STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Volume XXI] [Number 2

THE SOCIOLOGY OF A NEW YORK CITY BLOCK

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THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS

LONDON: P. S. KING & SON

1904

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CHAPTER I

Nature and Method of Investigation

It is a commonplace to say that one can never be so lonely as in a great city. Something akin to this is the total ignorance of most of us as to the real character of the people swarming in our tenements. Truly they are an unknown quantity. Even the missionary, the pastor, and the settlement-worker have but an inadequate and erroneous idea of the peoples about them. Churches and settlements are too much attended by those who are over-anxious to be helped. So true is this that the ideas of the systematic and independent visitor are often diametrically opposed to those held by churches and settlements. The writer has at different times been engaged as a visitor for a church, for a settlement, and for an organization that searched independently for facts concerning life in the tenement districts, and he has found that the information gained in the first two instances too often contradicted that gained in the third, while he had every reason to believe that facts gained in the third were true. It is these erroneous results based upon a study of a people more or less pauperized by churches and social settlements that give rise to so much pessimism in the estimate of the tenement situation. It is the same cause that leads religious and philanthropic workers to proceed on wrong principles in their attempt to change the situation.

The investigations hitherto carried on have been largely ineffective, owing to a lack of unity of conception in regard to the matters to be learned. Aside from the fact that visi-

tation has not been systematic, and that it has not been based upon a study of every family in any district under investigation, the information sought has not been correlated with any general aim to give unity to the whole or to make it in any sense a complete study of the family or other unit selected.

The primary aim of the present study is distinctly sociological. Such a study in the present instance has value apart from the concrete results obtained by the investigator. It is an attempt to study a New York City street according to a complete system of social principles. Even if the system were proved to be arbitrary, the work would be more valuable, the writer believes, than an unsystematic attempt, however long continued, for the reason that the investigator has a basis for search and an order for arranging in his mind the innumerable impressions made by the unit considered. Without a system the study of a people is but a wild-goose chase, and this, indeed, is the nature of too many of the so-called sociological investigations now carried on. Read the results of these investigations and you feel that you have been through a mine more or less rich in information. You are possibly stirred to pity or to blame by the conditions described, and you may give your help accordingly; but when this task is accomplished the outcome of the investigation is simply a conglomerate mass of facts, practically useless for the future. According to the system used in this dissertation we shall gather facts which may be expected to substantiate or to overthrow certain theories as to the manner in which well-known social forces work themselves out. Thus we may hope for results of permanent scientific value.

Further, it is hoped that this particular study has scientific value because of the conditions under which the people are living in the street under consideration. The most im-

portant of these conditions is the extensive mingling of different nationalities within a small area. This mingling is all the more interesting as it illustrates the chief conflict between the two peoples now presenting the most difficult problems of tenement life in New York City. I refer to the conflict between the Jews and the Italians. This conflict is rich in sociological significance because these two peoples are so different in their characteristics. How will the conflict end? Will its result be similar to that of the conflict between the Irish and the Germans? The relation of these to other ethnic elements is also a matter to be carefully discussed. There are other races or nationalities in small numbers, as the Bohemian, the Greek, the American, and finally the negro, and the influence of the different elements of the mixed population upon one another is reflected in their customs.

The chief basis for the classification of these nationalities has been the mass of observations made in three systematic visitations of all the families. The first of these was made in the fall of 1897, the second in the fall of 1899, and the third in 1900-1901. Since then the street has been irregularly observed and studied, and interesting facts have thus been gathered that could not be obtained at the time of the regular visitations.

As a secondary basis, the experience and knowledge derived from a similar visitation of some thousands of people in other parts of the city have been used. To these have been added the experiences of many other persons in their dealings with tenement-house populations. In thus using previous knowledge as a secondary source of information care has been exercised that no preconceived characteristics be ascribed to the people. The facts learned through the visitation were made a determining element in the classification of each family. But the secondary sources were in-

valuable for critical analysis. A previous knowledge of the people is necessary to accuracy in studying their mind and character. Without it the investigator is at a loss as to the manner of approach, the nature of the questions to ask, and the type to expect. At the same time such knowledge may become a source of error if it is carelessly permitted to prejudice the mind of the student. A detailed statement of the sources and of the method of work used in the present instance will throw more light on the subject than an extended discussion.

This investigation was made on Saturday mornings, and a day or two of the following week was used to classify the results. Not more than twenty families were visited in a day, so as not to overburden the mind with facts. Provided with the blanks used by the Federation of Churches the investigator knocked at the door of a tenement. Generally a voice from within would call out, "Come in." Quite often the voice would ask, "What do you want?" And the visitor would answer, "I want to know how many persons are in this family," or in more difficult cases the answer was, "I am taking a sociological census," with emphasis on the last word. The door opened in all but one case out of the two hundred and eleven. These people are visited by so many officers and agents that they have grown indifferent to all investigations. They take them as a matter of course. But this investigation was a surprise to them, and many were curious about it. The curiosity was soon lost, in the great majority of cases, in the friendly relations that arose between the visitor and the family. It was the studied endeavor of the visitor to accomplish this. From the Hebrews a hearty welcome was gained by ability to pronounce the Talmud in the original. The visitor's corrupt German and dark complexion were often taken by the Jew as a guarantee that he was of their race. The Italians

were hardest to win. But friendliness was sometimes established here also by the similarity of the appearance of the visitor to the Italian type. In one instance he was asked if he was an Italian priest. But usually the Italians were won in a general conversation about some subject suggested at the time, very often by the children. There was no difficulty with the Irish, because the visitor could claim to be a brother Celt. Besides, the Irish do not care who knows about them. They fear no one. A knowledge of the German language and an admiration for the German character were sufficient bases for friendship with the Germans.

Better to show the process of investigation, the general knowledge obtained, and the grounds of classification, let us take a particular family. For this purpose number 18 will serve as a good example. The name is Cohen. The family consists of father, mother, two children, aged two and six, and a mother-in-law. This Hebrew family has lived in No. — East ——— street about two months. The visit to them having been made on a Saturday morning, all were at home except the husband. We were soon on friendly terms and conversing about many things.

The husband was a tailor and had been born in New York City. Mrs. Cohen was born in England. Mrs. P., the wife's mother, was born in Russia, but had married a Jew in Portugal, hence the Portuguese name. From Portugal Mrs. P. and her family had moved to England, and afterwards to America with a number of children, who are now well situated, one daughter being married to a fairly well-to-do Jew and living comfortably on Long Island. These facts were learned in a conversation about a number of interesting topics. Speaking of the progress of the Hebrew people, the daughter and mother, supplementing each other, told of the well-known movement upward from

the lower to the upper East Side, where they now are, and then to the West Side.

The visitor then introduced the subject of the morality of the Hebrew people as compared with that of others, and the mother gave some of her observations. In general she thought the Irish very thriftless and careless, spending much of their money in drink; but she had known a number of instances in which some of the children had grown up to be fine men and women. One instance she thought especially remarkable. It was that of the son of Irish parents. The latter drank and wasted all their money, while the boy grew up to hate drink.

On the subject of religion the conversation was particularly interesting. The mother said that she observed the ceremonies of her religion, and tried to observe Saturday as the holy day. The daughter said that she no longer cared for Jewish customs; that she ate what she wanted, and was checked only by her mother's wishes. Then she asked: "Do you think that I look like a Jew?" adding: "My little girl here is not anything like a Jew." It was true that there seemed to be a gradual departure from the Jewish type from grandmother to granddaughter. This may have been due partly to the fact that the types are more marked with increasing age. But this was not entirely so. It is partly due to Americanization; whether also through intermarriage on the father's side or through some other cause is unknown. Mrs. P. told how her landlord was accustomed to come to her store and curse the Jews, little thinking that she was a Jewess, until one day he found her store closed on a Jewish holiday. The mother and daughter seemed to take pride in the absence of Jewish characteristics in their features.

These matters have been recounted to show the sort of material upon which the classifications of this investigation

have been based. It is readily seen that a great many facts were to be obtained. Let us notice where these facts put family number 18 in a scheme of mental and moral types.

Motor Reactions. A family that observes the development of races and their different characteristics is not likely to be either impulsive or credulous. That this family is not impulsive is further shown by the self-restraint of the mother on the occasion, mentioned above, when the landlord abused her people.

Type of Intellect. That this family has left the credulous stage, as far at least as the upper intellectual classes have left it, is shown by the daughter's attitude toward the Hebrew customs, in spite of the fact that the mother's influence was still present in their favor.

Two important questions, however, arise at this point. Was the mother-in-law shown to be credulous by her belief in her customs? If so, how should a family be classified in which we find both the credulous and the critical? The rule followed has been to state the prevailing type and the one likely to grow stronger. In this case it was not an uncertain inference from the wife's position that her husband held the same view and that both rejected the traditions of their parents. So to the first question, that concerning the credulity of the mother, it may be said that in this one matter she was credulous, but that her observation on the general trend of affairs would lead one to put her above this class; further, her attitude toward her daughter, who differed from her on this point, was that of the kindest feeling. There was no trace of bitterness in the mother's objection to the daughter's view. She herself seemed to follow the customs more because of the weight of a long-standing habit than because of belief.

Perceptions of surroundings are acute. The family is quick to note the necessity for any change in its plans, any

weakness in the plans of others, and all the opportunities for advancement.

But few of the families in this section think for themselves. It is easier to prove the absence of this quality of mind than its presence. Family number 18, nevertheless, does think independently. In its carelessness as to religion it may be said to be simply following a common tendency amongst the Jews of the city. In this there is some truth, but the manner in which this family takes the indifferent attitude varies from the ordinary. The daughter and her husband seem to be acting according to thought, and even the mother has lost the zeal of her religion for the same reason. From all appearances the daughter is obedient to her mother; her reason indicates this to be wise, but in religion the mother is influenced by the daughter.

Type of Character. The four types of character are the "Forceful," the "Convivial," the "Austere," and the "Rationally Conscientious." [1] It is clear from many things that this family is not of the forceful type. It does not rush headlong into an undertaking; the physical life is entirely subordinate to the mental. Tailors are not of the rough, muscular class that depend upon brawn, and the husband is a tailor. It is equally clear that the family is not of the third type, the "austere." It is not controlled by a formal set of ideas or principles so as to be severe in discipline.

There is more doubt as to whether the family is of the convivial or pleasure-loving type, on the one hand, or of the rationally conscientious, on the other. On the whole, the evidence points to the latter. Remember that the family has passed through the severe austerity of its Hebrew religion into another stage. This stage cannot be the convivial, because the powers of discretion are too far devel-

[1] Giddings' *Inductive Sociology.*

oped. Every act is weighed in the light of profit and loss, and in the light of good standing and progress. While not a high example of the rationally conscientious type, yet of this type the family is, and its ascent from the block in which it now lives will not be long distant.

Particular Traits of Character. Were I to judge the Jews of the tenement district of New York City I would answer the question whether they have physical courage in the negative. But there is no ground for such an answer concerning this family.

Magnanimity also is in doubt, because the economic principle has so strong a hold upon the tenement Jew.

Rather than magnanimous, the East Side Jew is generous. This is particularly true of family number 18. Its reception of the writer and its general attitude throughout showed a generous nature.

The condition of the house and of the persons at home showed that money was coming in from some one steadily at work. The family is beyond doubt industrious. Further, everything was in order, showing that the wife was ready to do her duty. The remarks of the mother concerning her store indicated that she was not given to idleness or even to rest, which many persons of her age claim as their right.

It is not necessary to give reasons for assuming that the family is frugal, cleanly and orderly.

As to temperance, let me recall the mother's remarks concerning the drunken Irish parents and their temperate son. The mother gave this illustration to represent the Irish people, and a great many Germans as well, and she contrasted them with her own people, who rarely are drunkards. Further, the common sight in the Hebrew house is the vichy bottle. It was so in this house. At the tenements of the Irish the beer-bucket is more often in evidence.

In all my conversation I had every reason to ascribe to

this family truthfulness and honesty. Persons who would speak of themselves thus freely and sensibly would hardly be without these virtues. Their discipline of the little girl was also a sign of the high moral standing of the family, and proved that she would be trained to obey her parents and to respect superior age.

Compassion could be seen in the relation of every member of the family toward one another. The strength and extent of compassion in this instance is a subject for further thought to the writer. Whom would they pity? and how much would their pity amount to? are still open questions, both in regard to this family and to the Hebrew people in general.

Such was the method used in gathering information for this monograph and its classification. The method used throughout has been essentially that here described in the case of family number 18.

CHAPTER II

The Social Population

SITUATION

The people under consideration live on the upper East Side of New York City. They occupy fourteen five-story, "double-decker," or "dumb-bell," tenements. The "double-decker" is built so that four families live on the floor. The outer rooms are fairly well lighted by two windows on the street. Sometimes even these are uncomfortably dark, on account of the red bricks of the high buildings across the narrow street. The middle room has only the borrowed light from the first room and the inner room is usually quite dark. Through the middle of the building extends a square shaft, six feet by three, which is open from the top of the house to the bottom. This is intended to permit air to circulate through the house, but in reality it disseminates disease germs, unpleasant odors, and bits of gossip among the inhabitants. The lots upon which the houses are built are of the usual size, 100 by 25 feet. When we understand that four families live upon 70 to 90 per cent. of a plot of this size, and that these fours are piled upon one another five stories in the air, we can realize how each family is limited.

In the attempt to increase the number of families to a house, the block—which we shall henceforth designate as Block X—has been too solidly built up. With 70 to 90 per cent. of the space filled by houses overflowing with people, pure air is closed out, and that within the house becomes intolerable. Truly has it been said that the twenty-five-foot lot is the greatest curse of New York City. This

condition is somewhat relieved in this section, however, by the close proximity of Central Park and the East river. These areas of fresh air and of natural scenery are situated about three blocks away to the west and to the east of the houses that we are studying. Almost all of the provisions of the present tenement-house laws are lacking, for the houses were built twenty years ago when the public had not yet realized the dangers of unregulated tenement-house construction. Only one house has a bath-tub, and only one has hot and cold water. In most of the houses there is but one toilet-room for the four families on a floor. While there is a fire-escape from every floor, the amount of wood that enters into the structures makes them exceedingly dangerous.

There are no large factories in the district. Tenement houses with small stores on the ground floor exclude almost everything else. Here and there is a public school, and occasionally one sees a church. At either end of the side streets are Second and Third avenues with their elevated and surface cars rushing to every part of the city. The traffic-filled avenues are to the people of the side streets as wide streams that give them a means of traveling to their work, but at the same time separate them from the people across the avenue. The old Jew who proved the excellence of the coat because it was made only three blocks away from Fifth avenue knew that the social difference between the two avenues is represented by miles. These avenues not only happen to be the lines of cleavage between the different economic strata, but they also bring about the separation of the people of the same class, and become in reality what large rivers are to people along their banks. Parents refuse to send their children to a school or church across the avenue, but they will send them for blocks up or down one side. Acquainted families taking tenements on opposite sides of the avenues become in time as strangers. This suggests the whole subject of city groups and distances.

In the upper economic strata of city life local contact is of comparatively little importance. Well-to-do classes can avail themselves of all the means of transportation, so that they meet away from their homes in clubs and churches, and at one another's houses. But in the lower strata distance is a vital matter, and distances are incorrectly interpreted not only by the rural visitor whose nearest neighbor is "three miles away across lots," but by municipal reformers. A distance of two blocks is equivalent to a mile in the country or small town. An institution two blocks away from its people is much handicapped in its influence upon them. Where the population is dense, short distances have a great significance, and when these distances are across street-car avenues, the separation is still more pronounced.

AGGREGATION

Density. The population of these fourteen houses varies from 800 to 900 souls, divided among two hundred families. The size of the family is, therefore, from four to five individuals. The number in a house depends very largely upon the janitor. Houses 209 and 235 are always filled, because the landlords are present and see for themselves that each tenant is comfortable in his rooms and congenial to his neighbors. While these houses have more tenants than any of the others, it is not true that the tenants are more crowded. Crowding is to be measured by the number of persons in an apartment. From the point of view of a farmer, twenty families, with an aggregate of ninety persons, living in one house is an astounding fact; but in comparison with the number of Italians living in one three-roomed apartment the families in No. 235 are comfortable. The Italians have come from Europe more recently and, being poorer, are compelled to live in a more densely settled quarter. Moreover, their relatives and friends in Italy are contin-

ually coming over and temporarily living with them. The Jews have moved here from down town. Their connections with Europe are not close. Most of their friends have already settled in other parts of the city. There is no demand to take friends into the family. The average Jewish family occupying three rooms has from three to six members, while the Italian family has from four to nine.

Causes of Aggregation. The Italians in this group are a part of the settlement that has been growing for ten years in a half circle extending west from a centre at the intersection of 110th street and the East river. They came to this part of the city to be nearer to the new buildings which have been erected in great numbers on the empty lots in the vicinity, for most of the Italians are builders and laboring men. The Jews began their migration about fifteen years ago, at the invitation of a German garment-worker, who found the carting of goods down town too unprofitable. An important contributing cause of the migration of all peoples from the lower parts of the city is the desire for better quarters and lower rents.

Migration. In the local arrangements of city inhabitants economic welfare is of primary importance. The most decisive index of the economic state of a family is the rent it pays. The families in the corner house of a block, where the rent is higher, are of a better social class. This is true also of the families on Second and Third avenues as compared with those of the side street. Within the economic limits there are numerous groups based on social facts, such as nationality, nature of work, and migration. The most striking fact pertaining to aggregation is the great mobility of the people from house to house, combined with the persistency of the same nationality in each house. A study of the accompanying table shows that only 50 per cent. of the families live in one house over six months and that only 3.3 per cent. have been in the block for over five years.

	'97–'98	'98–'99	'99–'00
Native Born of Native Parents.	13	8	5
Native Born of Foreign Parents.	26	23	13
Born in N. Y. City.	30	23	10
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 1 Year.	4	15	15
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 2 Years.	14	12	14
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 5 Years.	27	29	28
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 8 Years.	22	25	23
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 10 Years.	19	14	25
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 12 Years.	17	21	25
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 15 Years.	20	23	25
Foreign Born. — Residence in the U. S. — 20+ Years.	22	33	29
Children Native Born.	233	268	291
Father Native, Mother Foreign.	6	6	5
Mother Native, Father Foreign.	2	4	5
Foreign-Born Parents.	145	172	179
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 1 Month.	31	41	44
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 3 Months.	39	35	47
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 6 Months.	26	37	16
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 8 Months.	12	10	11
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 1 Year.	23	25	27
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 1½ Years.	8	3	10
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 2 Years.	22	24	21
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 3 Years.	15	25	18
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 5 Years.	8	4	11
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 8 Years.	5	2	4
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 12 Years.	3	4	1
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 15 Years.	.	1	2
Residence in House the Time Indicated in Columns as Follows: — 20 Years.	.	.	.
Residence in Block.	1–10 yrs.	3–12 yrs.	2– 2 yrs.

When these houses were built, twenty years ago, they were occupied by Irish and Germans. Gradually these have been replaced by the Jews and Italians, and now these two nationalities are fighting for the street. The process is illustrative of changes in many parts of the city. The lower East Side, for instance, was peopled by Irish and Germans. They were driven out by an immigration of Jews. At present the Italians are making great progress in their colonization of the section south of Houston street and east of the Bowery.

Genetic Aggregation. The statistics of births compiled by the board of health are useless as a means of determining genetic aggregation in this block. In view of the instability of the people it would be difficult to make observations, even if there were an accurate list of births. It is certain, however, that the number of births, as also of deaths, is large in comparison with that of people in the higher walks of life.

