evening school work, it can accomplish two years of day school work is not performing its best service to the child or the community.

Parochial Schools. Side by side with the work of the public schools has been that of the parochial schools maintained by several of the Roman Catholic Churches of Lawrence. The first parish school was established in 1851, and in 1861, there were 900 children in attendance.

There are now two large elementary schools, one for boys and

one for girls as well as a girls' high school attached to St. Mary's Parish on the north side of the river. An elementary school, under the same management, called St. Rita's is situated in the "Across the Spicket" district. An elementary school of smaller size is attached to St. Laurence's Church. A large elementary school for boys and girls is situated on the south side of the river in St. Patrick's Parish. These comprise the parochial schools of the Irish parishes. All instruction, secular or religious, is in English. The other parochial schools are bi-lingual, being conducted by the foreign parishes. Schools attached to the French Canadian church of St. Anne house over 2,000 boys and girls on the north side of the river. Schools of the French Canadian parish of the Sacred Heart accommodate the elementary school population of that race on the south side of the river. The Italian school under the direction of the parish of the Madonna dell' Rosario is an elementary school situated at the lower end of the central district. A small German Catholic School is maintained. by the German Church of the Assumption.

Housing. With the exception of the Italian and German schools which are housed in quarters fitted up in the churches. the housing of the parochial schools is quite equal, if not superior to, the public schools. The new schools erected under church control are fine examples of school architecture.

Management. These parish schools receive no subsidy from public funds but are maintained solely by the efforts of the parish to which they are attached. The parents of the children who attend pay a small school fee and provide school books, but collections for school purposes are taken from the parish as a whole. Lack of money to pay school fees or for school books is always supplied and many of

the children attending the school do not pay anything whatever. The Roman Catholic population is composed generally of poor working people and the school buildings and equipment are a monument to their zeal in providing the education they think essential to their children. The schools are under the immediate direction of the parish priest, the supervision of the diocesan director, and sometimes also have a certain amonnt of supervision from the superior of the order to which the teachers belong. The schools are also open to the inspection of the school committee of the town.

Teaching Force and Curriculum. Some of the schools are divided by sexes, men religious teaching the boys and nuns the girls. The sisters in charge of the schools in the English speaking parish on the north side of the river are of the Order of Notre Dame de Namur, an order which teaches in parish schools, academies, and in the one Catholic college for women in America. The English speaking schools on the south side of the river are taught by an order whose standard of teaching is such that they are allowed to teach in the public schools of Canada. The boys' schools of St. Mary's Parish are conducted by the Xaverian Brothers. The teaching in all these schools is in no sense below the public school standard but the courses of study are somewhat dissimilar, and religious instruction is given for a certain period each day.

The French Catholic schools which have been in existence since the seventies are in charge of religious orders trained in Canada. Different orders teach in the schools on the different sides of the river. The lessons are conducted in both French and English. The Italian school is under the direction of an order of Italian sisters. Lay teachers--some of them former Lawrence public school teachers--

have charge of the English instruction. The German school is taught by the Dominican sisters who have a considerable clientele also for music lessons.

The majority of the children who go to the school maintained by the English speaking parishes are the descendants of the Irish immigrants, although occasionally the later immigrants who live near the parish schools attend them. The French Canadian population sends by far the majority of its children to the parochial rather than public schools, in contrast to the Italians who are well represented in the public schools, probably on account of the small school accommodations of the Italian parish. The German school is very small because the Catholic portion of the German population in Lawrence is very slight. The Irish have entered the parochial and public school in equal numbers.

Public Opinion Concerning Parochial Schools. Some few overzealous Americans look upon the establishment of a parochial and more especially a bi-lingual school with hostile eye, as opposed to American principles, and an absolutely groundless fear is felt that Catholics will demand and obtain money from the public treasury for the support of their schools. This antagonism is not recent by any means--Carroll D. Wright when Chief of Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics in 1882 voiced the following sentiments in the matter. "Another sourse of the prevailing impression that the French were unfriendly to New England ideas is found in the establishment of parochial schools. However much the effort of the French to educate their children in these institutions may be applauded, the parochial school will always excite hostility on the part of the native. Whether they are foreign to our ways, or inimical to our institutions, are not questions for

discussion at this time. We only state the fact that their establishment by members of any race will always raise suspicion in the American mind as to the sincerity of professions of loyalty to our government on the part of theiounders".

Another writer, E. B. Grose, even more pronounced in his views, when he says: "The parochial school is opposed to the public school; the parochial school is Roman, the public school, American. The parochial schools could not secure scholars but for immigration. The Roman Catholic Church is persistently trying to get appropriations of public money for parochial schools, altho well aware that this is directly contrary to the fundamental principle of absolute separation of Church and State; and is relying on the foreign vote to accomplish this un-American purpose".

The situation in Lawrence hardly bears out the statement in this paragraph that the parochial schools could not secure pupils but for immigration since the English speaking parochial schools are now filled almost entirely with native born children and often native born children of native parents. The Catholics of Lawrence though they for some years have been a considerable factor in the vote of the city have not asked aid for their schools in any particular, and, incidentally, the erection and maintenance of the parochial schools has saved the city a great deal of money. The conditions in the central district, if the Roman Catholic schools should close their doors, would stagger the taxpayer. In that district alone, the parochial schools accommodate 3,500 children. Bird Coler, formerly Comptroller of New York and a non-Catholic sums up the situation when he says: "The Catholic has a legal and a moral right as an American citizen to spend his money for a school in which dogmatic religion is taught

with other things purely secular, and he not only does spend his money under ecclesiastical control, but does so with enthusiasm--and makes a real sacrifice to do so".

The bi-lingual schools are somewhat hampered by a scarcity fo religious teachers who can speak the English language as well as their native language, but this difficulty is being solved by the hiring of secular American teachers. These schools are of comparatively recent date also, and have probably not reached their possibilities of perfection. It is the tendency in comparing public and parochial schools to compare the poorest parochial school with the best public school, and vice versa, depending on the views of the one making the comparison. Both have virtues and both have faults. It is the desire of the proponents of parochial schools to have their standard as high as is obtainable. Unavoidable delays are caused by lack of funds. There is nothing inherently wrong in the acquisition of a second language besides the English tongue and if, as is natural, the younger children in the schools respond more readily to instruction in the mother tongue, many a public teacher longs occasionally for sufficient knowledge of the language of the child to set him straight on the path to learning. Since her foundation, the Roman Catholic Church has established the school beside the church and it is not to be expected that the church which fostered the only education obtainable in the Middle Ages, and which developed the educational system of Loyola will relinquish her activities in that line in the New World.

In regard to the parochial schools in Massachusetts, the Report of the Commission on Immigration says: "Their development is inspired by a spiritual motive, which, together with the unselfish devotion of the large corps of teachers who voluntarily have conse-

crated their lives to its advancement, is worthy of the highest respect. Whether or not we agree as to the desirability of such racial and religious segregation within the community as the parochial school necessitates, we cannot but admire the religious sincerity, the self-denial and the generosity of the masses, who, from their scanty possessions, give unstintedly to the upbuilding of an educational system which holds spiritual development to be of far greater importance than material progress and which seeks to inculcate love and respect for God, for country, for authority, and for fellowmen."

Private Schools not Roman Catholic. The German Protestant Churches maintain small schools in connection with their churches in which instruction in the German language and songs as well as religious instruction is given. These schools, however, unlike the Roman Catholic, are merely supplementary to the public schools and hold sessions on Saturday morning or after school hours. There is also a German School not run on religious lines which the children attend after school in the afternoon and evening and in vacation. The addition of a language study after a day school's work is over obviously must have some disadvantages in strain on the pupils, especially since the pupils in the grammar grades in the public schools are required to do a certain amount of home work.

The Hebrews, also, have schools supplementing the public schools, for instruction in Hebrew, Yiddish and religion. Schools are maintained in connection with the two synagogues. There are classes also taught by private teachers. Like the German schools, the classes meet after school, in the evenings, on Saturdays and in the summer vacation. Both boys and girls attend.

IV EDUCATION AND THE IMMIGRANT.

INDIRECT AGENCIES.

Education and the Immigrant.

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The Church and the Immigrant. Since the foundation of the city, the majority of the immigrants who have come to the city have been Roman Catholics. Since the Irish immigration to Lawrence was mainly from the southern districts, those of that race in the city are usually Catholics. The majority of the other English speaking immigrants, however, have been Protestant, and the English, Scotch, and Canadian English and their descendants are scattered among the many Protestant churches in the city. Only a very small minority of the Germans in Lawrence are Roman Catholic. The more recent immigrants are generally from the Catholic countries, Italians, Syrians, Armenians, Belgians, French, Portuguese, Lithuanians, Polish, as well as the earlier French Canadians being Catholic when they reach the country. Some of the Syrians in Lawrence were Protestant before coming to the country.

The Hebrews whose numbers have increased greatly in the last ten or fifteen years are a distinct group as to religion. The Hebrews maintain two synagogues and while some of them are drifting from the faith of their fathers, the majority still observe the holidays and retain other traces of their faith. No nationality is perhaps less self-conscious in acknowledging their faith than the Jew, and the numbers of Jewish children in the schools have led to some concessions by the school committee concerning absence on Jewish holidays. The Jews who have become unorthodox rarely affiliate with the Chrisian religion, but, observing neither the Sabbath nor the

Sunday, they tend to abandon the stricter morality of the earlier faith to a non-religious, go-as-you-please policy which is disturbing the thinkers of their race.

The fervent faith and readiness to lend financial co-operation to church purposes of the Irish immigrant is shown in no place more clearly than in Lawrence. The four large churches, enriched by decorative art and statuary, the large school buildings, and the large attendance at church services, all attest the loyalty of the Celt to his church. That the erection of such churches must have been a tax on the early immigrant who frequently earned small pay is undoubtedly true, but the Irishman rejoiced in the opportunity of developing in America the church that political oppression had endeavored to crush in Ireland.

The priests of the Irish churches on the north side of the river are of the Augustinian order and are now mainly men reared in America and trained at the Augustinian College at Villanova, Pennsylvania. Those on the south side of the river are secular priests trained in the diocesan seminary at Brighton, Massachusetts. Perhaps there has been no more potent influence on the civic and moral life of the Irish immigrants in the community than the example and precept of the English speaking Roman Catholic clergy. Their strong denunciations of socialism and more especially of the I. W. W. propaganda at the time of the strike were all the more effective to their parishioners because of their well-known sympathy, demonstrated by years of faithful and wholehearted service, to the working man and the cause of labor.

In connection with the Roman Catholic churches are the numerous sodalities and societies on strictly religious lines. The

society which enrolls the young men and boys in campaign against profanity is well known in American cities as the Holy Name Society. Its influence in a mill city like Lawrence is incalculable. The societies of St. Vincent de Paul existent in most of the churches have charge of the charities of the parish. The women's societies also, especially those of young unmarried girls have a deep spiritual motive and are of value in inculcating the virtues so necessary to the working girl.

Of great effect on the moral life of the Catholic workman or woman are the missions held every year or two in the Roman Catholic parishes. A week of intensive study of their duties to God and man cannot fail to have a lasting effect. At the early morning services, the presence of the working men with the dinner pails shows that the Celt in particular is still ready to make extra exertions on the side of spirituality. The vast number who come to these mission, for the churches are always overcrowded, and the unwavering attention at the services which often last till ten in the evening and which must prove fatiguing after a hard day's work, the throngs who often forego breakfast for morning mass and communion and the undoubted enjoyment of the masses in a service rich in dogmatic theology, show that the Catholic Church in America is, as yet, in spite of labor difficulties and socialistic propaganda, the guiding light for scores of workingmen of various races.

Perhaps no more effective organization exists for boys in the city than the St. Mary's Cadets organized by the pastor of St. Mary's Church. Boys are given a systematic drill in military matters by a former officer of the regular army. The boys make a fine showing in parades as their drill and carriage is excellent; the love of the

military and delight in brass buttons makes it a popular organization. The spiritual director of the Cadets has arranged evenings of entertainment for them aside from drill nights when "movies" and amateur theatricals are the rule. The Cadets are mainly the descendants of the Irish immigrants although some Italian and Syrian boys have joined.

Long before pageantry had become the fashion in America, the oldest catholic church in Lawrence had revived the medieval devotion to the Mother of God by a May procession in which the children turned out in symbolic array. Youthful participants, whose hair had been done up in papers for days ahead, dreamt only fevered dreams of their personification of angel or cherub, while the white frocks of the girls, quaint costumes of the boys, flying banners, resounding bands, gleaming tinsel and glowing sashes all combined to make the hearts of the proud parents swell with pride when our Johnny or Mary marched by. To view the procession came not only the Catholic portion but the entire population augmented by surrounding townspeople, until the day has become a civic institution.

The Roman Catholics from foreign lands have, according to prevailing custom in America, established churches ministered to by priests of their own race and language, as soon as possible. The German congregation was perhaps the first established, and French Canadians have had a church since 1871, and now have large churches on both sides of the river. Since the recent invasion from southern Europe, churches of varying size and prosperity have been established by the Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, Portuguese, Syrian Chruch using the Greek rite, and a Syrian Maronite Church, as well as Russian Greek Church and Syrian Greek Orthodox Church, these last two not being Roman Catholic Churches. Of all the foreign churches of the later im-

migrants. the ones most enthusiastically supported financially are those of the Polish and Lithuanian people. The church management in regard to financial affairs is more in the hands of the congregation than is the usual custom in American Roman Catholic churches. The Italians are reported to contribute but slightly to the maintenance of their church which is greatly aided by the Irish Catholics. This lack of financial support springs from the poor economic condition of the race, and the fact that the church in Italy was supported through taxation.

The piety of the French Canadian and his attendance at church services have long been remarkable. The devotion evidenced by the Latin races seems to have a different turn. The Italian celebrates with enthusiasm the festal days connected with the church, but his attendance and his devotion at the purely religious services are not as marked as among the earlier immigrants or the later ones of other races.

The priests of the foreign churches are generally men educated abroad. Some, however, have received their training in America. Their ability to speak English is a variable quantity. The priests of the French Canadian parishes are generally conversant of the English tongue and so are the pastors of the Italian and German churches. The priests of the other churches are not always able to speak freely in English, but as a rule, they possess linguistic ability in several languages as well as numerous dialects. As a rule, also, they are men of much greater refinement and culture than their parishioners.

A Protestant writer, George W. Tupper, credits the work of the Roman Catholic Church with the immigrant as follows:

"The moral restraint and religious inspiration which comes

to newcomers through the medium of the Roman Catholic Church cannot be estimated. We gauge somewhat their value through a consideration of their discontinuation. Should all masses in Roman Catholic churches devoting their attention to non-English speaking peoples suddenly cease, what would inevitably follow? Our nation would be plunged into a pandemonium unparalleled in the history of the world. Not only should we have endless processions marching under "No God, no Law", banners, but class, clan and man would cast off all restraint and authority. In the Old World, the New American has frequently felt the heavy hand of the law. In this country, often following our example, he has sometimes interpreted liberty as license. The Roman Catholic Church grips these slowly awakening souls through its traditions and ceremonies in such a way that law and order result. If these statements are well founded all proselyting efforts should be prodicited by Protestant churches."

Protestant Churches. The Protestant churches established and maintained by immigrants are few, but the different Protestant denominations all claimed members of the earlier British immigration. The English immigrants naturally gravitated to the Episcopal Church, but that church by no means served them all. The Scotch became active members in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. In general, no one sect was filled by any one racial group and all the Protestant churches with English speaking congregations are rated popularly as American rather than English or Scotch. TherGerman Protestants have two prosperous congregations of their own ministered to by clergymen trained in the Fatherland. There is a Syrian Protestant Church which the members of that race attend. There is also a Swedish Lutheran Church. Many of the Protestant churches maintain missions for the

various foreign races and Sunday Schools particularly for them.

The ministers of the different Protestant churches have, almost without exception, taken a vital interest in community matters. Some of them who were stationed in the city for many years had the respect and goodwill of the entire community.

