Social Background of Social Casework
Around the Early 19th Century

Eiji   Matsumoto

I. "Marginal Areas" of begnining social work practice in Baltimore.
   A. Disease and public health problems in association with immigrant,
       with child and maternal labour, and with unemployment.
   B. The Social Science Movement as a solution of social problems.
   C. Introducing European relief societies and C. O. S. movement
       in North America.

(1)

Before 1900 there was "philanthropy" and "charity" and "social reform"; there were almshouses, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, charitable societies for many purposes. I may be able to point out one characteristic of American social work which has exhibited itself, and which is different from the activites to which it corresponds in other countries.[1]   For example, in England the division of Victorian society into two Nations, the Rich and the Poor, was reflected in its division into Givers and Receivers.   The Rich were expected to give of their wealth and their leisure, the Poor to receive these gifts gratefully, and to all their betters.   In other words, this means "noblesse obliges."   There was no upper class as such before 1860' in America.   The middle class became to social reformers or charity workers, motivated not by the "noblesse obliges" of England, but rather as we shall see by two important factors which are associated with the frontier in the development of American social work.

1) The ever-expanding frontier with virgin land reinforced a Calvinistic interpretation of the ownership of property and the glorification of work.   2) Dependence upon the land as the basic factor in the frontier economy meant that in times of crop failures the farmers had to use the credit of the state for their own protection.[3]   They were supported by a latent possibility of expanding America's economic institutions.   However, in American economic ideals, extreme individualism had flourished.   Economic cooperation had been difficult because it had not been felt to be necessary.   Within the family members, they had expected everyone as a matter of course to provide for himself and his family.   The isolation of the pioneer created a self-reliant and generally neighborly type.   This characteristic is also seen in America's character itself.   The country was still comparatively underdeveloped.   Many immigrants had

---

1.   There were re resultd several distingushing characteristic, as Edward T.   Devine pointed out, in American social work by America social-economic condition as follow :   a) there in greater variety.   b) the relative amount of social work undertaken on private initiative, as compared with that done by the state, is far greater than elsewhere.   c) In private philanthropy, the relative amount carried on under religious in far less.   d) In both private and public charity, there is more hope and courage.   The characteristic American attitude towards poverty has been one of impatience, rather than concern.   e) there is the rapidly changing chiracter of their social work. etc.,… in E. T. Devine's SOCIAL WORK (N. Y. : The Macmillian co., 1922) pp. 39-41

2.   Penelope Hall, Social Service of Modern England, (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956), p. 6.

3.   Arthur Miles American Social Work Theory, (University of Wisconsin press, 1955,) p. 46

come to America in that period. She had never had the attribute of "mother country," but had mainly, though not exclusively, received Britain's culture. The French Revolution had an influence in early American history; as also had German education. Americans felt about America's Englishmen felt about England and Frenchmen felt about France, not as Germans felt when they doubted, unjustly as it appeared, the loyality of their German-speaking compatriots.[4] America was still not well integrated as a nation.

(II)

With the Civil War in 1861, crowds of immigrants entered the courtry and many settled in the United States. America was entering a rapidly growing period, and quickly becoming a big country. Baltimore was not isolated from the result of the U. S. But was an important port of entry for the immigrants coming to the U. S. However, foreign immigration was not so great a factor in the growth of the population of Baltimore as the migration of native Americans. Reports indicate, immigrants increased in numbers from 56,484 in 1870 to 68,600 in 1900, a gain of about 12,000 or about five per cent of the total increase in the city's population,[5] (As we can see the trend of Baltimore population in Table 1). Baltmore located on the Philadelphia road developed a large and important domestic trade and by 1896 became next to New York, with the largest bay and coast fleet on the Atlantic coast. Through this gateway a great wealth of the world's shipping trade. Baltimore seemed to be an epitome of the U. S. in the growing process.

The rapid growth of the population of Beltimore was closely bound up with the economic expansion of the city in that particular period. The great increase of immigrants during the final decades of the nineteenth century included many who were destitute, and by 1890, poverty and even pauperism became a very serious question. Specifically, A. Warner's AMERICAN CHARITIES, we can notice the very interesting character of causes of poverty of each of the main cities.[6]
The fact that sickness, unemployment, and moral defect tend to recur in a definite order and proportion is more clearly shown in Table 2. In this table, the point of interest is that poverty caused by drink, averaged 15.3 per cent going as low as 7.2 per cent in Baltimore and as high as 21.7 per cent in Boston. Nearly, but not quite so important, is shiftlessness and inefficiency; it ranges between the relatively narrow limits of 6.1 per cent and 9.5 per cent. The lack of normal support has, too, a tolerably constant influence of 6.3 per cent. In the causes grouped under the heading "matters of employment," the per centage for Boston is lowest and for New York highest, Baltimore is nearly the average of these main cities, 22.0 per cent. Incapacity, insanity and physical defect exert