DEMOTIC COMPOSITION

Age and Sex. The births for five years in Block X, using such statistics as we have, indicate six more boys than girls per 1,000 of the population. Up to the age of thirty years there seems to be but little difference in the relative number, with a possible slight excess of young women. From thirty to forty the men are a distinct majority. After forty the number of men becomes relatively smaller, until about sixty, when women are in the majority. The statistics of three consecutive years show that there are more living mothers than fathers. During working age the number of women is almost as large as that of men. As to age, the population is remarkable in its proportion of young persons. The number under 15 includes 40 per cent. of the community. Over forty per cent. are between 20 and 45, while those

over 45 years comprise but 6 per cent. of the whole number of persons in the block. These observations point clearly to the urban and immigrant elements of the group. The people who migrate to our shores are usually in the prime of life and of the male sex. Hence the unusual proportion of persons at the working age, and especially of men.

Nationality. The classification according to nationality is so important that it merits a full table for the four years' investigation.

	Teutonic.				Celtic.	Ibero-Latin.			Slavic.	Semitic.
Year.	American.	English.	German.	Danish.	Irish.	Italian.	Greek	Cuban.	Bohemian.	Hebrew.
97–98	21	1	31	2	26	24	2	1	2	53
98–99	22	3	17	—	12	64	1	1	2	65
99–00	15	4	13	2	23	67	1	2	1	71
1895	40	—	38	1	57	38	—	—	3	62

White Families in Block X by Ethnic-Race and Nationality.

It is seen that the number of Irish and Germans left over in the general movement from this quarter is a diminishing and fluctuating number. The Germans decreased each year—31, 17, 13—and they will likely continue to do so, because they are frugal and sufficiently determined to carry out their intentions. The number of Irish has also diminished—26, 12, 23—but it is an irregular movement. The Irish desire to leave the street, but their careless habits keep them back. With these two left-over nationalities are to be classed the remaining negroes. On these

pressure to leave has been heavy. The mutual hatred of the Jew and the negro is hearty. Once they separate they never meet again. Besides these two dominant and these three "left-over" nationalities, are other nationalities, including Americans, who are merely wanderers whose presence has no significance other than to indicate the thriftlessness of some Americans and the misfortunes of others. The two most marked movements of nationalities are those of the Hebrews and the Italians. These peoples are steadily increasing in numbers. The Italians were the last to come in, but now they are almost as numerous as the Hebrews. The struggle for the street is being waged, nor is it altogether an unconscious economic and social struggle. Evidence of this fact is afforded by a sudden change of population in house 223. In 1897 and 1898 it was occupied by Italians. In 1899 the Jewish landlord expelled all but two of them on the ground that he wished to renovate the house. Very few alterations were made and then the house was filled with Hebrews. But for this change the Italians would have outnumbered the Jews even in 1900.

The reason for the selection of house 223 as the point of attack suggests another important phase of the situation. House 223 was separated from the other Italian houses by house 221. The pressure to drive them out was felt from both sides. The tenants of 221 harrassed the landlord of 223 by complaining to the board of health about his house until he cleared it of the Italians. It thus appears that the arrangement of the people according to houses is an important matter. Other interesting facts bear on this point. The houses are numbered from Third to Second avenue. House 201 is on the corner, and in nationality is allied to the population of Third avenue. Its occupants are Americanized Irish of the Tammany Hall kind,

jovial and good-natured. The next four houses are becoming more and more the property of the Jews. The other nationalities are gradually withdrawing. In house 209 the tact of the Jewish landlady withstands the natural drift of races and her house is favored with the presence of nine respectable Irish families. While the number of Irish is not diminishing in this house, the number of Hebrews is increasing, so that before long it will go the way of the other four. House 211 marks the western boundary line between Jews and Italians. This and the four following houses are prevailingly Italian in their population. House 211 is well adapted to be the point of contact of the Jewish and Italian peoples, because the majority of Italians in the house are of the more deliberate-minded kind, German-like Italians from the north of Italy. House 221 is the beginning of another section of Jewish houses. This house, too, is peculiarly fitted to be the point of separation, for its population is the most heterogeneous in the whole block. The remaining three houses are almost exclusively Jewish. Thus it is seen that the middle of the block is occupied by the Italians and the ends by the Hebrews, with a sprinkling of other races.

Potential Nationality. The percentage of "native-born of native parents" is exceedingly small and steadily diminishing. In 1897 there were but thirteen families out of the 212 in which the parents were of this class. The next year there were but eight, and the last year only five families. The number of "native-born of foreign parents" was likewise a decreasing series—26 in 1897, 23 in 1899, and 13 in 1900. The foreign-born parents became more and more numerous, the number being 145, 172, 179, or 85 per cent. of all the parents. Thus the adult population in the large majority of cases is foreign. The contact of these peoples with the

real Americans who know rural as well as urban life is almost exclusively through public institutions, such as schools, settlements and churches. As the table indicates, these families have come to this country in a regular stream extending through a period of twenty years or more. Over 50 per cent. of the children have been born in this country, but for the most part in crowded quarters of great cities. The last two facts furnish an index to the method and extent of assimilation in process here. Immigrants are displacing the native-born, but the children are educated by American teachers.

Demotic Unity. The clustering of nationalities into neighboring houses shows that the prevailing tendency is to make national and racial ties the bond of unity in each group. Only after the process of Americanization has begun can we determine what elements will amalgamate. While the Italians and Hebrews are locally nearer together than others, there are no signs of union. Small as the number of Irish and Germans in this community is, their intermarriages are relatively numerous. It is usually the case that the husband is Irish and the wife German. The mixed marriages of all nationalities in 1897 numbered 18. There were 20 in 1899 and 13 in 1900. Some of them are so peculiar that I give one of each type:

Irish and Negro.
German and Negro.
Italian and German.
Irish and German.
French and American.
Welsh and Austrian.
Hebrew and Swede.

The community is too small to afford an adequate basis for generalization on such a subject as demotic unity. Nevertheless, some valuable hints have been obtained. It

seems clear that one of the chief obstacles to amalgamation is the misunderstanding of the American standards of wages and a failure to accept them. The Irishman hates the Italian because the latter is willing to work regardless of the workingman's tradition. When the Italian learns the American point of view these two peoples become friends, and it is likely that the next generation will witness as many intermarriages of Italians and Irish as now take place between the Irish and the German. The probable direction of amalgamation will appear more clearly in the discussion of the Consciousness of Kind.

CHAPTER III

Like Behavior

Like behavior by two or more persons under given conditions is the elemental form of social activity. In psychological language, like behavior is a similar response by two or more individuals to the same stimulus, or to common stimuli. By observing any peculiarities of like response that characterize a population, or any local subdivision of it, and any significant phases of interstimulation and response among communicating minds, we begin our study of its social phenomena at the beginning.[1]

Each nationality has its own peculiarities of individual activity and of like behavior. Consider the manner and intensity of response to stimulus as seen in the Italian. It is quick but irregular. Generally, or often, it seems out of all proportion to the stimulus; it does not seem to correspond to the stimulus in kind or in intensity. These peculiarities account for much that we have noticed in the actions of the foreign-born as we have seen them in this country and as history reveals them in their own lands. Likewise can be noted the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race in the close correspondence of stimulus and response.

The observations here recorded have to do not merely with stimulus and response as such, but with response in connection with the responses of others; the like behavior of many individuals under like conditions. If response

[1] The author follows the analysis and theory of Giddings' *Inductive Sociology*.

itself makes a great deal clear, the degree of simultaneity in the responses of a group of individuals reveals still more.

In determining the simultaneity of response it is necessary to bear in mind a number of conditions. First among these are manner and frequency.

One clue is given by nationality, but it must be remembered that nationality alone is uncertain evidence. Nationality may be regarded as a potential responsiveness; and it is much affected by the conditions under which a family lives. Length of residence in this country, associations while here, and occupation have much effect upon the responsiveness of the various members of the family.

Next to the nationality of the family the conditions of the house must be studied. The group in the house itself is in a sense a distinct unit with a potential responsiveness of its own. If the house is occupied largely by one nationality, it is to be expected that the like activities of its tenants will be approximately simultaneous.

The structure of the house also is important. Where this is such that the conversation of one family is easily overheard by other families, it is to be expected that a common consciousness will arise and similarity of action will develop.

Another important factor making for homogeneity is found in the two persons, the landlord and the janitor, both of whom contribute much to good fellowship and to a stock of common ideas in the tenement-house population.

After these elements of potential responsiveness have been considered, the actual stimuli reaching the subjects must be noted. Throughout the tenement districts of New York City there are many noises and other stimuli that are everywhere the same. City officials call everywhere and often, especially representatives of the board of health; so do representatives of the city directory, and of the gas

company; the landlord, the janitor, coal dealers, ice dealers, peddlers of various sorts, church visitors, social reformers and beggars.

Then there is a group of street stimuli everywhere to be heard—grind-organs, hucksters, newsboys, letter-carriers, the clanging bell of the fire-engine, of the ambulance, and of the patrol-wagon.

To those who read English an important stimulus is the newspaper. The New York *Journal* and the *World* very largely mould the ideas of the inhabitants of the tenement regions concerning public events. Although this moulding is not vigorous, the influence is marked, and in some respects to be commended. Sunday editions are widely read. Foreigners and those who for any reason might be inclined to hold different opinions are by these papers brought to agree. This is true also to a less degree of those who read papers in their own languages. Many papers in foreign tongues are printed by the proprietors of English editions, and the news is told in substantially the same way in all. Any pandering to the tastes of these people is not to be passed over lightly. They desire the startling and the striking, whether humorous or pathetic. Facts stated briefly and often as half truths, or romantic, interesting lies, are relished by the large majority. Nevertheless the editor's own idea becomes a common thought to his readers, and similarity and simultaneity of thought and action are engendered.

Yet another influence to be remembered is the activity of political machines, and of various other organizations—racial, industrial, reformatory and social.

The influence of the school, however, surpasses every other. In the school all children are approached in the same way; the children in turn bring their school ideas and manners to bear upon their parents. Each child transmits the

school influence in an individual way, yet in general the influence of school children upon their parents is the same, and is creative of mental similarity throughout the population.

In addition to these general stimuli, each section has its local stimuli peculiar to that special district, such as the Jewish and Italian street markets, and street singing, which is more often heard in Italian districts than elsewhere. These local stimuli will be mentioned in the study of the actual responses observed in the fourteen houses under consideration.

As we have seen from the study of nationality in this block, each house has distinct characteristics that separate it from all others. Moreover, it was apparent that houses grouped themselves naturally into three or four or possibly five sections. This grouping will be considered, but let us first describe the houses one by one.

House 201. There are various conditions conducive to simultaneous like-action in this house. The families have been long in this country, all are readers of American papers, and all have been subjected to most of the stimuli above mentioned. Their long residence in America has made them independent. Their relation to one another is more formal than the relations of tenants in any of the other houses. By formal is meant that they have consideration for the privacy of their neighbors. They do not rush into one another's houses on the slightest impulse. There is a more distinct separation of families and a clearer recognition of family rights. Consequently simultaneous like behavior is infrequent. It is seen, however, in the relations of the Irish with Irish, the janitor with all, and the baker with his customers.

House 203. In this house communication and like response were a little more frequent. Its occupants visited

each other more and knew more of one another's ways and work. This was especially true of the Hebrew families on the third and fourth floors, and of the Irish families on the fifth floor.

House 205. The janitress of 203 and 205 is a German woman, the widow of an Irishman. Because of her Irish name many of her Irish tenants have come into the house with the mistaken notion that she is of their own nationality. She has used no judgment whatever in the selection of her tenants, and owing to her carelessness on this point, and also in the matter of keeping the house clean, tenants soon move out. Consequently, there is little exchange of ideas or of manners. The Jews outnumber all other peoples, but they are so unlike one another that there is little communication among them. From these facts it is clear that the activities of this group are not marked by much coincidence.

House 207. This house is more homogeneous, but its tenants are often away from home at work. On the fourth floor were two sisters-in-law, born in this country, of Hebrew parents from Holland. They were helping each other to wash dishes, and were coöperating in various ways. These two families were in close communication with the neighbor who lived in the front and who remained at home during the day. The fourth occupant of this floor was away from home working during the day. The four families were Hebrew. That they were American-born was at once evident. They were of a lighter and gayer disposition, and the maternal spirit was not so strong as in the Jewish women born in Germany or in Russia. While the house was neat and clean, the feeling of home was lacking. Though the two couples had been married some years only one child had been born. The fact that it was seven years old was not without significance in view of the claim that

Americanization and respectability are accompanied by a decrease of the birth-rate.

House 209. The tenants of this house often call on one another and a marked community feeling exists. The bond of sympathy is strong. This can be explained chiefly by the fact that the landlady, who is a Jewess of considerable tact and wide sympathy, lives in the house. Her selection of tenants is good, and by her wisdom she has kept them here a long time. She visits them, and thus fosters social sympathy and union. One nationality prevails, the house being filled with Irish who have been in America for fifteen or twenty years. They are thus equally assimilated to American ways and of very nearly the same economic standing. The degree of homogeneity in this house is greater than elsewhere in the block.

At the time of the several visits made here, the landlady was found in some one of her tenant's rooms, or some tenant was found in her apartment. Likewise, on the upper floors the opposite doors were almost invariably open and the families were talking with one another. The structure of this house is conducive to a distribution of any report or knowledge interesting to the residents.

House 211. With this number begins the row of five Italian houses. The Italians are usually highly responsive and sympathetic; especially is this true of the Italians now in this country. Many of them know only their own language and can associate only with their own people. The order of precedence in their community, therefore, is determined by length of residence in America. A feeling of dependence upon the one who knows American customs best is conducive to communication and simultaneity of response.

Nevertheless, though Italians prevail in house 211, response there is not highly simultaneous because these par-

ticular Italians are of two classes, the Northern and the Southern; and because they are conscious that as yet the house is not "theirs," that is, that their number is not sufficient to establish their manners as the prevailing "hall-manners."

House 213. The prevailing manners of this house, as in the next three houses, are distinctively Italian. An Italian widow and her son, who keeps a grocery store on the ground floor, are the lease-holders and janitors. It is to the interest of this family to keep the Italian spirit alive. This little store brings all the families to itself and to each other. All incidents of any importance throughout the house are related at this centre and simultaneity of response is correspondingly marked.

House 215. There is no such social centre here as in 213, though the janitress and her boy serve as interpreters for a number of the families. Here was illustrated the use of the air-shaft as a means of communication. The visitor was on the second floor talking in ordinary tones with a Cuban woman, when another woman called down from the third floor and asked if the latter were in. She had evidently heard the visitor's voice and was curious to know who he was. In a few moments she came down, and still further showed her curiosity by her manner.

A similar incident occurred in house 211. The visitor, struggling with his imperfect Italian to ascertain the number of years a family on the second floor had been in America, asked: "A quanti anni in casa?" They answered: "Dicesette anni." "Oh, yes," said the visitor, "seven years," the first syllables being spoken so rapidly that they were not noticed. When the visitor entered the rooms above, on the fourth floor, the Italian woman who could speak English said: "You made a mistake in the house below, dicesette is seventeen years."

In another house a colored woman said: "Oh, yes, the Italians are Catholics, for I saw through the air-shaft a lot of candles around the coffin."

These incidents show how much each family can learn of the life about it. Through the air-shaft the families above and below are within hearing, while through the halls four families are within fairly close communication with one another. In Italian houses this is a significant fact. The loud voices of the Italians carry from top to bottom. This, coupled with their highly emotional temperament, gives ample ground for the expectation of much simultaneity of action. Their emotions are too keen and too much awake to be limited to a family. Inevitably they act on the first impulse and act together.

House 217. The tenants here are even more completely Italian in their manners than in 215, for the other nationalities are represented by their weakest members. There is no social centre around which they form, but they resort to the janitor for assistance in understanding English. My appearance on the floor was a signal for all the families to appear and to listen to my questions. In all these Italian houses it was necessary to exercise care not to excite the whole house in talking to one family. Refusal in one family would endanger success with all the others in the house, and consent in one apartment would guarantee it in the others.

House 219. Here were Italians that had just come over from Europe. Naturally, these followed the example of those that had been here longer, and often referred to them for aid and explanation.

House 221. This group is composed of a varied lot of people. Their heterogeneity, both as to nationality and previous condition of life, is not conducive to like action. Simultaneity of behavior is by no means so frequent as in

the more homogeneous houses. In some respects this house resembles number 201. Its tenants are of higher grades of life, and, as in house 201, are more formal in their relations. For this reason coöperation and like behavior are more rare.

Furthermore, some of those that have been reduced from better conditions are reticent as to their present circumstances. They keep aloof from their neighbors, merely because the latter are among the poor and ignorant.

House 223. When this house was filled with Italians a certain family was quick to act with others, but when it was left with various other nationalities now there, its behavior in this respect changed. The owner and the janitor of the house are Hebrews, and a majority of the new tenants are of the same race. As the house is not in good repair the people who have taken rooms there are of the poorer sort, and consequently are more dependent and less formal, with the exception of the non-Jewish element, which is very reserved in its relation to the others. The Jewish element, however, gives to this group some degree of simultaneity in its like activities.

House 225. Here are tenants more well-to-do than those of 223. They differ greatly in character and are independent of one another. Their actual responses to stimuli differ much, though they have long been subject to the general forces tending to make them similar.

House 235. As the occupants of this house are all of one nationality, and even from the same land, we might expect a great similarity of action and ideas. But they have imbibed more or less of Russian individualism, and so differ more in their behavior than the more southern peoples do.

Our observations to this point have concerned the like responses to stimuli by families on the same floor or in the same house. Simultaneity of like action varies as the en-

vironment is widened or changed. A Jewish family shows little tendency to act in a given way simultaneously with its neighbors in an Italian house; but it may often so act with more distant neighbors of its own race in the wider environment of the street. On the other hand, among the families of a Jewish house, or of an Italian house, simultaneous like behavior is more frequent and extensive than it is among the families collectively of the street.

Our study of nationality has shown us that these people have a tendency to gather themselves to their own kind. Rarely does a family live among people entirely different from itself. Even house 221, which shelters many nationalities, has nevertheless many families of one blood, and the house is an exception to the rule of colonization in this community.

Houses 201 and 221 are good examples of sections of the city where prosperous people reside. Their tenants are relatively independent of their immediate environment; nevertheless, within a wider environment their like responsiveness with their kind may be even greater than that of the people here, for usually they have been in the city longer, and therefore for a greater period of time have been subjected to its common stimuli. The social groupings of the prosperous are not so limited by local boundaries as are those of the poor. Territorially their social relationships may be most intricate, while yet as a class they are subject to all the social laws of a rural community or of a highly homogeneous tenement district.

The classification of these people in respect of like response to stimuli is as follows:

1. *Not Simultaneous.* A large majority of the individuals composing one hundred and forty-four families do not usually respond to stimuli simultaneously with their neighbors.

A small majority of the individuals composing sixty-eight families do not usually respond to stimuli simultaneously with their neighbors.

A large minority of the individuals composing three families do not usually respond to stimuli simultaneously with their neighbors.

2. Simultaneous. A small majority of the individuals composing eleven families with great frequency respond to stimuli simultaneously with neighbors.

A large minority of the individuals composing one hundred families with great frequency respond to stimuli simultaneously with neighbors.

A small minority of the individuals composing fifty-nine families with great frequency respond to stimuli simultaneously with neighbors.

The total of one hundred and forty-four families which show little activity in common with immediate neighbors is a natural one in a community that is so mobile and so heterogeneous as this is. Moreover, many of them are so continuously employed in the daytime that there is little opportunity for association except at night. With many there is a sort of pride that they do not "interfere with their neighbors." This may be a result of bitter experience, or of observation of quarrels between neighbors. Time and again have efforts to learn of neighbors on the part of the visitor been met with conscious superiority. "I don't have nothin' to do with my neighbors," or "I don't interfere with nobody's business" are expressions often used. These families were conscious that the less they communicated with their neighbors the happier they were. It can easily be realized that with four families on a floor artificial separations must be rigid if quarrelling is to be avoided. The Americanized families understand this.