Throughout the Protestant churches are societies , often affiliated with nation-wide organizations,which promote education, culture, temperance, and good fellowship. The Christian Endeavor and Girls' Friendly Societies are typical of these organizations.

Work with Recent Immigrants. The work of the Protestant churches is becoming, for various reasons, more and more social service, and the extension of that social effort to those beyond the denomination is growing yearly. The immigrant in the city is the present subject for "uplift" by many of the Protestant churches, and a particular race is chosen by each sect for its ministrations.

Some of this missionary work is inspired by a zeal for uplifting the new American and helping him on the path to civic progress, but some also is perhaps with the purely proselytizing motive. No one, either Protestant or Catholic, can condemn a missionary spirit on the part of the believers of any sect. It is only a manifestation of the faith that is in a human being that he seeks to convert the world to his peculiar belief; thinking people, however, may rightfully condemn some methods used in the process of conversion. Churches who bribe the immigrant children with presents to attend their denominational Sunday Schools are not only making a bad bargain, but are commercializing their faith. The religion which is bought with material relief is of little ethical value. The immigrants who leave their own faith to enter a Protestant sect invariably are poor additions to any

religious body. To read the literature disseminated by some of the Protestant sects relative to their prospective work among the new immigrants would lead the unwary reader to believe that the immigrant tide was bearing to us a horde of barbarians or savages to whom the name of Christ was unknown. "We must see to it that the immigrants do not remain aliens, but are transformed into Christian Americans!" is the text of one Protestant writer on the subject and his book deals with Italians, Syrians, Poles and Lithuanians, who although not Protestant, are manifestly Christian. If the Protestant Church in America wishes to convert the aliens who come to America to Protestantism, it is quite within its right to endeavor to do so but there is no necessity for misstating the proposition. Its Christianizing work must be confined to the Hebrew and the Chinese since obviously, it cannot Christianize those people who have for years heard the message of Christ, however much it may endeavor to lead them into new religious affiliations. The alien immigrants who come to America are free, morally and legally, to adopt the religion for which their souls yearn. In no faith is the gospel of free will so strong a tenent as in that of the Roman Catholic Church to which most of the new immigrants belong, but in fairness to the immigrant, and mindful of the spiritual lack of a religion bought by material things, it is wiser not to cloud the issue by confusing the newcomer by offers of denominational relief. Rabbi Harry Levi in "Religion and Social Service" says: "The last desire of a social worker must be to try to impose his creed on those who, however weak in their faith, were born in another church. Social service must aim at moral and spiritual regeneration, but never at theological conversion."

Among the immigrants who come to Lawrence are a class which

have or desire no church affiliations of any kind. Of these, some are Jews anxious to drop the faith of their fathers, and Roman Catholics whose religion was lukewarm in their mother country and who seek in socialistic propaganda, a substitute for a religion. Others also were once members fo some Protestant denomination but have drifted away from clerical control. Some of the Protestant churches feel that the time is ripe for the conversion to their faiths of these people who, discarding the organized religion in which they were reared, form a considerable portion of the great unchurched class in America. Of the difficulties of missionary work among this class, Dr. Tupper speaks in his article on "The Church and New Americans". He says: "The unchurched and the Jews beyond the pale of the synagogue are by no means prepared for Protestantism.....Our religion, which emphasizes the relation of the individual soul to God, seems to the unchurched Romanist a voice without authority crying in the trackless wilderness. The young Jew who scoffs at age-long traditions, denounces in even more scathing terms, the doctrines of Christianity. The results of apostasy from Roman Catholicism and the Jewish religion are, therefore, practically the same. Both lead toward irreligion".

Y. M. C. A. Perhaps most prominent among the agencies which aim to aid the immigrant is the Y. M. C. A., an organization which exists throughout the country and whose work in this and other directions is well-known and widely advertised. The organization is not recent in Lawrence, but its work among the immigrant there, is of comparatively recent growth. The organization has a splendid equipped club house with a gymnasium and a swimming pool which are the envy of smaller organizations. The Y. M. C. A. has done excellent work in the past in furnishing social and educational opportunities for English

speaking young men, whether of immigrant or native birth. Those of the earlier immigrants who availed themselves more readily of its privileges were the non-Catholic British. The Irish Catholics have an association on similar lines of those of their own faith and , for that reason, as well as their reluctance to enter an organization in which they have no governing power the number belonging to the Y. M. C. A. is small.

The work with the more recent immigrants is done mainly at a club house separate from the main building,under the name of the Cosmopolitan Club. Classes in English for the different racial groups are formed and besides this instruction, a varying amount of sociability is planned. The Y. M. C. A. enrolled 5,724 immigrant men in the elementary English classes which it held in eighteen cities and towns of Massachusetts during 1912 and 1913. In an article by one of the Y. M. C. A. leaders, it is stated that in a recent year "695 adults in Lawrence untouched by any other educational institutions were given instruction in English and other subjects". The social part of the program consists sometimes in concerts with talent by immigrants, interspersed with graphophone selections, augmented by stereoptican lectures. Sometimes, refreshments are served. Work in preparing the immigrant for naturalization is a special feature of the work.

The work in teaching English to the foreigner by the Y. M. C.A., excellent in motive and often in result, should, however, be confined to those immigrants not reached by public evening schools. These public schools are perhaps better fitted for the task of teaching English because they have more adequate classrooms and a greater number of skilled teachers. The public evening schools are not open the entire year, in fact, in Lawrence but 70 sessions of the 365, and

the Y. M. C. A. could do excellent work in supplementing public school instruction by instructing the illiterate minor when the public schools are not in session and confining its activities during the public evening school session to the adult illiterates who do not wish to attend classes with young people. In this way, no duplication of work would ensue. Private agencies like the Y. M. C. A. can do excellent work with special pupils, either individually or in small classes, who can progress in this manner faster than inthe public school. The social center activity of this organization is of undoubted value in exerting a friendly hand to the immigrant.

Work is also done in a social way with Italian boys, a club of that race being organized under Y. M. C. A. auspices.

The Y. M. C. A. receives contributions from various sources as well as membership fees for use in its activities, and has received considerable financial support from the mills as well as individual contributions from mill agents and officials. The present president of the Y. M. C. A. is a mill man.

Work in teaching English to the foreigner is also done by students of Phillips Academy from the neighboring town of Andover. This work, like that of the Y. M. C. A. suffers a little from duplication with public school work. The efforts of the volunteer teachers, aside from their value to immigrant, must be valuable also in awakening the student to the possibilities of social service.

The Y. W. C. A. , a somewhat kindred association to Y. M. C. A. furnishes similar social and educational advantages for young women. Like the Y. M. C. A., its members belong mainly to the American element in the city or to British races and their descendants. It has done practically no work with the Irish girls A lodging house,

under its auspices, furnishes room and board to girls alone in the city at very reasonable rates and is the only institution for the shelter of the working girl in the city. The accommodations and food supplied are excellent but the religious texts which seem, with the rules of the house, predominant mural decoration have a rather dampening and denominational effect. The classes maintained by the institution vary from millinery and such subjects to academic work. A new gymnasium has opened up the field of physical culture.

The work attempted by this organization among the recent immigrants is carried out in a separate house called the International Institute for Young Women. This house is situated at the lower end of the central district, not far distant from the mills who furnish substantial aid. It is in charge of a trained settlement worker and also a trained visitor who is Polish. It utilizes volunteer workers to a considerable degree. The girls who attend are mostly Poles and Lithuanians, although other nationalities attend. Classes are held in instruction in English; the textbooks used are similar if not identical with those in the public schools. The work is conducted in smaller classes but in rather less comfortable conditions than in the public schools, but with the added advantage of the presence of one familiar with the foreign language. The language work done with older women who do not care to attend public school classes in valuable as is the summertime work with young girls. Like the work of private organizations, with men, duplication of the public schools is sometimes imminent. Classes are held in the domestic arts, such as sewing and cookery. This domestic science instruction supplies a need no where duplicated in the community and the work with the Polish and Lithuanians girls is perhaps especially fortunate since these immigrants

seem to lack the household arts.

The North Americ n Civic League for Immigrants has shown in its work in Lawrence a sympathy for and hearty co-operation with the public day and evening schools in their efforts to educate the foreigner. Lectures under the auspices of the League were the feature in the nights in which the foreign parents and children met the teacher in the central grammar school until the division of the school hall into classrooms made this impossible. In the formation of the naturalization classes, the League lend advice and encouragement. It seems its policy rather to co-operate with the public schools than to establish schools of its own.

The Lawrence Boys' Club is situated in the lower part of the central district and offers recreation and some classes in handicraft for boys. Cobbling and carpentering and printing are the principal features. The boys which attend are mostly boys who would otherwise be found on the streets. There is one paid worker.

The St. Clare branch fo the League of Catholic Women was established in Lawrence directly following the strike of 1912, and its activities at first, by the stress of the situation, were mainly in organizing relief. The League is open for membership to any Catholic woman in the city and several different races are represented. The majority of the members are Irish or Irish Americans. The relief work has always been an important factor in the work--at one time a nurse was hired to do district nursing among the poor. An important branch of the work is the leading of the wayward back to the paths of righteousness. The League pays a trained social worker who acts as probation officer for thoseCatholci girls unfortunate enough to need her services, and does preventive work with such young grils as come

to her notice either from advice of League members or on recommendations of the pastors. The formation of a junior branch of the society of young girls from twelve to sixteen promises future activity. The League has a settlement house--the St. Clare--where cooking, sewing, millinery and dressmaking classes are already established. Lectures and meetings are also held there. An employment bureau is another activity. Sewing guilds sew garments for the poor. In the summer, folk dancing, story telling and sewing were attempted with Italian girls. The League is supported by membership dues and contributions from interested citizens. The mills do not contribute to its support.

Organizations of Self-Help among Immigrants. Of the societies on strictly racial lines and maintained wholly by the immigrants themselves, each race has quite a number. There are five different societies among the French Canadians, some having a purely religious, others having social, literary or philanthropic motives. The Italians have five different societies besides numerous organizations which include only those from an immediate neighborhood. The Lithuanians have three organizations, some of which are branches of national societies. The Polish people have active branches of the Polish National Alliance. The Portuguese, though numerically small have three organizations and the Syrians, four. It is quite evident that there is no lack of organizing or social ability on the part of the newcomers.

The German societies of an older growth have become a factor in the city life. The Turnverein or German gymnasium has an imposing building and a large membership. It employs an athletic instructor, part of whose duty is to instruct the German children in gymnastics. The children "go acting" as they call it after school in the late

afternoon or on Saturday mornings. As is usual, a singing society is also connected with the Turnverein. The Lyra, as its name implies, is the prominent musical society and the Harugari and Bavarian societies also have substantial club houses. Numerous smaller societies exist also. The German Clubs are notable for promoting the social life for the whole family, for the German likes his family around him in his pleasures. Dances are frequently held and occasionally masquerades which are the delight of the younger folk. Of late years, Americans have gone to the festivities in some degree--a condition not greatly desired by the Germans, however. Love of Really fine music is cultivated and the choral societies in their singing "fests" give musical America a feast also. Practically all the societies have a club license and beer is freely served. Some have gardens where summer evenings can be spent, al fresco. The German halls have undoubtedly helped to preserve the national customs and language, and aside from the necessary segregation of the race from the rest of the city which they cause, have had a beneficial effect.

The social and racial activities of the Celt have found vent in organizations of the A. O. H. and similar branches of national organizations. The A. O. H. have a fine hall where lectures, dances, and meetings are held. The Irish organizations all have a benefit or benevolent department.

The Catholic Young Men's Association offers to young men of that faith opportunities very similar to those of the Y. M. C. A.— the equipment of the association is much less elaborate since its revunue is necessarily limited on account of the financial status of its members and the fact that, unlike the Y. M. C. A., it receives few gifts from corporations or wealthy individuals. The Italian Y. M. C. A.

is an organization of but recent growth among the youth of the Roman Catholic Italian parish. This association has a club house and, apparently an unlimited amount of enthusiasm at its demand, and will fill a need for Italian young men. Similar to these organizations is the Hebrew Y. M. A. in which the men of that race seek similar opportunities for social and educational development. The Cercle Paroissal St. Anne supplies a similar environment for the French Canadians. The young men in the city have a variety of well-organized societies at their disposal as well as a number of clubs organized on racial or social lines. Among these are the small social clubs whose only equipment seems to be a club room and whose activities are not of a variety conducive to ethical uplift.

An interesting organization founded by the Germans in the city is the German Co-Operative Association which maintains a thriving grocery store on co-operative lines. James Ford writes of it thus, "The German Co-Operative Association of Lawrence is a model of successful economic co-operation. In its twenty-five-odd years of existence it has distributed thousands of dollars of dividends to its members and lost no money through credit or expensive delivery systems. It still pays 12% dividends on purchases."

The Franco-Belgian Club is the small but powerful organization of the Belgians. Its strength was felt at the time of the Lawrence strike when it not only helped to furnish the sinews of war but offered its hall for the I. W. W. speakers when public halls were unavailable. Professor Ford of Harvard University describes the workings of the association in an article in the Survey for April 6, 1912, entitled "The Co-Operative Franco-Belge of Lawrence". He says: "The Co-operative Franco-Belge was founded in Lawrence about six years ago.

Membership which was open to all families sympathetic with its purposes, is contingent upon subscription to one $10 share. The shares, however, bear no interest, for to the socialistic mind, all wealth is due to labor, and capital is unproductive. The association now has a membership of 300 families and conducts a yearly $100,000 business in both groceries and bread. It sells at slightly under market price and for cash. Credit is only given upon the responsibility of the clerks and directors who must refund the entire cost of goods unpaid for. Of the net profits of the business, 10% are devoted to the reserve fund, 10% more are apportioned for socialist or co-operative propaganda; the remainder is returned to all purchasers, whether members or not, according to the amount of the purchases. One-fourth of the dividends due to the family of a new member are reserved until he owns a full share in the society. Last year 7% dividends were distributed.....The association affords evidences of a co-operative idealism that is peculiarly unalloyed. Its manager receives a salary fo $15 a week which is no more than clerks or bakers receive. The hours of labor for bakers are restricted to eight per day; work overtime, if performed at allmust be done by other men".

The English immigrants have local branches of larger societies and also small clubs--the most prominent among which is the English Social and Improvement Club situated in the Arlington district. The English immigrants were in the main responsible in an earlier generation for the establishment of the Arlington Co-operative Association, which, at one time, was considered the largest co-operative store in America. This Association was founded in 1884, principally by employees of the Arlington Mills, and, at one time, had a membership of 3,440. It specialized in the coal and wood business, although

it also had a thriving grocery and dry goods trade. It was formed on the Rochdale lines of co-operation--a method first attempted by twenty-eight flannel weavers at Rochdale, England in 1844, and thus familiar, no doubt, to the English immigrant. Unfortunately, the dishonesty of the manager caused the failure of the undertaking and in 1908, it was disbanded.

The Public Library. The first Public Library established in 1847 was called the Franklin Library and to it was given $6,000 by one of the founders of the city, Abbot Lawrence. The Pacific Mills Library, early established, was primarily for the use of the operatives in that mill and was sustained mainly by compulsory contributions of the operatives. "The contribution of one cent a week to the library fund i s a condition of employment in the Pacific Mills in return for which, the privileges of the Pacific Mills Library are open to all operatives." The present Public Library was established by the gift of a resident of the city who gave the land and money for the maintenance of the Library. The present library building was built in 1895 through the generosity of two women, and at that time, the volumes owned by the Pacific Mills library were transferred to the Public Library and the mill library discontinued. The library is centrally located and has reading, reference, and delivery rooms. There is a branch library on the south side of the river. There are collections of books inthe library in foreign languages for the use of immigrants who have no knowledge of English. The books are in Yiddish, German, French, Italian and Polish. The Italian books are mainly of a religious or theological nature and would be interesting to only the more intellectual members of that nationality. The Library occasionally exhibits collections of pictures and has had some industrial and

health survey exhibits. There is a juvenile room where the children may read books and from which they may take books home. The room is much too small to accommodate those seeking to use it and is very frequently noisy. There is no effort made to help the child in his selection of books.