4. E. T. Devin, op. cis., p. 37

5. Charles Hirschfeld, Baltimore, 1870-1900 : Studies in Social History, (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historcial and political Science Series LIX, No. H, The Uni. press, 1941), p. 23

6. Amos G. Warner, American Charities, (N. Y. : Thooas Y. Growell, 1908), p. 53

(TABLE I)

TABLE 9.— Percentage of increase of total, white, and colored population and proportion of white and colored populations to the total population, from 1730 to 1920, inclusive.

Year	Total population		White population			Colored population — Total			Colored population — Free			Colored population — Slave		
	Census count	Percentage of increase	Census count	Percentage of increase	Percentage to total population	Census count	Percentage of increase	Percentage to total population	Census count	Percentage of increase	Percentage to total population	Census count	Percentage of increase	Percentage to total population
1730	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1752	200	365.11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1775	5934	2867.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1776	6755	13.84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1790	13503	99.90	11925	—	88.31	1578	—	11.69	323	—	2.39	1255	—	9.29
1800	26514	96.36	26900	75.29	78.83	5614	255.77	21.17	2771	757.89	10.45	2843	126.53	10.72
1810	46555	75.59	36212	73.26	77.78	10343	84.24	22.22	5671	104.66	12.18	6472	64.33	10.04
1820	62738	34.76	48055	32.70	76.60	14683	41.96	23.40	10326	82.08	16.46	4357	* 6.74	6.94
1830	80625	28.51	61714	28.42	76.55	18911	28.80	23.46	14788	43.21	18.34	4123	* 5.37	5.11
1840	102313	26.90	81147	31.49	79.31	21166	11.92	20.69	17967	21.50	17.56	3199	*22.41	3.13
1850	169054	65.23	140666	73.25	83.21	28388	34.12	16.79	25448	41.64	15.05	2940	* 8.10	1.74
1860	212418	25.65	184520	31.18	86.87	27898	* 1.73	13.13	26582	0.92	12.09	2212	*24.76	1.04
1870	267354	25.86	227794	23.45	85.20	39560	41.80	14.80	—	—	—	—	—	—
1880	332313	24.30	278584	22.30	83.83	53729	35.82	16.17	—	—	—	—	—	—
1890	434439	30.73	367143	31.79	84.51	67296	25.25	15.49	—	—	—	—	—	—
1900	508957	17.15	429218	16.91	84.33	79739	18.49	15.67	—	—	—	—	—	—
1910	558485	9.73	473387	10.29	84.76	85098	6.72	15.24	—	—	—	—	—	—
1920	733826	31.40	625074	32.05	85.18	108752	27.80	14.82	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Decrease.

Public Health Administration and the Natural History of Disease in Baltimore, Maryland 1797—1920
By W. T Howard. (Washington: The Carnegie Institute of Washington 1924)

TABLE II

CITY	NEW YORK	BOSTON	BALTIMORE	AVERAGE OF BALTIMORE, NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN, BOSTON (Warner)
Year	1889—1898	1889—1893	1888—1895	1891—1892
Drink	12.3	21.7	7.2	15.3
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	6.1	6.8	9.5	7.5
Other Moral Defects	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.3
Total — Character				25.1
NO Male Support	5.2	5.2	4.7	4.3
Lack of Other Normal Support	1.2	3.6	3.0	2.0
Total — Support				6.3
Lack of Employment	33.6	15.1	22.0	23.2
Insufficient Employment	10.4	4.7	9.3	6.5
Poorly Paid, etc.	2.9	1.0	6.2	1.9
Total — Employment				31.6
Sickness and Death in Family	17.6	26.0	19.8	22.3
Insanity and physical Defects	2.9	3.5	6.0	4.5
Old Age	3.3	3.8	4.6	4.0
Other Incapacity	2.6	3.4	3.7	3.3
Total — Incapacity				36.1
Unclassified or Unknown	1.5	5.4	4.4	2.9
Number of Cases	18,100	7142	6395	7225

minor but quite constant influences.   Baltimore's per centage is higher than New York.   The per centage of sickness falls to 17.6 per cent in New York and reaches 26.0 per centage in Boston - the average is 22.0 per centage.   We can find the significant results from this in Table 1.   Cities have their own characteristic backgrounds.