The families that were not so rigid in their relations

were people whose economic conditions were similar, and who were of the same nationality in the majority of instances, and sometimes related by blood or by marriage. Immigrants that depended upon the friends that had come before, and janitors and the owners of small stores on the ground floor were also of this number. The latter were in and out of all the houses for one reason and another. These families, if living on the same floor, had their doors open and talked from apartment to apartment; or one family was in the apartment of another. The men played cards or drank together in the evening. The children played in the hall.

The eleven families that displayed the greatest simultaneity of like action comprised two sisters-in-law who did most of their work together; two married sisters living on different floors who ate their midday meal together and assisted each other in their work; two families in which both husbands and both wives went out to work during the day, and left the mother-in-law to care for the children of both families; and others more or less closely related.

The 100 families that showed a somewhat less degree of simultaneity of like action included janitors, storekeepers and peddlers. A large majority of this number was made up of friendly families on the same floors, especially in the Italian houses, where the people are so aflame with feeling that their activities fairly melt into one mass.

Having determined in some measure the degree of simultaneous like response in each house, it is important to know the simultaneity of like behavior in the community as a whole. What stimuli appeal to the whole neighborhood, and in what degree does it respond?

Most of the stimuli common to city life appeal to this whole community, but the responses differ much in the various sections of the block. We have observed the grad-

ual diminution of the number of nationalities and the increasing prominence of two, the Italian and the Hebrew. The homogeneity of a community is increased through the influence of a common environment, and through the introduction of like individuals and a removal of the unlike. Usually environment is the stronger influence, but in this community the segregation of nationalities counts for more. This subject will be considered at length elsewhere. Here it is enough to say that at present the race differences of Italians from Hebrews in a measure resist the assimilating influence of environment.

Nevertheless, the remarkable number of like stimuli striking the nerves of these people will produce results in time. Even though they may change their residence, their environment is not greatly altered. Prosperity takes them gradually to better localities, but a new place of residence is usually selected because their own people are there. To them city life is full of variety and change. As a matter of fact there is no existence so monotonous as life in a tenement. True, tenement-dwellers see many sights and hear many sounds and are influenced by many persons each day of their lives, but each day the stimuli are the same; in winter, summer, spring, and autumn. And the people that they meet occasionally are very much like those to whom they are accustomed. There is little time for individual development, and so, while now the elements composing this people are immensely different in character and in mind, assimilation is inevitable. Appreciation of one another will increase; intermarriage and blending of characteristics will follow, and similarity of behavior will be greater. The Italian will become less impulsive in his responses and the German less phlegmatic.

CHAPTER IV

Motives and Methods of Conduct

In their totality responses to stimuli are the sum of animate activity, including all voluntary conduct. According to the inherited qualities of the various elements that make up a population, the circumstances of their lives, and the stimuli that most frequently act upon them, do the motives and the methods of their conduct also vary. A brief survey of these methods and motives, as revealed in the human life of the group that we are here studying, will throw light upon the phenomena that we have further on to examine, namely: the Types of Intellect, of Character, and of Mind in its Totality, the Consciousness of Kind, the Concerted Volition, the Social Organization and the resulting Social Welfare.

The term motive is ambiguous. There is a general tendency to confuse it with cause, in explanation of human activity. For instance, so many actions of the people under consideration arise from necessity that there seem to be but few opportunities for choice arising from motive. Many are near the economic margin of existence. They have landed in this large city with little capital, and have been forced to take up any kind of work that offered. It would seem that in their cases the necessity for food and shelter would exclude all choice from their lives. Yet even in this community every individual is compelled in a degree to choose, and to choose wisely or fail. The physical constitution of every foreigner that lands upon our

shores forces him to look about and find that in which he can find a degree of pleasure and a measure of success. The Jew whose life has been spent upon the marts of London or Berlin would die of physical exhaustion and discontent were he to become a hod-carrier. He avoids the builders and chooses to learn of American life in the tailor-shops and in the markets.

In this study, then, we are concerned with those motives of each family that cause the several members to prefer one sort of activity rather than another; with the reasons why they participate in certain pleasures and not in others, and with the stimuli that operate in their choice of certain occupations to the exclusion of others.

Motives of Appreciation

We begin with an account of motives that are revealed in that subjective side of all practical activity which in Professor Giddings' sociological system is called appreciation. This is the mind's grasp and estimate of the surroundings in which it finds itself, blended with feelings of liking or of disliking. It is the process of getting used to the world in which one lives. "The process consists partly in acquiring knowledge. With the knowledge, however, is mixed a great deal of liking and disliking. With every act of learning some degree of preferential feeling is combined. In a rough way every person and everything that is brought into the widening circle of acquaintance is valued, and is assigned a place in a scale of values."

The motives of appreciation are pains and pleasures of one and another kind. The motives that have been observed and recorded in this study are the pleasures that appeal in various degrees to the people whose elementary mental processes have been described in the foregoing chapter. We have asked what pleasures are preferred and why.

These pleasures may psychologically be classified as follows:

1. Pleasures of Physical Activity, Receptive Sensation and Simple Ideation.
2. Pleasures of Sense, Idea and Emotion.
3. Pleasures of Emotion and Belief.
4. Pleasures of Thought.

Classification of the families of our community in accordance with these gradations of pleasure is the beginning of their arrangement under the types of Character and of Mind. The evidence offered here will, therefore, be referred to in later chapters, since all elements of mind are so closely related that a fact proved concerning one contributes to the understanding of all.

Pleasures of Thought. Few families in this block have an intellectual interest in their environment. Emotion enters so strongly into some apparently intellectual motives that it is difficult to be certain whether in any given instance we have to do with emotion or with intellect. For instance, family 155 has its front room decorated with pictures. For the best one the husband said that he paid twenty-five dollars. The picture is a fairly good oil painting of an ocean-liner plowing her way through the waves of mid-ocean. The expenditure of so large a sum of money for a picture is unusual among families in this region, and is in itself an indication of something more than mere emotion. The good taste displayed in the selection of the picture is proof of some degree of critical judgment, and an increasing appreciation was shown by the husband's remark that he would not take fifty dollars for it now. In this family the husband is of French-German parentage and the wife is an intelligent Irishwoman.

Family 158 includes a brother and sister past middle age. The sister is skilled in various kinds of fancy work

and takes a keen interest in oil painting, which she studied when the family was in better financial condition. Here also is a clear case of a degree of æsthetic pleasure.

Tenement 219 has a case of critical, though limited, interest in art. Its occupant is a woman who lives by herself and who, like family 158, is of the "cast down" class—*i. e.*, one that has been pushed down from some higher stratum of society. She has a fairly thorough knowledge of music, both vocal and instrumental. Owing to her straitened circumstances her pleasures are eccentric. Her constant companions are a white rat and a large cat. These two animals are much attached to her and to each other. At present the woman is concerned about the rat because it sometimes falls into convulsions, due, as a doctor told her, to "consumption." These eccentricities would seem to bear out the common observation that it is either the dullest or the most sensitive persons that are most likely under the stress of life to lose self-control and mental balance. Here is an example of a highly sensitive woman just able to keep herself within the bounds of sanity.

In addition to those persons that are unable to satisfy their highest æsthetic desires are those others who, climbing up the social ladder, are reaching out for intellectual pleasures. House 235 offers instances. The younger occupants, urged on by the older ones, who feel their deficiencies, are engaging in the study of music and literature. Some families have pianos, upon which the children take lessons twice a week at fifty cents a lesson. They use the libraries frequently and show a real interest in good literature.

The better theatres appeal to a few of these families, and a criticism of certain plays by one of the Jewish girls was intelligent.

Pleasures of Emotion and Belief. These pleasures are

most general among those who still retain a degree of loyalty to the church. They are chiefly to be found among Roman Catholics but there are also a few Hebrews whose loyalty amounts to a pleasure in belief. There is not one family, however, whose pleasure in belief could be classed as intense. The tendency to religious beliefs is not strong. Few families are greatly controlled by religious principles. The beliefs most persistent among them, when once they gain foothold, are those of the socialistic type. The ideal of the socialist promises so great a relief from the oppressive industrial conditions under which wage-earners are living that this appeal is often more alluring than any that the church has to offer. But there are very few out-and-out socialists in this community.

Pleasures of Sense, or of Sense, Idea and Emotion (in combination) are the prevailing pleasures of the block.

By pleasures of sense are meant those that appeal largely to the physical nature—pleasures of appetite and of bodily feeling. Pleasures of combined sense, idea and emotion are those nervous and mental activities that are sufficiently intense to be exciting, but not immediately exhausting. They have various stimuli. The rhythm of music, the bright colors of pictures, unusual sounds or sights, startling statements, the uncertainty of chance, conflict, with an exciting uncertainty as to the result, are examples.

Of all the different amusements possible to tenement-dwellers there is none that appeals to both sense and emotion so strongly as dancing, especially dancing as conducted on the East Side, to the wild music of blaring cornet and loud-beaten drum, with rattling sounds from a guitar and mandolin. While the completeness with which the dance combines the two elements of sense and emotion is the chief reason for its preëminence as a social pleasure in this neighborhood, there are other reasons also, such as inexpensiveness and the fact that many different classes can participate.

Games of chance are very popular. This street has one policy shop on the ground floor of 217. According to a colored woman who has lived a long time in the block, there is little doubt that most of the boys in the street know about the place. That this woman herself is familiar with it indicates that it is widely known, for she is half a block away from it, and there is no sign by which it can be identified. When the visitor knocked at the door he was totally unaware of the nature of the place. The young man who came out in response to the knock was better dressed than the people of the neighborhood. Upon being asked why he lived among such poor people, he answered in a very humble tone that he was just starting out in life.

This shop is opened at about half-past six in the morning, in time to catch men on their way to work. The charges are two cents for a "gig," three for a "saddle," and five for a "combination." These terms, "gig," "saddle" and "combination," denote varying degrees of chance of winning money prizes in the general drawing, which, in some mysterious manner, is supposed to be done in New Orleans or in Mexico.

There is scarcely a nationality that does not indulge in this form of gambling, but the Italians are probably the most addicted to it.

In house parties, such as those given at the Settlement, games with the element of chance and excitement in them are a never-failing source of enjoyment. Another requisite of any game is that it make little demand upon thought. Card-playing is common, but the games most popular are the easy ones. Especially is this true among the Italians, as is well illustrated by the remark of one of them: "I don't like pinocle; it keeps your head down too long." This attitude regarding amusements is characteristic of the East Side. Continuity of attention and concentration of

effort are intolerable there. This fact should influence the whole of the work of education and culture on the East Side.

The entertainments that appeal to these people are for the most part made up of buffoonery, burlesque, and inanities in general. There are various appeals to the pathetic side, however—songs concerning childhood scenes, recollections of the old home, love of mother, and descriptions of heroic deeds, conveyed to the audience by means of stereopticon views, in song, or by dramatic sketches.

Next to the dancing-hall, the saloon is probably the greatest centre of amusement and social life. The saloons, however, entertain only the male population, and do not, therefore, appeal to the entire community. But the fact that they are open nearly all the time, and not merely on certain evenings, increases the relative influence of the saloons. This is further widened by what is termed in the community "rushing the growler." The carrying of buckets of beer into the tenement-house is a frequent occurrence. The social drinking of beer, and of a wine that families make for themselves, is a large factor in the daily life of these people.

The religious services upon which many persons of each nationality are, of course, in constant attendance, appeal largely to the emotions. The Italians, however, seem to delight more in their holiday fireworks, the burning of powder and candles with loud noises and flashing flames, than they do in any church service. One priest said of them that in their July celebration they burn $3,000 in useless smoke, and supply their priest with enough candles for a year; while they will not give more than $200 for real service.

The Jews assemble in their synagogues and take great pleasure in listening to the weekly chanting by the rabbi.

This man stands in the middle of the room, swaying backward and forward, the audience doing likewise, and so the more completely giving itself up to his control, both bodily and in feeling.

Elementary Pleasures. Pleasures of physical activity, receptive sensation and simple ideation include muscular activity, mere satisfaction of physical appetites, and elementary mental processes, such as assertion of convictions, commanding, obeying, enduring, daring, and fearing.

The managers of the music halls and continued performances show their complete knowledge of their *clientèle* in that they never fail to introduce feats of physical prowess. So accurate is their estimate that a fairly good idea of the relation of the emotional to the physical pleasures of the neighborhood can be obtained from the proportion in which these are combined in the average East Side vaudeville show.

Gymnasiums never fail to attract large crowds. But even here we see the leaning towards emotional pleasures. This is shown in the preference for boxing and wrestling, which are preëminently interesting because chance and excitement enter so strongly into them. The champion in these contests is the hero of the community, especially of that part which delights in physical pleasure. Mere physical strength in itself, or even strength displayed in the exercise of routine labor, has little attraction.

The proportion of the community preferring each of these four general classes of pleasures is as follows: In 38 families the dominant motives of appreciation are the most elementary pleasures, and this is true of individual members in 73 other families. In 170 families the dominant motives of appreciation are pleasures of sense, idea and emotion, and this is true of individual members of 33 other families. In six families the dominant motives of

appreciation are pleasures of emotion and belief, and these are subordinate motives in individual members of 84 other families. In no case are pleasures of thought clearly predominant, though they enter as subordinate motives into the conduct of a few individuals.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have attempted merely to set forth those motives that were found to operate in general in this people's appreciation of their social and material environment, and which are correlated with types of emotional nature and of intellect. A few words more will suffice to set forth all that can be said on the economic and moral motives that are correlated with types of disposition and of character.

MOTIVES OF UTILIZATION

A large majority of the families in this block are influenced by the sense of appetite in their search and demand for food and pleasures. These people are so frugal and industrious that but few are urged on by the motive of absolute need. Some in full health, strong of body and active in spirit are moved by a sense of power and a passion to exercise it. A few are controlled by rational desire, indicated by their struggles for the education of their children in the courses in music, and in art. The majority of these are of Jewish families.

Making the distribution somewhat more precise, we can say, with a close approach to accuracy, that in thirteen families dwelling in this block the dominant economic motive is need, and that it is a subordinate motive in 29 families; that appetite is the dominant economic motive in 181 families, and a subordinate motive in 12; that love of power is the dominant economic motive in 2 families and a subordinate motive in 110 families, and that rational desire is the dominant economic motive in 2 families, and a subordinate motive in 22 families.

MOTIVES OF CHARACTERIZATION

The dominant moral motive of an ordinarily intelligent person, not too much controlled by religious mandates is, more or less unconsciously, the desire for complete development. This is more true, however, of the deliberative individual than of the impulsive. The latter is likely to be controlled by new desires, and when neglected desires rise into power, he rushes into excesses. American manners, dress, industrial conditions, all give rise to new desires in the heart of the immigrant, and many families in this block have been classified as largely dominated by them. But the largest proportion is classified with those that are controlled by the authority of the integral personality. This is an unconscious yearning for complete development along all lines—physical, mental, and moral. The Jews, with their calculating and discriminating disposition, form a large part of this class. They are generally obedient to the demands of the larger life. They are careful of their bodies and of their minds. They hasten to obtain all available things that contribute to their development. Very few families in this block have any conception of proportion in life, and none has been recorded as chiefly dominated by this Platonic motive.

The record of observation on this subject is as follows: In one family only, hitherto-neglected desires, reasserting their power, are the dominant moral motive; in five families they are a subordinate motive. In 58 families new desires are the dominant, in 132 families they are a subordinate moral motive. In 150 families a sense of the authority of an integral personality, a larger life, is the dominant, in 58 families it is a subordinate moral motive.

Methods of Appreciation

From this survey of the motives of conduct we turn to a consideration of its methods. And first we have to observe those purely subjective methods that are modes of approach or of reception, whereby the mind grasps and estimates the world about it, and allows itself to like or to dislike. These are the methods of appreciation, and their gradations correspond to those gradations of the motives of appreciation that have been set forth, and to gradations of emotional and intellectual development, to be dealt with later on.

Methods of appreciation are of four general groups. They are here arranged in an ascending series.

The simplest is that of instinctive response to stimulus. No one can escape this recognition of his environment. There is in a sense an intrusion of the environment upon the individual responding, though he himself is not conscious of either stimulus or response.

When the individual displays an interest in affairs about him, and desires to know more concerning them, he has arrived at another state of appreciation, whose method is that of curious inspection.

When this general interest takes a specific form and preference is manifested, he may be said to have reached a state of preferential attention.

But the highest point of appreciation is not reached until the method of critical inspection is adopted. At this period the individual is eager to learn about all things, but he arrives at conclusions only after a critical examination which involves comparison and analysis.

One of the important indications relied on for purposes of classification under these four heads has been the manner of response to questions put by the visitor at the time of investigation. If the family answered without any ap-

pearance of curiosity, it was taken as strong evidence that its relation to its neighbors would lack that cordial interest which leads to acquaintance. The friendships of such a family grow only through the advances of others. If its members were curious and asked questions, a tendency toward the second method—that of curious inspection—was held to be present. But the case was never rested at this point. Other evidence was sought, that the classification might not be too hastily made. If the family showed a keen interest in any special phase of the investigation it was assumed that a preferential attention prevailed. The attitude toward this investigation was, however, not always natural, and seldom ever so at first. This fact has been taken into consideration in determining the method of appreciation assigned in each case. There are obvious reasons, however, why the novelty of the investigation should be all the better test of curiosity and preferential attention. If, in spite of the novelty, no curiosity was revealed, the classification was not difficult to make. On the other hand, this very novelty might arouse some natures to an unnatural degree of curiosity. So that in making the final classification many other facts had to be considered. The most important of these were national characteristics, the effect of occupation upon the mind, the conditions of residence, and the ambition and personal interest—emotional or otherwise—of each individual.

In 86 families instinctive response to stimulus was found to be the dominant method of appreciation, and in 93 families it was judged to be an important subordinate method.

The families of this group are ignorant, although a large majority of them have been for some time in this country. This seems a strange condition, but it will be understood when it is explained that many persons in this class were found to be deficient in natural ability, or very old, or to

belong among those unfortunates that have missed opportunities to advance in life.

A reference to the wretched condition of the Irish on the lower West Side, from Bleecker street down to the Battery, will make the composition of this group more clear. In the West Side district the general standard of life and the type of mind are much lower than on the East Side, though the people of the East Side have more recently come to this country. The explanation is that a process of selection has taken place, the more thrifty having left the lower West Side and gone to better sections, leaving the dull behind to work when they must and eat when they can. The deficiency of ambition in the original endowment of these drones becomes more marked with time, while their natural carelessness asserts itself with increasing frequency, until they take no interest in anything and care only that they exist.

This decline of interest in life is due to several causes. Some of these people are naturally indifferent to their surroundings so long as their few desires are satisfied.

To this class belongs the group now under consideration in our investigation. They have been on the upper East Side section of the city, see-sawing between 125th and 100th streets from ten to twenty-five years. Everything about them has become commonplace and they are content to move on in the same old rut. When "times are lively" the men work, and, if the wage be good, better rooms are sought or more beer is drunk. When the "times are bad" they live on, sometimes in daily expectation of ejection from their apartments, availing themselves of every makeshift possible in a large city like this, such as odd jobs, help from various charitable institutions, church aid, credit with the neighboring tradesmen, borrowing, and moving from house to house to avoid paying rent.

But there are individuals of this class whose intellect and emotions have been dulled by hardship and deprivation. Such a family is No. —. This family came from England. The husband is an able-bodied stone-mason, who works whenever he can. But since the day of his marriage he seems to have been unfortunate. Eight children have been born to the family, one of whom is living, a one-legged boy of eight, who is bright and full of mischief. The story of sickness, death and privation, which has been the lot of the family, is a sad one. The woman, of sorrowful countenance and untidy appearance, may be seen in her rooms brooding over the past. The father spends his days on a street-corner, near a saloon, smoking his pipe. The corner which he selects is not the one nearest his home, but two blocks above, where the people are of his kind. Near this corner the boy also spends most of his time, getting about upon one leg and a crutch almost as rapidly as other boys. His ability to care for himself in a fight, in "shooting craps," or in games, is a fair indication of natural ability which has been stunted in the parents.