The reference room is used very generally by the pupils in school and many children from immigrant homes do their studying there since it affords an atmosphere more conducive to study than the overcrowded and badly lighted tenement. The library has a good collection of reference material and a wide selection of current magazine literature.

The library has always been patronized by a wide circle of Lawrence people. No one class patronize it to the exclusion of any other. It is open every day from 9A. M. to 9 P.M., exclusive of Sunday and has been and continues to be a civic agency of highest rank.

Lectures. The early mill operatives of Lawrence were attendants at various lecture courses of general cultural value. It was at the time when the lyceum movement was at its best in New England and Lawrence shared the general enthusiasm on the subject. The White Fund, the same fund which supplies the library, gives a course of free lectures every winter. These lectures vary in type from the more popular illustrated lecture to the more cultural course given by lecturers like Edward Howard Griggs or Prof. Wm. T. Sedgwick. The English speaking immigrant has always availed himself of these lecture privileges but, of course, they offer no opportunity to those who do not understand the language. The Teachers' Association and The League of Catholic Women offer similar free lecture courses and various women's clubs of the city have lectures for which an admission fee

is charged.

Organizations of Teachers. The teachers in the public schools of Lawrence are organized in three different groups. The Masters' Club, the group oldest in existence, is made up of men teachers, submasters, masters, and the superintendent. Since its organization this club has done excellent intensive study of school problems both through its own members and through educational experts from outside the city. Good as this study of educational questions has been for the men themselves, it has had a relatively small influence on the community for the discussions are seldom or never given to the public.

The most recent organization of teachers known as the Elementary School Teachers' Association has not been in existence long enough as yet to form definite conclusions as to its worth. Its purpose so far has been mainly to secure for the teachers proper compensation for services and some voice in the educational side of school administration.

The largest organization and the one which includes both the smaller groups previously described, The Lawrence Teacher's Association is also the broadest in scope. During the several years of its existence it has had, for the benefit of its own members particularly, many lectures on educational subjects by the best speakers and educational institutes and conferences. It has contributed generously, also, to the betterment and enjoyment of the general public by lectures, talks, readings and concerts of the highest standard. The most extensive work attempted by the Association was the presentation, in 1911, of the Pageant of Progress which represented in richest wealth of pageantry, the history of the educational and industrial development of the land. This pageant ranks among one of the best yet attempted since America has learned

to realize the educational value of pageantry.

Foreign Press. The foreign peoples in Lawrence read foreign papers to the exclusion of American ones since they desire not only to keep in touch with national and racial events but also because few of them have acquired the facility in reading which even the perusal of an American newspaper requires. These papers are usually weekly issues. There is a German paper "Angeiger and Post" published weekly in Lawrence, and also a French paper, "Le Courrier de Lawrence". There are five or six Polish weeklies, and a Syrian weekly which circulate very generally, and several Italian papers.

When any American paper is read by the foreigner, it is likely to be the most sensational organ published. When the foreigner has acquired a knowledge of English, he is as ready to read the Sunday paper as the native American.

There is quite a considerable amount of Socialistic literature circulated among working men which is written in various foreign languages, the most often perhaps in Italian.

Playgrounds. There are no supervised playgrounds in Lawrence for the entire year, but certain playgrounds in different sections of the city are supplied with equipment and instructors during the summer months. The principal playground on the Common accommodated about 500 children daily. The apparatus was equipped and installed by the Public Property Department.

The first report of the Director of Public Property, in whose charge the playgrounds are, says: "The physiological value of playgrounds is recognized as a powerful influence for good by the most advanced educators in the world today. They realize that a gap exists in the education of the child during the months of July and

August while he is notin school. To meet this condition is the function of the playground by dealing in the spirit of wholesome play and under the guidance of competent instructors, with the elements and ideals of life. A playground without an instructor is as valueless as a school without an teacher.

"A concrete example of the value of supervised playgrounds may be found in the fact that during last July and August, when our playgrounds were in operation, only one-half the number of juvenile offenders was brought before the local police court that reached the said court in any previous year during July and August. The juvenile probation officer attributes this reduction to the excellent service rendered by the supervised playgrounds. Every policeman whose duty it was to patrol the sections of Lawrence in the vicinity of the playgrounds will corroborate the above declaration of the probation officer. If there were no other value derived from the playground system than the fact that it caused a reduction of one half in the number of juvenile offenders, it was a profitable investment for the city of Lawrence."

Since theestablishment of playgrounds in summer has had such a beneficial effect, it is only to be the more regretted that public policy does not continue them through the entire year.

Amusements. Perhaps the most potent educational force which affects the immigrant and his children is the moving picture theatre. The immigrant is glad to find some American agency which needs no interpretation, and the movies fill the void. In a class of forty-five children in the foreign district, only one was discovered who had never attended the movies and less than ten who did not attend habitually. Many went every night. The more lurid the pictures, the

more alluring to the child. The low price of the show puts it within reach of the immigrant, although when the expenditure for a family is considered, the expense is not very slight. The moving picture shows have an advantage over the legitimate theatres in the East in that they are allowed to operate on Sunday, a privilege not given to the regular theatres. The profits on the Sunday performances insure the payment of the rent for these theatres. The children in school acquire the moving picture habit in its worst form. They work after school in order to secure the money for the show and if work and money are alike unavailable, they are prone to steal to get the necessary price. The films shown are not, as a rule, absolutely bad, but they are apt to be as sensational as possible. The majority of children in reply to a question as to what sort of films were preferred replied that they like funny ones, ones about robbers and ones about war. Children are willing and eager to go to work at a mere pittance to earn the necessary money for attendance at the movies.

The much talked of educational films have not been a commercial success and have been little used in Lawrence. Their educational value is largely mythical, although they may impart interesting and valuable information.

Dance Halls. The German clubs hold frequent dances and costume parties. Old and young are alike present. The Polish people also hold many dances, sometimes in halls and more often in their homes. The other races hold dances at more or less frequent intervals but the usual opportunity for dancing is filled by the commercial dance hall. There are several in the city where public dances are held, and in the summer, there are open-air dance halls at the various nearby resorts. The Municipal League undertook the investigation of

the dance hall problem in Lawrence as part of its yearly program and, as a result of their efforts and with the hearty co-operation of the city officials, regulations were adopted concerning these dance halls. Among the most important of the regulations was that requiring the presence of a matron at every public dance. The behaviour in the public dance halls in general is certainly of as high a character as that manifested in the private parties of the so-called "upper classes". The animal dances which were so vehemently denounced by press and pulpit and so ardently enjoyed by the smart set were never permitted in the public dances of Lawrence to any degree. Unattended girls often run into danger by allowing unknown men to accompany them home after the dance but the evils in general are due more to thoughtlessness and youthful folly than any criminal or vicious intent.

Saloons There are eighty-six saloons in Lawrence, situated mostly in the tenement districts throughout the city. Lawrence has had license for years. The regulation of the sale of the liquor is probably as efficiently managed as in any city, although the mayor, for this present year, found sufficient ground to remove the license commissioners because of the manner in which licenses were granted. Women are not allowed to drink at the saloons. The Irish, English, Scotch, Polish and Lithuanian are the thirstiest races. The German generally does his drinking at his national hall or club house, all of which have club licenses.

When one considers the vast amount of havoc the drink habit has caused among certain races in Lawrence, one is prone to think of prohibition as a remedy. In a community containing so many diverse nationalities, all accustomed to alcoholic consumption in their own country, prohibition even if secured might not be synonymous with sobriety.

V THE IMMIGRANT AND CITIZENSHIP.

Graphic Description of male whites of voting age
of Lawrence Massachusetts
according to the Federal Census of 1910.

Foreign-born white. 17.414

Naturalized	Not naturalized
6,588	10,826

3113 Native white of white native parents

5274 Native white of foreign or mixed parentage

6588 Naturalized foreign born white.

10826 Foreign born white not naturalized

The Immigrant and Citizenship.

Statistics. By the Federal Census of 1910, there were 25,983 males of voting age in the city of Lawrence. Of this number, 3,113 were native born of native parentage, 5,274 were native born of foreign or mixed parentage and 17,414 were foreign born, making the number of foreign born twice that of the native born. Of the foreign born, 6,588 were naturalized. Approximately a little less than two-thirds of the foreign born remain unnaturalized.

Requirements for Naturalization. In the 1914 Report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration, the requirements for citizens ip are thus described: "By limiting to the courts of record, jurisdiction over naturalization, and by providing for the examination, the law of 1906 added to the dignity of becoming a citizen of the United States, and decreased the likelihood of fraud. It also made naturalization more difficult; the requirements are higher and the expense greater. According to the provisions of the law of 1906, the immigrant may declare his intention of becoming a citizen at any time after he is eighteen years old. He is required to give facts concerning his age, birthplace, residence, etc., and also the details of his arrival. His petition for naturalization may be made after two years have passed from the time of his declaration of intention and after five years' continuous residence in this country; it must be signed in his own handwriting. In order to prove his residence, he must produce two witnesses who have known him for a period of at least five years. The fees amount to $5; $1 at the time of filing and $4 on receiving the certificate of naturalization. No Alien who does not speak English may be naturalized". In addition to the federal governmant requirements for citizenship, in Massachusetts, at the pre-

sent time, a citizen cannot vote unless he is able to read the Constitution of the Commonwealth in the English language. The State Superior Court sits for naturalization at least once a year in the city.

Preparation for Naturalization. The preparationsfor naturalization have been generally through the aid of private agencies such as the Y. M. C. A. Through the co-operation of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, however, classes in naturalization have been organized in the public school buildings, and under the control, at present, of the School Department. The first year of the class the services of the teachers, who were mainly men teachers in the public schools, were voluntary, but since that time, these teachers have been recompensed for their services. These naturalization classes under city control as well as those, to a smaller degree, run by the Y. M. C. A. fill an obvious need in educating the immigrant to his civic possibilities and taking the preparation of naturalization from purely political hands. Since with many of the recent immigrants the language difficulty is a very pressing one, the aid of trained teachers is essential.

The presentation of the naturalization certificates with ceremony and accompanied by speech making and music, which has been accomplished through the agency of the teachers in the schools, lends an added dignity to the occasion and renders it more important in the eyes of the recent immigrants at least.

Difficulties of Naturalization. While it is regrettable that any individual eager for citizenship and participation in the politics of the nation should be deprived of that privilege because his earnings do not allow him to spend the money necessary for natural-

ization fees, it must be remembered that those thing which are valued most by human beings are those which have cost most either in money or human endeavor, and it seems impossible that with sacrifice, the necessary fees are not attainable. Furthermore, the too rapid forcing of immigrants into political activity before they have thoroughly assimilated American ideas of government will lead to disastrous results of exploitation and boss rule. Dr. Van Dyke in the "Spirit of America" truly says: "Ths suffrage of the ignorant is like a diamond hung round the neck of a child who is sent out into the street: an invitation to robbers. It is like a stick of dynamite in the hands of a foolish boy: a prophecy of explosion".

Racial Contrasts as to Naturalization and Political Activity. The earlier immigration readily sought citizenship, the Irish in particular showing enthusiasm in political activity. Of the English speaking immigrant, the one least desirous of citizenship was the Canadian of English descent. The French Canadians were in their early years of existence in the country accused of indifference to the rights and duties of citizenship. Naturalization clubs and clubs of political activity among them show evidences that this is not now true. The Germans and the French show their clannishness in their voting as in their social life, however.

The more recent non-English speaking immigrants have perhaps shown less eagerness to enjoy to the full, naturalization, citizenship and political activity than the earlier group. Frequent complaints are heard that the comparatively small fees necessary are beyond the purse of the later immigrant, added to his loss of pay during naturalization proceeding. The Italians, however, have several political clubs showing political interest on their part. The Jewish race, as a

class, are eager for citizenship.

City politics in Lawrence as in many American communities is an activity of young men and often political activity is the chief business of a certain class. This condition of American politics is described by Robert Woods in his book on "Americans in Process". He says: "Ward politics is largely an affair of young men. It brings them into some sort of equal association with persons of influence and power. Ambitious youths, with no one to help them to a professional or commercial career, and having prejudices to meet in those lines against their race and religion, find an open, inviting opportunity in politics".

It is sometimes contended that the Irish have been unduly active politically in cities like Lawrence where they hold a balance of power, and complaints are made sometimes of the number of persons with Irish names who have "city jobs". Passing up the list of such places from city work in the health and street departments where muscle and brawn are requirements, to the higher positions of an executive order, an analysis of the positions above the laborers' class will show that many of the incumbents have acquired their positions through a civil examination, usually competitive, and there seems little objection in the minds of fair-minded persons to such methods of office filling, whatever the race of the office holders.

In the past, however, the political history of the city shows a poor civic spirit on the part of the voters although not always attributable to one particular race. The new city charter and the awakening of the public conscience will perhaps preclude the reappearance of conditions similar to those described by Dr. Van Dyke: "For here, a species of man has developed called the Boss, who takes

possession of the political machinery and uses it for his own purposes. He controls the party through a faction, and the faction through a gang, and the gang through a ring, and the ring by his own will, which is usually neither sweet nor savory. He virtually owns the public franchise, the public offices, the public pay-roll. Like Rob Roy or Robin Hood, he takes tribute from the rich and distributes it to the poor, for a consideration; namely, their personal loyalty to him.... . What does this mean? The downfall of democracy? No; only the human weakness of a system in which democracy has sought to reach its ends; only the failure in duty, in many cases, of the very men who ought to have watched over the system in order to prevent its corruption.

"It is because good men in America too often neglect politics that bad men sometimes control them."

VI DEPENDENCY AMONG IMMIGRANTS.

Dependency among Immigrants.

Amount. No exact statement of the poverty that is existent in a community like Lawrence is possible; nor is feasible an exact statement of the numbers of those who, pressed by continuous and grinding poverty, are dependent either in whole or in part on private or public philanthropy for their means of subsistence. Any thinking person who has any idea of the cost of living realizes that many of the men and women in Lawrence who are endeavoring to support a family--even a normal family of four--on the wage current for unskilled workers are often desperately poor. It is almost axiomatic that a wage-earner of the group classified as one-third of the total of those examined by the Federal investigators at the time of the strike--the wage-earner earning less than $7 as a weekly wage, if he be the father of the family must be aware of the wolf at the door. Nor are the fangs of the same wolf unknown to the single girls who attempt city life on such a wage. Nevertheless, and to the everlasting credit of the average laborer, a great many people exist in the city on what seems to be less than a living wage.

The majority of the unskilled workers in Lawrence are immigrants and on the immigrant must press most heavily the insufficiency of wage. Those [illegible] of the recent immigration have youth and usually strength in their favor and since by necessity or choice, they live less expensively than is the common American custom, they feel the small wages to a less degree. When the young immigrant attempts family life on the small wage, however, the difficulty is soon felt. If the usual custom of the wife entering the mill to better matters is impossible and boarders are not available, poverty must follow.

That except in times of great stress of unemployment on in individual cases of sickness, or incapability, it has not occured more often is strange.

The 1914 Commission of Immigration for Massachusetts, says: "The relatively small amount of dependency among immigrants from southern and eastern Europe is then, at least partly explained by the exclusion of paupers and those handicapped in earning a livelihood by mental or physical defects, and by the fact that the majority of these immigrants come to this country as young men and women. It is still too early to judge whether these people of the newer immigration will prove better able or less able to endure the strain of modern industry and of life in crowded and insanitary homes than those who are native born or belong to an older immigration. But there is every reason to believe that unless these conditions are improved, the southern and eastern Europeans will not make so good a showing as they do now, after the effects of overwork and unsanitary conditions have had time to undermine the health of the country-bred peasants."