However, the growth of population was only possible on an assured economic base; economic development in turn required an increased labor supply in that period.   New types of mechanical industry demanded unlimited labor forces. Labor had to be secured from among women, children, and immigrants. The social and political problems arising from changing economy and large-scale immigration in a young country were numerous. A growing 'Industrial Capitalism' recognized individuality of child and wife, as being independent of and separated from the head of a family.   The society expected to see individual, not the family as a kind of social constitutional unit.   While the Capitalistic economy demanded that wives and children be in the labor force, it did not forget to recognize them as independent individuals.   Moreover, the family as a social institution felt the impact of the changing time.   It was beginning to shift from a producer to a consumer group, and this brought about a movement of wife and mother in the home. Women began to give up their traditional role of wife and mother and sought work in the community.

Up to that time the traditional occupations of women who attempted to be wholly or partially self-supporting domestic service, teaching and sewing.   The invention of the sewing machine in 1846 began to change all that.   No longer could the paternal or fraternal homestead absorb productively the labors of an indefinite number of "females."   Not only had most of the processes connected with the making of clothing-spinning, weaving, dyeing, dressmaking, and tailoring-become factory work through the introduction of machinery, but many of the tasks connected with day-to-day living, such as laundary work and some forms of cooking, were also be-coming factory processes. Historically these were women's tasks, and quite naturally she followed them to the factory, the bakery and the laundry. [7]

The family evident in the previous period changed rapidly under industrialization.   The alteration in function also brought change in the social condition of the family which had been inherent in its structure as a producer group.   Accoring to an Annual Report, a survey made in 1903 by the Bureau of Industrial Statisites of twenty "typical Baltimore workingmen's families" revealed that of only two of the families owened their own homes and that only two were able to save anything from their earnings. Ten families spent all their earnings but did not run into debt, while eight were in debt at the end of the year for amount ranging from $30 to $200.   Eight of the twenty families had an annual income of less than $300.   The average earnings for a whole family, which in many cases consisted of the total earnings of three to five persons, was a little more than $600 a year. [8]

7.   Nathan E. Cohen, *Social Work: in the American Tradition* N. Y. : The Dryden press, 1958, p. 31
8.   Elevnth Annual Report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, 1903, Baltimore, pp. 7-8.   quoted in Pumphry's article In 1958, *op. cit.*, p. 65

The changing roles of wife and children in the economic insititution brought a corresponding change in attitude toward marital age, size of family and divorce etc. Here were producted many all of causes of socio-cultural problems.

In Baltimore industry the number of women employed rose steadily from 4,659 in 1870 to 21,599 in 1900, an incrsease of 363 per cent. The per centage of women employed in industry increased from 13.1% in 1870 to 26.2% in 1900. Most of these women were unmarried.[9] Most of the child-labor in the city was found in the clothing and textile industries where girls worked twelve hours a day for very small wages making men's and lad's clothing, shirts, and overalls. In 1900, A report showed, 1479 girls between the ages of ten and fifteen were so employed. They constitued by about 3 per centage of all workers.[10]

During these periods, the most significant point was a social movement for building a new type of legislation. By an act of legislature of 1888, amended in 1892, the employment of children under 16 years of age in any manufacturing or mercantile business for more than ten hours a day was forbidden. Moreover, prohibition of child labor, long which had been a demand of the trade unions of the city, was legally effected in 1894, when the employment of children under twelve years of age was forbidden every where but in canneries. In 1902 the age limit was raised to fourteen. In the same year, two more laws, *which organized workers* had long favored, were passed. Public education was made compulsory for all chidlren between the ages of eight and twelve, and the workmen's Compensation Act gave some *elementary* protection to small categories of workers in the city.

These forms of social legistlation for the solution of social problems was initiated by the trade unions of the city. The unions held several meetings during the year in the vain attempt to organize a city-wide association. In May 1878, the first local assembly of the Knights of Labor was organized in Baltimare. In the next few years, the Knights made steady if slow progress in increasing its membership. In 1883, the Federation of Labor of Baltimore was organized with thirty-two affliated organizations. The movement was undoubtedly more of a huge protest than an intelligent subscription to the principles of the Knights of Labor. The thousands who joined did so not because they understood and approved the educational program of the Kinghts; most of the protests were for an increase in wages or against a reduction in wages. It is significant in this respect that the climiax of the movement, the eighty four strikes of May 1886, was led by the furniture workers and building trades, two classes of skilled workers that were strongly affected by new industrial machinery. These workers went out on strike more after in 1884 than in any other single year. The fight was largely for shorter hours.[11]

When the Federation of Labor was founded, it also drew up its legislative program. It demanded