The approximate number of families whose response to stimuli is mainly instinctive is 23. These families have little regard for the state of things about them. They are self-centered and rarely visit their neighbors. Sixty-three other families learn of the condition of neighborhood affairs only as some unusual event compels their attention. To a less extent the same is true of 93 other families.

In 109 families curious inspection is the dominant method of appreciation, and in 90 more it is an important subordinate method.

Curious inspection is the habit of both the Italians and the Hebrews, though these two races display their interest in different ways. Emotional people are usually thought to be curious, but this is not always true. The Irish are

emotional, but they are heedless as to what is going on about them. The curiosity of the Italians and the Jews manifests itself in their consciousness of others and in a keen desire to know about them. The Italians are the latest arrivals in these cramped tenements. They have come from a land of sunshine to a land of climatic extremes, and to a city government of alternating laxity and legal restraint. Their curiosity often expends itself in acts of disorder and law-breaking, prompted by the desire to see how far they can go in this land of the free.

Jewish curiosity is not so apparent in a crowd as it is in response to questions. "For vat you vant to know?" they ask of the detective and of all who come to ask them anything that they do not understand. The Jew usually manifests a higher form of curiosity than that of the Italians.

While curiosity is the usual attitude toward the environment, it is yet less intense than one would expect. It is at first a source of considerable surprise that these people, who have been several times questioned at some length, rarely recognize the questioner on the street. Very few of them have ever spoken to him or showed any signs that they recognize him though he has often met them, and has even stared at them with the intention of arresting their attention. Very few of them, in fact, remembered, even when he was in their house, that he had been there before. This is partly due to the frequency of investigations in the tenement district. So many impressions are made that their minds are confused. But this is not all. In various ways they have been narrowed in their interests. The stress of life has diminished their sense of curiosity. This conclusion is, then, to be taken as a correction of the first estimate made concerning the strength of this method of appreciation.

Thirty-two families evince the degree of curiosity to be expected of those who have settled in a new country.

In 77 more families curiosity is nearly as strong, but many of these have been long enough in this part of the city for things to have become commonplace to them, while others show but little interest in their neighbors.

Through education and easier conditions 74 families are gradually awakening to a wider appreciation, though most of their time must be spent in mere drudgery.

For 16 families life is nearly all work, and curiosity, though manifested, is correspondingly low.

Preferential attention is a dominant method of appreciation in only three families. It is a subordinate method in 50.

Preferential attention is largely dependent upon economic prosperity. As a rule, those families that are comfortably supplied with the necessaries of life, whose occupations leave them physical and mental energy to devote to other things, are more or less able to develop preferences. At this stage those members of the family who work begin to be particular in their selection of an occupation, while each individual chooses his pleasures and associates with some degree of discrimination. The totals given above show that such persons are not numerous in this community. Three families only gave evidence of distinct preferences. The individuals comprising them were above the average in ability. In fact, they were not of any class found on this street. The man of the family first visited showed a keen interest in political affairs. It required long argument to prove to him that this investigation was not connected with a political scheme. In the course of the discussion he revealed a number of preferences. In the second family visited the man of the house was a professional gambler, and his attention was centered in his occu-

pation. The third family was composed of a brother and sister—born in Canada—who had very firm convictions as to their manner of life and occupation.

In a sense, preferential attention is a step in the development of the dogmatic-emotional type of mind. In the account of that type in a subsequent chapter mention will be made of some strong preferences displayed by the Jews. These may be taken as a correction of the totals given above.

No examples were found in this investigation that could with certainty be recorded as instances of appreciation through critical inspection.

Methods of Utilization

The methods whereby men utilize their environment, adapting it to their needs, and making both inanimate things and their fellow-beings serve their wants are: attack; instigation, and the response thereto in imitation; direction, largely by means of the mental power of a strong will to impress a weak one; and, lastly, invention.

People living in a city block are commonly above the rude methods of attack whereby brutes and savages gain a livelihood. Yet a measure of it is sometimes seen in connection with other forces. The lower classes of laborers engaged in the simplest and roughest work of handling material in the raw state seem at times to exist by mere brute force.

The imitative instinct prevails. The foreign-born follow the example of those who have been in the country longer, and, being of the lower economic strata, they look for methods of procedure to those who have attained a position which they hope to reach. The directive method is often seen in the house into which the immigrants enter. The naturalized elements take on a directive attitude toward

the new-comers, and use them for their own profit. But it is not those that are directive in this rather artificial sense that are here recorded as such, but rather those who are naturally leaders, strong and commanding in mind or body.

In 18 families those more brutal methods of utilization that approximate closely to savage attack were obvious enough to indicate that they would dominate economic conduct, but for the restraints of a civilized environment. In 86 families these methods, still apparent, were further subordinated. In 174 families imitation is the dominant economic method, and in 17 others an important subordinate method. In six families direction of others asserts itself as the dominant method, and in 27 families as a subordinate method.

Methods of Characterization

By the practical activity of characterization is meant the adjustment of the individual to his environment, which becomes necessary when he can no further adapt the environment to himself, and the resulting moulding of character. The methods of characterization are: persistence, accommodation, self-denial, and self-control.

In a community largely composed of immigrants, accommodation is naturally the prevailing mode of characterization. The conditions about them are strange, and they must adapt their mode of life to them. Their relation to the landlords, the employers, the government, and the people about them, have little in common with corresponding relations in their native land. It is likely that the Russian Jews find the greatest differences between their new life and the old. Life "within the pale" to which the Jew in Russia is limited and the freedom in this country are at opposite extremes. Within the pale the individual Jew

is perfectly free from the direct action of the government. Government oppression falls upon the community as a whole, and the individual is not conscious of it as coming from the government, but as an act of Providence which cannot be avoided. The Jews' impression of American freedom is at first very peculiar. They are confused by it. In Russia they could dress and worship as they pleased; here they find that they must conform to the American customs or be the object of unpleasant ridicule. The government deals directly with the individual, and in our larger cities municipal control often seems paternal to them. They conclude that the freedom which they sought is not here. Through the process of accommodation they gradually take up our customs and the real meaning of our institutions dawns upon them.

The Jew is ever ready to adopt the best in the system of others in order to be successful. Even his reputed persistence in religion gives way to accommodation for the sake of more useful ends. His desire for superiority, in whatever realm he chooses, is the motive of all his activities; for this he accommodates his own manners to those of others, for this he denies himself. His natural inclinations are controlled to suit the end which he wishes to accomplish.

The Irish and American families of this block are either of the higher class in which self-control prevails, or of that in which accommodation is the method of characterization. Too often it is the latter, for they are willing to accept conditions as they are rather than to struggle, deny themselves, and attain to better conditions. This is especially true of the "left-over" class, which has been deserted by the more ambitious Irish and American families. The accommodation of these people is different from that of the Jews, in that the latter act consciously and for a pur-

pose while the former act unconsciously, merely resigning themselves to the new conditions forced upon them.

The persistent class is composed of the conservative element of the community, and of the ignorant and dull, but thrifty, people. The old people and a portion of every nationality in the block possess persistency of purpose. The severe economic pressure of life in a large city forces many of these families to a mode of action different from the natural. The Italian, by nature volatile and unsteady, under the stress of circumstances becomes persistent and self-denying in his endeavors for success. The most remarkable instance of accommodation seen in this block is that furnished by the coöperative plan of living adopted by several Italian families. Independently of one another four groups of two or three families each ate all their meals in common. They had undoubtedly chosen this manner of living in order to succeed under the new conditions found in this country.

In 21 families mere persistence was found to be the dominant method of accommodation, and in 121 more families a subordinate method. In 149 families accommodation was the dominant, and in 51 families a subordinate method. In 43 families self-denial was the dominant, and in 62 families a subordinate method. In 27 families self-control was the dominant, and in 22 families a subordinate method.

CHAPTER V

Appreciation

Given some aptitude for like response, and certain motives of habitual conduct, manifesting themselves in certain habitual ways, the first condition of further socialization is knowledge. The individuals whose local relations are favorable to union must be acquainted in order to know whether or not they can combine. Knowledge with sympathy are the elements of appreciation; and appreciation is of varying degrees, determined by range of experience—by a narrower or a wider contact with mankind and with the world. It is, then, the object of this chapter to determine the appreciation of the various groups in the community under consideration. This investigation resolved itself into such questions as: (1) How strongly do you prefer your own nationality—the people who speak your mother tongue, who believe in your religion, and follow your national customs? (2) Do you like any people besides these? Are they people whom you have come to know intimately? or (3) is there a wider group, as the American people, that you have come to know in a general way and to admire? (4) Does your interest go beyond this to humanity everywhere?

The answers to these questions reveal the four degrees of appreciation possible to such a heterogeneous group as may be found in a cosmopolitan city like New York. The pursuit of this investigation in a highly-mixed community

is of intense interest, and yet one fears lest the complexity of it all may baffle complete and accurate description.

In Block X there are all sorts and conditions of men living on one side of a block only one hundred and fifty yards long. Those who are accustomed to rural life would expect a wide appreciation in such a population, while those from the higher class of apartments in the larger cities would not be surprised to learn that there was not as much as in a rural community. But neither the countryman nor a member of any other city class knows much about the conditions that exist in the East Side tenement district, and this is not strange when the number of factors entering into its life is considered. It becomes necessary, in consideration of this complexity, to study each group separately.

House 201. It is already understood that the people of this house form a group by themselves. Their appreciation is representative of that which a majority of prosperous Americans of the so-called working class reveal. Being of this large class, which is itself heterogeneous, their appreciation is at least as wide as the limits of the class. They admire the nation and all decent people within it, however much they may vary in race and linguistic origin. Their faith in Americans extends beyond their own experience. Even though they have not seen the many phases of American life, the fact that one is an American is sufficient cause for them to defend his actions and sympathize with his mode of life.

The American people themselves are broad in their sympathies. The Americanized immigrant has added these sympathies to his own wider experiences acquired in different lands. The curtain that so often hides the rest of the world from homogeneous peoples is torn away. Once men of any nationality catch a glimpse of another people, they are ready to believe in all.

But though the people of this house have with one exception undergone this experience, and all have traveled widely, their appreciation, while in its discrimination of kind it is almost of the highest degree, is not perfect. They do not appreciate a foreign class in its entirety on account of prejudices, and an inability to overlook superficial differences. For instance, there are many persons in the community near to them whom these families do not know and with whom they do not sympathize. This is largely due to evident economic differences and to the formality which has been mentioned so often in connection with this house. They have a general idea of the life of the Italians about them, and on general grounds they sympathize with it, but they cannot understand it fully because so many of the Italian customs differ radically from their own.

Their relations with the Jews also illustrate the extent or the intensity of the average American appreciation of that race. They perceive that the Jews are industrious and frugal. They are aware of the great passion of the race for economic advancement and of the law-abiding character of the Jew, but the home life of the Hebrew, and much of his social life, they do not know. This lack of understanding is responsible for many misconceptions of the Jewish people. Such knowledge as is had, however, is ground for some degree of sympathy.

The appreciation of this group, then, is that developed by an acquaintance with American character, widened in this instance by the original knowledge of a foreign race, but limited by the formality of apartment-house life and by the differences in economic standards among its people.

House 203. Most of the families in this group are in the same class as those in House 201, but their knowledge is not so broad, and two of them really belong to the class

below, in which the experience of the individual is limited by propinquity. These two families, though they have lived in heterogeneous communities a long time, have sought their own people so persistently that they have not yet learned to know the nationalities about them. Race prejudices still control them.

The other families, all foreigners, have advanced rapidly. The Bohemian saloon-keeper had become well acquainted with his mixed patrons. One Jewish family had become Protestant, and maintained that the Christian people care for their parents as well as the Hebrews do. An Irish woman who lived next to an Italian family had begun to understand these neighbors, and to believe that all nations had "some good and some bad" in them.

House 205. Here we have two instances of the narrowest experience and the lowest degree of appreciation. One is that of an Irishman of the historic name of Fitzgerald, a disconsolate, aged peasant, who spoke of himself as having been "dragged to this unfortunate counthry," enticed by his son from the open fields and fresh air of his Emerald Isle to pine away amidst a confused mass of furniture—beds, tables, chairs, baby-carriage, cooking utensils, and what not—in a rear division of a New York City double-decker tenement.

The other instance was that of an old Jewish woman. With her wig askew, she cautiously opened the door, and in suspicious tones, accompanied by the yelping of her dog, demanded, "For vat you vant to know it?" She had been in Russia, Germany, London, and was now in America, but in each place she had sought her own people. Even in this house she was dissatisfied because the Jews were not sufficiently orthodox. The Irish she hated. "I don't like the Irish," she said, "I vant to go back down town."

But these were exceptional individuals. The younger

members of the respective families had a wider outlook, and many other families in this house might be graded as medium in degree of appreciation. The large majority, however, must be placed in the "low," but not "lowest" class. The people of a low degree of appreciation are those that have faith only in such groups outside of their own circle as they have actually met and found similar to themselves. They are not able, as those of the next higher grade are, to generalize or to allow for marked differences of language, religion, or customs.

This "low" grade, which is predominant also in House 207, is composed chiefly of Jews that have been much in touch with Gentiles in business relations, but who, owing to the narrowness of their lives and a strong prejudice, have made but few friends, and have not otherwise widened their acquaintance.

The families in these two houses that are thought to possess a "high" degree of appreciation include those, both Jew and Gentile, who, broad-spirited and generous in disposition and keen of perception, have looked about them and have comprehended their environment.

House 209. Appreciation in this group resembles that in House 201. A majority of its tenants are generous Irish families that have added to their European experiences a knowledge of the various tenement classes among which they have lived. Formality has not kept them away from other nationalities to the same extent as is the case with the families of House 201. This fact explains two differences between this house and 201, namely: a broader appreciation manifested by some of its families, and the presence in the group of some families whose appreciation is low and limited.

The geniality of the landlady, who has been mentioned before, has contributed much to a broadening of sympathies

among the families of the house. Through her tact people of different nationality and disposition manage to live in peace and to attain to a considerable degree of acquaintance.

House 211. The peculiar affinity of the Italian for the German which was shown to exist in this house is the basis of an especially wide appreciation. The Italians here have been long enough in America to have had a rather wide experience. They have met many classes and have learned much about them. Most of them have a fair idea of the American character, so that they widen their sympathies to unseen groups on the basis of this conception.

Nevertheless, a majority of these families have little acquaintance beyond the limits of their own nationality. Some of them have been in the district but a short time and others are reserved in disposition.

Finally, the lowest and the highest degrees of appreciation are represented by one family each. Family 59 is from southern Italy, and its members do not speak English. It has had little opportunity to learn of other nationalities and is devoted to its own people, its language, religion, and customs.

Family 58 is composed of mother and child. The mother, deceived in love, is obliged to work morning and night to support her child. She is a bright young Swiss-German woman of generous spirit and quick perception. She has traveled widely and has lived for some years near people of various nationalities. All these facts, together with the humility of spirit which her misfortune has brought her, have made her peculiarly wide in her sympathies and her understanding of others.

Houses 213-219. Here are many Italians that cannot speak English. Potentially they are highly appreciative, that is, they are neither crabbed and narrow by nature, nor are they wholly surrounded by people so entirely different

from themselves that toleration and even pleasure in social intercourse might not be developed. Such a clustering of the same nationality as we see in this set of houses is not conducive to the broadening of appreciation. At present there is not another nationality in New York City so given to aggregation as the Italian. For this reason there is scarcely another nationality that so thoroughly stamps as foreign the district which it occupies.

Moreover, many of the Italians, if not the majority of them, have come from the rural districts of Italy, and consequently their sphere of observation has been limited. This fact, together with their brief period of residence in America and their continual association with one another, results in much ignorance of American ways and manners.

This ignorance is clearly shown in their attitude toward all authority, law and order, an attitude of continual suspicion. In January, 1901, when the smallpox was thought to be almost completely under control, Little Italy was suddenly found to have a number of cases. Then followed confusion and turmoil as the Italians began to try to deceive the authorities. A like state of affairs was observed in occasional instances among other nationalities, notably in the case of an Irish patrolman not far from Little Italy; but nowhere was the excitement, opposition and deception so general as in this region.

The dawning of appreciation usually comes through experiences in connection with wages. The demand for "twelve and half centa an hour" is made early. The passion for saving money also is soon developed. Again, the Italians coach one another in ways of escaping the toils of the immigration officer. If sickness or want, calling for charity, befall a family before the first year in this country is ended the family must by law be sent back to Europe. So well do the Italians know their rights on this point,

however, that those who wish to commit their children to charitable institutions wait until the very first day of the second year of their residence.

Gradually their suspicions are allayed, and those who have been in America about five years speak with some assurance and trust. They learn to substitute processes of law for the use of the stilletto in settling their disputes.

This change is effected much more quickly in country districts than in the city. The history of Italian colonies in rural districts is that first its members resort to the stilletto to end disputes with their own people or with Americans; that later they resort in flocks to the courts, but that only gradually, as the struggle for existence becomes less severe, are they really found to be deliberate in their relations with one another and enlightened regarding the strangers among whom they live.

In the city law and order are too often represented by gruff and ignorant officials who have no time to deal patiently. In the country the way of law and order is brought to the consciousness of the foreign-born by the quiet, patient, slow-going country-folk, who give them time to realize what the purpose of it all is.

Next to appreciation of a new economic position is that which is awakened in the immigrants by the political bosses. Through them they soon become aware of the coarse and selfish plans of the political machine. It is a long time before they realize the meaning of the real political and governmental system of the United States. The clearest idea of it reaches them through the school children. To the few that read, the newspapers contribute something in this direction.

As they advance in understanding of American life the Italians longest in this country draw away from the Italian settlements, especially from those sections where the newcomers live.

The appreciation of a large majority of the four groups immediately under consideration is of the second degree in our scheme of grading. All the men and many of the women touch various phases of the life about them as they pursue their work. The children at school come into even closer contact with the American ideal than their parents can. Through these two influences these Italians, in a comparatively short time, come into various relations with people outside their own nationality. But this acquaintance is not such as to enable them to generalize their observations or to broaden their sympathies beyond the local boundaries. Propinquity limits their appreciation.

Many, however, are attaining to the next higher degree. These not only know people of other nationalities, and have an idea of their immediate environment, but they have an outlook beyond the locality in which they live. They comprehend in some measure the American customs, both of their neighborhood and wherever such customs prevail.

There is also a small minority in these houses that have no sympathy with or understanding of surrounding people. It is composed of those who have recently left their native land; those who are old, and those who, through stubbornness or lack of opportunity, fail to come in touch with their new surroundings.

Houses 221-225. The experience of the tenants in these houses has been relatively wide. This fact, together with an intelligence superior to the average of the community, has enabled them to understand something of the many situations in which they have found themselves. Nevertheless, they would not live in houses occupied by the Italians of the neighborhood for the reason that the Italians seem to them to be poor, ignorant and dirty. If they were Americanized and somewhat refined Italians would be acceptable as neighbors, in the same sense as the other nationalities are, namely, the formal sense.

Length of time in America, superior knowledge, sympathy, toleration, and the fact that a large proportion are native-born all contribute to make the appreciation of the occupants of these houses relatively high.

House 235. The homogeneity of this group would seem to imply that those who compose it are clannish and disregardful of all people other than those of their own nationality. There is some truth in the inference. But their long residence in various sections of the East Side, and their power of observation have not been for nought. While they prefer their own people, they have not failed to learn from other peoples. The selection of this completely Jewish house as the place of their residence is not the least important result of their observations. Many of them have lived with all sorts of people, and have then deliberately chosen to live here. And so, while some of them have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge to understand peoples different from themselves or to see anything of good in their actions, a majority sympathize with the American spirit, and, to a considerable extent, possess it.