Racial Tendencies. Concerning the racial tendencies toward dependency, it can truly be said that poverty knows neither race, creed, nor color. Certain fundamental racial traits characterize the reaction of the immigrant toward poverty or its relief. The Irish who have been the bewilderment and the despair of the organized charity worker are not intentionally trying to defeat well-meant efforts at investigation, but to the warm hearted Irish, whether giving or receiving aid, the philanthropy which demands the minute details of the family history is vastly different from the Irish philosophy which looks on the needy as God's Poor who are entitled to their share in the good things he has distributed over the earth. No nationality

is so generous in the care of the needy as are the Irish and such seemingly reckless generosity often keeps them on the poverty line.

Races like the Germans and French which are noted for thrift and industry seldom fall into the dependent class unless by some calamity outside their control, and thus are less of a problem in dependency. There have been benefit and charitable organizations among all of the earlier immigrants, the Germans particularly taking upon themselves the burden of caring for their aged poor rather than sending them to the public almshouse. The thrift of this race and of the French Canadians seems to minimize in some degree the charity required.

The later races do not seem so spontaneous in their response to their needy kinsmen with the exception perhaps of the Jew who, in spite of his anxiety to get ahead, feels the care of the indigent of his race a duty not to be relegated to public charity. As recipients of charity, the newcomers show diversified traits--the stolidity of the Pole, the calculation of the Hebrew, and the childlike simplicity of the Italian all are emphasized when applying for relief.

Causes. Among the primary causes of poverty in a city like Lawrence, the predominant ones are insufficiency or irregularity of work. The specialization in the city of one industry, and that one which employs uns illed workers rather than skilled, has made unskilled labor a drug on the market. However excellent may be the development of the institutions for aiding the indigent, prevention of poverty to any degree cannot be accomplished unless by some change in the economic program.

President Wilson says: "We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully

enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all have fallen pitilessly the years through."

Of the secondary or contributary causes of poverty, sickness or disability of the breadwinner or of the family, intemperance, and extravagance or vice are the notable ones. Sickness in the family, more especially when that illness is a wasting disease like tuberculosis, the dangers of which textile employment and bad housing aggravate, have reduced a very large number of the older immigrant races to poverty. Intemperance of the breadwinner, which unfortunately will exist while human sentiment allows the saloon to flaunt its temptation at the door of the workingman, is a cause of far too many cases of poverty for these same races. Incompetency, both in holding and getting work and in expenditure of the family income, which spends on luxuries sometimes what might better be spent on necessities as well as lack of domestic science which drives the man of the family to the saloon and the children to the streets deserve notice. The rapidly growing ease by which deserting husbands leave their wives and families to the care of the public is fast becoming a factor to be dealt with in industrial cities. This trait is commonly found among the French Canadians of the older immigrants and among the different later races. One of its causes is often slack or irregular work which sends a man from the city in search of employment and thus starts his lack of interest in the welfare of his family. Degeneracy and the resulting vices are at the lowest end of the poverty line.

<u>Agencies for Relief</u>. <u>Public</u>. People requiring aid are cared for by the city in two ways--by indoor relief at the almshouse or state farm, and outdoor relief which consists of groceries or cash

given to the poor in their homes. The immigrants who are not citizens are aided by the state but through the agency of the city. A slightly different form of aid is given under the Mothers' Act of 1913, Massachusetts Statutes, whereby a mother with dependent children under fourteen may receive aid to enable her to bring up her children suitably without incurring the pauper disability. This law is administered through the City Poor Department, but is supervised by the State Board of Charity.

There is probably no municipal activity which is criticized more freely than the administration of poor relief. The recipients of the charity feel, not without reason, that their portion is pitifully small; the taxpayers feel that the amount spent is ridiculously large; the politician denounces it if his constituents are not heeded; and the professional charity workers regard it as hopelessly unscientific. Public poor relief is necessary, however, in a city like Lawrence because there are few wealthy philanthropists and many requiring aid, and it is the fairest way of distributing community burdens in the care of the poor, since, otherwise, the niggardly would refuse to give any alms whatever.

During the distress caused by the unusual unemployment situation of 1914-5, the city organized an Emergency Relief Station for the unemployed. Through this agency, food was distributed to many families in need temporarily because of lack of work. This relief did not class the recipients as paupers and was given with the understanding that it could be paid back eventually if the recipient so desired.

Private. In a city like Lawrence, where a large proportion of the population is foreign and a still larger portion are engrossed in a bare struggle for existence, it is to be expected that

most effort in social service should come from without. It has long been considered the duty of the employers of labor in Christian countries to expend of their surplus in the material betterment of the condition of their help. Modern philanthropy maintained by the rich for the benefit of the poor is not a noticeable factor in the civic life of Lawrence. The minute specialization of each form of relief so common in organized charities and particularly noticeable in the city of Boston, where the immigrant districts are honey-combed with Social agencies, who investigate, correlate, and tabulate the social ailments of the immigrant as well as furnish him with advice and relief, are noticeable chiefly by their absence in Lawrence. The stockholders who are interested in Lawrence Mills do not live in the city, nor do they, as individuals, contribute to the aid of the poor within its bounds. Many of them live in Boston and doubtless, if they have excess of this world's goods and some of them are reported to have, they maintain by their bonus, the well-oiled machinery of organized charity in that city.

There is, however, one institution on organized charity lines in the city of Lawrence--the Lawrence City Mission. Its purpose is defined in its constitution thus: "The purpose of this association is the management and direction of such of the public charities of the City of Lawrence as may be intrusted to it, together with a general philanthropic work". According to the report of the State Board of Charities, it purports to "Relieve distress intelligently, promptly, adequately, and kindly; to prevent unwise giving to the unworthy; to encourage independence; to protect children; and to study social problems."

The Lawrence City Mission which was organized in 1859 has

had only four different directors in the fifty-six years of its existence. Of these, three have been ministers of the gospel. The mill corporations have always been responsible for the salary of the director of the Mission who is known as the City Missionary. The present incumbent of the office states that the corporations give him the utmost liberty of action.

Of the four officials of the Lawrence City Mission, the President, Vice President and Auditor are mill officials. There are seventy-seven members. At least twenty of these members are connected with the mills in some way. Sixteen are ministers of the Protestant churches. The remainder are business men or their wives and daughters. There is no Roman Catholic clergyman or layman among its members.

There are four paid workers, the City Missionary, the Rev. Clark Carter, a Congregationalist minister engaged in social work, an assistant missionary who is a woman, a woman agent for Child Welfare work, and a Babies' Nurse.

The Mission is now housed on one of the streets facing the Common in a building which provides offices for the Mission, and also rooms for the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Sanitary Milk Station.

In the report of the Mission for 1914, the principal revenue was shown to be, from the Manufacturers' Association for Welfare Work, approximately, $5,000; from churches, all Protestant, approximately, $600; from firms and individuals, approximately, $2,000; and from individuals and organizations for special purposes, approximately, $500. The money given by the Manufacturers' Association for Welfare Work was a Salary Fund. Among the individuals who contributed rather generously were the agents and higher officials of the mills.

Among the expenditures of the Mission were approximately

$5,200 for salaries, interest, insurance and taxes; approximately, $4,600 for provisions, clothing and board of children, of which, however, $1,600 was paid by relatives; the balance of expenditure is for running expenses.

There were 339 new cases who applied for aid during the year between October, 1913 and October, 1914. Of these, 53 were considered as not requiring aid, 70 should have visitation and advice only, 13 should be "disciplined", and 64 needed work rather than relief, making a total of 200 or approximately two-thirds not materially aided. Only 10 of the remainder were considered as needing continuous relief.

Of the birthplaces of those applying for aid, the records say: "the majority are American born, the next, British American, then Italian, then Polish, then English, then Irish, some Syrians and very small numbers of German, French, Portuguese and Scotch".

The service given to the community by the Lawrence City Mission has been large in comparison with any other one agency in the city. It is the only agency--outside of the municipal poor department--which has trained paid workers at its disposal, and also the only relief agency subsidized to any degree by the mills. It advantages are also its disadvantages, for the philanthropy for which capitalism holds the purse and which is administered mainly by paid workers, though it probably excels in technical perfection of detail, must be more or less perfunctory in its nature.

The Protestant churches contribute to the general relief fund of the City Mission, and in addition, contribute very generously to their own needy members. The congregation of these churches are the prosperous members of the community in great measure.

The Catholic churches administer relief either directly

through the pastor and his assistants, or indirectly throughthe conferences of the St. Vincent de Paul Society or similar charitable organizations in the various churches. The church has always felt that the province of caring for the poor was particularly her province. Dr. Kerby says: "The Catholic spirit shows a marked tendency to respect the privacy of the poor, to conceal their misery, and to help them in ways that are most considerate of their feelings, prospects and hopes". For this reason few records, open to the public, are available for social statistics. The Catholic view point, moreover, regards almsgiving as but a part of that greater Christian charity which is exemplied by personal service to the poor, the sick and the wayward, and it considers the spiritual gain to the strong in the exercise of charity no less beneficial than the material profit to the weak.

The League of Catholic Women organized at the time of the Strike owed its existence to the necessity of giving relief to the needy at that time. Although in the three years of its existence it has broadened the scope of its work to include various forms of social service, it still continues to spend a considerable amount of money annually in giving of material relief.

The various organizations in the city drawing their membership from the different classes of society as well as from the different races and having various objects have generally benevolent departments which augment the relief of the needy.

Institutions. Among the institutions for the indoor relief of the poor, the first established was the orphan asylum-- or to give it its official title-- "The Protectory of Mary Immaculate", which cares for children or old people without distinction of color,

creed, or nationality. Its establishment after the Civil War was necessitated by the children left fatherless by that calamity as well as those whose destitution was caused by the ordinary faults of society. The institution is in charge of the Gray Nuns. During the year of 1913, 368 were cared, some paying and some free.

The Lawrence Home for Aged People which was incorporated in 1895 provides a home for aged people of Lawrence and the surrounding towns. It has twenty-two inmates. Its admission fee of $250 reduces somewhat the applicants for admission since few of the poor needing indoor relief in Lawrence are in possession of that sum.

The German Ruth Society incorporated in 1902 cares for destitute men and women without regard to age, creed, or residence, but, as is natural, is most useful in caring for those of its own race. It also has an admission fee of $250.

The Arlington Day Nursery and Children's Temporary Home incorporated in 1910 supplies a day nursery and permanent home for children needing it. Of the number cared for, 79, 77 were paying or partly paying, and 2 free.

A day nursery run in connection with the Italian parochial school cares for 40 children or more.

The only other institution doing charitable work of importance is the Lawrence General Hospital, which does general hospital work and district nursing. This is aided by the mills. 403 were aided outside the hospital in the year ending August, 1913. Of the 1,578 aided in the hospital, all but 580 were paying. This institution can hardly be classed as altogether a charity since it is patronized more extensively by pay patients than by the poor. It has been in its present location since 1903.

The charitable institutions in Lawrence are, therefore, except for the Orphan Ayslum, of very recent date, and with the exception of the Hospital, accommodate a small number.

VII THE IMMIGRANT AND PUBLIC MORALS.

The Immigrant and Public Morals.

General Statement. Much has been said and written about the danger to morality which must come from unrestricted immigration. While it is not possible to say that the immigrant is not in any way responsible for vice and crime, still it is true that among our new citizens, the vast number are law-abiding and that of those who get into the courts for various kinds of offences, the majority are those whose ignorance of the law is responsible for their offence or those who have been led to crime by that human fraility which is the common attribute of all races. In a city like Lawrence, however, racial tendencies in crime are distinguishable among the different nationalities.

Racial Tendencies in Crime. Among the first immigrants, the Irish, no vice was so prevalent as that of intemperance, and by far the largest number of arrests among that race are for offences against public order such as drunkenness, vagrancy or fighting. Almost as prone to intoxication were the English and Scotch operatives. Various interwoven causes exist for intemperance: close proximity of saloons to work and home, thus causing temptation; poor nourishment caused in turn by small earnings and small knowledge of culinary art; hard manual work or dust-laden mill air stimulative of thirst; the convivial habits which are proverbial among the British. Though these races undoubtedly tend to become quarrelsome in their cups, the fist fights which ensue are less dangerous to the combatants and to the onlookers than the stabbing or shooting affrays of more recent immigrants. The sad effect that the continual intemperance of the bread-winner had on the family circle is recorded more often in the accounts of charitable

associations than on the blotter of the police court, for the loyalty and devotion of the Irish wife and mother in spite of neglect, abuse and nonsupport is as proverbial as the failings of the male members of the family. When, unfortunately, the women of the British races sought solace also in the inebriating cup, the result was the downfall of family life, decency, and sense of respect. The extremely large number of arrests among the Irish in the early days for drunkenness can be somewhat minimized by the explanation that very frequently the arrests were of the same individual.

With other nationalities such as the Polish and Lithuanian, the festivities attendant upon a wedding often lead to fighting, assaults and even graver crimes. These people drink a great deal at all times, their belief being that the liquor give them the strength to do rough heavy work, but they are seldom arrested for drunkenness save on festal occasions when all barriers of restraint are passed. During the strike in Lawrence, the Poles were perhaps the hardest of all the foreign groups for the police to handle. While the men could be controlled by force if necessary, they were sufficiently cognizant of the American custom of chivalry to womankind to push their wives into the front ranks of the struggle. These women attempted to assault their fellow workers and the police, and when restraint or arrest were attempted, the sensational press featured articles about clubbing of women by police. Women with young children and those in the last stages of pregnancy were in the thick of the fight. The careless appearance of the women in their homes, their apparent ignorance of the American virtue of modesty is sometimes an index of a lax morality, but in consideration of the large numbers of young men and women boarding out in very crowded quarters away from the restraint of small

community life, the lapses from virtue while enough to cause serious thinking are not perhaps excessively large. The Polish and Lithuanian girls are most apt of all the immigrants to come alone to America and they are thus most susceptible to moral dangers. The Report of the Massachusetts Immigration Commission thus emphasizes this danger: "Among the immigrant communities, there are many 'causes' which explain the unmarried mother. Because of her ignorance of English, she is less able to protect herself than the American country girl, whose helplessness has been so often emphasized. Near an immigrant neighborhood, if at all, the disreputable saloon, dance hall and hotel are usually tolerated, so that the environment to which the immigrant girl comes has dangers of which she is entirely ignorant. Her recreational needs are less understood than are those of the native born American and the break with her old world traditions has left her with fewer standards of judgment. Altogether, she is in many ways as easy victim of the unscrupulous. But in housing conditions.....the lack of privacy and of the restraints which privacy brings, may be, with entire absence of evil intent, the sole cause of her ruin."

The Italian, although usually temperate in his use of alcohol is apt to grow excited over a game of cards and soon the gambling house or the neighboring store become the scene of a stabbing or shooting affray. One great cause of homicide among the Italians is the ease with which fire-arms can be obtained in this country. Practically every Italian is armed and slight provocation brings the gun into action with results more deadly than when the stiletto--the national weapon--was used, for the shots often go wide of the mark and kill the innocent bystanders. The Italian or Sicilian is not only excitable and quarrelsome but is often insanely jealous of the honor of the

women of the family. Personal animosities and family feuds are harbored up for years and threats long made are carried out by murder. Italian men coming to America single or without their wives are prone to sexual excesses but the Italian women seldom come without their family and their chastity is guarded not only by high national standards in that respect but by the avenging arm of the male members of the family. What female offenders of this race there are, are usually hardened offenders of the professional type and are uncommon at that. The Italians in their labor troubles were very violent in speech and in action and probably more men of that race than of any other were arrested during the strike. Unlike the Pole, however, the Italian showed less inclination to hide behind the skirts of the womenfolk, although some Amazons of the race took the field occasionally. The Italians were the most enthusiastic supporters of the I. W. W. propaganda and many have become thoroughly imbued with socialistic principles of the most advanced direct actiontype--sabotage--abolition of the wage system, and the general glorification of the Proletariat being favorite issues. The Italian seems to have little scruple in violating the labor laws either by hiring boys under age or by allowing his children to work under the legal age, and has apparently no sense of shame in the matter. The Italian population of Lawrence comes mainly from the two strongholds of the Camorra and the Mafia,-Naples and Sicily--yet there have been no manifestations of black hand activity in the city. The success of such organizations in America would necessitate, as it does in Italy, the presence of a corrupt police. There is a tendency among Italians, however, to conceal the wrongdoers of the race andtake upon themselves the personal revenge of offences belonging rightfully to the hands of the law.

