THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

BY

MARY COLEMAN HANKINS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN SOCIAL WORK

1935
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**FOREWORD** ........................................... ...............................

**CHAPTER I - THE DEVELOPMENT OF RICHMOND PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF** ........................................... Page 1

A. Conditions prior to 1922.

B. Duties of the Social Service Bureau from 1922 to 1932.

**CHAPTER II - ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU** ........................................... Page 31

A. Pine Camp Tuberculosis Sanitorium.

B. Mothers' Aid

C. The City Home

**CHAPTER III - REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU** ........................................... Page 49

A. Report of the Mayor's Advisory Committee.

B. Report of the Mayor's Relief Committee.

C. Change in Administration.

D. Conditions resulting from unemployment.
CHAPTER IV - FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PART IN OUTDOOR RELIEF IN 1933 AND 1934. Page 66

A. The Theory Behind the Government System of Work Relief.
B. The "Made Work" Program
C. The Civil Works Administration.
D. The Civil Works Service Administration.
E. Works Program.

CHAPTER V - THE CHIEF EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION WORK PROJECTS IN RICHMOND. Page 100 VIRGINIA.

A. Mattress Project
B. Visiting Housekeeper Project
C. Subsistence Gardens
D. Civilian Conservation Camps.
E. "White Collar" Projects.

CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSIONS Page 122.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Page 1.

VITA Page vi.
FOREWORD

This study traces some of the developments that have taken place in the dispensing and administering of public outdoor relief in Richmond from 1922, until 1934. Each year there had been a growth in the number of persons requesting financial assistance. The needs of these people had been inadequately met because of the city's limited financial resources until 1933, when the Federal government assumed with the city Department of Public Welfare the responsibility for assisting those who could not meet their own needs.

As a result of the national unemployment situation the Federal government realized that the localities which formerly had been able to care for their poor were no longer able to do so. In consequence we find a necessity for correlation between the local system of public relief and the Federal system. The Federal government subsidized the local public agency and in return demanded that it observe certain Federal requirements. The majority of the Federal funds were used in establishing work projects which
offered to employable persons the opportunity to meet their own material needs. Through the assistance of Federal funds the needs of those asking aid were more adequately met.

Much of the information herein contained was taken from the records of the Social Service Bureau and from the Virginia Emergency Relief Office. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to these two agencies for cooperation in allowing me the opportunity of using the material from their files.

Mary Coleman Hankins,
Richmond, 1938.
CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RICHMOND'S PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

In tracing the growth of public relief in Richmond, we find that it is scarcely mentioned in the early histories for it was at that time a minor phase of the city's activities. Those unable to support themselves were cared for by benevolent individuals and in institutions. In September, 1735, on a journey to his tract of land in North Carolina, Colonel William Byrd II, with Major William Mayo, a surveyor, Major James Munford, John Bannister, Peter Jones, five woodsmen, four negroes, and three indians planned the city of Richmond. At this time Major Mayo agreed to lay out the city without fee or reward. In April, 1737, he made good this promise and laid out the city or village, naming some of the streets. In the Virginia Gazette the city was described as a pleasant, healthy situation in the midst of grain and all kinds of provisions. With the activity resulting from the building of a city and from supplying the European demand for American exports, we find unemployment an almost unused word. 1

1. Stanard, Mary E. "Richmond Its People and Its Story." pgs.19-21
The first Annual Report of the City of Richmond, known to the Virginia State Library, was published in 1873. It showed that there was an average of two hundred and thirty-seven paupers in the City Home, whereas the year before there had been only one hundred and forty-eight. The average per capita cost for feeding these inmates of the City Home was estimated to be $42.35 per year. 1.

The Department of the Outdoor Poor was at this time connected with the City Home. The duties of this department were to distribute meals during the entire year and fuel during the winter months. In the winter two young men were employed at a salary of $45.00 per month. One registered those applying for free fuel and the other as a "detective" made investigations in the home to ascertain the need. They also assisted in the dispensing of meals, however during the spring and summer when they were not employed the meals were given by the assistant superintendent of the City Home.

The burials of the city poor, another service of this department, were conducted with as little expense to the taxpayer as possible. The usual cost of an adult burial was $1.50 and of

a child burial was $3.90. The 1873 report of the
Department of Public Welfare states that, "The
Department of the Outdoor Poor does not claim to
furnish entire support to any individual or
family. All persons who are not cared for by their
friends or relatives are considered proper subjects
for the Alms House." 1

The Social Service Bureau, the present ad-
ministrator of public outdoor relief, and inves-
tigator for the city's free institutions, is
subject to the control of the Department of Public
Welfare. The Richmond City Charter, revised to
July, 1930, states that the government of the
city is divided into the following six departments.

The Department of Law
The Department of Finance
The Department of Public Works
The Department of Public Welfare
The Department of Public Utilities
The Department of Public Safety

These departments may be changed, new subdiv-
isions added and the functions redistributed by an
ordinance adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members
of the City Council.

1. Ibld., p. 82b.
At the head of each department, except the departments of law and finance, there is a director, appointed by the mayor and passed on by the members of the City Council. The director is chosen for his fitness, education and training for the duties pertaining to the department.

The head of each department has direct control and management of his department; he is responsible however to the mayor for the efficiency of his department. The director furnishes departmental estimates, reports, advice and recommendations to the mayor when and under the regulations prescribed by him. It is also the duty of the department heads to submit to the mayor an appraisal of his employees and the compensation proposed for each one.¹

The director of Public Welfare has the general management of public health, sanitation, public markets, milk and food supplies, public hospitals and sanitoriums, public charities and private hospitals. He is authorized to inspect all institutions coming under his supervision, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the City Council.²

¹ "Richmond City Code and Charter," Pgs. 49-50.
² Ibid., Pgs. 2.
There are a number of duties and responsibilities vested in the director of Public Welfare concerning the poor of the city, and it is with these that we are particularly interested. He has general management and control of the City Home. In this capacity he has the power to appoint and remove employees, to fix salaries, make contracts and purchase supplies for that institution. The superintendent of the City Home submits financial records in connection with the maintenance and operation of the institution to the director for inspection and correction.

Persons applying to the City Home and fulfilling the requirements necessary for admission are granted the relief which is possible, in accordance with the resources of the city. Foundlings are admitted to the City Home when other facilities are not available and when special medical attention is required. These infants are under the regulations of the director of Public Welfare.

In the Richmond City Code of 1930 we find given the attitude toward relief in 1899, which is entirely in favor of indoor relief, and it is stated that outdoor relief is given only in unusual
cases. A statement is necessary from the person's physician, saying that removal to the City Home would endanger his life, in order for him to procure aid in his home. In 1899, we find that the transient sick and destitute are cared for temporarily at the City Home until they can be returned to the place of their legal residence. Funerals of the city poor are conducted through the City Home and are carried out in a decent and proper manner without undue haste. 1.

In 1916, the mayor of the City of Richmond accepted a deed to Pine Camp, from the Pine Camp Tuberculosis Association, giving the city its grounds, equipment, and buildings. This institution, which has proved a valuable asset to the city, is under the supervision of the Director of the Department of Public Welfare. It is subject to the rules and regulations that he may prescribe. 2.

Prior to 1922 the Department of Public Welfare, lacking the facilities to carry out the outdoor relief obligated to it found it necessary to employ personnel from the Associated Charities. The

---

2. Ibid. Page 315.
Associated Charities, a private charitable organization, well-staffed with trained workers, furnished the Department of Public Welfare with a full time white worker and a negro worker for four months of the year. The salaries of these workers were paid by the city, however they were directly responsible to the Associated Charities and under its supervision. The investigations of persons applying to the city for coal, wood and shoes were made by these persons. Late in the summer of 1922 the Associated Charities asked for a conference with members of the Department of Public Welfare. At this time the representatives from the Associated Charities stated that the money paid by the city did not cover the actual expenses involved in the investigations. It was therefore suggested that the city pay to the Associated Charities an amount several times the amount previously paid.

A few months prior to this conference the Department of Public Welfare had employed a worker to make investigations for admission to St. Phillips and Memorial Hospitals. On July 1, 1922 the Department of Public Welfare secured the services of Mrs. Effie P. Le осis as a special social worker.

in connection with admissions to the City Home. Mrs. Loomis had extensive experience with the Associated Charities, and this with her native ability made her a valuable asset to the department. With the staff already employed the Department of Public Welfare considered it advisable to better unify its work. In October, 1922, a new division under the Department of Public Welfare was formed and called the Social Service Bureau.

The Social Service Bureau took over in 1922 the activities formerly performed by the Department of Public Welfare, those performed under contract with the Associated Charities, and in addition the duties in regard to Mothers' Pensions. The system of dispensing Mothers' Pensions was initiated by an act of the General Assembly in 1918 and amended in 1922. The title of the act was "Aid to Children in Their Own Homes," and it is now generally called Mothers' Aid. The act provides that any person having knowledge that a child is dependent or in need of support may bring such knowledge to the county or city welfare authorities or if none exists to any court having jurisdiction
over children. The board or court conducts an investigation in order that the child's needs are determined. 1.

If the child is under sixteen years of age the board may grant an allowance as long as the board or the court deems necessary. These allowances are however limited by the appropriation which has been made for this purpose. Mothers' Aid is granted during the time when the child is living with his mother, when without such aid the mother would be forced to work out of the home. The purposes of this allowance are to furnish the child with a suitable education and to save him from neglect.