This account of each house group has revealed the form and degree of appreciation peculiar to each section of Block X. There are certain general facts and special instances, not applicable to any particular section, together with explanatory remarks, that should now be recorded.

The rapid broadening of appreciation in the immigrant population is, on the whole, astonishing. It is surprising how very narrow the sympathies of most of our foreign-born have been in their native lands. The following instances will illustrate:

An Irish girl, twenty-seven years of age, a servant in New York City for four years, revisited her home the third summer. On the steamer she heard all sorts of remarks about the Irish from the different nationalities represented,

such as: "Those from Londonderry are no good," or "Those from Kilkenny are all right." But after being in America for a time she had "found that there are good and bad among all people."

The experience of a Swedish girl was similar. When she first landed she flatly refused to work with Irish girls, but now she likes all nationalities, and especially the Irish. It is a frequent remark of immigrants, when speaking of people of other nationalities whom they respect, but for whom they have no special affection, that "all people have good and bad." If, through ignorance or distaste, they do not like a certain nationality, they usually state the fact with emphasis.

The lines of original prejudice, which even subdivide nationalities into sections, are further illustrated by the testimony of another Irish girl:

Ulster, she said, is Protestant, and it is not liked by Munster, Leinster, or Connaught. Counties are not prejudiced, but provinces are. Waterford and Cork, she admitted, were distasteful to her, and she added that Waterford people could not agree with other Irish, even when they were Catholics.

Similar divisions of seemingly homogeneous populations might be cited from any part of Europe, and even from some parts of this country. When our immigrants leave their native sections and enter strange groups, especially such a heterogeneous assembly as New York City, peculiar changes occur. At first they gather about the groups of their own nationality—each little nation to itself—as the families from northern Italy in House 211 did. Later on they find either that these are the most congenial groups, as House 235 did, or they may discover a people of another nationality quite like their own, as the Swedish girl mentioned above did, or the people of some other nationality

may attract them more than their own, as happened with the Italians in House 211.

Appreciation, then, makes all sorts of discoveries, and there follow all sorts of combinations, but the real basis of them all is the consciousness of kind.

Appreciation is not limited to an understanding of peoples, though this is the experience most new to the immigrant. The physical environment also has to be mastered before the immigrant can wisely venture upon his way in the new land. The necessity of getting work and earning money soon brings him in touch with the labor situation. While he is learning he struggles blindly on, doing the best that he can. The problem of living is a very stern reality. The necessity for a different food from that to which he has been accustomed is not understood at first. Italians learn to eat the proper amount of meat only after they have been here some time and find themselves unable to cope with the arduous conditions of work and of weather to which they are subjected. The high death-rate among them is partly due to a diet too exclusively vegetable to supply necessary nutrition. The testimony of a rent-collector is interesting, who said that he had often noticed two or more Italians eating, one all the cabbage and the other all the meat. When he had ventured to ask the steak-eater why he did not "divy up with his pard," the Italian replied: "He just coma over—no lika beef—he damma fool."

In natural aptness to grasp the environment the Jew is probably superior to all other nationalities. Especially is this true of him in New York. The city has been his home for centuries and he is thoroughly accustomed to its ways. The Jews have a great advantage over all but the English-speaking people, in that they speak German, the language second in importance as a means of communication in New York City.

The greatest single agency for developing appreciation is the public school. The average number of public school children from Block X is 200. Their influence in a population of about 900 persons is therefore important.

Summaries and totals may now be presented.

1. *Lowest.* Two families in Block X show the lowest degree of appreciation, and so also do individual members of 28 other families.

These are families whose experience has been bounded almost entirely by acquaintance with their own people. Necessity or narrow-mindedness has shut out the world beyond the range of blood relationship. Thus the Sicilians are friendly only with Sicilians; the Irish of Connaught do not care for the Irish of Leinster; the German Jew curses his brother from Russia.

2. *Low.* Eighty-one families show a low degree of appreciation and so also do individual members of 77 other families.

These are the families that are in process of naturalization. Their knowledge extends beyond the limits of blood-kinship, but it is not sufficiently wide to enable them to generalize concerning other nationalities or classes. Their preferences are limited by the direct knowledge of people and conditions that make up their environment.

3. *High.* One hundred and eighteen families show a high degree of appreciation and so also do individual members of 49 other families.

In these families naturalization is well under way. Sixty-two of them are completely Americanized. They have begun to realize the essential elements of the American ideal.

4. *Highest.* Ten families understand and appreciate not only those of their own kith and kin, not only those whom they know by actual contact, or whose activities they know

to be controlled by the American spirit, but also the human race the wide world over. For instance, the mother of one family has visited her home in Switzerland once or twice. The relations of Protestants and Catholics in her own city of Zurich are familiar to her, and, though a Roman Catholic, she is possessed of so generous a spirit that she has much regard for Protestants. The mother of another family comes from good old Pennsylvania stock, and is a second cousin of one of the greatest Hebrew scholars of the world. She has read the newspapers widely and many good books. The family has been in touch with many nationalities. With its inherited instincts and bright disposition it is not surprising that this family should show some degree of interest in world activities, and that it should be capable of appreciating humanity in general.

The relative strength of the four degrees of appreciation in this community should be of interest to the student curious to know the relation of these families to their environment, to the patriot eager to learn the extent to which these people comprehend the American people and American institutions, and to the altruist who desires to determine the probable progress of a social group in its estimate of social activities.

The more or less naturalized families are the strongest class, and it is more numerous than any other. This fact should be the cause of much encouragement to those who have been complaining that instead of "digesting its immigrants, the nation is dying."

CHAPTER VI

Types

Habitual modes of like response to common stimuli, varying motives and methods of conduct, and varying degrees of appreciation are creative of certain more composite products that, in their turn, become determining factors of social phenomena, including the possibilities of co-operation. Among these products are certain types of Emotional Nature and of Intellect, of Disposition and of Character, and certain broad Types of Mind in General. Approximately accurate classifications of the tenement-house dwellers in Block X in accordance with these respective types have been possible.

TYPES OF EMOTIONAL NATURE

A majority of the dwellers in Block X belong to an emotional type that may be called the Joyous-Sanguine.

A certain degree of joyousness, that is to say, a capability of rejoicing upon very slight and simple provocation, and in spite of the hardships of their lives, is the prevailing emotional state of these people. This state is to be distinguished from cheerfulness. Relatively few of these families are habitually bright and cheerful. This minority is composed of the Americans, Irish and Italians that are prosperous. The joyous majority are not always happy, but their natural tendencies are towards happiness when conditions are reasonably favorable.

Morose natures are exceptional, and most of these are

persons who, because of old age or physical weakness, are completely discouraged by their misfortunes. Among them, however, are a few Hebrews whose natures seem always to have been gloomy.

The Italians on occasion exhibit fear, anger, jealousy, and hatred. Their fear is largely due to their inability to understand American ways and their continual dread of officers. They cannot free themselves from the attitude toward officers that has developed in their native land.

A majority of this community are sanguine in temperament. The very fact that they have come to this country with exceedingly small resources is evidence enough of this. Their hopefulness is really their principal capital. There is scarcely a family in the group that has not suffered very trying misfortunes, but all have been buoyed up by their sanguine temperament.

The few choleric temperaments include certain quarrelsome Italians who have suffered more reverses than they could endure, but who have not yet given up the struggle and become melancholic.

The melancholic minority is very small and is composed chiefly of Hebrews. Other nationalities, however, contribute individuals that have broken down in health and in spirit.

INTELLECTIVE TYPES

Very few individuals in this community are capable either of scepticism or of balanced judgment. A majority are credulous and many are suspicious, especially among the Hebrews and the Italians.

Credulity was oftenest revealed by a complete faith in strangers. A common belief in the fortune or misfortune foretold by cards indicated both credulity and superstition.

Superstition is somewhat less common than credulity, however. The Jew has the Mesusa upon his door-post and

the Italian hangs his beads at the head of his bed and a holy picture on the wall at his feet. In one house superstition was used to accomplish a practical end through the medium of the much condemned "chain-letter." A typewritten letter of this kind had been mailed in an open envelope with a one-cent stamp. It requested each person to send twenty-five cents to the minister or priest, and also the name and the address of three friends. As a reward for doing this, the letter carefully explained that the enclosed aluminium heart-shaped medal with a cross upon it was blessed, and promised that the three friends, when their names were received, should receive similar medals.

Belief, in a majority of these people, is objectively determined by external suggestion. In comparatively few is it internally determined by emotion, mood or temperament, and in very few objectively, by evidence.

The reasoning of a majority is of the conjectural type, being little more than guess-work. Very few reason speculatively and none, so far as discovered, inductively.

TYPES OF DISPOSITION

What has been said of the methods of utilization applies equally well to the classification according to disposition. The Irish form the larger proportion of the aggressive. The Jews contribute largely to the instigative and imitative type. Many of them have the understanding to be directive but they lack the virile aggressiveness necessary to directive power. The majority of Italians are divided between the two lower types. The creative type, as manifested in the entrepreneur who assumes responsibility, is not represented.

The totals are as follows: Ten families are in disposition of the merely aggressive type, and so also are individual members of 111 other families. Two hundred and one

families are instigative or imitative in disposition, and so also are individual members of 9 other families. Thirty-one families are directive or domineering in disposition, and so also are individual members of 59 other families.

TYPES OF CHARACTER

The great difficulty that the ordinary observer of human nature has to deal with in the study of types of character is the seemingly countless variety he encounters. Nor is he sure which of the many possible principles of classification should be adopted. An application of any principle chosen, however, will test its fitness. The chief argument in favor of the one here followed is that it presents the steps which the individual has taken in his evolution to the highest state.

In the development of a rational mind man did not thereby lose the instinctive and the emotional elements of his nature. In the first stages of human society life was simple. Man was but one grade above the animal. Muscles were strengthened in the struggle for existence, and pleasure was found chiefly in muscular contests. There was but one type of character—the forceful.

With the development of material resources there came time for ease and pleasure. With the increase of wealth arose social classes and a new character type appeared—the convivial. Then pleasures more emotional and less arduous in their nature than muscular activities, were selected.

As the sense of responsibility arose individuals here and there, reacting against convivial excess, began to take extreme positions upon questions of pleasurable indulgence. Impetuous dispositions, awakened to a sense of duty, could not stop short of severe self-sacrifice and rigorous discipline. The austere type of character emerged.

Extreme types, however, are never stable, and in the course of time a counter-reaction produced the type which judges all conduct by broad, rational standards. This is the rationally conscientious type.

Evidence upon which to assign any family to one of these types was not hard to obtain. Occupation is often an important indication, and so also is nationality. A glance at the types in each house will enable us to connect them with various other facts also.

House 201. Of the five families in this house three are on the whole of the forceful type. Casual observation of other houses in the adjacent streets would lead one to expect a preponderance of this class in the neighborhood. Two of the three families are Irish and one is German. The occupations of the fathers are respectively those of iron-worker, compositor, and baker.

The prevailing type, however, in this house, as in others, is the convivial. The occupations of all heads of families except the iron-worker clearly point toward an easier means of livelihood than that generally followed by the forceful. The occupation of one is that of a musician. Last year there was an actor in this house. The father of the janitress had been a dancing-master of wide reputation in this section. The favorite pleasures, such as card-playing, dancing, music, all add to the probable accuracy of our classification. On Sunday night the men can often be seen playing cards, and sometimes drinking beer, in each other's apartments.

In one family the austere type has appeared. The dancing-master has attained to old age, and both he and his wife are undergoing a reaction from the gaiety of their younger days. The daughters, who were lively, are now rather burdened by their duties as janitress and dressmaker and the care of their aged parents.

The rationally conscientious type is represented by individuals in another family. These are Americans. The father is a musician, and he has sought rational companionship. He takes a keen interest in political conditions and put pointed questions to the visitor concerning this investigation.

Houses 203-205-207-209. The forceful type is well represented in these four houses, a fact largely explained by the presence of Irish tenants. The pleasure-loving class predominates, however, and it is correlated with the characteristics of the Jewish tenants, who here outnumber all others.

Houses 211-219. These are Italian groups. The impulsive disposition of the Italians and the intensity of their feelings would lead us to place them in or near the convivial type. But hard labor has wrought a change in many of them. Twenty-four families in these houses may be classed as forceful and the type is represented in forty others. Seventy families may be classed as convivial and the type is represented in fourteen others. Two families may be classed as austere and the type is represented in three others.

Houses 221-235. These houses are tenanted largely by Jews. Seven families here may be classed as forceful and the type is represented in twenty others. Fifty-nine families may be classed as convivial and the type is represented in eight others. One family is austere and the type is represented in nine others.

Let us now present the results for the block as a whole:

1. *The Forceful.* Forty-six families may be classed as forceful and the type is represented in seventy-seven others. These are the people who are strenuous and daring. They are strong of body and rely chiefly upon their muscles, both for protection and for their livelihood. Their work

is a struggle with soil, rock, iron and wood in large quantities. They are cellar-diggers, hod-carriers and rock-blasters. Many are engaged in dangerous occupations. Some are scaffolders, boatmen, railroad employees and drivers. In such occupations men can hardly be classified as otherwise than forceful. In the case of other trades or occupations, such as painting, bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing and washing, other evidence was taken into consideration. No family was classified merely by the occupation of its members. The majority of the washer-women were ranked as forceful characters because of their coarse, robust, and masculine ways, but some of them were of a very different type. The personal appearance, the manner of speech, the kind and arrangement of furniture, were carefully considered. Very important also were the pleasures indulged in. No topic was closer to the hearts of these people than the prize-fight. The children in many of the families could give the characteristic position of each of the great pugilists, and the rules were known even to the smallest detail. Horse-play was the delight of both parents and children.

The nationalities contributing to this type are chiefly the Irish, the German, and the Italian.

2. *The Convivial.* One hundred and seventy-five families may be classed as convivial, and the type is represented in thirty-five others. Here are to be found the tailors, furriers, peddlers, store-keepers, clerks, bakers, and tobacco-workers. By disposition those engaged in these trades prefer the less strenuous kinds of work and they are better adapted to them.

In this type are found those who in their love of ease live in dirty houses and are content with ragged clothes. Others take pleasure in good things to eat and to drink. Their money is spent for luxuries of the table. Still others delight in fine clothes and well-furnished rooms. Their

pleasures resemble their occupations. They appeal to the emotions. Theatre-going, dancing, table-games, gambling, novel reading, calling, and gossiping are their chief means of amusement.

All nationalities are represented in this type, and especially the Jews. The occupations mentioned are filled largely by them and they will work at no others. As a rule they are not enthusiastic over athletics; their spare time is spent in calling upon one another, in parties and in dances.

3. *The Austere.* Four families may be classed as austere, and the type is represented in nine others. One of the first four is a Jewish family still under the influence of religion. Its ideals are those of self-sacrifice. In labor all its members are diligent and persevering.

The other three families of the first four are composed of aged people driven to austerity by the hard circumstances of their lives. In their youth they may have been of a different type; but now, in the evening of life, their path is one of self-denial. Two of these three families are Catholics, who look upon their hard lot as so much of the "good works" necessary to obtain happiness hereafter. One family, an aged soldier and his wife, neglected by their children, impelled by their love for each other, have resolved to endure that they may not be separated in their old age. They belong to a Protestant church.

4. *The Rationally Conscientious.* This type is represented in eight families. With two others, they have already been described as belonging to the highest class in their appreciation of their environment.

Certain traits of character are found in each type:

(1) *Courageous.* One hundred and fifty-five families may be classed as courageous, and the virtue of courage is manifested by individuals in fifty-five other families.

The display of courage varies widely according to the

type of the individual. The mere physical courage of the forceful man is the usual basis of this virtue everywhere. The least courageous type is the convivial.

It is by no means easy to determine the courage of a family, and the numbers given do not mean that there are *only* so many families possessing this quality, but rather that there *are* so many. In some of the others it was impossible to determine, and they were accordingly omitted. In all cases the basis of judgment was the visit to the family and the various conditions observed there. The courageous were often discerned through their straightforward answers to all questions, through comments upon the Spanish war, and especially through their attitude towards the visitor when they thought him to be enumerating young men fitted for military service. Occupation also is an indication.

(2) *Magnanimous.* Fifty-five families may be classed as magnanimous, and in thirty others this virtue is represented by individual members. Evidence of the magnanimity of a family was difficult to obtain. There was rarely an occasion to display this quality. A number of general facts, however, tend to substantiate the estimate here given. The intelligence of these people is not of the degree that would make them large-hearted. Their view of affairs is usually very narrow. They lack the wide knowledge that is necessary to a wide sympathy. Their associations and material environment work against the increase of trust. Magnanimity requires a deep understanding of human nature or a wide experience with people in a sphere where competition is not so keen as it is in the tenement district.

The families here set down as magnanimous showed their possession of this quality through a display of sympathy in directions where mere generosity would not be a sufficient cause. These families, in estimating the worth of

their neighbors, were charitable toward weakness, giving reasons for differences and explaining failures. The same large-heartedness was evident in their care for distant relatives and in their sympathy for those in trouble anywhere.

(3) *Generous.* One hundred and forty-one families may be classed as generous, and in seven others this virtue was displayed by individual members. By the "generous" are meant those who show a kindness when appealed to by something at hand—a person in a pitiable condition, or one attractive in appearance, or in some way interesting. These people are impulsively generous to each other in times of need. When a point of common interest between the visitor and the family had been reached, it was easy to see whether the family was generous or not. The relation of the parents to the children and of the family to their neighbors was an important indication.

(4) *Industrious.* One hundred and ninety-one families were regularly industrious, and so also were individual members of nine other families. Twelve families were irregularly industrious, and so also were individual members of forty-eight other families. This estimate is based on the numbers known to be at work, the condition of the houses and the general attitude towards labor as shown in conversation.

(5) *Frugal.* One hundred and ninety-one families may be classed as frugal, and so also may be individual members of sixteen other families. A comparison of income with the general appearance of the family and its apartment was the basis of this estimate.

(6) *Cleanly.* One hundred and eighty families were cleanly, and twenty-eight individuals in other families were so classed. Sixty-six families were neat and orderly, and individual members of one hundred other families were so classed.

(7) *Temperate.* Eighty-three families may be classed as temperate, and so also may be individual members of twenty other families. It is not to be understood that all families not included in this estimate are intemperate, but that they are either so or doubtful. The mere use of beer or other alcoholic drink as an article of diet was not regarded as a sufficient mark of intemperance.

(8) *Truthful.* Two hundred families are classed as truthful, and so also are individuals in nine other families. Two hundred and six families are classed as honest, and so also are individuals in six other families.

Both of these qualities are difficult to ascertain. The truthfulness of answers was taken as one basis of judgment. The general impression received from conversation was another. A comparison of what they said with what they could and likely would do, gave some light. The testimony of the janitress could sometimes be depended upon. The terms truthful and honest as here used signify that the families so rated are truthful and honest under ordinary circumstances, or when not influenced by outside forces. If their employment depended upon a certain amount of lying or dishonesty, it is feared that they would feel themselves forced to yield. The temptation would be more than they could stand. The happiness and even the livelihood of the family sometimes depends upon a departure from these two virtues. The families, therefore, are put down as honest and truthful if it is felt that under *fair* conditions they would be so.

(9) *Compassionate.* Two hundred and nine families are classed as compassionate, and so also are individual members of two other families. The number of old people cared for by these families was a striking proof of compassion. The sympathy for the Boers as a down-trodden people was very strong. Many were much moved by

accounts of men killed in the war. There is no avenue to their hearts more open than this one of sympathy.

TYPES OF MIND IN GENERAL

Instinct, emotion, intellect, disposition, and character are but differentiations or varying manifestations of mind in its totality. According to the kinds, qualities and strengths of these manifestations, and their relative proportions, do we discover types of mind in general.

In the lowest type instincts are strong, ideas are elementary, intellectual processes hardly get beyond perception, and the organism responds almost automatically to stimuli, either external or the internal stimuli of idea and feeling. This is the Ideo-Motor mind.