The Syrian and Armenians are as a class law-abiding, but crimes of homicide and murder are characteristic of them also to some degree. The crimes of this sort committed by these races seem to be more for gain than those of the Italian whose violence is usually unpremeditated.

The Hebrew is most usually brought to justice on account of petty violations of city ordinances such as peddling without a license, disregard of board of health rules, and similar offences caused alike by keen competition in business and ignorance of the laws. The Jewish pawn shop is often not overscrupulous in its reception of stolen goods and youthful thefts of lead pipe sometimes are encouraged by such laxity. The appearance of gangs of Jewish youths which have startled the New York police courts by their exploits in crime has had fortunately no counterpart in the city life of Lawrence where the Jewish juvenile offender is by no means in excess of the other nationalities. The rather sharp business dealings of the Jews and their well-known tendency to cheat the insurance companies and endanger the public by arson are the most serious charges against the Hebrew in Lawrence.

The Germans and the French, both Canadian and Belgian, are, in the main, law-abiding, but the young girls among the French Canadians are becoming easy victims to immorality. There seems to be no racial tendency to crime among the Germans and they perhaps are the least known of all races in criminal circles. The crowded housing conditions of the French Canadians, the environment of their colony in close proximity to the railway station, the business street and the few hotels in the city, as well as their well-known love for finery and a good time have caused some of the girls to slip from cheap but

innocent flirting with the casual passerby to professional street-walking. The tendency among the men to desert their families when domestic trouble or jealousy is present, is becoming a serious factor.

The report of the State Commission of 1914 for the investigation of the White Slave Traffic shows that of the 300 professional prostitutes selected from throughout the state for investigation, 73% were native born, and of the foreign born, more than half were Canadian, approximately one-seventh Irish, one-tenth English, and one-sixteenth Russian. It seems clear from the report that the immoral woman of the professional type is not the result of foreign immigration. While there is no district in Lawrence segregated for immoral use, the houses which are usually raided by the police in their periodic attempts at control, are as a rule in the central district in that portion of the tenement house district nearest to the Jewish and French colony. The recent appointment by the present mayor of a new license commission and their withholding of licences to three of the four hotels in the city is an indication that conditions were not as they should be. There is no indication that there is more of this sort of vice in Lawrence than in any other community of the state.

Juvenile Delinquency. The increase of juvenile delinquency common in all communities where the immigrant has become a noticeable factor is manifest in Lawrence. The delinquency of the children of immigrants is not due primarily to their racial inheritance, however, but mainly to poor environment and weak parental control. The childborn in America of foreign parents or coming to this country early in life learns the language of his adopted country much faster than his parents. The parent is forced to depend upon the child for his intercourse with the American world. If there is any trouble in

school, the child is often the only interpreter between school and home. The whole attitude of the modern school in its direction and instruction of matters of health and right living puts the child in the position of instructor to the parent. In more serious cases, where a law is broken, the juvenile offenders are again the only agency to explain the situation to the parents. The lack of parental control so noticeable in immigrant parents is due primarily either to the ignorance or the neglect of the parents. Sometimes the parents are honest and hardworking, but, confused by the difficulties of the new life in America, cannot guide their children in the right manner. Others neglect to look after their children either because they are forced by economic necessity to leave them all day or because ambitious to acquire savings or property quickly, they enter the industrial world when no real need exists. The freedom from supervision of the children whose parents work away from home all day is particularly detrimental to juvenile morals. With the possible exception of the comparatively few children cared for by the day nurseries, children too young to go to school are left in charge of a neighboring clanswoman who takes care of a half-dozen or more in a semi-professional day nursery. The women who do this work are trained in no sense as nurses or teachers. They are usually women unable to get mill work through disability, age, or because they themselves have young children to mind. The care given the children is neither scientific or intelligent as a rule. Oftentimes, the mother is unable or unwilling to pay even the small sum which these women charge and the children too young to go to school are left in charge of an older child. Occasionally also the children are left at home or on the street without anyone to care for them during the day, but even in these cases, a neighbor is

usually delegated to have "an eye to them". While the labor laws require the attendance at school of children from seven to fourteen and the presence of children at work or at school until sixteen, certificates are sometimes granted allowing children from fourteen to sixteen to remain at home to take the place of the mother if she works. Often children under fourteen attempt to stay at home to care for younger children but these attempts are usually foiled by the attendance officer. If there are several children in a family of school age, however, by staying out alternate days or weeks, this method of caring for the children may pass unobserved. Attempts to bring the baby brother and sister to school are not unknown and sometimes teachers exist who are long-suffering enough to allow it. Very naturally, the early training of these children when delegated to a busy neighbor, an older sister or brother, or a woman doing it for purely commercial motives is very slight. The children of school age, whose parents are working, are but little better off. They are allowed to roam the street during the day, and at night when the parents return weary from work, there is neither time, nor inclination for training in manners or morals.

The temptations, too, which beset the child in the tenement district are not few. The families which take in boarders or lodgers do not usually require any more rigid investigation of the lodgers' character than that he or she seems to be able to pay the board, and is from the same country. Sometimes the intercourse between the children and the lodgers during the absence of the mother at work leads to harm. All the evils which result from overcrowding are more harmful to children than to adults because the mind of the child is still in its formative period and is keenly receptive to concepts of both good

and evil. Cramped quarters cause lack of privacy in any case, and usually a correlative lack either of cleanliness or modesty or both. In the large tenement houses where ten or twelve families are under one roof and twenty or more share a yard, the presence of a depraved boy or girl in one of the tenements is a source of danger to them all.

Stealing is perhaps the offense most characteristic of the juvenile delinquent of immigrant parents, and while it is done by both girls and boys, the offenders brought to justice are usually boys. The methods of thieving differ but little among the racial groups. Unfortunately, circumstances so frequently favor the juvenile thief that he often becomes proficient in the art before he is either detected or punished. Very many immigrant boys of school age earn some money by selling papers, delivering goods for a grocer or baker, carrying dinners, caring for horses or seasonal work like snow shovelling and dandelion or berry picking. The parents expect the child to turn over to them the entire earnings, but of course, it soon becomes an easy matter for the children to retain some portion of the money. Successful experience in this line leads the child to pilfer small sums from change received when he is doing the family purchasing. The practice of the immigrant of hoarding his savings in a trunk instead of depositing them in a bank offers another opportunity for theft, especially if the child is left alone in the house. Instances of this sort, even where the sums taken are of considerable magnitude sometimes never come to the attention of the police because the parents hesitate to bring their children to justice. One school girl of thirteen stole $25 from her father's trunk and had consumed a considerable portion of it seeing the sights at a summer resort twenty miles away before the police found her.

Another source of temptation is the counters of the five and ten cent stores where cards, toys, tools, linery and all sorts of things dear to the heart of childhood are spread for inspection and examination. The unguarded and frequently unwatched counters are within easy reach of little fingers and it is often possible to make a profitable haul especially when the store is crowded and the attention of the clerks diverted. At all times the salesgirl has to travel a little distance to make change and in that short space of time, with a little proficiency, much plunder can be secured. Almost every grade teacher in the foreign district finds herself an unwilling recipient of stolen goods, especially in the holiday season. Christmas cards, decorations, seals and toys are spread upon her desk as a willing offering. The intrinsic value of the loot is small but an immense amount of harm is done by the comparative ease of the procedure.

Some parents themselves are responsible and blamable for the dishonesty of their children. It is the practise among many of the recent immigrants to provide all the firing required by the family by gleanings of coal from the tracks and the dump and by wood picked up from new building, from old buildings in course of destruction, and from boxes discarded by merchants. It is but a step in the mind of a child from picking wood and coal to takingthings of greater value. The women and children often forage together for fuel and neither seem anxious to observe any strict rules of honesty. Parents will plead utter amazement at the thought of their children stealing, and at the same time, encourage and even command them to procure the family fuel supply by fair means or foul. The very few families who could not procure firing except by this means should be provided for by some philanthropic agency rather than have collection of family fuel by the

children become a training for theft. It is to be noted, however, that the children who are foremost as scavengers and fuel gatherers are not always the most destitute but are far more apt to be the children of those overambitious parents who are striving to acquire property at whatever cost to themselves, their families or the community.

Thieving of a slightly different nature is done when the juvenile delinquent runs with a gang. The gang usually consists of the boys of a neighborhood who originally come together because of school associations, and whose unsupervised play leads them into forbidden fields. The gang are constant attendants at the cheap moving picture shows and the enticing scenes of robberies depicted on films find ready imitators. The leader is usually a little older, a little stronger, or a little cleverer than the rest and under his leadership, bake shops and candy counters are rifled. The milk and bread delivered and left on the door steps in the morning is stolen by the more ambitious gangsters who attempt to spend the night away from the parental roof.

It is the opinion of those working among the immigrant children that no one thing is responsible for so much juvenile delinquency as the moving picture show. Children are violently attracted by the moving picture show. For a time it becomes almost a mania with them and in order to procure the necessary coin, petty thieving is resorted to. First of all in the mind of the child is the desire to see the pictures, come what may, at whatever cost and last of all, there is the bad moral effect of views of life not detrimental to adults but harmful to children. The moving picture theatres in Lawrence are certainly no worse than those shown in the average American city. A committee of women of the Municipal League, investigating conditions at moving

picture shows in the winter of 1914 and 1915, found little objectionable in the films or the vaudeville acts. The presentation of a film condemned by them was forbidden by the mayor and certain features of other performances modified. In spite of their decision, however, it is a well-known fact that the type of film shown, because of the limitations of the dramatic possibilities of the film, too often presents a scenario of crime--in the end, justice may triumph, but the exploits of the thief, murderer or brigand are apt to be interesting to the last degree, while the culmination of justice is by no means so clear cut or dramatic. The humorous film too frequently uses as funny man, the policeman or the judge. The cultivation of this sort of humor is not a civic virtue. A policeman to be of use in a community should be regarded as something more than a joke and the purely humorous portrayal of the law, whether in cartoon, book, or film is not the best civic instruction for immature minds. Few films shown are entirely bad and undoubtedly, the majority are innocuous at least to the average adult, but the play or film suitable for adult vision is by no means, for that reason, food for babes. To the well-balanced adult an occasional evening at the moving picture theatre is of an altogether different moral value than an every evening entertainment to an immature child with no selective background of common sense or good taste. The humor of the "movies" is of about the same degree of taste as the comic supplement of the Sunday paper, the dramatic possibilities range from dime novel variety to the adaptation of the stock play; the much advertised educational advantages are not commercially a success and are therefore seldom featured; and all together this form of entertainment is characterized by poor taste and lurid attractiveness. The immigrant and his children will continue to patronize the "movies", however, for the very reasons that the American and

his children in a city like Lawrence patronize them, because they offer the sort of entertainment that the "tired business man" wants at a price within reach of the average wage-earner.

Desire for spending money for cigarettes and for pretty clothes are the other causes most contributory to juvenile dishonesty. Gang thieving is, of course, easily detected and the offenders are brought to judgement, but often they succeed in being placed on probation, which often means that the conduct of the child changes not at all.

"The sympathetic judge not infrequently condones the juvenile offender on the ground that the offender is small, or the offence is small, or the number of arrests is small. Indeed, in some places, it is generally believed among the boys of a street that a 'first offender' is, according to popular parlance, nearly always 'let go' on probation. This is a mischievous idea to have floating about, for probation that is only soft-heartedness breeds contempt. As the mother of one probation fledging put it, 'We beat the law, Johnny's only on probation'. And true enough, under an easy-going probation, Johnny generally does beat the law, beats it many times during probation, without the judge or the probation officer ever finding out the fact. Probation that is simply giving the boy 'another chance' without supervision or aid, is just as apt to give him a chance to do wrong as a chance to do right" says Arthur Towne, Supt. of Brooklyn S. P. C. C. in "The Latest Word in Regard to Juvenile Probation".

<u>The Juvenile Court</u>. According to the laws of Massachusetts, juvenile cases are not tried in the regular court but ina special children's court. In Lawrence there is no special juvenile judge, but the regular police court judge hears the children's cases

at a separate sitting of the court. The children, if not committed to some institution, are most frequently placed on probation. The numbers of juvenile offenders and the scarcity of probation officers make it an almost impossible task to have the work properly done. No doubt, there are and always will be probationers who are unresponsive to probationary care, but neither the juvenile court nor the probation system are doing what the American public expects of them if the results of these agencies is simply to defer the time when a boy shall enter a reformatory or correction institution instead of affecting in him a permanent reformation without institutional care.

The Lyman School for Boys at Westboro and the Industrial School for Boys at Shirley are the institutions to which boys in Lawrence are most often committed for delinquency, boys under fifteen going to Westboro and under eighteen, to Shirley. Both schools, which have excellent reputations, are so overcrowded as to make probations necessary. Boys at the Lyman School are frequently farmed out and in this way become accustomed, for the first time, to American standards of living. When the time for release is at hand, the boy is returned to his home under the probationary care of a state visitor. Many boys who have had a useful and happy life on a farm find return to the city with the movie and gang attractions too much of a temptation. Others find it difficult to get work and in consequence, are soon in trouble again. The number who do succeed, however, owe their moral victory to themselves and the school from which they came rather than to any agency in Lawrence which makes their after care and encouragement its business.

The other chief cause of bringing the juvenile offender to justice is truancy, but this problem is not a particularly vital one

at present in Lawrence. In the school report for 1913, the number of arrests for truancy was given as 27, of whom 15 were committed to the Truant School and 12 were placed on probation. Since the total enrollment in the schools for that year was 11,478, the number of truants brought to justice is a very minute portion of the total. Undoubtedly there are inexcusable absences whichare not punished by court procedure. The truant officers' report for 1913 shows 3,182 absences reported to them by the teachers for investigation and 3,074 parents notified.

The greatest need which the city can supply for the juvenile delinquent is a place to play and a supervision of such play by workers trained in the art of recreation and firm enough to prevent the "gang from running the show". The back yard and the vacant lot are fast passing into history in Lawrence and have been a thing of the past for years in the central district. Playground space is available and the workers are the only need. Fortunately. the city supplies supervised playgrounds in the summer vacation but they are needed for six months more at least.

Indoor recreation of the kind where the boy and girl is an active participant, rather than a passive onlooker is a need for the wintermonths. Various private organizations are attempting this work and the success of each one in its small way only proves the necessity of adequate recreation spots for all the children in all the congested districts.

In almost all literature pertaining to delinquency, a great deal is said of the harmful effect on the modern child of the absence of the chores which were the daily portion of the children on the farm. The glorification of these home duties would lead one to suppose that

their performance guaranteed a perfect child. Yet home duties in a maximum degree are often the task of the immigrant child and yet that child seems as frequent a prey to temptation as the one with no cares. Immigrant children, more especially girls, do an immense amount of household drudgery performed in the hardest possible manner usually through ignorance of proper methods. Italian and Syrian girls make lace in seemingly inexhaustible quantities while to the older children of all the immigrants is delegated the task of caring for the younger ones. The task of providing the family fuel with the accompanying hazard of getting "pinched by the cop" is surely as arduous for the immigrant as for the boy who simply chopped it from the family wood-pile, yet this drudgery has not proved and never will prove a panacea for juvenile crime.

The boy or girl over fourteen and under twenty-one also constitutes a problem in youthful wrongdoing. The children of immigrants of these ages are most frequently wage-earners and with the possession of a pay envelope comes a further independence and laxity of parental control. The same desire for the "movies" which is manifested by the younger children is shown by their older brothers and sisters and usually, for this purpose, money is allowed to the working child. It is the custom of foreign parents to claim the entire earnings of the working son or daughter and while this procedure meets with but faint protest during the first years when money for the "movies" is all that is desired, sooner or later there will be an objection on the part of young America to this old world idea. When the immigrant parent, as is the general custom, dresses the working child suitably, satisfies his voracious appetite, and allows even a minimum of pocket money, there is small profit left when the meagre

wages earned by the child and the prevalent slackness of work are taken into account. The most docile and sometimes the most intelligent children see this, but occasionally some Italian boy or Syrian girl decides that he or she is contributing more to the family exchequer than is necessary with less freedom of action than is desired, and the trunk is rifled of the father or mother's hoarded savings and a lurid two or three weeks in a big city evens the balance.