No person may receive this aid who had not resided in the county or city one year and in the state of Virginia for two years. Investigations are made through the county or city board of Public Welfare or through the court if the other does not exist. The investigations ascertain the financial resources, whether the home is such as to make for good character and whether the child is attending school. 2.

Supervision of Mothers' Aid cases is maintained by the local superintendent of Public Welfare, the county or city board, by probation officers from a

---

2. Ibid, 456.
children's court or by a board appointed by the court. Every family is visited by the supervising officer at least once every three months in their home. Findings from these visits are recorded and filed in order that they may be examined by state or local authorities. The provisions of the act may be extended to orphans dependant on a female relative for their support.

Any person fraudulently procuring or attempting to procure this money are guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction are fined. The amount of the fine is not to exceed $500.00 and the jail sentence is not to exceed one year however in some cases a person may be given both sentences. 1

The Social Service Bureau, organized in 1922, has proved a valuable asset to the city. The reports of 1923 show that the investigations for Pine Camp Sanitarium and the city hospitals are favorably contrasted with those formerly made by the nurses. Although qualified to recognize the need for medical care, the nurses were not always able to recognize the need for this care at city expense. As the nurses were not trained in social cases work investigations their work was often neither adequate nor accurate. 2

---

1. Ibid. 48-9.
The Mothers' Aid work of the Bureau has attracted much attention as this is a new trend in the dispensing of relief. Formerly the city gave relief to those in need without asking anything in return from them. It is considered that the proper rearing of children, under good environmental conditions and with adequate opportunities is not only an advantage to the child but also to the state. Therefore by giving allowances to reliable mothers who are capable of accepting the responsibility of properly rearing their children, the state is receiving returns for its money; as the children are prevented from becoming pauperized or dependant. By the system of dispensing direct relief to those in need not only has the taxpayer's money been saved but also the agency has done work of a constructive nature, for frequently rehabilitative work has been done which doubtless would not have been the case had the individual been placed in an institution.

The expenses of the City Home were cut down by the adequate investigations of cases, and by limiting the aid to those in need and with a definite claim on the city. Many in the City Home were discovered to have relatives who could support them, none were found to have funds of their own.
and others were discovered to have no claim on the city of Richmond. By removing these inmates, the City Home was able to make room for those who deserved a place there, and also more satisfactory adjustments were made for those who were removed.  

In 1924, the Social Service Bureau proceeded much as in former years in that it continued in the distribution of fuel and shoes and in the investigation of applications for the city institutions. More investigations were made however that year than formerly. During the year 137 investigations were made in connection with admissions to Pine Camp and 2,656 cases were investigated in regard to hospitalization of city patients. The Bureau helped those in temporary misfortune to tide over their difficulty and also tried at that time to get at some of the underlying causes of their trouble. They recognized the fact that those in need of financial assistance frequently needed guidance in handling their affairs and therefore tried more than formerly to meet this need.

In 1925, there was a definite trend toward cooperation with other agencies in the city, and a recognition of the Bureau's limitations in dealing with certain types of cases. In the city report for that year it was

1. Ibid. pg. 9
stated that the welfare work of the Social Service Bureau was largely in connection with families in temporary need of advice and guidance. No attempt was made to do family case work as this was done by agencies already functioning in that field. They however attempted to make standard investigations and to give intelligent supervision to cases coming under their jurisdiction. 1.

In addition to the investigations that the Bureau formerly made, it also made this year investigations for "free city water", another of the benefits which the city offered to its clients, receiving outdoor relief.

The Bureau recognized a need for better records and an attempt was made in 1925 to improve the form and content of their records. Not only were the records useful as a justification to the city of the work done by the Bureau, but also they were valuable as a source of information regarding the particular client. The worker by re-reading her own records was able to more objectively survey the situation and her part in it and to the future worker they were valuable in aiding her to understand the situation and in preventing a duplication of effort.

In 1925 all the functions of the Bureau seemed to be striving toward efficiency.

In 1926, there was a general increase in the work of the Bureau. This was attributed partly to the unusual amount of sickness in the early months of the year, though the chart showing the distribution of fuel, shoes and prescriptions on page 27 gives evidence of a decided drop in the number of prescriptions issued in 1926. Poor working conditions in many places of employment were held responsible for much of the illness and perhaps the treatment involved for such patients did not require prescriptions. Although as previously stated, the Social Service Bureau does not attempt intensive case work and studies similar to those made by the private family agencies; it does deal with many problems brought to light in the dispensing of relief. In 1926 the types of cases requiring the most attention were transients and un-married mothers. The transient cases require considerable inter-city correspondence to determine their Legal Settlement, for many of these attempt to receive aid from Richmond when they are the responsibility of another community. In some instances the persons desire to return to their own homes and in assisting them to do so the workers of the Social Service Bureau give a large part of their time.

Cases of unmarried mothers require intensive work in order that the mother and child may adjust successfully
in society. After a thorough understanding of the case the worker from the Social Service Bureau is able to refer the mother to the place best able to assist her. Some are referred to the courts for legal aid and advice, others are referred to the City Home for medical care, and others are referred to relatives. The Bureau desires to keep the unmarried mother and her child together if possible, but this is not frequently done. Some of these children are cared for at the City Home, arrangements are made for the adoption of some, and others are referred to a children's agency, or an institution. Each year we see the scope of the Bureau widening and more duties and responsibilities coming under its jurisdiction.

As the transient problem was significant in 1926, it is not surprising to find in 1927 that the Social Service Bureau was confronted with the problem of unemployment. The unemployment situation which was one cause of the transiency was perhaps late in reaching Richmond, although in 1935 it still remains a situation of great concern. The city report of 1927 states that, "the present unemployment situation began in 1924-25, it became more acute in 1926 and in 1927, those who had formerly maintained themselves by their
savings and the hope of future employment, now found their savings gone and their confidence destroyed." The Bureau is unable to meet this problem adequately, for the cause has its root in world economic conditions. The outdoor relief in 1927 was the heaviest that the Bureau had known. Fuel and shoes were distributed in larger quantities than formerly, and as they were practically the only resources available to the Bureau it was unable to give adequate relief to its clients.

Many cases of widows with dependent children are referred from the Juvenile Court, attendance officer, Parent-Teacher Associations and interested individuals for Mothers' Aid. These cases have often been difficult to handle, for the widows think they are entitled to aid regardless of their financial situation or qualifications.

In former years of unwed mothers were generally placed in institutions and separated from their mothers. As this was unsatisfactory, more intensive efforts were made to have the mother keep the child with her. Financial assistance was given to do this and it has proved to be no more expensive to the city; also every effort was made to assist mother and child to make an adequate adjustment in the

---

community and with relatives. The outstanding problems of the Bureau in 1927 were the cases of un-married mothers and the unemployment cases.

In the year 1928, conditions were worse than those of previous years. Not only was the Social Service Bureau faced with the continued unemployment situation with its disastrous results but it was also faced with an influenza epidemic. This epidemic was held largely responsible for an increased demand for fuel.

In answer to the growing need for care of tuberculosis patients in Richmond an increase in capacity of Pine Camp Sanitorium was made in 1928. A recognition of the value of treatment at that institution and also the importance of isolation for the safety of others has led to an increasing number of applicants for Pine Camp Sanitorium. As the investigations for admission are thoroughly made, the increasing number of applications has greatly augmented the duties of the Social Service Bureau workers. In many cases when the main support of the family is hospitalized at Pine Camp, the family becomes dependent and is forced to ask the Bureau for support.

Fortunately, in 1928 there was a decrease in some of the Bureau's duties. The cases of un-married mothers decreased and many of these cases were handled through
the Juvenile Court. The judge was successful in the
majority of cases in having the mother and child return
to the mother’s home. There was also a decrease in
the applications for "free water". This was probably
due to the fact that the applicants then understood
that the water is not absolutely free, and that
certain conditions are necessary to be judged eligible.
Again unemployment was a major problem, however little
reference was made to it that year, as it had become a
recognized condition.

For the year 1929, the Annual Report of the
Department of Public Welfare showed that the demand for
shoes, and fuel had more than doubled since the begin-
ning of the Bureau in 1922. The increased demand
for fuel and shoes was attributed to the increasing
number of unemployed and to the depletion of the re-
sources of those unable to find work. Much of the
fuel and shoes distributed from the Social Service
Bureau was given on the recommendation of the Bureau
of Catholic Charities and of the Family Service
Society. These organizations after making a thorough
study of the cases for which they ask fuel and shoes
submit a summary of their findings to the Social

1. "Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare,
year ending 1929," pge 144a
Bureau, and the final decision rests with the Bureau. In each case the need is established only after thorough review of the circumstances. The wage earner is consulted regarding plans for employment, as well as for meeting his expenses. The year 1929 marked the first mention in the reports of the Department of Public Welfare that shoes and fuel were distributed to the clients of the Family Service Society and the Bureau of Catholic Charities by the Social Service Bureau. This practice continued until January, 1935.

In 1929 there were many cases of non-residents applying for aid, who had in some cases come to Richmond hoping to find employment. When they were unsuccessful they were forced to turn to the city for assistance. Many cases did not realize that without residence they were ineligible to aid and others, realizing the fact, still attempted to obtain assistance. In 1929 there were 5,435 applications for relief, and of these relief was granted to 2,707. The 2,711 cases who were refused relief were not necessarily non-residents, for often aid is requested when the Bureau does not consider it necessary.

Mental cases who are indigent have for some time caused the Bureau concern because of the limited resources for dealing with these cases. When such
cases are brought to the Bureau they must be either placed in the City Home or the City Jail, neither of which is equipped to care for mental cases, until a commission is held to decide the proper place for the patient.