The next higher type is Ideo-Emotional. Imagination now plays a considerable rôle and response to stimulus often takes the form of a volatile emotionalism.

When one idea, or set of ideas, such as a religious belief or other conviction, controls the mind so that it becomes intolerant of any beliefs but its own, the type is Dogmatic-Emotional.

When finally the mind is capable of careful reasoning and weighing of evidence, the emotions and all specific ideas being under subjection, the mental type may be called the Critically-Intellectual.[1]

[1] Professor Giddings names and illustrates these types as follows:

"In some individuals a forceful character, an aggressive disposition, intellect of low grade, and strong emotion are combined with a prompt and persistent motor activity. This type we shall call the Ideo-Motor. In other individuals a convivial character, an instigative disposition, an imaginative intellect, prone to reason from analogy, a weak but persistent and usually good-natured emotion, are combined with motor reactions that are usually intermittent and of less promptness than in the ideo-motor type. This type we shall call the Ideo-Emotional. In individuals of a third sort an austere character and a domineering disposition are combined with dogmatism of belief,

As the reader will anticipate, only a few families of the dogmatic-emotional type and none of the critically-intellectual were found in Block X. Before the totals of classification are presented it may be well to mention some of the traits and actions habitually manifested by the ideo-motor, ideo-emotional and dogmatic-emotional families, and certain testimonies of other observers besides the present writer in regard to them, as an indication of the evidences upon which the classification is based.

The impulsive family often reveals itself as such by the manner of shouting "Come in." This "Come in" was often followed either by ready answers without demand of whys and wherefores in the case of the Irish tenants, or by an inexplicable and sudden attempt to end the investigation in the case of the Italians.

Usually the Irish shouted "Come in," and fell into conversation, in which they unconsciously told all about themselves and their neighbors, if the visitor cared to direct the conversation that way. Only a show of interest and enthusiasm on the part of the visitor was necessary to continue the conversation indefinitely.

On the other hand, the impulsive nature of the Italians made the introduction to a family very difficult. They were often found to be as much opposed to being questioned as the Irish were careless in the matter. Sometimes an attempt to close the door would immediately follow the first question or there would be a flat refusal to answer it. In other cases the news of the visitor's presence would fly

strong emotion, and intermittent activity. This type may be named the Dogmatic-Emotional. In a fourth kind of individuals all the emotional and motor processes are dominated by a critical intellect, and even disposition and character are intellectually controlled. This type we may call the Critically-Intellectual." *Inductive Sociology*, p. 63.

from top to bottom of a house, and presently two or three families would congregate in the halls, talking at the top of their voices. In almost every Italian family the entrance of the visitor was followed by some show of excitement—a rush of blood to the face, a general appearance of nervousness, or excited questioning of one another in the Italian language.

The manner of controlling children on such occasions was often a good indication of the type of mind. Indeed, the children themselves often betrayed the impulsive mother in a way that was obviously embarrassing to her.

The arrangement of the house shows in many ways whether or not a person takes thought before acting. The impulsive are not systematic in anything. They are always on the move, if they are not too lazy. The house may be clean, but it is not usually orderly. So also in the estimate of their neighbors the impulsive are as likely to err in generosity of judgment as in severity. They usually jump at conclusions, reasoning from certain things last observed in the manner of a neighbor.

As has been hinted, a majority of the impulsive families in this section are Irish and Italian. Observation of like characteristics in these same nationalities in other parts of the city may be had from other sources.

The testimony of hospital officials concerning the Irish is that if things are not satisfactory to an Irishman he will leave, or attempt to leave the hospital on the moment. It is also said that the Irish when sober endure pain with much fortitude; but that when intoxicated they "shout and kick at a great rate" if they are made to endure even a little.

The Italians are reputed to endure pain even more impatiently.

Firemen have given some interesting testimony bearing

on the relative self-control of nationalities. They agree that the most excitable of all peoples are the Italians. The smallest fire will throw them into the greatest confusion and disorder. All power of thought seems to be lost. They are capable only of muscular action. They throw their trunks and furniture down the stairs and themselves out of the windows. In Italian tenements it is always expected that the hallways will be blocked with trunks, often having nothing of value in them.

The Irish, on the other hand, are likely to go to the extreme of indifference. Captain Dougherty, of the 104th Street Fire Department, tells of an incident in which an Irishman was going about in his shirt-sleeves on an upper floor while another floor was on fire. He knew of the fire, but thought that there was no special need of haste until the firemen hurried him out.

The absence of any intellectual control in the lower strata of these nationalities is further illustrated in the difficulty with which they bring their muscular systems under discipline. For instance, it has been noticed by kindergarten teachers that Italian children have much trouble in learning to march. They rush at it impulsively, without the help even of imitation to guide their movements.

Not less than motor proclivities, the ideo-emotional traits have abundant objective manifestation among these people.

The street-singers and organ-grinders of the Italian communities know that their pathetic songs will fill their pockets with pennies. Above the noise of elevated trains and trolley-cars at each end of the block and the shouting of the produce-men about him, the mournful notes of the street-singer will reach the hearts of his countrymen, and the intermezzo from "Cavalleria Rusticana" or an air from "Il Trovatore" brings him many a nickel.

Conversation about their childhood days or the reading

of a poem about certain Italian towns affects the Italians deeply. They are a sentimental people. Even their religion is largely a matter of sentiment. The best English word that one of the Italian women could find to describe her church was "nice." With emotion in her voice, she described the Catholic Church as a "nice church." Their patron saint is an object of much adoration, but even this saint may suffer from a sudden turn of feeling and his image be dashed to pieces, to be replaced some day by another.

Sudden changes of mind are characteristic. It is chiefly in this respect that the emotion of the Italian differs from that of the Hebrew. The Italian is demonstrative; the Hebrew makes comparatively few physical signs. His feeling, however, is often deeper and more enduring.

In times of excitement or danger the Jews, like other people, are emotional, but they do not entirely lose self-control. They may trample on one another in escaping from a burning building, as happened in one of the Chicago Yiddish theatres in January, 1901, but even in such excitement the mothers showed remarkable presence of mind in throwing their children to those nearer the exit. Even more remarkable is the case related in the New York *Herald* of a Jew with a child in his arms who, seeing a runaway horse about to dash over him, tossed the babe to safety.

The dogmatic emotional minds reveal themselves chiefly in their attitude upon religious matters, in their economic conduct, and in their relation to socialistic and other agitations.

A majority of the people in Block X have been at some time in their lives under strong religious convictions, but these have been to a great extent broken down, and "believers" have been converted into "thinkers."

The process is illustrated in the departure of the reformed Jews from everything orthodox, the doffing of wigs and

long beards, and the dropping-off of many of the older customs. The orthodox control their lives according to their faith. They display intense feeling against any infraction of its commands.

A diminution of religious ardor is plainly noticeable also in the Irish of this community, who, next to the Jews, are said to form the largest class of non-church-goers, though the falling-off from church attendance is general among all the nationalities here represented.

This transformation, however, is not always a broadening one. The type of mind is not greatly changed. The higher intellectual processes have not subordinated the lower ones. Emotion still predominates. The change is objective only. The discussion of social and economic problems in the local socialist meetings claims more and more attention. The controlling idea, not the habit of intolerance, is changed.

Among the Jews and Germans the substitution of dogmatic and irrational socialistic schemes for traditional religious beliefs is a common occurrence throughout the city. The doctrines of the anarchist also claim a good deal of attention in certain Italian neighborhoods.

The economic situation is, after all, the one of vital importance to all these families. The question of wages is one in which they are compelled to be interested. It is their first duty to "*exist*," then to "*get along*," and last of all to consider their mental and moral development.

The storekeeper, the local street-vender and the janitor each selects his friends, his pleasures and his political party with an eye to business.

Especially is this true of the Jews. The conclusion has been reached, after a careful investigation, that the controlling principle in the life of the Jews of the upper East Side is not religion, but the desire "to get along" and to prosper in every sense of the word. The East Side Jew may

be of the old orthodox type, he may be in the Reformed Synagogue, or he may be a member of the Ethical Culture Society, but in any case it is the tremendous strength of the economic motive that distinguishes him from other men. From the young child to the aged grandparent this motive asserts itself continually. At the Penny Provident Bank the older brother or sister takes out a book and deposits a cent for the two-weeks-old baby. The parent sends his five children regularly to the bank, each with a little money, because this teaches them to save. Other peoples also sometimes deposit money for very young children, but not with the systematic persistency of the Jews.

The Italian, like the Jew, is aggressive in his desire for economic standing, so aggressive, indeed, that he chops to pieces the stairs of his tenement in order to have firewood. But this is the desperation of an immigrant trying to obtain a foothold in a new country; and it has been true of most immigrants destitute of material means when they first landed. The determination of the Jews, on the other hand, to attain a good economic standing is conscious, dogged and ever dominant. Almost all of them seem to know that the way of the prosperous is up the East Side and then across the Harlem until finally they "arrive" on the West Side. Their every plan and every effort are bent to achieve this goal.

The classification of the families in Block X in terms of numerical estimates of the relative strength of the different types of mind, based on the evidences above indicated, and careful observations of each family, is as follows:

Ideo-Motor. Thirty-eight families are of the ideo-motor type, and so also are individual members of seventy-three other families. Most of these are Italians and Irish. They are engaged in the lower forms of physical labor, and their exhausting work leaves them little energy for emotional pleasures or for thought.

Ideo-Emotional. One hundred and seventy families are of the ideo-emotional type, and so also are individual members of thirty-three other families.

These families are highly imaginative and much given to nervous excitement and to pleasures of chance. Tears and laughter are equally near the surface. Feeling is easily aroused. Appeal to reason has little or no effect upon them. To reach this class at all it is necessary to mix the truth well with pathos or humor. The speaker who would be successful in addressing them must himself show much feeling and make liberal use of shibboleths and symbols, which arouse the emotions of his particular audience.

That such a large majority in this tenement community should be of this emotional type is a fact that should be viewed seriously by all who are interested in the welfare of the social classes here represented. These are the families, together with those of the motor type, that make possible dangerous panics and frenzied mobs. This is the element that demagogues control for their own purposes. And this is the soil in which fakes of every kind, religious and others, take root and flourish.

To modify and develop this type into something higher is one of the all-important functions of our educational institutions. The power of the school is nowhere more clearly seen than in its effect upon an emotional community. Much of superstition is bound to give place before the enlightenment that the school creates. Common-sense and reason, awakened in the younger minds by the school, will at length begin to dominate.

Dogmatic-Emotional. Six families are of the dogmatic-emotional type, and so also are individual members of eighty-four other families. A majority of these families are Jews.

There are no families in Block X that can with certainty be classed as critically-intellectual.

CHAPTER VII

Practical Resemblances

Not less potent than differences or resemblances of mental type, as determining causes of the relations that human beings sustain to one another in society, are certain practical differences and resemblances, consisting of diversities or similarities of mental acquisitions, ideas, beliefs, and modes of conduct. Chiefly important among these are diversities or agreements in language and ability to read and write, in religious beliefs and worship, in occupations, and in political preferences.

These practical differences and resemblances as manifested in Block X admit of relatively precise statement in brief terms.

Knowledge of English. The Italians are the latest arrivals from abroad and are a majority of those that speak no English. The German-speaking Hebrews learn the English language more rapidly than the Italians.

Twenty per cent. of all persons over five years of age dwelling in Block X are unable to speak English. A majority of these are adults that have been in this country less than eight years. An additional 35 per cent. speak but very little English, barely enough to ask the simplest questions.

Illiteracy. Forty-seven per cent. of all persons ten years of age and over dwelling in Block X are unable to read or write any language. Most of these are the same persons

that cannot speak English or that speak it with great difficulty. The predominant nationality among the illiterate is the Italian, and the Hebrew ranks second. Women show the greatest degree of illiteracy both in their own language and in English.

Of the fifty-three per cent. that read and write, the number of those that habitually read is very small.

Religious Preference. The religious life of this community is not active, and the figures given below indicate a nominal rather than a real preference. A majority of the people are so occupied with efforts to obtain food, clothing and shelter that they have no energy for active religious interests. Many of them, moreover, manifest a desire to shirk social responsibilities to which they have been subject in their native lands, a desire often observed in people that are taking up life anew in crowded urban centres, where it is difficult to develop a true community spirit.

The religious life of the Italians is spasmodic, and is stimulated chiefly by religious celebrations that appeal to the dramatic instinct, or by some calamity that befalls the individual or his friends. The Hebrew devotion to his church is intermittent, and closely related to its annual festivals. The American Catholic and the American Protestant are irregular, both in their church attendance and in their religious interest.

While the statistics indicate merely nominal preferences on the part of a majority of these people, there is a minority of families that are faithful to all their church obligations and are, beyond doubt, of a strongly religious disposition.

STATISTICS OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Year.	*Catholic.*		*Protestant.*	*Hebrew.*
1897-1898.....	Irish	32		
	Italian.....	23		
	American....	24		
		79	35	53
1898-1899.....	Irish	22		
	Italian.....	63		
	American....	23		
		108	18	68
1899-1900.....	Irish	24		
	Italian.....	68		
	American....	18		
		110	24	67

Occupations. Of the 317 men, women and children dwelling in Block X who are industrially employed, 3 per cent. are engaged in work that is strenuous and dangerous, demanding daring and fortitude; 22 per cent. are employed in hard work demanding diligent and self-denying effort; 54 per cent. are occupied in work that is easy, though requiring continued toil, while the employment of 17 per cent. is both easy and intermittent. Only 2 per cent. are engaged in nominal occupations that are conducive to idleness.

Of the same total 74 per cent. are men and boys; 57 per cent. are fathers of families. The sons are 17 per cent.; the mothers 14 per cent.; the daughters 12 per cent.

No evidence of child labor was discovered. It is possible that some children were employed, but the number is believed to be small.

Political Preference. Only a small minority of these people are really interested in political issues. The majority, who vote for Tammany, do so because of the strong

influence and the persuasive power of the Tammany organization. These men are dragged into line by the political bosses rather than by the exercise of any natural preference.

The very small minority that prefer the other parties are genuinely interested in some political or social question, and their preference is decided by their interest. The Citizens' Union voter is usually seeking a change in the municipal situation, clean streets, public baths, or police protection. The socialist is awaiting the millenium of higher wages and a better distribution of wealth.

CHAPTER VIII

Consciousness of Kind

The differences and resemblances observed among the people of Block X, and set forth in the foregoing pages, are consciously realized by these tenement-dwellers themselves to a less degree than such differences and resemblances would be realized among a more intelligent population. Yet there is an unmistakable consciousness of kind here, and its elementary—sometimes almost primitive—manifestations are significant of the genesis of those social forces that create coöperation and organization and maintain social bonds. We will note some of these manifestations as observed from house to house.

House 201. A general consciousness of kind throughout this group of six families is unmistakable. Economic influences have had much to do with their selection. They have desired better apartments than those in the middle of the block, and their ability to pay a higher rent has enabled them to satisfy their desire. Within these economic limitations, however, there has been room for selection based on a consciousness of kind. A comparison of this house with No. 235 at the other end of the street is significant. Why is it that house 201 for the last five years, and possibly longer, has in many changes of tenants always retained a majority of American-born families, while house 235 has come to be completely Jewish in its population?

It is not due to the influence of the landlord of No. 201, who thinks the Jews excellent tenants, but rather to the

fact that the house has been occupied by prosperous Americans, who have been able to withstand the demand of foreigners for apartments. They have desired to remain in this part of the community because as yet there is a large percentage of Irish and German-Americans along this section of Third avenue. On the other hand, house 235 is near Second avenue, which is much more given over to Jews and Italians. Moreover, it has been owned by Jews for about eight years, and relatives of the landlord have been living there. They naturally have preferred Jews to other people, and, being in control, they have had their way. These influences are clearly those of the consciousness of kind.

The same force creates groups within groups. It was observed that the Irish tenants were more cordial towards one another than towards other nationalities. The janitress, born of native parents of Irish descent, finds the majority of the families congenial, while the American-born German baker is not so enthusiastic about his house neighbors.

Houses 203-205. A majority of the tenants in these two houses are Jews, but acquaintance is not general. There are evidences, however, of a certain consciousness of kind in each house. The Cohens have established their store in house 205, and have been successful in business because the Jews here have resorted to them. The Bohemian saloon-keeper in house 203 has been replaced by a Jew largely because of race instinct.

The few Irish tenants will not long remain. When asked about their relation to the Jews, they generally reply, "Oh, I pass them the time of day, and that's all." The Irish families gave some interesting and valuable evidence upon the consciousness of kind. Two of them are "left-overs" in the social exodus, stragglers kept back by

economic forces. Though they have been in this neighborhood the greater part of twenty years, they have not been here continuously. Waves of economic prosperity have carried them to better sections for a time, but they have come back again.

Mrs. C. had lived with Italians and liked them, but the smell of garlic in their cooking was intolerable. Mrs. H. had never lived with Italians but had the usual prejudice against them.

For twenty-five years these two women have been living under similar conditions and they are warm friends. Mrs. H. is very often in the house of Mrs. C. and they exchange many favors in the course of a day, while at night their husbands play cards and share their beer. Both men are painters, and often work on the same job, helping each other to get new jobs. They take long rides or walks together to their work.

There was another Irish family in house 205 whose testimony is worth recording. This family had entered the house under the impression that the janitress, the widow of an Irishman, was an Irish woman. "Yes," said the wife, "I thought she was Irish, but her name fooled us. She is a German, and I don't like her at all."

With this Irish testimony it is well to compare the words of an Italian woman in 213, whose family had been in America twenty-five years. The husband was a blaster and the wife washed for the neighbors. She said: "Yes, the Germans and the Irish and Italians drink beer, but the Germans and Italians never drink together. The Italians and Irish often have a good time together. The Irish call the Italians 'guineas,' and the Italians call the Irish 'micks,' but they don't mind that." Another Italian said: "Me no like Northern people—too slow, too little emotion." Concerning the Americans he added: "American people for money, money, money; no like very much."

Nine of the sixteen families here are Jews, and Jewish customs predominate in the house. Their relations with one another are cordial. They are all aware of the fact that their own people are in the majority.

The Italian saloon on the ground floor did not prosper. The saloon-keeper is continually complaining of the lack of business. He cannot get nearer to the Italian group two houses away because the law does not permit him to place his saloon in such close proximity to the public school, which is situated between Nos. 225 and 235. He feels keenly the absence of the consciousness of kind which, in districts like this, is a chief factor in the support of a tenement-house saloon.

House 209. The tenants here were Irish and Jews. Most of the Irish were of the type which occupies the top floor of 203. In fact, there was a Collins on this top floor related to the one in 203. They were also of the "left-overs" in the general exodus of the Irish from this street. They had lived under similar conditions for the greater part of their lives. They were in almost complete possession of the three upper floors of the house. They were much in one another's rooms, and the opposite doors of different apartments were open, so that conversation could easily be carried on. Two of the families were related, and the daughter of one was assisting in the house-work of the other.

The extent of communication and the warmth of the fellowship among these Irish contrasted sharply with the habits of the Hebrews in the house. There was much less visiting among the Jewish families.

House 211. The first persons questioned in this house gave striking testimony to the power of the consciousness of kind. They were a mother and a daughter named Crimona, from the province of Cremona in Italy, who had the

round faces and other characteristics of the broad-headed Alpine stock. They resembled the small, dark southern Germans or the Jews of Hungary. They mentioned the fact that they were often taken for Germans or Jews, and the daughter of eighteen said that her intimate friend for the last five years had been a German girl. At first, she said, her friends had been Italian girls, but as they quarreled with her so often, she much preferred the German. When it is remembered that Cremona is a town of Lombardy, not far from the foothills of the Alps on the northern side of the valley of the Po, where the Alpine stock is well represented, this instinctive preference of these Cremona women for their ethnic kindred over the people of their nationality and language is not without significance.