---

9. Baltimore, *op. cit.*, p. 63
10. *Lbid.*
11. Baltimore, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-71

the passage of laws providing an eight-hour day for municipal employees, a bureau of labor for statisitics, and the abolition of the conspiracy laws as applied to trade unions. The Federation was infinitely more successful than the Kinghts.   The legal working day of municipal employees was shortened to nine hours in 1892 and again to eight hours in 1898.   The labor movement was gradually set up in these periods toward a modern response to the demands of the increasingly powerful labor unions.
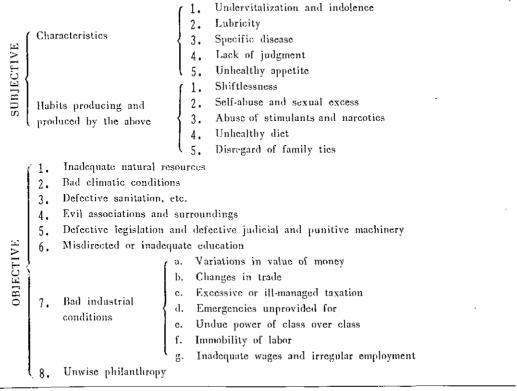
While the above movement, large or small in each generation, always fired by a "hatred of injustice," and the instigators as well as followers was called the RADICALS,[12] the other group, who have tradition-ally been moved to action by "pity for the poor" were called CHARITABLES.   As J. Addams pointed out, it is as if CHARITABLES had been brought, through the care of the individual, to a contemplation of social causes, and the RADICAL had been forced to test his social doctrine by a sympathetic observation of actual people.[13]   In that periods, Dr. A. Warner already glanced at the following analysis of the causes of poverty.   Neither enlightened people, philosophers or charity workers were not satisfied to accept any longer the misused dictum, "The poor ye have always with you," as an excuse for merely palliative measures in dealing with them, nor with the current explanations of their misery.[14]   Dr. Warner's analysis was not intended to be complete, but only to give in general outline a map of the causes of poverty in the period.

SUBJECTIVE

Characteristics
1. Undervitalization and indolence
2. Lubricity
3. Specific disease
4. Lack of judgment
5. Unhealthy appetite

Habits producing and produced by the above
1. Shiftlessness
2. Self-abuse and sexual excess
3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics
4. Unhealthy diet
5. Disregard of family ties

OBJECTIVE

1. Inadequate natural resources
2. Bad climatic conditions
3. Defective sanitation, etc.
4. Evil associations and surroundings
5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery
6. Misdirected or inadequate education
7. Bad industrial conditions
   a. Variations in value of money
   b. Changes in trade
   c. Excessive or ill-managed taxation
   d. Emergencies unprovided for
   e. Undue power of class over class
   f. Immobility of labor
   g. Inadequate wages and irregular employment
8. Unwise philanthropy

12.   Jane Addams, "Charity and Social Justice," in N. C. C. C. 1910. (Presidential Adress) p. 1
13.   Lbid. p. 3
14.   Warner, op. cit, p. 32

In these social conditions, The Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor was organized on a broad and representative basis. (Later, this was succeeded by the Charity Organization Society in 1881 and the Federated Charities in 1908.) The Association was the largest almsgiving society in Baltimore in 1870. Annual report in 1873 proposed to educate and aid the poor. It hoped to regenerate them to the point of independence, to prevent the poor from sinking into pauperism. In reporting its activities in 1876, an admirer of the Association described the organization as a company incorporated by the State for the improvement and relief of the poor in Baltimore, who anually make large collections from private contributors, and who have their regular established agencies in different localities in the city, to whom the needy make application for assistance, and where they receive such aid, in clothing, fuel and groceries etc.[15] In the meantime, the privately supported charities had become so overhelping that a number of these agencies found it necessary to obtain aid from the city government. In 1870, seven institutions received $22,000 city aid, and by 1880, fifteen private institutions received an estimated sum, of $100,000; in 1900, fifty-one were receiving about $277,000. The total expenditure by the city for charitable and reformatory insitutions rose steadily from $117,079 in 1875 to $387,169 in 1900. Especially noteworthy was the seven fold increase in the subsidies to institutions caring for the sick and the insane. Despite this increase, private sources still furnished about 75 percent or more of the income of all private charitable organizations.[16]

During this period, by Cohen' analysis there were three important developments in social service. The first important development was the gradual recognition of the special needs of people with need of particular handicaps (the widow and her child, the blind, the deaf, and mentally deficient ··· etc. A second important development was the assumption of greater responsibility by the State when local units could not provide adequate care for these specialized groups. The national Conference of Charities and Corrections, in 1873, was planned by the State as the role of the Federal Government. A third important development was the emergence of the private agency, which was to play a major role in the development of social work as it is known today. The more extensive development of social service during this periods (1860-1900) came in the private or voluntary field.[17] With the rapid progress of the industrialization, public or statutory programs of social agencies proved increasingly inadequate and supplimenation by private effort became greater more necessary. But these efforts provided mony similar services at the same time.