One boy, caught in the midst of an adventure of this sort, showed no signs of remorse or sympathy for his heartbroken parents, who saw their savings thus dissipated and considered his appropriation of the money in no sense a theft since he had worked for three years with only a quarter for weekly pocket money and a minimum of clothes.

Even when there is no economic clash, the children may demand more freedom of action than the immigrant parents approve. The result is sometimes equally harmful when excessive repression and absolute freedom of youthful spirits are set against each other. Young girls in couples roam the streets on summer evenings willing to pick up with youths of any description, while the neighboring summer resorts with the dance hall set in wooded parks offer temptations to foolish and inexperienced youth. The children of the earlier immigrants, the English, Irish and Canadian French, are the ones falling the easiest victims to this sort of thing. The young Italian men sometimes frequent dance halls but the girls are rarely allowed even the minimum of personal liberty, while the majority of the other foreign races, with the possible exception of particularly lively or independent members,have not often ventured far from the foreign quarter.

These young girls of easy virtue and willingness to run

into temptation are not typical of Lawrence alone but are characteristic of the day, when the entertainment and recreation of youth is so frequently far from the sight of the parents and catered for by commercial enterprise. The dangers to morality by lax supervision is emphasized in the 1914 Report of the Vice Commission, which says: "Until late adolescence, boys and girls should be kept from evil associations, provided with wholesome and attractive recreation and amusement under the eyes of their parents, and not excited by unwholesome commercialized amusements which suggestand provoke sex impulse. If during this period they are taught the sacredness of the body, are warned of the dangers of bodily contact and the hazards of chance acquaintance, and self-control is inculcated by example and reinforced by knowledge of life imparted under conditions conducive to modesty and self-respect, they will be saved from the fate of these wretched women and their partners".

The boys of the immigrant races, in lieu of better entertainment, loiter on the street corners in gangs which, thanks to the vigilance of the Lawrence police, do nothing more serious than waste their time, and seldom or never accost passersby. The formation of small social clubs which are simply rooms which can be used for card-playing,and shooting craps in the alley out of sight of the rather watchful police are the more ambitious pleasures. The young men who like dancing or the society of the other sex spend their evenings in that mode of entertainment known as "on the pick up", and the country roads are favorite walks of these foolish couples who are trying to forget the adage, old and familiar to their immigrant parents: "Man is fire and woman is tow".

The juvenile delinquent whether of school age or older falls

frequently into the temptations offered him by city life because his conscience training is weak. His parents reared in a stricter religious atmosphere in the old land and perhaps still more restricted by the rigid moral standards of a small village life, often find in America a release from strict religious observances. The withdrawal of the immigrant from the faith of his fathers is usually not deliberate but through carelessness or indifference. If by zealous evangelization, he is induced to enter into other religious affiliations,he usually does so with faint conviction and wavering practise. The religious and moral training of the child is neglected, both in precept and example and, in consequence, the child is brought up in absence of the moral standards which are best taught by the example of the home and the precept of the church. Sometimes, alas, the immigrant is directly responsible for the waywardness of his child by his own intemperance or immorality, but often, on the other hand, parents who have kept their strict standards of morality are unable to offer but an ineffectual barrier to the onrush of harmful ideas and practices of the new world. Confused by the many intricacies of city life, discouraged by economic difficulties and disheartened at their loss of control over their children, they present the saddest picture of the story of immigration. It is sometimes impossible for the immigrant to force upon his children, old world ideas of discipline and since he has no conception of a disciplinary or moral education which will harmonize with American life and moral standards, his children do as they please.

The schools have accomplished very little in the moral training of children, partly because the school time is so taken up with imparting of knowledge that the equally important task of teaching

good behaviour is neglected and partly because ethical instruction is hampered for obvious reasons in a public school. Moreover, standards of good school behaviour have no counterpart in the active life of the streets. While the maximum of excellent conduct in school is assuming a position of absolute rigidity with hands folded, it can have no duplication or ethical significance in American life outside school doors.

Moreover, the responsibility of the child should be the duty of the parent in America as in every other country. A juvenile court which would impress the parents with their responsibility for their children's delinquency would perhaps in turn impress the parent with the need of supervision and guidance of their boys and girls. Too often, it is feared, is the commitment of a child to an institution a consummation most devoutly wished by the thrifty parent who is quite willing for the State to feed, clothe and manage his child for a few years until the time when, well-trained and well-nourished, he returns at a working age to add his mite to the family income.

VIII EMIGRATION FROM LAWRENCE.

Emigration from Lawrence.

Intention of Return to Homeland. There is a wide-spread notion that the immigrant comes to the United States, stays for a few years, in the meantime living in penury, and working for lower wages than the American workman, and after accumulating his hoard, strikes his tent like the Arab and returns to enrich his homeland with the money earned in America. That each succeeding race who have come to America had as their original intention a speedy return to the native land with an accumulation of c pital earned in America is an unc ntrovertible fact. The Irish immigrant meant only a short absence from his beloved green Isle; the English contemplated a return to England when sufficient money was made to live in affluence; the Syrian, the Italian hoped for a speedy return from gray New England skies to sunny southern ones.

The first years in the new land were invariably homesick ones for the imm grant, whether he came from Cork or Cracow, and the life in America seemed a sum total of hardship only to be borne in order that the coveted money might be earned to re-establish himself in affluence in the old land. But as the years progressed and the growing children became enamored with American ideas, the return to the fatherland became more and more visionary.

Visits to the Old Country. Occasional immigrants make the return home as a visit but the call of America is stronger than the homeland and the second journey to America is often made accompanied by a group of fellow townsmen or vistors who have heard of America from the glowing tales of the returned traveler. That money earned in America is sent back to Europe is inevitably true. When,

as is often the case, the father of the family was the pioneer of the family to emigrate, it was obviously necessary for him to send back money to support his wife and children until conditions in the new world warranted him in sending their passage money. When the immigrant was one of the young members of a family, filial duty required that he still contribute to the support of the parents, although they did not attempt life in America. This sending back of money earned in America is no recent custom, it was even more characteristic of the earlier immigrants than the later groups. The numbers of immigrants from Ireland were mainly assisted in their journey by the money sent "back home" by the earlier immigrants. The evidences of prosperity to be found in Ireland today are due in great measure to the American dollars which paid for the thatching on the roof, or the purchase of the new bit of farmland.

Permanent Returns. Yet the return of the immigrant to his native heath, with the exception of two groups, is not large. The unsuccessful and the disabled are glad to return to the native land, and it is quite possible, that under less strenuous industrial conditions and more favoring skies, the ravages made by overwork, underfeeding and bad housing may be eradicated. Another group which has a tendency to return is that of immigrant men who come for a temporary rush in the labor market and when times are dull return again to Europe. This wandering group of unstable workers willing to do rough dirty work for what seems to Americans small, but to them large pay, inevitably clog the labor market with unskilled, casual labor. The intention of life in America is not permanent yet they too are prone to return when the signs of business are prosperous.

Statistics of Emigration. In the strike investigation by

the Federal Government in 1912, the following data concerning the emigration from Lawrence for three months of that year is given. This data would seem to show the extreme numbers leaving on account of industrial conditions.

"The records of the United State Bureau of Immigration show that during the months of January, February and March 1912, 106 aliens departing from the port of Boston and 127 aliens departing from the port of New York reported Lawrence, Mass., as their last residence".

The races departing comprise:

2	Armenians	40	Polish
10	Dutch and Flemish	1	Russian
16	English	3	Ruthenian
13	French	4	Syrian
6	German	1	Irish
88	Italian South	1	Scotch
40	Lithuanian	7	Portuguese

The races showing the great number of emigrants, the Italian, Polish and Lithuanian were those which had the largest non-family immigration and also those most effected by the strike. Compared to the total number of those races in the city, the exodus was comparatively slight.

Evidence of Permanent Settlement. The fact that many of the recent immigrants intend to make Lawrence their permanent home is evidenced by their accumulation of property. A nomadic immigration does not acquire real estate, and once landowners, the immigrant finds the old ideal of returning to the homeland only an idle dream or a remote possibility, if unprecedented prosperity is his lot.

IX ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION.

Economic Consequences of Immigration.

The most disastrous economic effect of immigration on Lawrence has been not its kind but its quantity. H. H. Boyesen says: "Just as a body cannot with safety accept nourishment any faster than it is capable of assimilating it, so a state cannot acceptan excessive influx of people without serious injury." Through misinformation or exploitation more immigrants have come to the city than can find work, and the inevitable consequence has been that the immigrant in order to get any work at all will work under conditions and for wages which would not content the American worker and thus he oftimes unintentionally causes wages to remain low.

Rev. John A. Ryan, an economist of broad range says: "Immigrants must and do depress wages, for the simple reason that they increase the supply of a kind of labor that is already too plentiful, relatively to the higher kinds of labor.....Until recently, unrestricted immigration was, owing to the different economic situation here, only less beneficial to America than to the oppressed immigrants. Hence there was no reasonable ground for keeping them out. Today their arrival at the current rate has a distinct and very great evil effect".

Workers of an older generation in the Lawrence Mills assert that while in the early days they could make $12 a week, now, on account of too slack work, they make only $5 or $6. In a comparison of this kind, the consideration, however, of diminished efficiency of the worker because of age must be considered.

The Massachusetts Immigration Commission of 1914 Report says: "It is often said that the last new immigrant race, from the time of

the Irish and English to that of the Greek and Lithuanian, has been preferred by employers because its members are willing to work for lower wages, and that they have been willing to do this because the standard of living has in the case of each group been lower than that of the supplanted nationality. The United States Immigration Commission makes the following comment in this connection: 'As a matter of fact, it has not appeared in the case of the industries covered by the present investigation that it was usual for employers to engage recent immigrants at wages actually lower than those prevailing at the time of their employment in the industry where they were employed'. In other words, a Pole and an American doing the same kind of work are paid on the same basis. What the wages of the workers in the textile mills,.....in construction work and all the other occupations of the State would have been if the Irish, English, French Canadian, South Italian, Pole, Portuguese and others had not, in turn 'displaced' those who came before them is only a matter of conjecture."

The vast amount of unemployment and underemployment which has been manifest in America during the past year and has been most strikingly exemplified in Lawrence proves the contention that the labor market is overstocked. The condition this winter was simply an exaggerated phase of a condition chronic in Lawrence. The immense plants by which modern capitalists reduce every possible cost of production are probably never entirely running full time. Small sections may be temporarily rushed with work but it is common gossip in Lawrence that at no time has the immense Wood Mill been entirely in operation. This method of running the mills, although no doubt practised for some motive of efficiency,has as its correlative effect underemployment or unemployment of the workers. If several members

of the family work in the same mill, seldom they are all working full time. The slackness of the work causes drifting between the mills and the result is a vast army of operatives who are never employed to the full limit of their capacity.

The immigrant by his very needs and weakness fits admirably into a scheme of employment whereby the employer need feel no personal responsibility toward his help. There is no personal contact with the employee, frequently he is known only as a number since his name is unpronounceable or unspellable by the bookkeeper and a conception of responsibility for his continued employment is a thought unconsidered by the manufacturer.

As Edward A. Ross, in his book "The Old World in the New", says: "Employers observe a tendency for employment to become more fluctuating and seasonal because of an elastic supply of aliens, without family or local attachments, ready to go anywhere or do anything. In certain centers, immigrant laborers form, as it were, visible living pools from which the employer can dip as he needs. Why should he smooth his work evenly throughout the year in order to keep a labor force composed of family men with local roots when he can always take on "ginnies" without trouble and drop them without compunction?..... In a concern with 30,000 employees,the rate of change is a hundred per cent a year, and is increasing! Labor leaders notice that employment is becoming more fluctuating, there are fewer steady jobs, and the proportion of men who are justified in founding a home constantly diminishes."

Racial Displacement. The immigrants being largely unskilled, at first do the hardest, most unskilled, dirtiest work. When one nationality invades a certain territory in mill work, the other races

tend to leave that field.

The older races in Lawrence seem to have suffered little because of this racial displacement. The earliest immigrants--the Irish--since their exodus from the mill have entered generally the mercantile or professional fields. The son of the Celt that carried the hod is seldom stranded in the field of manual labor, but by dint of the sacrifice of his parents and his own ideals, has acquired a "white collar job" in an office or store. The English and Scotch and German, always more or less skilled, have moved higher in the textile processes, or in some cases have gone into mill business on a small scale, to furnish some specialized product for the mills. The less skilled operatives have suffered more, naturally from the competition and the operatives of maturer years whoare the only English speaking persons in their respective rooms find the occupation less congenial on account of the foreign influx.

Without the entrance of the immigrant to Lawrence, it would have been impossible either to construct or man the huge plants erected in Lawrence by the woolen and cotton manufacturers. The development to their present degree of supremacy of the woolen and cotton industries of New England would be impossible without the brawn of the immigrant.

"While the new immigrant with his willingness to work in the dirt and the filth and the danger that are a concomitant, has made possible much of America's splendid industrial development, the very fact of his willingness to brave these things and brave them at scant wages, has made him a liability to the nation. The man who will do these things is necessary to the industrial life of a nation; but the man who is content to do them and never to look up and beyond them may be a menace." Immigrant An Asset and Liability. F. J. Hasken.

X SOCIAL AND CIVIC EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION.

Social and Civic Effects of Immigration.

Besides providing the labor market with an abundance of raw material, the immigrant as well as furnishing a problem has made various contributions to the civic and social life of the community. That the immigrants have potent possibilities of development in the realms of art and literature is manifest by the history of the nations from which they come. It is true that the industrial life of America has seemed to stifle this artistic development and we find in America no counterpart of the musical genius of Chopin, the artistic prowess of Raphael, the literary art of Shakespeare, or the philosophy of Schopenhauer. It has been often stated that genius does not travel in the steerage but history shows that genius and talent are by no means restricted to the refined and cultivated classes in any region or clime.

Each succeeding race which has come to Lawrence has by its progress in the new world both gained and lost much by assimilation with America. If success were measured only in terms of material progress, the Irish immigrant and his descendants have far outstripped their Celtic forbears. The prosperous Irish American turns over more red gold in a week than his prototype on the bleak farm on a Kerry hillside dreamt of possessing even by obtaining the magic store of the leprechaun. But the blatant and successful commercialism of the prosperous Irish American has almost extinguished the germ of mystic idealism which is the birthright of every Celt. The Irish immigrants of '48, ignorant as some of them were of pen and book, were yet possessed of that magic gift of Celtic legendry which no conquering nation had ever been able to wrest from them. Coming from a land

sordid poverty of the most distressing sort, political repression of the cruellest description and lack of possibilities of educational and social advancement were paramount, the natives of that same unfortunate land had a religious faith dearer than life itself, a simple family life where the homely virtues were manifest and a rigorous standard of morality which no race has ever surpassed. Material progress beyond his wildest dreams has been made by many a country boy of bogland and mountain; but his children reared in America scorn the fairy lore and pious custom that were his dearest possession.

In like manner each successive race has lost and gained much by contact with America. The somewhat phlegmatic British temperament has quickened to the pulse of American life, and the afternoon tea that is the custom of the humblest Saxon is considered a waste of time in commercial America. The simple folk lore of the country village, the quaint customs of family and communal life find no counterpart in the tenement life of busy America. Even the Ghetto does not exist in the New World and Judaism which has held its followers to its rigorous rules through centuries of bloodstained persecution finds its orthodoxy weakening and melting in the sunlight of American tolerance.