In 1930 unemployment was adjudged the cause of a 21% increase in wood, 31% increase in coal, and of a 26% increase in shoes, which were disbursed. The cases applying for Mothers' Aid increased, but due to the lack of finances the Bureau was unable to extend this service to a large number of the applicants. The service involved in handling a Mothers' Aid case requires more time than the limited staff of the Social Service Bureau can give because of their other heavy demands. There were 150 cases of un-married mothers under the supervision of the Bureau; although these cases were often dealt with through the courts they required attention from the Bureau workers. Two policewomen were assigned to the Bureau staff, and without their assistance the large number of investigations which were necessary would have been impossible.

The investigations for the city institutions increased over those made in the early years of the

---

Bureau though their increase was not comparable to the requests for outdoor relief. If a man who is the sole support of his family is committed to Pine Camp his family may receive fuel and shoes from the Social Service Bureau, but if food is needed the family is referred to another agency. In the 1930 Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, it was stated that, "Although the work has steadily increased, investigations are promptly made, and every client is met by the staff in a pleasant, courteous manner. The Bureau has cooperated well with the other agencies and has protected the taxpayers in preventing non-residents from receiving aid from several sources." 1.

In 1931, it was necessary to take some definite steps to meet the unemployment situation, which was causing a dilemma throughout the entire country. Statistics showed that in the 917 public and private municipal agencies, the relief was 53% greater in January, 1932 than in January, 1931. 2. In Richmond the private agencies in the spring of 1931 found that they were unable to meet the heavy demands made upon them. They therefore referred the cases, which they could not care for to the Social Service Bureau.

1. Ibid, pg. 165
On June 16, 1931 a municipal appropriation of $50,000 was made to the Social Service Bureau in $10,000 allotments. 1. The first month of this emergency relief allotment from the city an effort was made to pay rent for some of the clients. Due to the increasing demand, this policy could not be continued and was not again attempted. As soon as possible after the $50,000 emergency relief appropriation an effort was made to distribute the money through "made work" rather than by straight donations. The City Employment Bureau cooperated with the Social Service Bureau in supervising the "made work". The Department of Public Works was helpful in providing foremen for squads of laborers and in offering opportunities for employment in parks, playgrounds, cemeteries and at Pine Camp Sanitarium. Due to the speed with which the "made work" program was organized because of the pressing need, no carefully worked out plan of organization was used. From June 16, 1931, until December 31, 1931, there were 3,418 days of "made work", distributed among the needy unemployed. This work was paid by food orders on specified dealers, chargeable against the special appropriation, and also with fuel and shoes.

1. Title p. 171.
chargeable against the regular appropriation. 1.
The administration of the emergency relief appropriation in order best to serve the public interest and conserve the public funds required increased assistance. It seemed that the most advisable plan was cooperation with the private agencies; however the actual disbursements of the fund was to remain in the hands of the Social Service Bureau. The Family Service Society was called on for assistance in this "made work" program. This organization had made investigations for the Department of Public Welfare before the formation of the Social Service Bureau, and after its formation did cooperative work with the Bureau. The Family Service Society contributed five workers forming a case work unit in connection with the "made work" program, who were equipped to do the clerical work, investigations, and case work. Only the expenses of equipment, housing, etc. were furnished by the Social Service Bureau.

The unusual work caused by the unemployment situation did not cause the omission of the other duties of the Bureau. The applicants for the City Home showed a slight decrease and those for Pines

---

1. Ibid., pg. 18.
Camp remained the same as those in 1930. More and more the Bureau was faced with the necessity of readjustment in a family after the wage earner had been removed to Pine Camp. In cases where the husband accepted the responsibility for the family it was difficult for the wife to accept her new role. The cases of un-married mothers decreased from 150 to 110. The number of applicants for "free water" also decreased in 1931. These decreases however did not balance the increased demand for fuel and shoes. The investigations necessary as a result of the applications for outdoor relief were met by the staff as adequately as possible, regardless of the fact that the personnel was insufficient to handle the large number of cases forced upon it. In many instances the Social Service Bureau was fortunate in being able to secure competent aid from other agencies.

In 1932, the relief needs were such that a larger appropriation was necessary. In attempting to meet the needs, there was a Council appropriation of $160,000, a special item of $30,000 in the departmental budget and regular items in the budget of $44,953.42; making a total of $234,953.42. This amount was spent for relief, exclusive of overhead
expenses. In December 1922, an allotment of $40,000 was secured from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Social Service Bureau recognized in 1932 more specific needs existing in the homes of their clients, which were recognized to be of importance for their future well-being. Special dietary needs of children and invalids were given special attention. A recognition of the importance of suitable clothes for children, particularly of school age, and the need for better housing conditions, were considered the cause of many later social problems. The recognition of these problems seems to indicate a broader understanding of human nature.

From the early reports the needs recognized in handling the cases of outdoor relief seemed to be principally for fuel, shoes and medical care. The following chart shows that from the beginning of the Bureau until its reorganization in 1932, the amount of coal, wood and shoes was in 1932 almost six times as large as it was in 1922, whereas the number of prescriptions for that period slightly decreased. There was a rather steady increase in the amount of shoes and coal distributed, the wood
increased in about the same manner until 1928, when it made a sudden jump, considered to be caused by the influenza epidemic of that year. In 1929 there was a decrease in the loads of wood, distributed which brought it back to normal and after that the yearly increase remained fairly constant.

The "make work" program continued in 1932. This program entailed extra work and it could not have been continued had not the Social Service Bureau received the cooperation of other agencies. The men applying for work were investigated by a visitor from the Social Service Bureau. If they were found eligible to receive work they were referred to the City Employment Bureau where they were assigned to work. The men were placed under the supervision of foremen in the various bureaus in the Departments of Public Works and Public Welfare. Toward the end of the year the project of the Richmond Bridge Corporation, which was financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, was started, and many of the clients from the Social Service Bureau were given work on that enterprise. In considering the payment for relief work, a commissary was considered, whereby groceries could be bought wholesale and distributed in a more economical manner. Although this plan has the advantage
### DISTRIBUTION OF FUEL, SHOES AND PRESCRIPTIONS FROM 1922 TO 1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Leads of Coal</th>
<th>Leads of Wood</th>
<th>Pairs of Shoes</th>
<th>Prescriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,313</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>3,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>4,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1,621</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>4,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,272</td>
<td>1,335</td>
<td>1,086</td>
<td>4,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2,102</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>1,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>2,052</td>
<td>2,138</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>2,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2,246</td>
<td>3,306</td>
<td>2,956</td>
<td>2,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>2,237</td>
<td>2,392</td>
<td>3,037</td>
<td>3,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,902</td>
<td>2,894</td>
<td>4,090</td>
<td>2,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4,387</td>
<td>4,363</td>
<td>6,977</td>
<td>4,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>6,136</td>
<td>6,136</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>3,259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of being economical it was offset by a number of disadvantages so it was not used. The relief work was paid in grocery orders issued to certain specified dealers throughout the city, and this plan was fairly successful.

In 1932, the work of the Social Service Bureau was heavy, regardless of the fact that they were assisted by other agencies. At the close of that year the Citizens Service Exchange was organized largely as a result of the efforts of Arthur A. Guild, the Director of the Community Fund, and others associated with him. This organization furnished necessary and usable goods to many who would otherwise depend on the Social Service Bureau, in return for their labor. The private agencies, churches and Red Cross offered their contribution toward meeting the relief situation. The Social Service Bureau attempted to meet the needs which these agencies were unable to meet because of their limited resources.

The investigations for admission to city institutions continued in 1932 very much as in former years. However a special investigator was employed to make studies concerned with applications for the City Home, which reduced the work of the Bureau.
The chart on page 30 showing the applications and rejections for the free services of the city indicates a relationship between the number of cases applying for the service and those refused. The most outstanding variation is in cases applying for fuel and shoes. After 1925 these cases increased very markedly. In 1927 and 1931 the number of cases rejected did not increase proportionally with the applicants. The applications for admission to Pine Camp and to the City Home increased slightly but are not at all comparable with the increase in applications for fuel and shoes. After 1923 the applicants for "free water" decreased somewhat although the decrease was not regular. In 1932 the term "free water" actually meant free water in many cases, for those unable to pay the indigent rate had their water bill paid by the city.

In this survey of the Social Service Bureau from 1922 to 1932, we see some of the outstanding events and particular problems of each year. We also see that each year new problems are recognized and attempts at meeting these situations are tried. This organization which played an obscure part in the life of the city in 1922 has played a more and more significant role.
## Cases Applying for Fuel, Shoes, Admission to Pine Camp, City Home, and Free Water -- Cases Refused

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Wood, Coal, and Shoes</th>
<th></th>
<th>City Home</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pine Camp</th>
<th></th>
<th>Free Water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicants</td>
<td>Rejections</td>
<td>Applicants</td>
<td>Rejections</td>
<td>Applicants</td>
<td>Rejections</td>
<td>Applicants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>2,582</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>3,397</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>4,341</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>5,562</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU

The Social Service Bureau in addition to its function of dispensing relief in the homes also served in a control capacity for other organizations. The intake of the City Home and of Pine Camp were restricted to persons who had been investigated and recommended by the Bureau. These organizations were in the most part supported by the City Department of Public Welfare as was the Social Service Bureau. They were set up to meet the needs of individuals placed in the particular institution but they were not qualified to determine their eligibility for admission.