The superintendents of the public institutions and the members of the State boards of charities

---

15. N. C C. C. 1876, p. 162

16. Baltimore, op. cit., p. 22

17. Cohen, op. cit., pp. 33-37

provided the early leadership in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1873.[18] This

plan of the National Conference has been related with the growth of the urban centers where many old

social bonds were in the process of dissolution, to the cataclysmic nature of the panic of 1873, and to

the awakening interest in social problems indicated by the formation of national organizations for their

study.   The administratiors of the State institutions had the initiative to play a large role in the

creation of the Conference.   Moreover, we have to notice that the organization was at first part of the

American Social Science Association,[19] but became an independent body in 1879.   Also the Charity

Orgnaization Society in Baltimore had been organized by Daniel C. Gilman, President of the John

Hopkins Univesity after he had returned from a meeting of the American Social Science Assocation,

an organization for the study of the social problems of the country in Baltimore.   The account of the

London C. O. S. given at the meeting had so inpressed him that he has moved to action.

The Society was interested enough in the increasingly complicatd problem of the role of govern-

ment in relief work to insist in its program on the necessity of securing the best distribution of relief

between voluntary and municipal charity.   The existing charitable agencies had failed to meet the

demands made upon them by the emergent social economic conditions.[20]   The result was the formation

of new agencies ideologically patterned after European societies for the organization of charity and

adapted in form to the American urban environmment.   Specifically, the C. O. M. spread rapidly to

Amrica from England.   Of course, as one British social worker mentioned, we are accustomed to think

that the differences between British and American social work developed around the turn of the century.

18. In the beginning of the conferences, questions discussed were   1) the merits of the administrative type
of state board as compared with the advisory   2) institutional care of children versus foster care;
3) subsidies by states to private agencies caring for children;   4) administrative and personnel problems
of institutions etc. quoted in N. E. Cohen' SOCIAL WORK in the American Traditions, 1958, the Dry press,
p. 65

19. 1865 year the American Social Science Association was formed by a group of men much more conservative
in temper and for the most part, much better grounded in the principles of science. "They accepted the
present social system in its main outlines as it actually existed.   They were prepared to undertake
to develop a 'sound' social theory on the basis of which they might undertake practicable legislation and
other reform movements within the limits of the social structure as it existed. ··· In other words, they
believed that they could secure all they wished to attain in the way of social reform within the present
form of government and even by occasionary working 'through the existing political parties but more
frequently through the process of education and private reform organization."

In genereal, the Association's approach emphasized strongly a basic knowledge of the fact in the problem.
Therefore, they dealt with a specific social problem, not social organization in general.   This approach
might be the American traditional approach to social proplems.   They were, even as today's American
mind, suspicious of wholesale attempts at reform.   For Example, the New Deal which is a considerable
American event in history was also in the piece-meal tradition method of reform rather than in the grand-
scale reconstructive method. cf. L. L. and Jessie Bernard, ORIGINS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY, (Thomas
Y. Crowell Comp., N. Y., 1943) pp. 529-533

20. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 442

The emphasis in British C. O. M. tended to be placed more on mass measures and legislature reform, while in America it remained more on the development of the case work relationship.[21] The teaching of Octavia Hill received considerably more support in America than in Britain. According to M. Richmond, "the greatest divergence of view between family social workers in America and those in England is shown in the different emphasis put by the two groups upon "character" and "circumstance." ...... Some of the English charity organizationists, however, have been ready to declare that character is always the controlling factor; that we must put our faith in the strength of the people to endure difficulty and to conquer it. Their American Colleagues, on the other hand, while recognizing that the views popularity held put too little faith in this inherent power of the people, do believe that there is a level below which character has no opportunity to assert itself."[22] This difference of emphasis among C.O.M.'s in the two countries is itself due to diverse local conditions and is in no sense trace able to inherent character differnces between the two groups. Should we think of C.O.M. in England as "an easy victim to the Webbs, and the American C.O.M. as more 'scientific' social reformers?"[23] Rather I should think to relate to the composition of the group that the C.O.M. of the two countries have had to deal with present important differences. The English societies have accepted the presence of au hereditarily poor class, a class that is static. In America there was too much hope and progressiveness in the atmosphere even of the poor, for such a static condition to endure in these periods.