The nationalities in Lawrence who have held themselves most aloof from American life are obviously those which retain the more extensively their peculiar racial tendencies. The Germans and the French have a distinct life of their own, separate from the American life around them and retain to a greater extent the use of their native language and the enjoyment of their native customs. The French children attend the parochial schools and there learn the French language, but the Germans attend the public schools and acquire the

German after school hours. The numerous German halls renew in America the social spirit of the old world. Neither of these races seems to have suffered as a result of their isolation but frugal, thrifty and law-abiding in the main, their contribution to American civic life is a thing apart from ordinary American living.

To the German element more than to any other isdue the awakened public interests in music, both choral and instrumental. The Teuton love of entertainment and his obvious enjoyment of innocent amusement has paved the way for a general public merrymaking quite unknown in Puritan New England. The Germans with their athletic interest and their readiness to give exhibitions of their skill on public occasions have led in all civic manifestations of community spirit.

The ability in labor organization was best shown in the English of the older races and only the influx of later races and the restrictive attitude of the mills stopped its further development.

The Irishman's political ability has made him perhaps most conspicuous in municipal affairs but the conservative vote of German and Englishman has been a potent factor when the main issue was to be settled by the silent vote.

Of the later races, too short a time has elapsed to do any more than hazard a guess at their civic and social contributions to the city's life. The Italian's love for the fruits of the earth has tempted the American to forsake his restricted meat diet; the intellectual stimulus of the Hebrew in school as the commercial stimulus of his father in business has sharpened the American wits, and, sometimes, also their tempers; and, in general, the thrift of the later races has cast in high relief our great American habit of waste.

Unfortunately, the later races have shown little interest in the civic life although their intention of permanence of residence in proof of their acceptance of the city for weal and woe. The way to a man's heart is often through his pocket book, however, and a rapid interest in public affairs comes with the payment of the first tax-bill. Whether the present anarchistic tendency of the Italian will soften with prosperity as did the socialistic one of the German, the coming years will tell us; whether the nationless Pole, of an ancestry strong in patriotism will translate his allegiance to America as did the Irishman, time will disclose, but if the future develops as the past Lawrence has little to fear in political development or social life from her diversity of races.

XI SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

Solving the Problem.

Economic Solution. Restriction. Immigration to America and to communities like Lawrence which are at present ove stocked with a labor supply is fast becoming an economic problem. Immigration is probably yet needed by certain portions of the United States, but it seems to be rather clearly demonstrated by statistical figures that further labor supply is not needed in a community like Lawrence. The supply of unskilled labor is more than the demand for such labor, while the demand even for skilled labor does not seem to be a crying need. The European War, while it brought temporary business depression also brought a temporary lull in the immigrant supply although, up to this time, no relief of the Lawrence situation has resulted.

The American Protectionist commenting on the decrease in immigration says: "President Wilson must have studied the statistics of immig ation for the calendar year 1914 before vetoing the immigration bill. Immigration fell from 1,387,000 in 1913 to 688,495 in 1914, and 343,000 left the country in 1914 compared to 274,000 in 1913. Democratic depression has proved to be an effective means of restricting immigration and the President probably concluded that no other restrictive measures were needed." While fair-minded men unbiased by political or party prejudices will differ as to the causes of financial depression, its effect on immigration is marked.

Literacy Test. The delay in solving the problem of the restriction of the immigrant supply has been caused for the most part by the lack of a test by which some immigrants may be permitted to enter the country if an entire prohibition of immigration--not yet contemplated with seriousness-- is not desired. The tests so far

offered, notably that of literacy, are opposed by many thinking people and an analysis of its probable effect on a community like Lawrence had it been in effect since the development of the city are pertinent.

In judging the fitness for America of the immigrants who clamor at the gates, the students of the subject seem to divide on the question of a proper test of qualification for prospective good citizenship. The majority of immigrants who have come to Lawrence in the years of its existence would have been barred from its civic life if the literacy test had been in operation. Nor does it seem that the literacy test would have kept out only the undesirables from the stream which entered, for some of the most successful of the immigrants have been those illiterate ones.

Jane Addams says: "After all, literacy is neither a test of character nor of ability; it is merely an index of the educational system in which a man has been reared. The literacy test will always work in favor of the man from the city and discriminate against the man from the country. On the face of it, it would seem safer to admit a sturdy peasant from the mountains of Calabria than a sophisticated Neapolitan, familiar with the refined methods of police graft which have made the Camorra famous.....The only service America is universally eager to render to the immigrant and his children, and moreover, the only one it is thoroughly equipped to offer, is free education".

Property Qualifications. Another popular fallacy as regards fitness of the immigrant places his desirability in direct ratio to his previous supply of this world's goods. There is fear of the pauper element, and yet of all the immigrants who have come to America, perhaps the most successful have been those who entered the country

penniless. The earliest immigrants to Lawrence, the famine-driven Irish, came from conditions of the direst poverty that the civilized world has ever known and yet it cannot be proven that the majority of the Irish or even a majority of the more penniless of the Irish immigrants have been a detriment to American progress, although Irish names will be found on the records of charity both public and private.

The Jews, also, who have come to the city penniless have in the short time they have been here progressed rapidly. Very few of the immigrants who have come to Lawrence, early or recently, of North European or South European extraction have come with any amount of capital. The majority of all the races have succeeded in wresting from the new world a living better than that of the old world and have often succeeded in the New World in inverse ratio to their prosperity in the Old.

Minimum Wage for Immigrants. The inefficacy and unfairness of a literacy test is felt by economists generally. Paul Kellogg, in an article in the Survey January 7, 1911, voices a novel idea of a restrictive policy. He says: "Yet the two most discussed proposals for restricting immigration--property and educational tests--have the disadvantages that only indirectly do they reach the economic springs of what is distinctly an economic inundation. Would it not be possible to apply minimum wage standards directly and solely to immigration? That is--provide that until an immigrant has spent five years in America he cannot be hired for less than a living wage, say for purposes of discussion, $2.50 a day.....For in essence, a minimum wage immigration certificate would give promise of being, what the wool schedule and the steel schedule and the cotton schedule have failed to prove, a 'tariff for the protection of American labor'."

Commenting of this proposition. Rev. John A. Ryan, the author of "The Living Wage", in a letter to the Survey says: "To prohibit by law the employment of any immigrant, within five years of his arrival, at less than a living wage, would, if the law were held constitutional and wereenforcedas well as the average law, solve the immigration question more effectively, more satisfactorily to all the interested classes, than any other measure that could be devised."

A careful study of the difficulties in the Lawrence immigration problem shows that such a restriction would not only help to solve the principal difficulty of the Lawrence situation--the economic one--but also by insuring a better income to the immigrant would permit him to live more in accordance with American standards and educate his children to a greater degree, thus solving in part the social and civic difficulties contingent on immigration as well.

Distribution. Many students of the immigration problem feel that the country at large is still in need of the services of the immigrants however much lack of distribution of the immigrant flow has caused congestion in centers like Lawrence. The former Secretary Nagel of the Department of Labor says: "We need labor in this country and the natives are unwilling to do the work which the aliens come over to do. It is perfectly true that in a few cities and localities there are congested conditions. It is equally true that in much larger areas we are practically without help". That distribution and not restriction is the present need was voiced by A. Piatt Andrew in the June 1914 number of the North American Review. He says:

"Our problem is not how we can exclude but how we can effectively distribute those who are coming to us. We need and can use in America all the strong and healthy helpers that can come. We need

their help in developing the almost boundless resources of this great country, but at the same time, we must protect those that come and those that are already here from excessive concentration in the older and more densely populated communities whose resources are limited and whose opportunities are already sufficiently exploited."

The reasons for the influx of immigration to Lawrence are primarily because of its geographic situation near the port of Boston, and because of the utilization of unskilled labor by its principal industry as well as by the attraction to it of further members of its already numerous racial elements. Reference to this contributing factor in distribution of immigration is made in the Report of the Massachusetts Commission of Immigration in 1914: "An assertion that is often made to explain the need of distribution is that the immigrant through ignorance goes to the cities and mill towns, 'where he is not wanted' instead of to the sparsely settled sections of the West, where his work is much desired. This is not in accordance with the facts. The great majority of the immigrants come to join relatives or friends in the United States, who want them so much that they have usually made many sacrifices to enable them to come.....If the immigrant were not industrially 'wanted', he would not go to the city or to the mill town, for his friends and relatives are not able to support him in leisure.

The immigrant is in most cases informed by his relatives and as to certain places where he is 'wanted', and comes guided by that information. This is a kind of distribution that may seem to be working itself out satisfactorily , but as a matter of fact , it only seems to be doing so. The immigrant who comes from Southern and Eastern Europe is advised by friends who have been here only a short time then-

selves, and who know really nothing of where the immigrant may best sell the skill, intelligence or physical endurance he possesses".

Under present conditions, universal in America, the search for work even in normal times is a procedure both uneconomic and disheartening. In a city like Lawrence where the labor market is overstocked and the unemployed have the handicap ofignorance of the language, conditions are at their worst. The policy of the Lawrence Mills in hiring their help by application at the mill gates is a method which, at the present stage of industrial progress, the public should not tolerate. This one phase of the economic problem can best be solved by the establishment of public employment bureaus where the job without a man and the man without a job may be connected by some more rational method than a "work line" at the mill gates.

The distribution of surplus labor can only be attempted with success by a state and national agency, but a civic bureau on the lines of those managed by the German cities would care for the local problem.

An investigation of the earning capacities of the majority of the immigrants, especially of the later arrivals, shows that before notable progress can be made in Americanizing the immigrant,in Lawrence, he must receive a wage which will enable him to maintain an American standard of living. Rev. John A. Ryan says: "Upon one principle of partial justice, unprejudicial men are in substantial agreement. They hold that wages should be sufficiently high to enable the laborer to live in a manner consistent with a dignity of a human being". All the laborers in the Lawrence Mills do not receive such a wage. The excuse for poor wages often offered is that the workman is a free agent and his willingness to work for low wages is a cause

of the economic situation.

Pope Leo XIII in his famous Encyclical on Labor which is considered a valuable contribution to labor literature says:

"Let it be granted, then, that as a rule workman and employer should make agreements and in particular should freely agree as to wages; nevertheless there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If, through necessity, or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of fraud and injustice." Of course, no employer of labor is under a moral obligation to pay a higher wage than he is able to, allowing him, of course, a reasonable profit. It has been shown that the wages paid in Lawrence in the woolen and worsted industry, the primary industry of this city, are no worse, and perhaps somewhat better, than the wages paid in that industry in other places. It also seems, by governmental data, that the textile industry in general does not pay a wage by which it is possible for the unskilled workers to maintain a family in comfort. What wages the textile industry is able to pay inLawrence in particular is a difficult problem to determine. The absence of the mill owners from the community prevents the public from any but a vague idea of their prosperity and the fact also that the mills are usually in the hands of incorporated companies makes still more difficult an estimation of their profits. The immense plants erected by the Lawrence Mills are manifestations to the average citizen at least that there is no dearth of profit.

Vida Scudder of Wellesley College in a much criticized

speech which she made at the time of the Lawrence Strike said:

"What we of the general public would like to see would be a board of government experts who should determine just what wages the woolen trades could carry consistently with reasonable profits to their stockholders and to the manufacturers. And I speak for the New England of our fathers when I say that if such wages are (even for the least skilled of the workers) below the standard necessary to maintain men and women in decency and health, the woolen industry has not a present right to exist in Massachusetts. For the first point in any industry is that it shall be competent to support its workers in honor."

The Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts - of rather recent birth - has made no such investigation of the textile industry up to the present time. Until an investigation by state or federal authority is made concerning the ability of the textile industry to pay wages on which an American standard of living may be maintained, discussion of the duty of the manufacturers as to wages must necessarily be fruitless.

If the low wages are proven to be purely for the financial profit of the strong by the exploitation of the weak, some Americans, who are keenly sensitive to the wrongs and rights of labor, feel in truth that "God visits eternal punishment upon a board of directors as surely as upon a secret society of assassins, though the first may have let the victim's heart's blood out with a majority stockholders' vote instead of with a stiletto."

At all events, we may be certain that all responsibility for poor wages does not rest directly on the manufacturer or stockholder, but indirectly on the general public who desire to purchase at the cheapest market and thus cause excessive competition.

Father Cuthbert says: "If men and women are sweated to death for a miserable pittance, who is to blame? Not the employers only, though their sin is great; but all who patronize such labor contribute to sin. The insatiable yearning to buy cheaply, without any thought as to whether cheapness is consistent with fair wages; this is the incentive which tempts men to buy cheap labor and under pay the workmen. Wherefore this craze for cheapness, but that most often there may be more money to spend in unncessary luxuries, in fine ribbons or a better brand of tobacco and the like. It is the increasing luxury of the period which gives the public its thirst for cheapness and condones the injustice of the sweater and smiles on the successful gambler."

There is no country in the world where excessive zeal for bargain-hunting is displayed more keenly than in America, whether it is shown by the manufacturer in delaying his purchase of raw material until the market is down, regardless of the fact that his workmen are, for lack of material, idle, or by the housewife who descends to the depths of a department store basement to grab, in a seething crowd of other bargain-hunters, for goods in a special markdown, while she ignores the question of how such cheap goods were obtained. Striving to reduce the high cost of living is sometimes the cause of such methods of trading, but also it is caused because the average American consumer is not educated sufficiently in economics to perceive the more or less direct connection between cheap goods and low wages, and because it is too much trouble to find out just what articles of merchandise are vouched for by a Consumer's League. Joseph McSorley scores this American attitude when he says: "If you take the trouble to remember the batting average of some base ball favorite, why should it seem an impossible nuisance to keep track of and patronize the White List of the Consumer's League?"

Fortunately for America there is an ever growing majority of citizens who feel that better wages are necessary and they are willing to pay the price. The American public though thoughtless, is not unintelligent, and feels with Paul Kellogg: "If we cannot have cheap, ready-made clothes unless the garment manufacturers can turn the needle workers adrift on the street with every sag in the market; if we cannot have cheap transportation unless the steel car manufacturers can use successive groups of raw immigrants to hammer down the rates of pay for older men; if we cannot have cheap meat without a crowd of men clamoring for work each day at the stock yards, then as a nation better for us to pay more for these things and less for our hospitals, our orphanages, our courts, and our prisons, and the other social institutions where the waste of industry comes back as toll on humanity."

Assimilation. The restriction and distribution of immigrants can be done only by the nation as a whole. Until the nation adopts some definite policy in regard to these two matters, however, the city and state to which the immigrant comes must of necessity assist him in his assimilation of American ideas. Under present conditions, the responsibility toward the immigrant is entirely that of the municipality where he happens to make his home and varies, of course, according to the civic resources, culture, and means possessed by that city. Lorin F. Deland in an article on the Lawrence Strike in the Atlantic Monthly says : "The mills which have practically built up the city, are owned mainly by a large body of non-residents, who have little knowledge of the place or its problems. Paying no taxes, they have no interest in municipal government. The resident mill officials are very able men, but they have their important duties and feel no call to

engage in politics. The mills until two years ago, paid only a tax on their real estate and machinery (no franchise tax) yet they dumped into Lawrence, thousands of operatives, who, while not paying a single dollar towards the support of the city, must at the city's expense, be educated, policed, safeguarded from fire, watched over in the manner of sanitation and health and generally given all the privileges of city planning and adminstration. To cater to the wants of 30,000 factory hands, there have come to Lawrence many small store keepers, clerks, sales people and mechanics in all trades, none of them owning much taxable property. Naturally the taxes are high; the one cry of the tax payer is ' Keep down the taxes' and his last concern or desire is to do anything for the foreigners who herd like cattle, outrage health and decency, and raise the tax rate".

Housing. The need of improvement of the housing conditions in Lawrence is evident. It is manifestly unwise to allow the construction of houses which will endanger the health and morals of their occupants for succeeding generations, or to allow the occupation of any dwelling proven dangerous to the community. A duplication of the slums of the old world is not necessary in America either from capitalistic greed, ignorance, or public inertia.