The Mothers' Aid appropriations were also under the control of the Social Service Bureau; although this was not considered a relief fund. The money for Mothers' Aid was limited in Richmond and it was therefore important that intensive investigation and study be made in order that the best qualified persons receive benefit from the aid.
The workers of the Bureau were responsible for making the investigations of applicants for Mothers' Aid cases and also for determining which ones were to receive aid.

As the work of the Social Service Bureau is intimately tied up with these organizations it is essential to know something of their function in order to better understand the duties of Richmond's public outdoor relief agency.

**Pine Camp Tuberculosis Sanitorium**

The plan for Pine Camp Sanitorium was conceived by a group of volunteers, who worked diligently to raise funds for the institution. This plan was begun about 1908, and the latter part of 1910 the institution started operating. In 1911 a group of women in Ginter Park raised $10,000 and with this sum additional buildings were constructed. In 1916 the city of Richmond accepted the gift of Pine Camp.

As early as 1923 the Social Service Bureau made investigations of applicants for admission to Pine Camp in order to determine those eligible. The institution is maintained for the care of citizens of Richmond only, and not for those who formerly lived there. It seemed that many who formerly lived in Richmond considered the city to be responsible for their care even after they had gained legal residence elsewhere.
In 1921 Dr. P. E. Schools came to Pine Camp Sanatorium as superintendent and medical director. At that time there were thirty-three patients, a small staff, and limited equipment. Since then the staff and equipment have increased in order better to serve the increasing number of patients. More modern conveniences were installed for the comfort of the patients. Two of the outstanding improvements, made for better treatment of the tuberculosis cases, were the installation of a complete shock proof X-Ray machine and the equipment of an operating room to perform minor surgery, necessary for tuberculosis patients. In 1930 Pine Camp was able to accommodate 110 patients. In the five years that Dr. Schools had been there the accommodations for patients had increased over 50%.

A plan was discussed in regard to Pine Camp receiving compensation from the state, provided a proportion of its patients were from various parts of the state, other than Richmond. In December, 1929, the State Health Commissioner approved this plan for Pine Camp, "The state pays $1.00 a day for each state and city patient in the institution and the non-resident pays a fee of $1.00 a day." Under the state subsidy system it is necessary that 20% of the patients be non-resident patients. 1.

In 1934 care was given to children apart from adults, but previous to that time there were no facilities for treating children suffering from tuberculosis. By making special provisions for the care and treatment of children, the physicians were able to treat the disease in the incipient stages and are therefore more able to bring about a cure. This trend toward cure instead of care was a definite step in improvement of the treatment of tubercular cases. Among the surgical cases performed at Pine Camp are obstetrical cases. These cases are accepted only under the condition that the mother agree to immediate separation from the baby, for otherwise the child runs a great risk of contracting the tubercular infection.

The Social Service Bureau makes investigations and submits applications for patients to receive pneumo-thorax treatments. These cases do not necessarily have to stay at Pine Camp but return at certain intervals for treatment. Only those cases are accepted who are unable to pay any fee, and if they are able to pay part of the fee arrangements must be made with a private physician.
Some time during May, 1933 the Tuberculosis Board of the Department of Public Welfare was formed. It consisted of the director of Public Welfare, the medical director of Pine Camp, the chief tuberculosis clinician, the assistant tuberculosis clinician, the chief nurse of the Health Bureau, the superintendent of the City Home, and the executive secretary of the Social Service Bureau. The meetings of this board are held usually at the Social Service Bureau.

Investigations for admission to Pine Camp are made by the staff of the Social Service Bureau. Other agencies wishing to refer a case to Pine Camp must refer it to the Social Service Bureau and their worker makes the recommendation. The findings of these investigations are presented weekly to the board for approval or rejection. The board also discusses new developments in the field of tuberculosis and considers plans for the care and treatment of the disease that will contribute to the general health of the city of Richmond.

One of the goals of the board is the erection of a building for Negro tuberculosis patients. These are now treated at the City Home, and due to the difficulty of getting them sufficiently early unsatisfactory

results have been obtained. It is believed that Negro tuberculosis cases will be more willing to go to Pine Camp than to the City Home. The board also considers that Negro patients can be more economically treated by unifying the care of all tuberculosis patients. Another goal of the board is the construction of a separate children's building with a maximum capacity of fifty beds.

At a board meeting in 1934, Dr. Schools stated that the investigations by the staff of the Social Service Bureau had been instrumental in saving the city $20,000, over a period of twelve months.

Mothers' Aid

The Social Service Bureau in its Mothers' Aid work is taking part in an almost nation wide plan. The first legislation in regard to Mothers' Aid was passed in Illinois in 1911. Within the past ten years Mothers' Aid legislation was initiated in forty-one states. Appropriations differ in the various states and methods of administration also differ, but the general aim is to give children added security in their own homes and the opportunity of an education until they are at least sixteen.
Good administration of Mothers' Aid calls for application of case work principles which have been developed in the charity organization movement. Public agencies administering this service should be as adequately equipped to do complete case work as the best private agencies. 1.

The Virginia legislature in 1920 amended a previous act relating to Mothers' Aid and the city Council of Richmond therefore appropriated $3,000 to be used for this purpose. At that time no provisions were made for the administration of the fund and only one mother had, by a special ordinance, been granted aid from the fund.

On April 29, 1921, an ordinance was adopted by the Richmond City Council placing the administration of this fund under a special board in the Department of Public Welfare. The board consisted of the Director of Public Welfare, the health officer of the city of Richmond, the superintendent of the City Home and the manager of the Public Employment Bureau. The Director of Public Welfare is empowered to make additional appointments or substitutions to the board as he sees fit.

1. Lundberg, Emma C., "Mothers' Aid - Public Outdoor Relief," PP. 273-
In 1922, as soon as the chief social worker of the Social Service Bureau could make adequate investigations of the twenty-three applicants then on file, a meeting of the board was called and the ten worthiest applicants were selected to receive the Mothers' Aid benefit. The average monthly allowance given to these mothers was $25.00. Some families needed a larger allowance than others and in making the awards the board was guided by the family budget. In making the investigations of these cases all existing sources of income were ascertained, as well as the needs of the family, and there was an attempt made to equal the difference between these two amounts. ¹

When the awards were made, mothers were told that they were not receiving charity but were taking part in a plan begun by the city of Richmond, under authority of state law, to raise good citizens. It was the mother's duty to look carefully after the health and schooling of her children, as part of her responsibility to the city. Follow-up work is done on Mothers' Aid cases, and assistance offered the mother in budgeting her allowance and in child guidance, when it is desired.

Physical defects have been improved and in many cases school work has been improved, for the mothers are able to devote care to the rearing of the children. Although the mothers stay at home the majority of them supplement their income by taking boarders, doing fancy work, or other sewing, and by other odd jobs. The Mothers' Aid cases are visited monthly, and more frequently in cases where problems are present which the mother is unable to solve alone.

There was a great increase in the applications for Mothers' Aid when it became more widely known. In 1926 the Social Service Bureau as the city's agent in dispensing Mothers' Aid was able to take on an increased number of cases because of an appropriation from the city Council.

The mother keeps an itemized account of all of her expenses on a printed sheet and returns it at the end of each month to the visitor. This is a more accurate check of the amount spent than was formerly used, and it is hoped that this improvement in management will encourage the state to increase its appropriation.
The children selected must have mental and physical qualifications. The mothers are carefully selected, for they are considered employees of the state and are therefore chosen as any other state employees. The case worker is responsible that only mothers capable of rearing good citizens are selected. Once the mother is given Mothers' Aid the visitor is responsible for seeing that she fulfills her obligations.

A Mothers' Aid Advisory Board, consisting of the director of Public Welfare, the superintendent of the City Home, and the chief nurse of the Health Bureau, meets twice a month to pass on applications. Through the case visitor and the case supervisor the board is able to keep in touch with families receiving Mothers' Aid.

Mothers in need of assistance for the following causes are eligible to aid in Virginia:

1. Widows, whose husbands are either dead or have deserted.

2. Women with disabled husbands.

3. Divorced women, who are separated from their husbands through no fault of their own.

4. Women whose husbands are in prison are not eligible unless their husbands are serving at least a year.
The law allows Mothers' Aid under the above circumstances, but as the appropriation does not allow aid to a large group, there are other qualifications which a mother should possess. She should have legal residence, be a good home-maker, a disciplinarian, and an American citizen. In addition she should be a good manager, capable of handling a cash allowance, and efficient in following the budget worked out with the visitor.

In comparison with population Virginia has granted Mothers' Aid only in a few cases. One out of every ten thousand is granted Mothers' Aid in Virginia, while in Wisconsin forty-nine out of every ten thousand are granted Mothers' Aid. The Virginia legislation does not limit the aid to a maximum grant, which in the future will doubtless be a great advantage.

The City Home

The City Home existed as early as 1873; however at that time the investigations for admission were not made by the Social Service Bureau. Mrs. Effie F. Leonis was the first welfare worker for the city home, her services were secured by the Department of

1. Landberg, Emma C. "Mothers' Aid - Public Outdoor Relief", pg. 301.
Public Welfare for this institution July 1, 1932.
In her first report to the Department of Public Welfare
she stated that her most urgent work was with un-married
mothers, to keep them with their children and to assist
them to re-adjust to the community. In connection
with the foundlings of the city home she in some cases
carried through legal adoptions and in others referred
the children to a child placing agency.

On May 7, 1932, Dr. R. C. Cabell Jr., since 1909
the superintendent of the City Home, died and was re-
placed by Thomas B. Morton. Mr. Morton began a plan
almost immediately for the physical rehabilitation of
the City Home. He suggested plumbing improvements
and additions, electric lights, house telephones,
sun porches, and special diet kitchens for the chil-
dren. In the colored pavilion he suggested more ad-
equate water supply and a tuberculosis pavilion.
These improvements were estimated to cost the city
about $1,000,000.