However, I think it is more important to see the significance of the relations between the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor and C. O. M. The Association had at first been concerned whether the C. O. M. was a rival organization. The program of the C. O. M. was in a large measure identical with that of the A. I. C. P. We can see, however, what the growing preoccupation with relief had done to the principles of the Association. The Society hoped to avoid a similar fate by giving direct relief only in emergency cases or to those not covered by an existing agency. The Societies program was different, moreover, in one very important respect. It proposed to study the causes of pauperism and to collect the social statisites of poverty. Implicit in this proposal was the hope of making philanthropy a practical social science, of eventually basing it on "scientific" principles by providing a body of pertinent data from which might be drawn useful conclusions.[24] Moreover, it is significant that the C.O.M.'s owes its origin not to the fact that some people are poor, but because others are charitable.[25] But the economic backgrond of America definitely influenced the development of charity organization after its transportation from Europe. The roots of

---

21. Patricia H. Todd, "Some Early Developments in Case work as seen in the work of Charity Organization Society London" in *Case Conference*, Vol. 5 No. 4, 1958, p. 94

22. M. Richmond, Long View; (New York, Fussell Sage Foundation, 1930,) "Sir C. S. Loch," p. 568

23. Patricia H. Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 95

24. Baltimore, *op. cit.*, p. 140

25. Frank D. Watson, The Charity Orgaization Movemnet in the United States, (N. Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1922) p. 523

the C.O.M. in America were related deeply to the soil of social and economic developmental conditions. Within the limits of the social structure as it then existed, it is not surprising that the C. O. M. believed, as already stated, that the family may be "the means of restored independence and prosperity," and that they constantly looked to help strengthen family ties.   In a sense, the charity organization movement was the "family rehabilitation movement"[26] at this time.   There were at least three large cities in the United States in which the charity organization movement had almost, completey independent origins Germantown, a suburban ward of Philadelphia, Boston and Buffalo.[27]   In there cities organization of charities were modelled after the methods of the London C. O. S, which shows distinct traces of the influence that the Elberfeld system of poor relief had exerted on the mind of its founder.

Here, I it will be valuable to discuss briefly but specifically the beginning of the C. O. S. in Boston.   According to Watson, Z. D. Smith told him in person in 1875 that the Elberfeld system had already reached Boston, as had some of the papers written by Miss O. Hill.   Boston began to organize a friendly visiting system.   And in the same year, the Cooperative Society of Volunteer Visitors among the poor, was formed.   The plan was a kind of modification of the Elberfeld system as proposed by O. Hill for the London C. O. S.   Actually, Dr. Charles Putman with others founded the Boston Socity in 1873.   He proposed to build the organizaition in several ways: by gainning relief for some families from the families rather than by giving relief from the agencies funds (partly to aviod duplicating the work of already organized by relief agencies); by emphasis on the value of volunteer visitors; by occupying the obligation of working along with the other agencies rather than the setting of isloated standards; by interchanging information among workers in the same neighborhood, preferably through frequent friendly conferences; by empheasing the fundamental necessity of seeing through a responsibility which had once been assumed.[29]   Morever, in this city's program, many friendly visitors were encouraged to use their leisure time as members of the boards of social agencies in the city, and to bring to bear on other agency's problems the concrete knowlege gained from their contacts with families.   This development which was planned by the Cooperative Society of Volunteer Visitors brought about another contribution to that gradual development of all agencies in the city-wide area rather than the colloquial but expressive of one.   We have to know also the relationship between paid workers and volunteers in the Society, and the plan for training volunteers or new workers.

From time to time the Society undertook to study some of the social problems which reoccurred in a number of families. So quite obviously, the service for the real problems could not follow the

---

26.   Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 529

27.   Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 175.   About the 1870's years, there were other beginnings. but there are evidences that they more or less consciously followed in footsteps already taken elsewhere in the country.

28.   Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f. n.

29.   M. Rich Modern Spisit in the Early Period, p. 217 in The Family.

— 53 —

lines of the previous periods.   So in the second half of ninteenth century, they had to recognize the specific problems of the time in order to forceses that which would be necessary to save the new crea from an increasing insanity characterized by destitution disease, delinquency etc.,

(Ⅲ)

The character of society in nineteenth century, according to Erich Fromm, was "essentially a hierarchial one, though no longer like the hierarchical character of feudal society based on divine law and tradition, but rather on the ownership of capital; those who owned it could buy, and thus command the labor of those who did not, and the latter had to obey, under penalty of starvation.   There was a certain blending between the new and the old hierarchial patterns.   The State, especially in the monarchial form, cultivated the old virtures of obedience and submission, to apply them to new contents and values. Obedience, in the nineteenth century middle class, was still one of the fundamental virtures and disobedience one of the elementary vices." [30]   Moreover, some of social reformers had to face the character of income distribution in the growing Capitalism which lacked a balanced proportion between an individual's effort and work, and the social recognition accorded by financial compensation.   Most of the poor were not dependent on their own capacities; their problem solving way was a matter of using opportunities offered by certain market situations.   Man ceased to be "the measure of all things" in ruthless exploitation of the labor.   Under these changing conditions, systematized training for new workers or the volunteers was naturaly done on the job.   Especially, once the importance of training was recognized and the role of the paid worker in the Society enlarged, it was inevitable that a more systematic means of training for charitable workers should be deemed to be essmential.   This trend might have been suggested by the function of the District Office in London C. O. S. - though only as a place of registration and coordination.