The only Italian families in the house whom the mother and daughter thought "nice" were taller than the majority of Italians, and, like the Crimoni, were more deliberate in their actions. Upon inquiry, it was found that they too had come from northern Italy not far from the town of Cremona.

Houses 213-215-217-219. The customs of one nationality—the Italian—dominate all others in these houses. Undoubtedly an economic motive led the Italians to this street, but after they came a consciousness of kind attracted them to particular floors in certain houses. As their number increased they obtained complete possession of these houses, and since that time an Italian rarely enters any other house. This is due not only to their preference for their own people, but also to their strong antipathy towards other nationalities. This mental attitude, however, is not due entirely to a perception of mental differences and resemblances. The other nationalities have been longer in America and are, to some extent, assimilated. They have often attained to a relatively high prosperity. They do

not like to receive into their own tenement-house groups those families that are so near the economic margin of subsistence that they are willing to resort to any kind of work, to live in any sort of way, and to chop the stair-bannisters for fuel. On the other hand, the Italian immigrants, being unable to talk with English-speaking nationalities or with Germans, are compelled to seek people who speak their own language.

There are four Jewish families, six negro families, a Cuban, a Greek, and a Bohemian family in these houses, whose relations with the Italian element are of interest.

Two of the Jewish families are in the clothing trade, and their relation to the Italians is simply that of business. The other two families expressed their hatred of both Italians and negroes and their intention of moving away from them. This they did a few weeks later, going to house 223, which had been vacated by the Italians.

The negro, Cuban, and Greek families remained in the house with the Italians. Their relations seemed to be cordial and they spoke in high terms of one another. It was also interesting to observe the relations of a white American family to a negro family in one of these Italian groups. The intimate friend of Mrs. C., who was of mixed ancestry, namely, Cuban, Indian and negro, was Mrs. W., a white woman who lived on a different floor. This was not a mere chance acquaintance, but another instance of the selection of the nearest kind, for Mrs. C.'s characteristics were predominantly those of the white race, and she did not associate with negroes.

House 223. In 1897 this house was occupied exclusively by Italians, with the exception of the Irish janitor. In 1899 there were fourteen Italians, one Irish-American, one negro, and two Greeks. Of the population that has replaced them seven are Jews, three are Irish, two are Americans, two are

Italians, one is English, and one is Swedish. Consciousness of kind exists to a limited degree among the first seven and is growing stronger as they become better acquainted. The landlord and the janitress are Jews. The store-keeper has wisely selected a house in which her own people prevail. The two Americans, as also the Swede and Englishman, learned of the rooms through the newspaper. Each of them is dissatisfied, and none of them will be here long. One Italian is the last of the former group, and he said that he intended to move very soon. The incoming Italian family has been in this country seventeen years and is somewhat Americanized.

House 225. Consciousness of kind is more evident in this house than in 223, because one nationality prevails and the period of residence and acquaintance is longer. The occupants of the ground floor front are in business, depending for success upon the patronage of their own people. Three of the four, who are not Jews, live on the fifth floor apart. These three include one German, one Austrian, and one Irish-German family. The Irish husband in the last family said: "Oh, most people think no one is right unless he is like themselves. I like the Italians, only they underwork us a little."

The relations of an Austrian woman in this house to an Italian family in house 217 are interesting. The Austrian woman has seen better days. She speaks German and gives her nationality as German. But her whole disposition is like that of an Italian, though somewhat less emotional and impulsive. Her pleasures are, however, strongly emotional. In addition to German and English, she also speaks Italian and French, a proof that she has associated much with those people, for she learned the languages by hearing them spoken.

Family No. 113 of house 217 is composed of Italians

who have been long in this country, the husband thirty-seven years and the wife twenty years. They speak good English and in most respects are Americanized. So different are they from the other Italians of this group that they are not held in good esteem by them. It is only their extreme poverty that keeps them here. To the extent that they have been Americanized they have lost some of the Italian impulsiveness, so that they resemble the northern Italian or the Austro-Italian disposition.

Knowing the similarity of the Austrian woman's disposition to that of family 113, and at the same time bearing in mind the distance between them, one being in house 217 and the other in 225, the writer was surprised to learn that in spite of this distance and the difference in nationality, the two families were friendly, and that family 113 had brought the woman from 225 to the Union Settlement to display her talents as a musician.

House 235. The tenants here are Russian Jews. The landlady, who is an American Jewess, has a wide circle of friends, and through them is enabled to have her house well known. In 1898 there were four Gentile families in the house. In 1899 there was but one; now the house is completely Jewish—the only house in the community of one nationality.

While the consciousness of kind is strong in this group it is different from that exhibited by the Italians. These people are more deliberate and have more individuality. There is much visiting from room to room, but this social intercourse is not to be compared with that in houses 213 to 219. The mothers with their children were often seen going to the park together.

In the history of each house in Block X the power of the consciousness of kind has clearly been seen. Racial affinity, often the limit of a consciousness of kind, has sev-

eral times been disregarded. Even color lines have failed to keep like dispositions apart. Strong economic forces have entered the community and scattered all purely social groups to the four winds; but after the storm, quietly but certainly, like has attracted like, and the house has gradually filled with a homogeneous group. This is the history of every house, and where heterogeneity exists the process continues.

In the earlier periods of his residence in this country the foreigner feels that only those are like him who speak his own language and who have come from his native land. This is especially true of the Italians. The accompanying table clearly reveals the consciousness of kind.

ITALIAN ELEMENT IN EACH HOUSE EACH YEAR.

Years.	*211*	*213*	*215*	*217*	*219*	*223*
1895	—	12	—	16	—	10
1897-1898	1	5	—	—	1	10
1898-1899	3	12	13	11	9	14
1899-1900	8	13	15	13	14	2

The testimony of this steady and swift aggregation of like individuals is unmistakable. It must be remembered, too, that when Italians enter a house the Jews gradually move out, and if a negro enters anywhere it is into an Italian house. This may be explained by the general antipathy of whites to live with blacks, except the whites of the lower economic classes. There is possibly some weight to be given to the fact that the Italians are not as yet sufficiently prosperous to be independent, and so to assert their feelings completely; but this is a subordinate influence in most of these houses, for some of the negro families who were here before either the Jews or the Italians came, expressed their regret at seeing Jews come into the street, while they lived on good terms with the Italians.

A tendency towards homogeneity has been observed in the Jewish groups also. These changes, while not so rapid as among the Italians, are not less certain.

HEBREW ELEMENT IN EACH HOUSE EACH YEAR

Years.	*201*	*203*	*205*	*207*	*209*	*211*	*213*	*215*	*217*	*219*	*221*	*223*	*225*	*235*
1897–1898.....	—	2	7	2	2	6	1	3	2	7	3	—	3	15
1898–1899.....	—	3	6	12	4	4	2	2	—	7	4	—	4	17
1899–1900.....	—	3	7	7	5	3	2	1	1	2	5	7	8	20

This table shows a steady increase of Jews in the corner houses, leaving the Italians in the centre. The cause of this cannot be found in difference of rent or of anything in the construction of the house, though both of these facts are often important factors. The rent and the structure of the majority of the houses are almost the same. Besides, Jews have been seen to replace Italians and *vice versa* in the same house. The cause can be found only in the desire of like individuals to be together. This fundamental cause is not alone in producing these groups, nor does it work unhindered. Sometimes with, and sometimes in spite of other forces, it gradually brings order out of the urban chaos.

CHAPTER IX

Concerted Volition

It could not be expected that in a population so heterogeneous as that of Block X, dwelling under the conditions of tenement-house life, much coöperation of family with family, or of like-minded individuals with one another irrespective of kinship, could arise within the narrow limits of this aggregation itself. Most of the men and many of the women of the block are engaged in coöperative activities—of pleasure, religion, industry, or politics—but their associates are gathered from a wide East Side area, and to some extent from all quarters of the city. Few examples, therefore, can be recorded of spontaneous coöperation within the block itself and limited to its own dwellers. These few, however, are so far indicative of the origins of concerted volition in its elementary forms as to be of some slight sociological value.

The simplest ones, naturally, are certain housekeeping arrangements.

In house 207 were two families in which the husbands were brothers—Jews born in New York City. The wives were not related, but were born in New York City of Jewish parents that had come from Holland. The blood relationship of the two brothers was the first social bond between these families, but the Dutch ancestry and a similarity of customs, tastes and dispositions in the wives were no small factors. At the time of our first visit the wives were both in one house, washing the dishes. It was learned

that they coöperated in most of the work of the two households. The families enjoyed various forms of amusement together in the evening and in other leisure hours.

Families 65 and 66 in house 211 live in two apartments joined into one, making six rooms altogether. Family 65 is that of the parents of the wife of family 66. All of the members of the first-named family are bread-winners except a boy eight years old. Family 66 includes the daughter, her husband and two children, and also the husband's brother and sister, and a boarder, all of whom do outside work except the mother and the two children. During the day there is no one at home but the young mother and her two babies. She does most of the housework for both families, especially the managing of household affairs. All wages in family 65 are paid to the father; members of family 66 pay a regular sum each week to the father of family 65. He then gives to the manager of the house, his married daughter, as much money as she requires to pay all bills. To the members of his own family he gives a little pocket-money, and the members of the other family have the balance after paying their board. Meals are eaten at one table, and there is almost complete coöperation in other affairs as well.

In the same house families 69 and 70, less closely united than families 65 and 66, coöperate to a great extent. Family 70 is composed of the parents of the wife of family 69. These families have joined their apartments. The daughter was formerly living in a much better place, and could well afford to do so for her husband earns high wages, but she wished to be near her mother, and at the same time to be saving money.

These examples are fairly typical of many that could be adduced of a certain tendency to revert to the collective or "compound" housekeeping of primitive life under conditions of poverty in the tenement districts.

On a somewhat broader scale concerted volition is seen in a frequent coöperation in pleasures, especially among the Irish. The quick and sincere sympathy of the Irish disposition often brushes aside the ordinary rules of formality, and they come together spontaneously in some kind of joviality.

This disposition of the Irish, and the business qualities of the Jews, often make possible also a degree of purely economic coöperation between these races. Its usual manifestation is seen in the relations of a Jewish landlord or landlady to Irish tenants. In house 209, for example, an Irish woman remarked of the landlady: "Oh, yes, she's a Jew woman; but she's very nice for all that." It is the ability of the "Jew woman" to make herself pleasant that appeals to the Irish. The Irish rarely go into the apartments of the landlady, but she goes very often into those of the Irish. This formality on the part of the tenants is not at all due to a consciousness that the landlady is superior. There is no such feeling. These advances are made by the landlady with the particular object of keeping all on good terms with herself and with each other. Such association has but a slight tendency toward real social intercourse. That such coöperation may become permanent and genuine the mere economic motive must be strengthened by motives that are inherent in the disposition of the individuals themselves. This kind of coöperation as it now exists is therefore artificial, and is not permanent, because it is not based in that consciousness of kind which is the only genuine bond of social fellowship and of enduring coöperation.

Among the Italians many families make wine in the summer, and wine-drinking is the occasion of many social winter gatherings, in which there is also singing and the playing of the easier games of cards.

A concerted volition of yet wider extent is sometimes called forth by a sensational event, and especially by calamity or misfortune. It is the testimony of ambulance-surgeons that they can scarcely reach their patients in an Italian district because the neighbors have gathered about to offer sympathy and aid. In times of trouble, especially of sickness or death, the Italians are most generous in assisting one another. Detectives looking for the cause of a crime are met by a solid wall of blank smiles and shrugging shoulders.

Of concerted action of a more definite and effective kind, and on a fairly large scale, one example may be given. This was the evacuation of house 223 in September, 1900, by the Italians. This house was leased by an Italian and was one of the first occupied by his countrymen. Its population in 1899 included fourteen Italians, one Irish-American, one negro, and two Greek families. The houses on each side of it were occupied by highly heterogeneous groups, in which Jews and Americans predominated. House 223 was, therefore, separated from the other Italian houses. The feeling of opposition on the part of houses 221 and 225 towards house 223 steadily increased. Pressure was finally brought to bear upon the landlord through the board of health. The board ordered the house calcimined. This sanitary measure was necessary, though not more so than in other Italian houses on the other side of 221. The landlord ordered the lease-holder to calcimine, but he could not afford to do it and sold his lease back to the landlord at a sacrifice. It was but a few days until almost all the Italians moved out.

The presence of Italian lease-holders and Italian storekeepers in each of the four houses occupied by Italian tenants is another instance of concerted volition arising from consciousness of kind. These lease-holders have usually no

capital worth mentioning. They may have scraped together fifty or a hundred dollars to begin with, but this sum is so large a one to them that they are not willing to run any risks with it. In undertaking to sub-let a house they have great confidence in the affinity of their people for each other. This is true also of the Italian store-keepers. They venture into business where they perceive that they can count on the coöperation of their own countrymen, and a common antagonism to the Jews. The Italian grocer, for instance, depends for his success upon his ability to cater intelligently to his Italian customers, which he knows he can do more successfully than members of another nationality.

CHAPTER X

Social Organization

Within the narrow limits of the group under consideration the forms of social organization are very simple. No function of government is delegated to it. No public or incorporated organization devotes its energies exclusively to these families.

Social Composition. The ordinary conception of an urban population is that of a large aggregation of individuals that are independent of one another in most respects. The bonds of acquaintance and relationship usually found in the village are not supposed to exist in the city. The formal relations of families living in apartments and houses occupied by the middle and upper classes is responsible for this idea. The majority of these people seem to be entirely indifferent to their neighbors. It is known, of course, that every city has sections for the wealthy and quarters for the poor, and that the poor quarters include some districts almost exclusively occupied by recently arrived immigrants. But the perfect stratification and classification of peoples brought about by the same social and economic forces that arrange the village group are rarely apparent to the casual observer of city conditions.

This classification reveals two arrangements: that in which the group is limited to certain well-defined localities and that in which the group is independent of locality, its members being scattered in various parts of the city. The latter grouping is formed through a common interest in the same

organization. The acquaintance grows by communication concerning the matters pertaining to these interests, and is continued by the calls of one family on the other. In these groups it may happen that a family does not even have an acquaintance in the block in which it lives.

Block X, of course, belongs to the arrangement according to locality. The preceding chapters have shown that each of the houses being studied is occupied by a distinct set, which, through frequent changes in composition, retains the same characteristics. The fourteen houses in the street do not belong to one ethnic group; they are parts of various large ethnic settlements in the vicinity. Each house, with its fifteen to twenty families, bears the same relation to its ethnic group as that of the middle-class family to its social circle without local boundaries. The five Italian houses in this block form one segment of the large settlement of Italians across Second avenue. In the same way the Jews are closely related to Hebrew groups in neighboring blocks; while the Irish in the houses near Third avenue are but the overflow from that street. To use a political figure, the houses may be likened to villages and the larger groups to counties. It might then be said that the Irish village of house 201 belonged to the county along Third avenue; that the Italian village of houses 211 to 219 belonged to the Italian county east of Second avenue and extending from 102d to 114th street.

In this discussion, however, it is not necessary to consider the larger groupings. The simpler social relations of the people in a given tenement are generally limited to the house itself or to similar houses within the fourteen. They form component groups as truly as the ordinary village in a rural district. The centre of the group is the landlord or his representative, the janitor. If the janitor is a weak individual, who is more a servant than an over-

seer of the house, the store-keeper or some old resident of pleasing but strong personality becomes the group leader. Within the house-groups are smaller organizations of related families, but usually of families of the same nationality.

Two interesting facts regarding the family life of this community are analogous to facts of ethnic society, and may be recorded at this point. The first relates to mixed marriages. In 1898 there were eighteen marriages between individuals of different nationalities; in 1899, twenty; in 1900, thirteen. These mixed marriages of civil society may be likened to the exogamous marriages of ethnic societies. They follow the weakening of racial prejudices and hasten assimilation. The other fact is the tendency of immigrants to gather about the family of the wife rather than about that of the husband, showing a slight trace of the metronymic order of ethnic society. It was found that there were twenty-six parents and forty-two relatives of wives living with their respective families, while only eleven parents and twenty-six relatives of husbands were counted. In two instances the husband, with his wife and children, were living with the wife's parents on much the same basis as the unmarried children. The wife's father received a share of all wages, from which sum the expenses of the house were paid.

Social Constitution. Owing to the heterogeneity of this small community, the discussion of organizations formed for special purposes must extend to organizations drawing membership from the vicinity as well as from Block X. No organization of any importance would find a sufficient number of like-minded people in these houses alone to make its existence worth while.

The most important cultural institutions of the district are the churches. These are of the Roman Catholic, the

Hebrew, and various Protestant denominations. But their influence seems not to be so great as it was formerly. The evidence of religious feeling is spasmodic. It is to be found in faith in some relic, or in temporary attendance upon church service in times of trial, rather than in any regularity of church worship. The paraphernalia of the church often decorate the walls of a tenement and some of the people are ready to defend their faith, but constant attendance upon the services of the church seems to have disappeared. Even the Roman Catholics are surprisingly indifferent. A striking fact regarding the members of churches having saints' days and other holidays is the great interest which even the most indifferent take in these events. However careless a Jew may be throughout the year, on his church holidays he puts aside all work, dresses in his best clothes, and spares neither himself nor his pocket-book in fulfilling his duty to the synagogue. Likewise the Italian, on his saints' days, spends enough money in fireworks to supply the church with candles for a year.

The presence of the respective churches in the neighborhood is due to different causes, while the church government has much to do with its hold upon these people. The Roman Catholic church was placed in the district by the authority of those who are rulers in the diocese. Money was obtained from the people of the vicinity by subscription, by the selling of tickets to various entertainments, card parties, and amateur plays, and added to by contributions from the wealthy contractors of the city. As everybody knows, the church government is a strong hierarchy, in which the people are completely passive. They are subjects to be governed by the will of the priests. In the religious services the appeal to feeling is stronger than that to the reason. Forms are used which mystify the people and inspire in them a sense of fear. The habit of obedience

to authority is cultivated more than that of deliberation. Such forms of government and worship seem to be more effective with these people than a democratic church government and a more rational faith. The Catholic Church is, consciously or unconsciously, wise in clinging to these forms in its work among these people. Its mistake, which hinders social development, lies in the excessive use of all these signs of authority and in its appeal solely to emotion. As a rule, this church is unwilling to modify its methods in order to accustom its people to a deliberative form of government and to a less mystical religion. Several members of the priesthood of this district, however, show a toleration that is already reflected in the membership.

The Protestant churches also were founded by people outside of this section, much less money having been contributed toward their establishment by those in the neighborhood than was the case with the Catholic churches, but they have a much smaller membership.

In establishing the synagogue, the initiative is generally taken by the people to be benefited. When a clothing manufacturer, still living in this district, invited a group of Jews of the lower East Side to move to the upper East Side, the chief condition of moving was that the German clothier should provide a synagogue. This he did, and the people elected trustees and hired a rabbi. But it was not long, according to the clothier, before he learned that one trustee, more enterprising than the others, had confiscated the paraphernalia and was charging every one an admission fee, which the trustee used according to his own pleasure. When the wrong was righted the synagogue was properly established, and many of the people attended the services on Saturday and worked in the clothing shops on Sunday and the remaining week days. The Jewish study of the Talmud is an intellectual exercise of value. The religious ser-

vice of the Hebrews, like that of the Catholic Church, has many forms that are beautiful in their signification, and the general effect upon the people is to cultivate an emotional devotion rather than a reasonable understanding of their faith. The cantor leads the congregation in a chant full of musical cadences, to whose rhythm the swaying bodies of its members respond.