The sum of $25,000 was appropriated by the City
Council and the improvements of the buildings were
begun. It was particularly important to secure
improvements to the children's quarters since an
increasing number of children were committed through
the Juvenile Court.

1. Ibid. - P. 9.
Investigations for the City Home are made by the Social Service Bureau. The visitors making the investigations attempt to furnish the City Home with the facts in each case, necessary in their contacts. A history of all applicants is filed in the main office of the superintendent for reference.

At one time it was considered the responsibility of relatives to care for their poor. However when adequate social histories were taken it was found that where the economic security of a family was threatened by a dependant relative it was better to place the person in the City Home rather than over-tax the family resources. Attempts are made to restore an inmate of the City Home to independent life in the community, ...this is almost impossible with the aged and infirm cases.

In 1927, soon after transients became a serious problem, the City Home agreed to take transients, since there were no municipal lodging houses in the city. A visitor from the Social Service Bureau made the investigations in regard to the transients. The increased applications and the follow-up work necessary as the inmates continually changed, finally made it necessary to have a social worker connected with the City Home. In 1938 the City Home obtained
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. Investi-</th>
<th>Cases over 2.1</th>
<th>Cases under 2.1</th>
<th>Maternity cases</th>
<th>Cancer</th>
<th>Venereal</th>
<th>Tuberculosis</th>
<th>Indigent &amp; aged</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** In 1933 Social Service Bureau made investigations for only 5 months.
the services of a full time case worker, who met with
the staff of the Social Service Bureau and received
directions in case work procedure from the case
supervisor.

The investigations for the first five months of
1932 were made by the staff of the Social Service
Bureau, and for the last seven by the case worker.
In the preceding chart showing the investigations
for 1932 we find only those made during the first
five months of the year. With a social worker at
the City Home, investigations can be made more promptly
and there is a closer contact with the inmates.

The City Home has since 1922 continued to im-
prove its buildings, grounds and equipment. It has
each year treated a larger number of cases of com-
municable diseases. In 1926 there were 262 cases
of communicable diseases treated and in 1931 there
were 922. The physical needs of the inmates re-
ceive medical attention from specialists in the city,
who give their services. The dentist at the City
Home examines all children on arrival, in addition
to attending the emergency work of the inmates. In
1932 there were 386 extractions, 267 fillings, 57
scalings, 75 prophylaxes and 90 treatments.
The City Home attempts to satisfy each individual's spiritual as well as the physical needs. The Excelsior Band, an undenominational organization, has contributed by arranging for the Sunday School, and occasionally weekly services. Dr. Cary Montague, the city missionary of the Episcopal church has contributed through his personal contacts and frequent Sunday services.

There is an attempt to offer recreation, but this has been difficult to arrange. The negro and the white children have separate playgrounds, but due to the difference in ages and the prevalence of contagious disease, organized play in either group has been almost impossible. occasional musicals and picnics are arranged when possible.

The City Home plays an important role in the care of dependants, but the tendency in social work is away from indoor relief. Action is also being considered to remove the children and tuberculosis patients from the City Home.
## VOLUME OF CASES AND VISITS 1925-1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Visits</th>
<th>Mothers’ City Aid</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Pine Camp</th>
<th>Fuel &amp; Shoes</th>
<th>Water fare</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>2030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>2502</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>3088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3397</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2937</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>3668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>4341</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>5224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>5562</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>6395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5562</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>6107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU

It was necessary in 1932 that the city of Richmond have larger financial resources to meet the needs resulting from the unemployment situation. The City Council appropriated that year $234,833.43 to meet this need and in addition an allotment of $40,000 was secured in December from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This sum was dispensed by the staff of the Social Service Bureau, consisting of six workers; and two policewomen added during the year to the staff as visitors. This small staff was assisted as much as possible by other agencies. It was recognized that the set-up of the Bureau was inadequate to deal with the great volume of work thrust upon it and a change was inevitable.

A committee composed of Alexander Weddell as chairman, Charles Peple, and Arthur Guild,

---

representing the Community Fund; W. C. Carpenter, Ordway Puller, and Robert Ledbetter, representing the City Council; Dr. W. Brownley Foster, Thomas B. Morton, and Captain T. S. Wharton, representing the City Administration, was formed, and called the mayor's advisory committee. The purpose of the committee was to advise the mayor as to the best method of handling the relief situation.

Two plans were considered. The first was that the Family Service Society and the Bureau of Catholic Charities receive the applications and make the social investigations for persons applying for unemployment relief, and recommend to the Department of Public Welfare a specific number of days' work to be granted to each unemployed applicant. This plan would be adequate only if the emergency situation of unemployment was of short duration and if there were no other phase of the city's social service to be considered. The work in connection with the City Home, Mothers' Aid, and the dependent sick, had greatly increased during the depression. The committee believed that with adequate case work this number could be
decreased; therefore as the first plan did not solve the problem of the increasing unemployable group another was considered.

The second plan provided for an adequate staff of trained social case workers to make social investigations and to provide social treatment for those applying for aid to the Department of Public Welfare. In order to carry out this plan a reorganization of the Social Service Bureau was necessary. The committee recommended that an executive, a supervisor, and additional staff be employed, possessing training and experience that would qualify them according to the standards of the American Association of Social Workers. Realizing that to employ such a staff immediately was impossible, they recommended that an additional executive, one case supervisor, and as many trained case workers as practicable be employed, with the funds available. These recommendations were submitted July 16, 1933, and were later accepted.

As a result of the recommendations of the mayor's advisory committee, the mayor's relief committee was formed. This committee consisted of:
Mayor J. Fulmer Bright, chairman

Dr. W. Brownley Foster
J. C. Holtzclaw
Thomas B. Morton
Bradford Walker
Rev. J. J. Sherar Jr.
Dr. Douglas Vanderhoof
A. H. Herrmann
Norman Call
Dr. L. A. Reid
Arthur Guild

E. Godwin Boykin
W. C. Carpenter
Henry Woody
Miss Claire McCarthy
Mrs. Lenore Meffley
Miss Catherine Harahan
Mrs. Henry Fairfax
C. P. Hasbrook
John Stewart Bryan
Alexander Weddell

The first meeting of the Mayor's Emergency Relief Committee was held on March 9, 1933. It was decided at this time that the committee should limit its considerations to the problems of providing material relief to families, in their homes. Miss Claire McCarthy was appointed secretary. The following information regarding the Relief Committee is taken from her minutes.

Mayor Bright stated that for the week ending March 6, 1933, there were 2,782 days of "made work" distributed among the unemployed. The cost of this kind of unemployment relief was very expensive. He believed that these men could be assisted through
a self-help organization at considerably less expense. From this suggestion the Richmond's Citizen Service Exchange received its first impetus.

On May 11, 1933, a report of the relief needs in the city and of the available resources was presented after a survey had been made. During February 1932, the Social Service Bureau, the Family Service Society, and the Bureau of Catholic Charities spent $32,145 for relief. During February, 1933, these organizations, with the addition of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, spent $48,515 for relief, an increase of approximately 50%. During December, 1932 the latter group spent $42,159. In December, 1933 they spent $51,358, and in February, 1933, $48,515. In addition to these amounts the American Red Cross provided flour at an approximate cost of $4,000 per month and also gave clothes. This report furnished a picture of Richmond's relief needs and of the resources then available.

Walter B. Wilbur, a special field representative of the Family Welfare League of America came to Richmond to study the way the city was meeting the relief situation and to make recommendations. He observed that on May 1, 1933 the Bureau of
Catholic Charities had a case load of 564, of which relief was the major problem in 131 cases.
The case load of the Family Service Society at that time was 635. The Social Service Bureau had a case load of 5,592, all presumably relief cases (this did not include Mothers' Aid cases and city employment bureau cases). Mr. Wilbur recommended that the Social Service Bureau add to its staff a sufficient number of emergency workers to permit more individualization of service. He believed that this would reduce the relief cost by bringing the client into touch with occupational opportunities and by more adequately covering family resources. He considered that the Social Service Bureau should be provided with sufficient highly trained supervisors and senior case workers to deal with the more serious problems and to assist the workers who were less skilled. It was also recommended that the Bureau secure more adequate quarters.

At the beginning of the year 1933 the Social Service Bureau had in addition to its former staff the two policewomen and an additional visitor. They were assisted in their accounting by departmental employees. In the last part of December, 1932, funds were secured from the Reconstruction
Finanace Corporation and work on the construction of the James River Bridge was begun. Mrs. P. E. Schools, a trained social worker, volunteered her services to the Bureau. She directed a group of volunteers in the selection and supervision of relief workers for construction work on this project. This was the first large project begun by the city to furnish employment. Skilled and unskilled workmen were taken from city relief rolls and assigned to work on this bridge, in an effort to reduce the cost of direct relief.

In March, 1933 Mrs. School was appointed the executive secretary of the Social Service Bureau. She held this position until July, 1933 when her resignation was accepted. During this time the Bureau was moved from the City Hall Annex where the quarters were inadequate. As the applications for relief were so numerous it was impossible to handle them in one office so the city was divided into districts. The West End office under the supervision of Miss Martha Tower, the South Side office under Miss Frances Salter and the Central office, located at 1101 East Bank Street. This was a Federal Building, which was old and in danger
of being condemned, and the lease provided that the Bureau would be required to move on five days' notice. The East End office under the supervision of Mrs. J. C. Faw had its location at 22nd. and Broad Streets. 1.