Although in 1870, the London C. O. S. appointed a paid district secretary and its first paid Genral Secretary, Mr. Bosanquey,   the appointement of paid workers was neither made up in the Society's disrtict office more the result of the movement for training.   It was felt, however even there, that a salaried service was not effective without training.   It was involved in organizing and educating and through its emphasis on character and the family, it become the centre for friendly and systematic investigation and thoughtful relief that is to say, through the skills of charitable worker.   However, as A. Young and E. Ashton have recently pointed out, the C. O. S. in London contributed nothing new to the methods of case work.   Nor did this system motivate or raised its level of case work.   Rather the Society's function was suggesting a new way in which casework methods could be integrated with psychological knowlege on a new scientific level and how more intensive individually centered service could be extended.   In this sense, the C. O. S. in London did neither invent case work nor advance

30.   Erich Fromm, The Sane Socity, (New York: Rinchart & Comp. 1955), pp. 97-98

the techniques of case work which had been advocated and experienmented with by the many organizations that grew up during the 19th century.[31]

I have no place to discuss of compare in the cause of speed of growth of England and America Social case work in this paper. It would require the other paper for itself. I will only discuss to pick up a main point of transitional phase between both countries. I know, it is a very difficult for us to undersand the complexties of the social work situation between England and America. Because of their social condition were (and are) so different in the two countries. I, so' will avoid to find conclusive speaking of comparison in a few words.

About fiftey years ago, M. Richmond had been in London and stayed about three weeks. During her time, in London, she met Sir C. S. Loch and discussed social work system with in London with him.

"Everyone was born into a church parish as well as into a poor Law parish, and there were Non-conformist activities to reckon with besides. All this machinery was decentraized but ubiquitous, and the social plan underlying its operations was undiscoverable by the observer. Distributors of public outdoor relief elected in each Poor Law district of the Metropolis often won their election on the promise of a more lavish relief policy," she added her inspection of own country.

The United States could boast of no better system of either public or private relief, but at least its bad systems were not so all-perasive, and the country wed dragging behind it no such growing burden of hereditary pauperism a burden that, in large part at least, had been manufactured by the nation's own administrative vlundering and its own social maladjustments.

Social case work in England, she had found, had funcition of improving had local conditions. "Everthing about a district, its streets, its housing, its school, the recreational facilities, and so on, has to do with case work. This sould not be a separated social (reform) movement, but part of that carried on by the C. O. S..[34] The C. O. S.'s primary object was negatively shifting from making "inquiry into the history and character of applicants," to accept relief funcitons. As the recent of English C. O. leaders thought that "the society sought to introduce order into the chaos, but the founders of the Society were not as a body anxious to increases almsgiving,"[35] In England, social case work was the failure of the attempt made by the C. O. S. leaders (we knew there were many exceptional leaders,

31. A. Young and E. Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan paul, 1956,) pp. 107-108

32. Mowat, "Charity and Social Work in after Victorian London : The Work of the Charity Organization Society (Part II), in *Social Work* in Aprial, 1958, (London. the Council of the Family Welfare Asso.,)

33. A Young and E. Ashton, *op. cit.,* p. 113
    # Of course, as we know, M. Richmond recognized the fact that the first name is that of O. Hill whose influences upon social case work in America has been more profound than in England,··· (in the Long View. p. 547)

34. Richmond'snote about discussion with C. S. Loch in London 1903. Long View. p. 570

35. Is the Administration of Relief the only facility of the Sany, T. Mackay, Occasional paper. No. 46, p. 35.

O. Hill, C. O. Loch in a sense, and others) to define case work in terms of the strengthening of "character"[36] in relation to the task of the agencies. Even they recognized the significance of the character of the poor toward his self-help, the charity only takes account of his character as to the causes of poverty. · They did not more think abut area of character as a source of human being. Here I can find the limitation of concept of self - help which cannot be escaped the influence of "circumstance".