All this, however, is rapidly losing its power of inspiration for the younger Jews. Only where parental authority and filial respect are supreme does any large majority of the young men and women adhere to the orthodox Jewish faith. Their intellectual development demands a form of religion that appeals to reason, yet they are not ready for an abolition of emotional forms. Ethical culture appeals to them because it is neither Catholic nor Protestant, but it does not satisfy their religious instincts. A majority of people expect religion to include emotional forms, but in the ethical-culture movement these seem to be lacking. The success of the reform synagogue should be far greater than that of the ethical-culture movement, but it cannot be complete until the present generation has forgotten the beauty of the majestic and soul-stirring prayers uttered in the rugged words of the original Hebrew and the devotion of the parents to the orthodox forms omitted by reformed Judaism.

Religious societies are but one product of the desire of the Jew for organization. There are all sorts of societies among them, from the club organized by a boy in order that he may be president of it to an association for the attainment of universal peace. This organizing spirit is characteristic of the whole race; it is almost a craze. The young boy wants a literary club, and the girl wants a literary and social club. At the next stage they desire to form a "charity society," in which they intend to sew and to

give help to the poor. The last and highest form of spontaneous organization here is the "mutual benefit society." It is difficult to determine exactly what is the origin of this organizing passion. One factor in its causation is a desire to be united with some body that may obtain recognition. This desire in many instances is vanity pure and simple. The most remarkable thing about all these associations is the interaction of the strong individuality of the Jew with the social instincts necessary to form a good society. In most cases the individuality seems to triumph. In the prevalent form of organization only the secretary and treasurer are permanent officers, and the chairman is elected at each meeting. Throughout the lower East Side there are many associations that are merely impromptu assemblies, their favorite meeting-place being some café, where acquaintances come together over their glasses of Russian tea to discuss topics relating to their trades or professions. Each café is frequented by its own group—here the actors, there the playwrights, there the physicians.

The other cultural organizations exerting influence on the population of Block X are the schools of various kinds. In the education of these peoples the work of the public school in promoting cleanliness, not to speak of other good habits, is of the greatest importance. The chief defect of all the schools is the inability of officers and teachers to understand the different types of nationality and to supply the needs of each type. Whether the scheme of discipline is conducive to self-control depends very largely on the teacher. Some teachers handle their pupils so as to develop independence; others manage them so that they always require a boss to direct them.

Of the Hebrew school, or chedar, there is little good to be said. The one near this district is held in a badly-ventilated, dirty room, in which an old man compels the pale-

faced boys to cram their minds with Hebrew prayers. This school may inculcate a habit of obedience, but it does so at the expense of proper mental development.

Economic associations are represented in Block X by members of trades unions and of mutual-benefit associations. These organizations engage the interest of many men that no longer care for the church. The type of union man prevailing in this group is, however, one requiring a strong incentive to any kind of concerted action. Only in the face of great distress will such men unite in any scheme. A minority, such as is found in house 201, is of a different sort and often takes part in meetings that are highly deliberative. Not long ago one of these men successfully presided over the meetings of an important organization during the most stormy part of its existence.

The political organizations of these people are almost invariably a part of a machine. The boss of the district dictates the policy of the majority. The minority, not thus enslaved, is composed of socialists, so controlled by their idea as not to brook another master, and of a few other individuals of sufficient intelligence and character to withstand the boss.

CHAPTER XI

Social Welfare

The natural conclusion of this study is an account of the social welfare. The social well-being of a people is variously interpreted. Some emphasize economic prosperity, and form their opinion according to the family wealth; others rate the community by its allegiance to certain religious tenets; and others according to the general morality and education of the group. All of these are important factors of the social welfare, but they are all subordinate to one end, namely, the development of personality. In this community, where residence is usually so brief, it is difficult to determine individual changes. The testimony of those that have known this street for many years, however, points to a distinct improvement within the last ten years. Street fights and drunken brawls are much less frequent than formerly. This change is due in part to the substitution of hard-working Italians and industrious Hebrews for the pugnacious Irishmen and lager-loving Germans of the "left-over" class. This is indicated by a comparison of this population with a similar "left-over" class in other parts of the city. The superiority of the recent immigrant to the "left-over" class of Americans wherever found leads some observers to maintain that the immigrant child is inferior to his parent. While this may be true of those nationalities that have come from healthful, rural conditions to live under the adverse influences of tenement life, it is not generally true, and the impression to the contrary

is obtained from a comparison of the immigrant, laboring under the goad of fear in a new country, with a class that remains after the best of its kindred have been sorted out and drawn into better conditions. If this is not true, we must admit that the institutional relations into which the immigrant enters in New York City are even worse than those of Europe.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

A discussion of public utilities includes some account of the institutional relations which affect the social welfare. First of these are the conditions of life in a tenement-house.

Tenement-house Life. Much has been said of late about badly-constructed tenements. Though the actual suffering and discomfort are sometimes exaggerated, the far-reaching effect of unsanitary conditions upon tenement-dwellers is never over-stated. The establishment of a public department for the supervision of the construction and general condition of these houses is one of the most important altruistic movements of New York City.

The houses under consideration have not the usual defects of tenements, for the reason that this block is still open at the rear. It is also relieved by the breezes which circulate between the East river and Central Park, only seven blocks apart. Both park and river are places of recreation to which the people can escape from the monotony and darkness of their homes. In spite of these comparatively favorable conditions, however, the vitality of the group is affected by cramped quarters, the absence of ventilation, the spread of contagious diseases, and insufficient rest and recreation.

Of greater significance from the sociological point of view is the herding together of numbers of the same nationality. This is the tendency in rural districts as well, but

there the herding is not so compact and the clannish spirit is not so well maintained. Country people take time to acquaint themselves with the strangers among them, public officials have more patience, the scheming politician is more easily detected. The general effect of tenement-house life, under these conditions of ethnic segregation, is to retard the assimilation of immigrants to American ways and to expose them to the wiles of unprincipled politicians and tradesmen. Crowded together into adjacent houses, the necessity and the wisdom of learning the English language, and their rights as American citizens, dawn upon them very slowly. They thus become the prey of the instalment dealer and of every shrewd rascal that comes along. Their dependence upon leaders, who have been chosen for their knowledge of English rather than for their integrity, renders them the pliant tools of the political boss. This person is often the only man of influence that understands their trials and is willing to help them. The average American knows little about them. To him they are a mass of people that occasionally fight with stillettos, always break the laws of the American Sunday, and sometimes cast the deciding vote in municipal elections.

Peace and Order. The degree of security and justice enjoyed by the population of this city block is in striking contrast with that observed in rural districts. The disadvantages of these people have partly been explained. Juvenile criminals often harass the children, and sometimes prey upon the property of adults. The Irish policeman, whose beat circumscribes several thousands of the "sneaking dagoes" and of the despised "sheenys," has little time to be patient with them. The judge, however honest, cannot well understand the cases brought before him, and injustice is often wrought. This largely accounts for the number of stilletto fights in the tenement districts. It is not

to be inferred from these remarks that these evils affect a majority of the people. Only a very small minority have any occasion to refer to the police or to the court.

Economic Welfare. Relatively to their economic condition when they arrive in this country, these families are advancing rapidly, though often only by tremendous struggles and great sacrifices of home life and family affection. As they leave Ellis Island and set forth for the crowded district of their own people their possessions can almost be tied up in a big bandanna or two. Under the direction of a friend or relative they find opportunity to work—the Jew in a clothing or cigar factory, the Italian in a cigar factory or to labor with the "shubble." It is impossible to obtain exact statistics as to wages. The common daily wage of the men and women of this district averaged a dollar and a half, and the weekly wage nine to twelve dollars. The Jews obtain higher wages than the Italians. Their ability and foresight enable them to earn more money by a given expenditure of effort than any other people. Comparatively few of their children go out to work. It is quite otherwise in the Italian families. They are as thrifty and as frugal, but they have not the ability of the Jews. They are, consequently, almost compelled to send every one to work who can possibly add a few pennies to the family income. This necessity has often caused Italian families to coöperate in the housekeeping, leaving an old grandmother at home to look after the younger children of two families. A very much larger proportion of Italian women and children go out to work than of any other nationality. They are nearer the economic margin than any other people. It is only by the most strenuous efforts that many of them are able to live in any degree of comfort; but they are not averse to work of any kind, and therefore they usually get on.

Culture. The education of the adults of this community is limited. Only a small minority of the parents can read English and but a small majority of them can read their own language. The young people almost without exception read and write English. The native-born have usually attended the elementary grades of the public schools and a few of them hold diplomas of graduation from grammar schools. In the acquirement of education the Jews excel. Their desire for education is almost a passion. The success of the public schools in disseminating knowledge among the younger generation is remarkable. The free-lecture system extends the benefit of the school system to the adults, and the night schools make it possible for the working boys and girls to continue their education even through the high school courses.

Next to the schools in influence ranks the newspaper. The *Journal* or the *World* enters every home in which there is an adult who can read English, and the foreign editions enter the other homes. The general effect of school and newspaper is to dispel many illusions and superstitions that have been brought over in the folklore of Europe, to acquaint the people with the resources and manners of this country, and to enable them to use their energies and possessions to better advantage.

SOCIAL PERSONALITY

The personal characteristics, already discussed in the analysis of the Social Mind, are reviewed here in their relation to the social welfare of the community.

Vitality. It is evident from the description of tenement-house life and from the density of the population in this district that conditions are not favorable to high vitality. As compared with rural people, these are pale and thin. The improvement which two weeks of country air and rest

work in the appearance of the children is an indication of the disadvantages under which they live. While the number of vigorous and healthy young men is surprising, the proportion of such is far below that of the better parts of the city, and still smaller than in rural communities.

In addition to general causes of physical inferiority in this block there are contributing causes that affect only certain nationalities. The Italians suffer from the complete change of habit to which they are subjected in America. The vegetable diet, to which they are accustomed in Italy, does not fit them for arduous labor and severe climatic changes. Their inability to succeed in commercial undertakings and their immediate needs compel them to engage in work that calls for the strength of much heavier men. They exhaust themselves, and their energy is often completely drained by carrying heavy burdens. The Irishmen and the Germans, on the other hand, are adapted to hard manual labor, and in consequence they prosper and increase in energy with their toil.

The Jewish people are in strange contrast to all the others. Their vitality seems great, but their physical measurements are below the normal. As a matter of fact their vitality is not so great as it seems. The low rate of mortality among them is due to care in the selection of occupation and to foresight in all the affairs of life. The deficiency in physical measurements is a more accurate index of their condition than the mortality statistics, as a close acquaintance with the people proves. Neither their occupations nor their pleasures tend to increase their physical vitality. While so many of the Italians are overcome by the severity of their physical exertions, the Jews are weakened by the sedentary character of their occupations. Their favorite pleasures, as we have seen, are usually of the passive and emotional kinds, such as theatre-going,

dancing, banquets, and the passive observation of athletic games. In this respect they are in contrast to Americans, Irish, and even Italians, who take delight in active participation in physical sport.

Mentality. In mental ability the Jewish people are easily first in this community. Their experience in business sharpens the intellect and develops shrewdness. While many of the adults cannot read or write, their questions and their understanding of affairs in general indicate intelligence. The younger people are not only most eager for education, but even in their recreations they tend toward intellectual activity, debating clubs and literary societies being preferred by them to bowling-alleys and gymnasiums.

While the Italians are not mentally dull, they are lacking in power of attention and in concentration. They are quick to observe superficial relations, but they will not often go far enough to learn the deeper significance of facts. Their attention wanders and vacillates. This is true of all tenement people, but not generally to the extent that it is of the Italians. The Irish mind lacks power of attention, but it has a brilliancy which is rarely found in the Italian. The redeeming feature of the Italian mind, however, is its vivacity.

Morality. There are not over six families in this group of 212 which would be considered immoral, either by a rural community or by a tenement group. The standard of morality is not high, but it is good in view of the prevailing conditions of life in crowded districts and the exposure to temptations of all kinds. These hard-working people have not time to be immoral. The Italians rise early in the morning, work hard all day, and go to bed early at night. The Jews here are unmolested by the depraved parasitical creatures that are to be found in some parts of

the lower East Side. The disturbing elements are usually the "left-over" Irish, who sometimes indulge in gay carnivals with the beer-bucket and the whiskey-bottle. In the absence of a long-standing community spirit, public opinion is not an effective means of control and rectitude is maintained chiefly by unconscious habit. Knowledge of general affairs is too limited to awaken a social conscience, and the besetting weakness of these people is their inability to carry out good intentions.

Sociality. The degree and kind of sociality differ with each nationality. The Italians are overflowing with sympathy. They are quick to coöperate in helpful movements. They have a strong social instinct, and unconsciously devote themselves to the support of the socially good and to the condemnation of the bad. In order to further the common good they are willing to lay aside their own interests. The Irish are like the Italians in possessing a strong social instinct. With this they combine strength of will and self-assertion, qualities which make them the natural leaders of the masses.

The Jews are the individualistic element of the community. In their social efforts they seem to be conscious only of themselves. They are often deficient in social instinct; they do not always see the necessity of "give and take" in association. They take pleasure in companionship, but the bond of sympathy is not sufficiently strong to hold them together except for pleasure or gain.

The truly social man instinctively resents an infringement of proper social relations even though it be at a great personal cost. His social pride does not permit him to let the act pass unnoticed. The inclination of the Irishman and of the Italian to fight on the least provocation is not entirely due to a combative nature. In part it springs from a strong social instinct, which feels wrong keenly, and

would feel the social reproach more keenly, if he were not man enough to resent imposition. A less social being would rather suffer a slight inconvenience and let social reproach be heaped upon his head, to save himself further trouble, reasoning that it is not wise to "cut off your nose to spite your face." Notwithstanding the seeming irritability of the Irishman and of the Italian, this willingness on their part to defend the social order at personal cost is creative of social bonds.

THE INTERACTION OF SOCIETY AND PERSONALITY

Reaction of Personality on Institutions. A consequence of the ignorance and dependence of these immigrant people is, naturally, the development of the machine system in politics with a boss to dictate policy. A dictator seems to be necessary to every successful organization on the upper East Side. The vacillating disposition of the Italians gives an uncertain character to the societies that they form. They act in an impulsive manner, alternately praising and condemning, with little show of deliberation. The individualistic character of the Jew is distinctly reflected in his organizations. They are not large; leadership is not strongly emphasized; argument, discussion and disagreement are matters of course. The Irish, with their qualities of leadership and their strong social instincts, form societies in which "the machine system" is always to be observed.

The dependence and the ignorance of these people furthermore preclude much influence upon the institutions to which they belong. They are pliable material to be used for much harm or for much good according to the nature of the institution. The most noteworthy effect of a community of this kind upon American life in general is its infusion into that life of foreign ideas and manners, and its tendency thereby to modify Anglo-Saxon habits.

Reaction of Institutions on Personality. The hope of developing an American type in this community lies almost entirely in American institutions.

The organizations formed by the people themselves, for their own purposes, usually perpetuate some foreign custom. The effect of the housing in tenements has been described as developing sameness and mediocrity. In the industrial realm the strict limitation to one branch of a trade, with no opportunity for recreation, tends to an abnormal development in one direction. A large majority are indifferent to political rights. Civic rights are usually realized only when the political boss appeals to them in some personal way and makes them blind adherents to his party. Thus political institutions and privileges, which should awaken patriotism, independence, and the best impulses of human nature, cultivate the mean and the sordid. Direct contact with municipal departments is fortunately limited to a minority of these people, for the influence is not usually good. The effect of domineering and despotic officials upon ignorant people is the destruction of independence and the increase of fear. Their spontaneity and originality are seriously checked by hasty and thoughtless interference with their activities. It is evident, therefore, that uplifting and assimilating work must be done chiefly by agencies created with the avowed purpose of bettering the neighborhood. The most effective of these agencies are the public schools, the churches and the settlements.

Public Schools. The wonderful work of the schools in assimilating the foreign population has been mentioned in a previous chapter. Here the youth learns something of American history and the cost of the privileges which he now enjoys. He acquires the elements of knowledge necessary to transact business. And the teacher unconsciously imparts some of his own characteristics to the child. If

he is of the vigorous American type the child acquires all the more of the American disposition. But there is little conscious effort to develop the ideal American or Anglo-Saxon character, for the teachers have not analyzed it. Furthermore, public school teachers are so occupied with their schedule duties that they have little time to study individual defects in the personality of the children. Consequently, such extreme types as the Jews and the Italians are educated in an almost identical manner. The nervous, flitting, uncertain little Italian receives the same treatment as the steady, persevering, plodding little Jew. The receptivity of the latter in intellectual affairs is taken as an index of the course that he needs. His individualism is given as much opportunity as the interests of the school will permit, and often more. His apathy toward physical development is disregarded. Thus the characteristics which are already too prominent are still further cultivated.

Churches. The influence of the churches in this community is exceedingly small. That which they do exert is largely in the direction of the natural tendency of the people. Churches usually devote themselves to their propaganda, regardless of personal qualities, except in so far as they strive to correct the more obvious moral faults in the domestic relations. The institutional church will be considered in connection with settlements.

There remains an immense work for the church to do. This can be accomplished by efforts along two lines. First, the minister should acquaint himself with the physical state and the personal characteristics of his people, and should strive to elevate them in these respects. His sermons should be directed upon their immediate needs and defects. What has been said of the inability of the school teacher to understand the departure of an individual from the American type applies equally to the preacher. He does little to en-

lighten his people as to the characteristics of an ideal citizen. Secondly, the church should take more energetic measures to lessen the worship of the materialistic and to exalt the spiritual element in life. The narrow existence of the tenement-dweller and his severe struggle for advancement shut out his view of the æsthetic and the spiritual.

Settlements. Of the institutions at present exerting influence upon tenement peoples, social settlements and kindred institutions seem to be the best adapted to promote the social welfare. Almost all other organizations fail to take into account the needs of the district. The settlement is perfectly free to follow the course that a study of the neighborhood indicates to be wise. Settlement-workers are supposed to dwell in a neighborhood, to protect it from injustice, to form an environment conducive to the highest development of the individual, and to cultivate the elements of character and disposition necessary to the complex American type. But there are few, if any, settlements that fill the requirements of this conception. Many of them are conducted by kind-hearted people whose primary aim seems to be to make people comfortable, regardless of any permanent effect upon individual character. A few settlements devote themselves to efforts to remedy the injustice to which tenement districts are subjected at the hands of unscrupulous merchants and unprincipled city officials. Others endeavor to give the individual an opportunity to cultivate his better self. There is a tendency of settlements also, as of other institutions, toward inflexibility. Settlement organizers often adopt the methods of other institutions rather than adapt themselves to the conditions discovered in their neighborhood. Certain activities, as those of the kindergarten, the library, clubs, and penny-provident banks, are thought essential to all. The method of conducting these activities and the selection of other lines of work is left to the whim

of the manager or managers. Very few of the activities reveal a consideration of the character of the individuals making up the community. The original conception of the settlement, as a ministration to the poor and to the needy both in body and in soul, does not permit so wide a departure from the methods of work that are adapted to the tenement-house community.

Workers that have not studied the economic and social situation are controlled by quick sympathy. They are influenced by immediate distress and are content if they relieve it. They yield to a constant temptation to adopt palliative measures rather than remedial, because the results of palliative efforts are more evident, the people are better pleased, and the patrons are more favorably impressed. But the student, looking beneath the surface, seeks to put in motion the more indirect forces that tend to better general conditions.

Settlement work, as conducted to-day, even at its best, fails to perform an important function. Its defense of oppressed neighborhoods in civic affairs is good; its establishment of a centre of friendly influence in dependent communities is of great advantage to society at large; its cultivation of the good and the beautiful in dark and unpleasant districts is worthy of all praise. Yet its duty to the community is not complete until it studies the prevailing traits of mind and of character and then establishes the activities necessary to the transformation of the individual to the American type. In the community under consideration there is great need of this assimilating process. Every possible agency should be used to change the numerous foreign types into the Anglo-Saxon ideal. The impulsiveness of the Italian must be curbed. The extreme individualism of the Jew must be modified. The shiftlessness of the Irish must give way to perseverance and frugality. And all must be shown the value of the spiritual in life.

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