On July 13, 1933, a meeting of the Relief Committee was held with members of the state legislature. Mayor Bright stated that the city had not asked for Federal funds until it was no longer able to carry the public relief load. He suggested that the state match the funds appropriated by the Federal and local governments. Arthur James, commissioner of the State Welfare Department, stated $250,000,000 would be given by the Federal government to the various states, in his opinion, regardless of any appropriation made by a state government. He also stated that in December, 1932, the city of Richmond had received a Federal grant of $40,000 and had not yet spent all of this sum. It was accordingly decided that the state would not match the Federal relief funds. This policy has continued.

In July, 1933, Miss Georgianna Sinclair, who had formerly held an executive position with a relief agency in Roanoke, came to Richmond as the executive secretary of the Social Service Bureau. Under Mrs. Schools, the former director, the staff was increased from nine to thirty-five workers. Miss Sinclair secured as many trained workers as possible and put the Bureau on a professional basis. By the end of the year she had increased the staff to seventy-two workers.

The Virginia Department of Public Welfare, and later the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration, appointed the Social Service Bureau as the local administrator of the Emergency Relief Administration. In this capacity the Bureau was called upon to supervise the local Transient Bureau, the local Civil Works Administration, and the distribution of surplus products in addition to their former duties.

The Transient Bureau, which was formed November 6, 1933, was financed entirely by the Federal Government, and their staff was separate from the Social Service Bureau. However, as local relief administrator, the Bureau had charge of the administration of the local Transient Service Bureau.
The staff of the Transient Bureau had increased from seven to twenty-one in December. Their most common problems were: unemployment, broken homes, marital difficulty, over-crowding, mental and physical ill health, and personality problems. In order to deal adequately with these problems, understanding and skill were needed, and it was therefore necessary that the Transient Bureau employ as large a staff of trained workers as possible.

The Salvation Army, the Hotel Franklin, the Y. W. C. A., and the City Home agreed for a certain remuneration to take transients which the Transient Bureau sent them. The Urban League assisted in the placement of negro transients, which was a great benefit as there were few facilities for the care of negro transients. The Transient Camp in Blackstone, Virginia cared for a number of transients, who were considered adapted to camp life. In December the Regional Director of Transient Bureau suggested that a shelter be secured, which would be more economical and desirable than the system of boarding the transients in various parts

1. Ibid. pg. 183.
of the city. Federal funds were available for equipment, so a committee was appointed to make plans for a shelter.

The Work Division of the E.K.A. was requested to review all Transient Bureau projects to determine whether they were economically planned and properly designed. The procedure necessary was for the local Transient Bureau to prepare the application and forward five applications to the project engineer. He reviewed the project and sent it to the district engineer with such recommendations as he deemed necessary. It was then sent to the director of the Work Division who after his approval returned to the Transient Bureau. The Transient Bureau then organized and started the project, using only transient labor.

During 1933 the Social Service Bureau carried 6,472 major cases. This number did not include the cases visited and found ineligible for relief, or the cases visited in connection with out-of-town inquiries. At the beginning of the year it was estimated that the case load was 645 per visitor and at the end of the year it was 370 per visitor. This large case load meant that few home visits could be made and little constructive work done. Due to

---

1. Ibid. pg. 10.
the impossibility of close contact with the client it was difficult to learn when their status changed and when they were no longer really dependent on relief.

In the year 1933, there was $561,596.82 spent on relief in the city of Richmond, of which amount $334,082.89 was provided by the city government and $227,513.93 by the Federal government. The amount of relief given for each case averaged from about $8.00 to $11.00 per month. The local funds were secured by special appropriations from the City Council, the regular budgetary allotment of the Social Service Bureau, and funds transferred to the Bureau from the City Department of Public Welfare. The Federal funds were secured from two congressional allotments and from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Federal government aided the states and localities in meeting the unemployment situation, as it was considered a national emergency; but it did not assist causes of widows with dependent children, old age cases, dependent children out of their homes, the mentally and physically ill, and other groups considered unemployable. The above cases were typical

---

1. Ibid. pg. 14.
NUMBER OF RELIEF FAMILIES BY SIZE OF FAMILY IN
RICHMOND, MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1933.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons in Family</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>1,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Person</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Persons</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Persons</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Persons</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Persons</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Persons</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Persons</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Persons</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Persons</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Persons</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Persons</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Persons</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Federal Unemployment Relief Census, pg. 84.
in the Bureau before the depression and will probably be the permanent type of cases handled by the Bureau.

The unemployment relief census taken in October, 1933, showed that children under sixteen made up 45% of the total number in families receiving relief from public funds in Virginia. The 1930 regular census showed that children of these ages represented only 36% of the Virginia population. Negro families in 1933 constituted 46% of the total number of families in Virginia receiving relief, while the negro population according to the 1930 census made up only one-fourth of the total Virginia population. This seems to signify that the hardships of unemployment have fallen particularly on these two groups. Females who received relief outnumbered the males by 4%, and in the 1930 census the males in the population outnumbered the females by 1%. In the state of Virginia twenty-five counties in 1933 were not aided by public relief funds, so they did not figure in these statistics - 2.7% of the total population in Virginia were shown to be on relief by the relief census of October, 1933. Florida with 28.2% of its
population on relief showed the highest percentage, and Wyoming with 2.3% the lowest. 1

1. "Unemployment Relief Census", pg. 31.
DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN RELIEF FAMILIES, OCTOBER, 1933, ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX AND RACE *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,411</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>5,365</td>
<td>4,751</td>
<td>2,381</td>
<td>2,367</td>
<td>5,660</td>
<td>2,662</td>
<td>2,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 13</td>
<td>2,391</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 15</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 17</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>1,313</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 on</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>PER CNT - ALL CLASSES</th>
<th>PER CNT - RELIEF PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Classes</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent all Persons</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 year</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 years</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 6-13 Years</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 14-15 Years</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 16-17 Years</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 18-24 Years</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 25-34 Years</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 35-44 Years</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 55-64 Years</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent over 65 Years</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *Unemployment Relief Census,* pg. 135-139.
CHAPTER IV

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PART IN OUTDOOR RELIEF IN 1933 AND 1934

As it was the policy of the Federal Government to enter into affairs affecting the entire nation, the government attempted to meet the present unemployment situation. "The Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, declared a national emergency productive of widespread unemployment, due to the disorganization of industry, affecting the public welfare and undermining the standards of living of the American people." 1 The purpose of the program was to eliminate unemployment and to increase the purchasing power through construction. On July 2, 1933, Harry L. Hopkins was appointed the administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and in this capacity to direct the emergency program. "Mr. Hopkins was before accepting this position, a social worker of high repute, having none of the smugness so often associated with social workers, but was direct, straightforward and unassuming." 2

2. Lindley, Ernest E. "The Roosevelt Revolution", pg. 294
Mr. Roosevelt at that time likened the National Recovery Act to a football game saying that he knew where the goal was and at any minute could give the signal for the next play but he could not decide what the play after the next would be until he had seen the first play tried. 1.

Federal funds were given as supplemental to state and local funds spent for unemployment relief. A statement from each state of its need and lack of resources, with repayment from future Federal highway appropriations, was necessary for the state to receive aid. Money was given to cities and counties through the governor, in the nature of loans, secured by evidence of indebtedness as collateral. 2.

The Federal grants to the states were administered by public agencies, and could be used for medical attention, shelter, fuel and food, but no back bills or rents could be paid with Federal funds. The social work division of the Social Service Bureau attempted to determine the needs of persons applying for unemployment relief. An estimate was made, on a weekly basis, of the amount necessary to maintain their physical well-being.

1. Ibid. pg. 320.
2. Butters, Paul V. "Federal Aid for Municipalities," pg. 176c
RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

City of Richmond

Department of Public Welfare

F. E. R. A.

V. E. R. A.

Local Emergency Relief Administration

Work Division

Social Service Bureau

Transient Bureau

Subsistence Garden Division
After a study of an individual's resources, a relief grant was made to supplement his income, in order to meet his needs. The Federal government made rules for the social work division of the E.R.A. in connection with investigations and service of cases. There must be in every relief unit at least one trained and experienced investigator and one trained supervisor, with experience in family case work. The supervisor must not have more than twenty workers under her. Minimum investigation for relief included inquiry into real property, bank accounts, and other financial resources. In investigating a case at least one former employer must be interviewed, and sufficient interviews with others should be made to determine ability of relatives, friends, and organizations to assist. The investigator must not be overloaded with cases and unable to visit necessary collaterals or to make at least one visit a month to the family. The Federal government also specified that re-investigations be made at regular intervals to determine whether the needs and resources of the family had been altered.

The Emergency Relief Administration realized that many persons who had been previously employed
could not be reabsorbed immediately in industry and commerce and that many with an agricultural background could provide subsistence for themselves. Through work projects, subsistence gardens, and civilian conservation camps the government attempted to give relief by means of rehabilitation. The government believed that in offering work it was giving something more worth while than mere support.

To the Greeks and Romans, work was considered a curse, an escape from pinching hunger. 1 Xenophon called work the painful price the gods charged for the goods of life. For Luther and the medieval catholics, work had an educational and penal character. Luther considered that all who can work should work, for idleness and begging are unnatural. Charity should be bestowed only on those who work. The purpose of labor should be for maintenance and not for profit. Luther believed that doing most perfectly the work of one's profession is the best way to serve God. 2 Gerdano Bruno sang the praises of work for its spiritual and material pleasure and satisfaction.