S. J. Barrows says: "Fortunately for the credit of the immigrants, there has been of late years a dawning perception that it is the tenement, not the tenant, that makes the slum, and that the rational remedy for congestion does not lie in the exclusion of the flow of productive labor, but in its effective regulation and distribution. Our present slums are the natural outgrowth of the reckless laxity of our building laws and sanitary regulations. They are plainly chargeable to our civic blindness and the toleration of greed. It is the native born rookery, not the foreign born influx, that must bear the burden

of reproach for the slum."

The evils of bad housing as it exists in Lawrence are due primarily to the fact that the buildings were constructed for owners who knew and cared little about good housing, planned for by architects who had never considered the prime requisites of city tenement house, and allowed under building laws which were weak and unprogressive. The earlier and some of the worst houses were built purely as a commercial investment by people who might have built better if they had studied the problem or had more civic spirit, the later houses, some very bad indeed, are being built by immigrants who have never had any opportunity to study the subject of city housing and who are anxious to get the largest amount of profit on the smallest expenditure, and who have in truth no models to follow which are much better than those they are building.

In relation to the assumption once more of the mill owners of housing for operatives, the Massachuetts Immigration Commission of 1914 says: "Experience, some of it pretty bitter, has, however, pretty generally convinced employers, employees, and the public generally that it is contrary to public policy to have one body of men at once the employers and the landlords of the others. The powers thus combined in one control can be made to buttress one another in ways which create much bad feeling if not actual hardship. We believe, therefore, that it is not too much to say that the policy of corporation-owned tenements is outlived."

It has never been claimed that the building laws are or have ever been grossly violated, but that the law for the city as well as for the State is not strict enough to afford either sufficient fire protection of a maximum of suitability to civic needs.

The Lawrence Survey says: "It is extremely doubtful whether adequate, effective action for the control of conditions in Lawrence is attainable through city legislation. Those among its citizens who know

the city best and have the best interests of the city near at heart know better than the public knows what an extremely weak, and exceptionally broken an assembly of peoples it is. Though the pride of the individuals in their city may be as great as it is in most cities, the best of the citizens, if they are honest with themselves, must quietly acknowledge the fact. But the fact, because of its relation to the housing condition, is not one that can be merely quietly asserted. It must be openly faced, publicly asserted, if the help is to be secured that will bring in adequate remedies. It is not just to the better citizens of Lawrence to speak of it in direct comparison with other cities. The citizens with influence and civic ideals are too few. The prospect of successfully controlling the building of houses in the indefensively congested center cannot be considered without mentioning the absence of mill owners as residents. Stated baldly, Lawrence is an appendage to the textile industries - a tool room attached to a work shop. Many cities have such economic balance within themselves that they are far more integers than Lawrence and are far better able to take care of themselves. The city is woefully weak because there is lacking in the control of its civic affairs, the direct sense of shame and personal responsibility and the efficient public-spirited controlling interest, which the mill owners' families would have, if they were residents. Because mill owners live outside of the city, the housing problem is a state problem, and can be solved only by state legislation."

Judging, however, the civic spirit of the mill owners by their manifestation of it in their dealings with their work people, no such roseate view of the entrance into the civic life of Lawrence is possible. That there is obvious need of state housing laws is apparent from other reasons, not the least important among which is

the ease by which builders anxious to be untrammeled by city ordinances build "three deckers" just outside the city limits. This is especially practicable in Lawrence where the city area is small.

The crying need is proper legislation concerning tenement house construction and following that, the construction of model tenements on a philanthropic basis which would be content with a three percent return on investment.

Living. The constant cry of reformers is that the immigrants are lowering the American standards and that they must be taught American customs and standards of living. Yet immediately comes the obvious difficulty of choice of American custom which we needs must select to teach the immigrants. Some customs - manifestly American - yet thundered at from the pulpit and press do not appear as excellent ones to teach the newcomers. The matter of divorce, for instance, seems by statistics to be a custom, while not peculiarly American, yet highly developed in this country, still does not suggest itself as a highly advisable custom into which to initiate the foreigner. The court records seem to show, however, that the immigrant is following this custom of his own volition.

A former president of the United States delivered valiant phil ippics against what he conceived to be prevalent American custom - race suicide - and judging from the advice of some progressive or retrogressive social workers, it would seem to be necessary to harangue the immigrant on the size of his family. Expressions of regret are heard that the immigrant workman endeavors to rear a family on his meagre wages, but it does not occur to the reformer that the raising the pay might obviate the difficulty quite as easily as diminishing the family.

Certain customs and manners affected by the richer scions

of American ancestors do not recommend themselves as models of virtue for the immigrants to copy. All the existing customs of America are worthy neither of imitation by the immigrant nor adoption by the native born.

As regards the American standards of living which the foreign worker is accused of lowering, it must be remembered that living standards vary greatly in the different communities, and it can hardly be proved that the standard of cotton mill operativesin the South, who are the only textile operatives in existance of American stock, are any higher than those of the recently arrived immigrant. The southern cotton mill worker has probably a higher standard of living than the southern farmer. Urban standards of life are usually higher than rural standards. In the same way, the Americans in the cities of the North require many more of the luxuries of life than the Americans on the farm. The immigrants come mainly from rural districts and their standards on arrival in America are rural, not urban standards, and as such are oftimes low.

It is claimed and it is undoubtedly true that the recent immigrant spends less for the food he consumes than the American or than the immigrant from the north of Europe. Sometimes he does, it is true, and sometimes, also he gets more for his money for he consumes less meat and more vegetables, which is a fact hardly to be deplored, however.

A further point in connection with the immigrant and his violation of American standards is well taken in the report of the Massachusetts Immigration Commission: "There is a great deal of talk about teaching the immigrant American standards. This teaching begins with his experience with Massachusetts housing laws, and it is idle to imagine that he will believe that we have desirable standards of health and

cleanliness, when too often the America which he knows is so intolerably dirty; or that the law is respected in the United States, when he sees it flagrantly violated on all sides."

Education. Among the duties which are the province of the civic authorities in solving the problem of the immigrant perhaps none is so important as that of education. By education of the immigrant is not meant merely the acquisition by the immigrant of the English language. Excellent as such learning may be, its power has been tremendously overvalued by its exponents. The English language has no sacramental virtue in itself whereby its use guarantees to the user virtues, moral, civic, or economic. The fact that immigrant strikers incited by incendiary speakers of their own tongue, may commit acts and demonstrations contrary to law, and the spirit of American tradition does not necessarily prove that the same strikers would be law-abiding if possessed of the English language. Lamentably anarchistic are many labor leaders of foreign speech, but they do not monopolize the anarchistic propaganda of the country which is spread by English speaking as well as foreign speakers. Moreover, it is quite easily demonstrated that assaulting one's fellow workers is not lawful whether one hears the instructions to do so in Italian or in English. The Italian, Polish, and Syrian strikers who molested their non-striking fellow workers during the strike were as conscious of wrong-doing as were their English speaking companions. Any adult with a normally developed moral sense knows the unlawfulness of assault on person or property whether he or she speaks English or not. The assumption that strikes will be carried on in a peaceful and harmonious manner if the striking body understands the English language is a fallacy easily proved by the history of the strikes in England where the foreign laborer is not a

factor. Similarly the teaching of English to foreign women will not by any miracle revolutionize their house-keeping or their personal hygiene There are as excellent housekeepers in countries where English is never spoken as in those countries where English is the mother tongue.

Education of the immigrant in the English language is nevertheless an important duty of the community since it is not only right and proper for all inhabitants to have a common medium of speech, but also because lack of knowledge of English renders the immigrant peculiarly liable to exploitation as well by unscrupulous employers, landlords, and political bossess as by labor leaders.

Having acquired the English language, the immigrant requires instruction in civic duties lest he become a menace to the health of the neighborhood. The agency best fitted to so instruct him is the state or city. If this instruction on matters so vital in importance to the community is left to any private organization of however high motives, there are the resulting dangers of religious proselytizing or monopolistic control. If the immigrant receives all his instruction in civic duties from an organization managed by funds secured, in the main, from mill agents, the resulting policy of that organization will be favorable to capitalistic control rather than to the rights of labor. If the agencies which guide the immigrant in civic fields are church agencies, there is the danger of undue influence of a particular creed . It is to the state that the immigrant should look for instruction along civic lines.

It is also within the province of the state to furnish instruction which shall raise the immigrant in economic status from that of the unskilled worker to the trained worker. Many workers avail themselves of correspondence courses, or of evening schools, and for adult workers these schemes seem to be only feasible ones. Doubtless a system of

of correspondence or lecture courses conducted by the state would secure a larger number of students than any private agencies since the state could supply free or at nominal cost what a commercial enterprise does at a profit. For the children of immigrants who must augment the family income as soon as possible, a system of co-operation between the public school and the mills whereby children may attend school part-time and work part-time, and thus receive a training which shall keep them from drifting into the great class of unskilled workers is a need.

For all the children of the community whether immigrant or native, there should be opportunities of education and the education offered should not be merely of the type which is the standardized academic education. Perhaps in greater portion than in the native population, the immigrant population furnishes its quota of motor-minded children, those who are unattracted by education on academic lines but can achieve contentment and skill through training of the hands. If all the children of all the community are to be properly educated, it will mean the establishment of schools for the defective, the mained, the deaf, and the incorrigible, or the arrangement of transfer of pupils in the Lawrence Schools to state institutions caring for these types, if the establishment of a school seems impractical. There will be backward and deficient children in every community, and one rich in racial elements will have a complicated problem since apparent deficiency may be caused by home conditions more prevalent in a community a majority of whose members are poor. The deficient child of rich or moderately well-to-do parents may be cared for and educated, and protected by its parents through their abundance of means, but the deficient child of immigrant parents frequently lacks

care and training as much on account of economic condition as the ignorance of the parents. Under present conditions, none but normal children are provided for in the educational regime of Lawrence. A need for adequate education of those unfortunate children who are deficient, crippled, tubercular, deaf, blind or nearly so, and those suffering from malnutrition are needed.

Under the laws of Massachusetts, all children under sixteen are required either to be at work or in school. There are obvious difficulties to the plan of sending back to the regular school the fourteen or fifteen-year old child who has worked but is temporarily out of a job. The class from which the child went to work has progressed in his absence, and he can rarely catch up with the work, and thus loses interest. If the working child is placed in a grade in which he can do the work, he is at a disadvantage because of his size. Moreover, the children who have been at work find school rules, which are needed for the majority of young children, irksome to them. The inevitable result is that attendance is irregular and the child of working and school age, when out of a job is also out of school or when he is in school, is there simply because of the exertion of the truant officer, and is gaining little. The ideal method would be to have a separate school under competent, experienced and sympathetic teachers who would work with the children returning to school for a short time, and also a course of study adapted to their needs, tastes, and capabilities. An ideal course of study would combine industrial training with purely clerical work. If, however, industrial training would prove an expense too great to be borne, an interesting and instructive course of study could be given which did not specialize on all the stumbling blocks to enjoyment in the school curriculum.

It will be found in almost every community which specializes in an evening industrial school that the school is patronized by American or English speaking people rather than by non-English speaking immigrants. While in no sense the Americans or English speaking should be discouraged from cultivation or participation in an industrial school, it is to be regretted that the foreign born do not avail themselves of the opportunity.

In order that they may do so, the classes will have to be organized on a slightly different bases. Immigrant women who need instruction in the domestic arts can best be aided if there is present an instructor or interpreter of their own tongue. Advertisement in different languages of the industrial courses posted in the foreign districts and mentioned in the foreign churches and by the foreignpress would acquaint the people with the opportunities offered for advancement. Separate classes of older and younger pupils will work more harmoniously.

Obviously, the need of the non-English speaking foreigner is first, instruction in English and then further optional courses, industrial or cultural.

Although the textile industry absorbs the great part of the working population of Lawrence, there are still some other lines of industry open to the children ready to make a start in life. Such children ought to be given some instruction in the vocational and occupational opportunities of their city. Because their parents are often foreign born and poorly educated, they are unable to know what jobs are desirable and what are "blind alleys". Since advice in choosing a life career cannot, therefore, be gained in the home, a correspondence school system for such a city as Lawrence should include

some form of vocational training and guidance for its boys and girls. Such guidance, if wisely given, could, to a large extent, prevent the blind drift from school to job and from job to job which constitutes one of the greatest wastes of the modern industrial world.

Besides the need of work, for an individual or a community, there is an obvious need of play. Modern city life relegates to commercial enterprise the provision of recreation for young and old. The theatre, the dance hall, the club, the saloon, all cater to a human need in no place so intense as in a community where monotonous work, poor housing, and lack of education combine to limit the individual ability for enjoyment. The establishment of social centers where safe and sane recreation may be found, of dance halls where youth seeking enjoyment can have an evening's pleasure without loss of virtue, of schools where programs of intellectual enjoyment can be adjusted to the capabilities of the learners--all these possibilities would brighten the life and sweeten the leisure of the working folk.

The great need of the public school system in Lawrence and elsewhere is a vital interest in its issues by the public at large. In no field of human endeavor is their so much need of social service as in the schools. The individual teachers may and often do make heroic efforts to ameliorate the living conditions of their pupils but such individual efforts, rich as they may be in particular result to pedagogue and pupil, are but a fraction of the good that could be accomplished be a well-conceived plan of co-operation between teachers, parents, and the general public. The training and personality of all teachers, moreover, does not necessarily guarantee their ability as social workers for often the necessary requisites of poise, authority and decision to class room success are not so useful in helping the needy as the

qualities of sympathy, patience and understanding of the poor man's lot. Aside from the teacher's capability in the matter is the serious question of adding to her already over heavy burden further tasks of friendly visiting among the poor; when in all probability she needs her free hours for healthful recreation and stimulative companionship in social intercourse. If there was, however, at the service of the schools, a corps of social workers, volunteer or professional, who would follow up the child in his home environment and persuade the parent to readjust harmful conditions, arrange for medical attention if necessary, and connect the family, if needy, with some agency for constructive relief, much good could be accomplished.

In questions of interrelation between school and charitable agency, there is no more fruitful cause for friction than the assumption usual to the organized charity worker that her preconceived plan or estimate concerning a family is like unto the laws of the Medes and Persians and the attitude of the school teacher of absolute authority in matters educational and otherwise. Even more important than the help to the children is the stimulation of co-operative interest which would come if the charity worker saw something outside the family viewpoint and the teacher something outside of the individual child or the course of study. To secure the success of any plan for school social service, there would be necessary an interest in the theory by the parties concerned, public and school.

Necessary and vital as many of these proposed reforms are, they will amount to nothing unless within the city itself is a vital stirring of civic spirit on the part of all its citizens and those who contribute to its growth. The economic difficulty of the insufficient wage and irregular employment overshadows the civic difficulties

and delays their solution. Joseph McSorley says: "There is one thing universally admitted that our economic machine is working badly and is crushing human souls in the process. Whether or not the machine can ever be made to function perfectly, is at best, an open question. But that it can be made to function better, thousands do maintain."

Restriction and distribution of immigration, minimum wage laws, housing regulations, further extension of protective policy in child labor and industrial insurance, and extensive opportunities of education complete a program accomplished more quickly by the ballot box than by any other means. But as Evan Woolen says: "How we Americans are plagued by the obsession that everything, even good government, can be secured by legislation!" It is this policy of rushing into legislation good in itself, but hampered by lack of funds or understanding by the general public that has led so many reforms enthusiastically urged by their proponents to be greeted with indifference by the body politic.

More vital than all legislative effort, however, is the moral regeneration which must ensue in modern life before social reform is complete. To lessen the economic pressure on the weak, there must come a realization on the part of the strong, of a better moral sense. C. S. Devas in "The Key to the World's Progress" says:

"For the social question is much more than a money question and no code of laws, however wise, can provide all that is needful for fruitful reform. There must be interior reformation, without which neither workmen's insurance, nor factory laws, nor continuation schools, nor public baths and libraries, nor abundant leisure, nor high wages, nor short hours of work, nor cheap and sanitary dwellings, nor allotments and small holdings, nor light and equable taxation, will avail for social peace."