An article which explores to find the relation between charity and case work in the late Victorian eras shows that case work derived from many sources; "the interest in house-to-house visiting (the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Assocation was found of in 1843); the almoners of tha Society for the Relief of Distress (founded in 1860); the well-known system by which Dr. T. Chalmers, had relieved poverty through the voluntary work of visitors in his parish of St. John's Glasgow, in the 1830's; the customary, if often superficial, inquiries of the Poor Law Relieving Officers into the circumstances of families who apllied to the Guardians for help; the emperical methods of the yourhful O. Hill in Marylebone, which antedated tht establishment there of the earlist of all the C. O. S. District Committee etc.[37] In Bruno's remarkable study of the PROCEEDINGS of the National Conferences of Social Work,[38] he reports that the first appearence of "case work" in the Proceedings was in a paper by E. Devin, the first that he gave after becoming secretary of the C. O. S. of New York in 1897. Here Devin had said "good case work involves much thankless labor." But we can find the term of 'case work' in H. Bosanqut's SOCIAL WORK IN LONDON, 1868 - 1912. The examples of cases handled by tha Socity are illustrated in the following "instances of case work in 1877."[39]

Dismissed: Newington, T. H., sawdust dealer, aged 60, handed a subscription list to the
magnistrate at the Lambeth Police Court, asking him for a contribution towards the purchase
of a donkey, his own having died. The magistrate sent the case to the Committee for
investigation. On inquiry it appeared that applicant was a noted drunkard, and that his
donkey was not dead, and when the inquiring officer called at his house, he was informed ⌐ ·
that applicant was out at work with his donkey and cart. It was found that some five
weeks previously he had borrowed £ 2 from a tradesman, for the ostensible purpose of

---

36. Volume one, "Occasional papers" presented us several articles regarding wich social case work in "How to take done a case" (No. 50), "The Conditon of Effectual work among the Poor" (No. 410) and "The Work of district Committee" (No. 58) in 1896 etc. Particulaly, the latest artilec's author used the term "case work as it's technically calld" (p. 271). But the ter.a of case work was still used to select cases in which assistance will added to self-support; the posses of some resources makes a case more suitble for charity. Case work was a mean of selection of "worthy poor" from "unworthy people" for the society. ·

37. Mowat: op. cit.. p. 467

38. Bruno, Trends in Social work 1874-1956. (N. Y.: Columbia Uni. 1957.) p. 183

39. H. Bosanquet, op. cit., pp. 61-62

purchasing a donkey.   This he did not do, and was drunk for some days afterwards.   The person from whom he borrowed the money has sued him in the County Court.   About seven names were attached to the subscription list which was, with a full report, sent to the magistrate, who has placed the matter in the hands of the police.

Recommended: Lambeth.   Three unmarried sisters from 49 to 53 years of age, lineal descendands of Daniel Defoe, had maintained themselves in respectablility by teaching and needlework until the oldest of them became quite disabled by rheumatism.   The case was brought to the notice of the Committee by a distant relative, who gave a little temporary aid, whih was supplemented by the Committee.   The investigation into the case showed the genuineness of their pedigree, and that they had striven to maintain themselves, and were unable to do so any longer. Letters were written to the newspapers on their behalf, with a view to raise sufficient funds to purchase small annuities for them.   In consequences of the action of the Committee in the matter, Her Majesty has graciously conferred a pension of £ 75 a year on each of them.

These cases were not a recognition of the concept of the subtle client-worker relationship as a helping process, and the case recrods were not confidential.   Even though we can see the term 'case work' in London C. O. S. documents, can we say that the "general principles discussed so far are basic to all forms of case work and areas valid now as they were in the early days of the C. O. S.?" Of course, we understand the fact that casework principles "must be embodied in the structure of the services and case work service made available to those who need them."[40]   Therefore, case work techniques and service were fist used in dealing with poverty and economic dependence which was related to each stage of the community development.   In that situation British C. O. workers were frequently a public official administrating a state or a municipal service, as concern to adapt the potentialities within the community at large as to promote the potentialities of the individual. Some of the C. O. workers went into the political field from their own area.   This changing processes of the C. O. S. in England led to be destined to enter that period of unparalleled strain without its leader, during the W. W. I, who was stricken down in 1913,[41] and also social case work was not be able to continue of its history and directed of discontinuity of social case work history in England.

(IV)

Before, I will end this part, I will recall that these casework wad done by people who were not professional and, if social casework is a professional activity, (or emphasizes so much of professional character today), we will have to find discontinuity phases between professional case work and

40.   P. Hall, social Service in Modern England, (London: Routlege and Kegan Paul, 1956),   p. 110
41.   M. Richmond, *Long View*, p. 570

non-professional case work which was changing its nature for the past one century. For this sake, I did concern and described the situation of the early pseudo social case work periods so much from a historical view point. (To be continued in the next issues Original stcudy is presented as one chapter of a thesis in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Mastor of Social Work form the School of Social Work, University of Brithish Columbia.)