1. Tilgher, Adriano - "Work What It Has Meant Through the Ages," pg. 3.
2. Ibid. Pg. 47-9.
Fichte worked out a connection between the spirit of man and activity. In activity alone can man find happiness, work is its own reward, bringing to man the joy and strength of activity. Believing that everyone should live by his own work the state has the right to demand that everyone do as much work as he is able. ¹ The Bolshevist government on July 10, 1918, as a means of destroying the parasitic classes, made work obligatory for all. In the capitalistic civilization, it is through work that man finds his nobility and worth. "The dignity of work is not based on its results, always vain and temporal, but on the fact that it permits the soul never to pause always to ascend, and to find its peace in the very movement by which it flings itself forward, ever higher and farther."²

Work instead of alms was used as early as 1711 in the "Hamburg System" of public charities. Workrooms were established and flax for spinning was supplies to the poor in their homes. The system of using the unemployed on public improvements was tried in England and other European countries, and to a certain extent in America, during the last century. The defects of the plan were that the work

¹. Ibid. pg. 93.
². Ibid. pg. 140.
was done at a greater expense and at a lower efficiency than ordinarily. Relief wages had a harmful effect on competitive wages, which is seriously regarded today by the American Federation of Labor. It was finally discovered that improperly managed relief work did not have the same therapeutic value as real work.

The history of "made work" has on the whole been unsatisfactory. In the majority of instances the "made work" programs consisted of hastily opened work rooms, where sewing, repairing, bandage rolling or similar tasks were performed. The work was not of permanent value and was therefore looked upon lightly by the workers. They did not put their best efforts into the work nor did they place much value in their own minds on it. After the depression of 1914-16, a report of the mayor's unemployment committee of New York city showed complete discouragement with the results of the "made work" program. During the same winter two private agencies secured work of a useful nature for some of their able-bodied clients, and paid them a wage for this work, instead of giving them direct relief. This plan was successful. The earliest example known of a
municipality embarking on a "work relief" program with city funds was in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1923. 1.

Twenty-eight different work programs in twenty-six communities were studied in 1931, by Joanna C. Colcord, when it was seen that private agencies could not continue to meet relief needs. The personnel in former work programs varied from skilled, semi-skilled, to unskilled. Wages differed throughout the country, depending somewhat on the salary scale of a community. In some places, where skilled labor was employed, the union rate was paid, or a rate in advance of unskilled labor wages. But only in rare instances were those employed on "work relief" paid more than laborers' wages. In at least one-half of the programs, clerks, interviewers, timekeepers, and foremen were selected from applicants for work relief. These employees were in general permitted to work a longer number of hours and at a higher rate of pay than the other employees. The length of work assignments, and the amount of work given to each person, varied in every program. In some it was definitely planned in advance to limit the amount of work given to each person in order to spread the work among the

qualified applicants. In some programs the people
were employed from nine to sixteen days continuously,
whereas others distributed the work through the
month. In most communities the city department of
public works furnished the opportunity for work.
Work projects in the main were outdoor manual pro-
jects; however, some were in connection with renova-
tion and repairing of public buildings. 1

In considering "work relief" as a form of
relief, there are three concepts in regard to it.
The first is that relief to able-bodied men is
demoralizing, and those unwilling to give labor in
return for relief should be forced to work. Many
of the projects have taken the aspect of a work
test and useless tasks have been performed. The
second concept is that relief without an equivalent
of labor is waste of money; as the money must
necessarily be given, value in the form of labor
should be received for it. This view has pro-
duced many large projects with rather competen
t planning. The wages for these projects have been
low and the basis of selection of workers was more
in accordance with skill than need. The third

1. Ibid. pgs. 16-19.
concept is that preservation of morale balances the difference in cost between direct relief and work relief. Need is the main qualification for work, although efficiency is attempted it is subordinate to the major goal. 1.

In Richmond during 1931 an effort was made to make use of the principle of "made work" instead of straight donations. From June 16 until December 31, there were 3,418 days of "made work" distributed among the poor. This work was paid by orders from specified dealers for food, fuel and shoes. The "made work" was supplied principally by improvements to parks, cemeteries, playgrounds and similar places. 2. The program continued much the same until December of 1932. At that time the Richmond Bridge Corporation, a non-profit making organisation, borrowed $40,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The purpose of the organisation was to build the First and Fifth Street bridges, repair the Marshall Street bridge, and as a major project to construct the James River bridge and the approaches thereto. The city of Richmond was the sole stockholder in the corporation. These bridge projects afforded the earliest opportunity in Richmond to

1. Ibid. pg. 228-227.
employ relief labor for more permanent public improvements. During the year 1932 there were 51,870 days of employment used in the "make work" program, 36,395 of which were given to white men and 15,477 given to negroes.

**Civil Works Administration**

The civil works administration began in November, 1933, when it was evident that the public works administration would only absorb a fraction of those unemployed during the winter of 1933-34. Before starting this new program, the president held a conference of mayors in Washington to discuss the C.W.A. Many of the mayors were opposed to the program as it involved the spending of such large sums of money, but as the Federal government was financing the C.W.A. their objections were ignored. The C.W.A. was proposed as a new social policy, offering public employment to those unemployed without insisting upon destitution as the primary basis of eligibility. Two million people at least were to be taken from the relief rolls, another two million could be selected from those registering at the public employment agencies. The C.W.A. program began November 15, 1933, and in four weeks there were almost four million men working on C.W.A. projects. The program extended to about one out of every three jobless in the United States.
The total expenditures of the program amounted to about $225,000,000. Of this amount $400,000,000 was allotted from the public works fund, $89,000,000 was transferred from the relief allotment, and on February 15, 1934 an additional appropriation of $35,000,000 was made. The average weekly earnings of a C. W. A. employee was about $13.50. The program was operated by Work Divisions set up in every city in the country. Only projects of a useful nature could be employed and only projects not requiring elaborate engineering or extensive materials were attempted. The localities in which the projects were executed furnished the necessary tools.

On December 16, 1933, it was stated in the "News Leader" of Richmond that Richmond had made application for grants amounting to $72,631 to be used for the development of city planning. These plans called for the employment of 886,000 man-hours. A review of the C. W. A. activities by the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration, stated that Richmond with a population of 189,929 had 12,858 registered unemployed. This showed that the registered unemployed represented 7.01% of the population. The maximum number employed by the C. W. A. was in the week ending

January 18, 1934, at which time 3,976 were employed, at an average wage of $14.41. The following chart shows that the C. W. A. spent in Richmond almost as much in January as during all other months together. The total relief earnings for the week ending January, 16, 1934, amounted to $57,283.33, and the amount spent during the period from November 20, 1933 until April 5, 1934 was $880,167.77.

The C. W. A. program provided work for the white collar class as well as for laborers. The white collar workers planned and administered the laborers' projects and in addition carried out a number of survey and research projects. The results of the research and survey projects were used to furnish information necessary to formulate the various work projects.

Due to the large number of men employed by the C. W. A., a safety program was necessary. The headquarters of the Virginia Safety Bureau was in Richmond. A safety supervisor was put in charge of every project employing from fifty to a hundred men. The safety director of each administrative unit made a weekly report of the accidents occurring under his supervision. Standard first aid equipment was
obtained for each project and attention was given to minor injuries to prevent later infection. Radio programs on safety and first aid were used to spread safety propaganda. A physical examination was given to all C. W. A. applicants to exclude those physically unfit to work. At various times meetings were held to instruct workers in regard to safety measures. Literature giving instructions as to the best safety measures was circulated at these meetings. On the whole the program was successful and few accidents occurred.

The C. W. A. program lasted for only a few months because it proved to be such an expensive method of improving the unemployment situation. It was estimated that only 20 to 25% of the C. W. A. employees were receiving relief before the inception of this program. Few were removed from the relief rolls of the Social Service Bureau and in fact the publicity given the C. W. A. program caused many to enroll who had not formerly done so.

The aesthetics of real estate seemed to be the main concern of the C. W. A. program. However, Stephen Ranchen in the "Nation", April 1934 stated that in his opinion it would have been better to put to work manufacturing the necessities
AMOUNT SPENT IN DIRECT WORK RELIEF UNDER
G. W. A. NOVEMBER 1933,
TO MARCH, 1934.

Work Relief
Direct Relief

$45,000
$40,000
$35,000
$30,000
$25,000
$20,000
$15,000
$10,000
$5,000

## DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL PUBLIC RELIEF FUNDS NOVEMBER 1923 TO MARCH 1924

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>FAMILY RELIEF</th>
<th>WORK RELIEF</th>
<th>DIRECT RELIEF</th>
<th>WORK RELIEF</th>
<th>TOTAL RELIEF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>6,382</td>
<td>52,689.97</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>6,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>1,475</td>
<td>7,022</td>
<td>5,877.17</td>
<td>2,138</td>
<td>9,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>2,075</td>
<td>7,463</td>
<td>13,140.73</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>5,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>1,302</td>
<td>4,910</td>
<td>10,165.93</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>2,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>3,470</td>
<td>24,509</td>
<td>48,955.92</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table represents the distribution of local public relief funds from November 1923 to March 1924, including family relief, work relief, direct relief, and total relief for specified months.*
which they were unable to buy. "When a man is given relief only he is helped. When he earns relief by working on roads, landscapes, etc. social good is forwarded. But when he is given a job at his trade, not only is he aided but he helps another unemploy-
ed to receive this article, and also reduces the cost of relief." 1.

Civil Works Service Administration

As much of the appropriation for the C. W. A. came from the Public Works Administration, it was natural that the majority of the projects were either in the construction, or the preparation for construction, of public buildings. The Civil Works Service Administration was therefore designed to give employment principally to women and other persons not qualifying under the requirements of the C. W. A. If the requirements as to the types of projects included under the C. W. A. were less rigid the C. W. A. could have been included in that program. In social utility, effectiveness, distribution of employment, and satisfaction to the workers, the Civil Works Service was comparable to

1. Rauschenbush, Stephen, "Common Sense Follows the C. W. A." pg. 444.
the C. W. A. The C. W. S. projects included: sewing rooms, cleaning, community centers, music projects, clerical work, library, recreation and research work. No C. W. S. project could be located in a county where there was not a relief director.

In January, 1934, the C. W. S. was separated from the C. W. A., and on January 23, 1934, there were in Richmond 3,385 persons who had registered for work on these projects. At that date there were 471 women and 299 men at work on projects. Only about 2% of those registered for work at that time could be absorbed in the projects.

**Works Program**

At the close of the C.W.A. program there were about 130 unfinished projects, about 70% of which it was desired to have completed. The Federal Government in its instructions to the local E.R.A. states that as Effective March 31, 1934 the C.W.A. will be suspended and the Work Division will be organized by the E.R.A. Administrative personnel may be transferred from the C.W.A. to the Work Division. The employment basis for the Work Division was different from that of the C.W.A. Persons were transferred from the C.W.A.
only if they had no other resources with which
to meet their family budget. Any additional per-
sons employed were judged on the basis of need. As
the funds were limited the wide scope taken in by
the C.W.A. cannot be followed and only those whose
relief needs had been determined are eligible for
employment.

The Work Division was responsible for the
planning, organization and conduct of work for
those certified to the Division as eligible for
relief. All projects of the local E.R.A. were
approved by the state E.R.A. They were of public
character and of economic and social benefit to
the general public or to publicly owned institu-
tions. They coordinated as far as possible
with the larger plans for state and local improve-
ment. The projects were undertaken independently
of work under contract or work for which there was
or would be an annual appropriation. The projects
were not allowed therefore to include such things
as garbage collecting, snow cleaning, and lawn
maintenance in parks.

All projects were carried on by force account
(day labor) and not by contract. The hours of em-
ployment were not more than 24 per week. No person
employed as a skilled laborer could be employed less
than fifty-four hours a month nor could any person
who was employed as an unskilled laborer be employed
less than thirty hours a month. Persons whose
budgetary deficiency was such that they were not
allowed to work this minimum time received direct
relief. The wages were at the prevailing rate for
the occupation and locality in which the work was
done. The hours allowed each person could not exceed
their budgetary requirements. The wage rate in
Richmond was fixed by a committee of representatives
from organized labor, the N.R.A., and from business
groups.

The duties of the Work Division were to have
charge of the planning of work projects and assign-
ing eligible employees to work and carrying out the
activities connected with these projects. The goal
of this Division was to employ these persons in trades
and professions as far as possible in accordance with
their former training and experience. The Work Div-
ision attempted to maintain high standards of effi-
ciency in the execution of their projects and for each
project under the Work Division there was a sponsor
under whose jurisdiction and supervision the project
was executed.

The state N.R.A. had the responsibility of de-
fining the projects and of determining
method of operation of the work. But the Federal R.R.A. suggested general policies governing the development of the work program. It also suggested a tentative plan for the distribution of the projects, but realizing that the various states varied in their needs these suggestions were not hard and fast rules.

Planning: It was suggested that 3% of the funds be used in the planning of the projects where plans were not already available. The plans were designed and used as guides, which was considered to be an important function for without this the money spent would not be of the greatest social benefit. It was considered that engineers, statisticians, economists, architects, industrial planners, home planners, and interviewers would be the types of people best suited for this work.

Public Property: 30% of the funds might be used for improvement and construction of city, state and national parks for preserving game and fish grounds and providing other recreational facilities. Reforestation, landscaping, erosion control and other similar projects deemed necessary for beautifying and increasing the value of our natural resources could be considered in this group. It was also intended that these projects should increase the value of the land by improvement and
extension of water works, sewer systems, grade crossings, municipal power lines, airports, street signs, and the eradication of disease bearers, pests and poisonous plants. Engineers, architects, technicians, skilled and common laborers, landscape gardeners, foresters, laboratory assistants and entomologists would all be of use in the plans for improvement of public property.

Housing: 15% of the money could be spent on remodeling and repairing of houses instead of paying rent for relief families. In Richmond this money was in the most part spent through the Citizens Service Exchange, which furnished the relief clients with material with which they could repair the homes in which they were living, and the clients were in return given their rent free. This plan proved in many cases satisfactory to the real estate agents as many of the houses were in bad repair and could not be rented. The demolition of useless and condemned property was also a project under this division. Very much the same type of employees were employed under this group of projects as under the improvement of public property.

Production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed: 15% of the funds could be used for the manufacture and cultivation of such things for the unemployed as clothing, food, household furnishings and garden produce. These were considered necessary articles which could be made by the unemployed, giving them an opportunity to do constructive work.
raising their standard of living and cutting down on the expense of relief. These types of projects employed skilled and unskilled workers, textile and clothing workers, industrial workers and trained production people.

Public Welfare, Health and Recreation: Nursing, nutritional and public health programs, public recreation, traffic and safety campaigns were all involved under this group of projects. They were considered to be necessities which had been overlooked during the depression as they were then considered luxuries, but later came to be considered necessities. Public welfare and relief workers, nurses, doctors, dentists, playground and recreational workers, traffic engineers and office workers are the necessary personnel for such a program.

Public Education, Art and Research: 10% was suggested for emergency activities in the fields of education, pre-school, and handicapped individuals who derive value from specialized training. Dramatic activities, art and music were given special consideration. The museums, libraries, and community information centers were subsidized in various ways. Economic and social research was made in order to assist the administration in intelligent planning. These projects included the
majority of work for the unemployed white collar class. The execution of the projects depended on teachers, writers, musicians, artists, actors, library workers, scientists, research workers, architects, engineers, statisticians, economists, planning specialists, clerks, stenographers, and office workers.

Eighty per cent of the projects were planned, leaving 20% to be distributed in the group that seemed to be most needed. The administrative staff included in the Work Division a person who ascertained what plans or planning bodies existed and outlined such planning survey projects needed to establish or complete such plans and to make recommendations on all major projects. This engineer should be a person experienced in industrial and civic planning. The second phase of the planning was concerned with setting specifications, plans and blue prints and engineering the details into shape for specific projects. These projects could be maintained, in so far as they could be efficiently administered with relief labor.

The duties of the Social Work Division in its cooperative work with the Work Division were to make the investigations of the need for relief and to ascertain if the need was due to unemployment. If it was not, the case was ineligible for Federal relief. The relief needs varied according to the location of the case, their standard of living, special health needs, benefits, compensations or pension, boarders,
lodgers, and relatives. The social worker in visiting the family got an accurate picture of the family, considering in connection with the Work Division their financial assets and liabilities, for on that basis the individual was assigned to work, and the amount of work given to him was also based on his budgetary needs. It was not possible to give work to all of the unemployed, and as the work was considered more desirable a form of relief than the dole, it was often necessary for the social worker to look into such factors as the age, physical condition, willingness and ability to work and the ability to handle earnings, for these factors influenced the placement preference.

The workers of the Social Service Bureau made the investigations of eligibility for the Work Division and assisted in the placement of workers, in order that as satisfactory an adjustment as possible could be made. They also kept close contact with the worker so they could notify the Work Division of any change in his status. The Work Division notified the Social Work Division when a person was placed or removed from work, and of any difficulty in his adjustment to the work. When such a person was referred to the Work Division he was given a written statement by the social work division
of the monthly amount to be earned and of how
the payments were to be made. If the Work Division
did not have the funds to allow the individual to earn
his known budgetary deficiency, the amount he could earn
was written on the assignment slip, and not the amount
he should earn if the funds were adequate. The amount of
funds allocated to work relief therefore was the joint
planning of the relief director, the project engineer, and
the auditor. Immediately on notification of the monthly
amount approved by the state administration, together with
the funds available from the city of Richmond, the plans
for the monthly expenses were made. No assignment slips
continued longer than one month. In addition to the person's
economic status, the work assignment slips showed some record
of the physical condition.

The local Work Division drew up rules in connection with
initiation and administration of the various projects. No
project was used which did not fall in the class of a socially
useful luxury project. Before beginning a project it was
necessary to fill out six applications for the local office
of the Work Division. If the project was for women seven
applications were necessary, and in the case of a research
or survey project it was necessary to furnish more complete
information on the application form. No project
could be approved without a letter of authorization from the office of the local Work Division. After this the worker was called to the approved project.

The payroll for the Richmond Work Division was given out on Saturday of each week. The official week began on Friday morning and ended on Thursday night. Workers were listed on the payroll with their surname first, in alphabetical order. The cards recorded their sex, case number, hours of work per day and the rate at which they were paid.

In Richmond the hours of labor did not exceed twenty-four a week unless it was necessary for an individual to make up time lost because of bad weather or some other legitimate reason. In such a case the person was allowed to work thirty hours during one week. If there was a public emergency a person might be allowed to work thirty-five hours a week. Six hours was the minimum number a person could work per day, and nine hours was the maximum. The day's work was not split up, as a straight day's work allowed for more efficiency. All "white collar" workers were allowed to work on the basis of a seven hour working day. The maximum weekly hours allowed a "white collar" worker were thirty-five.
It was the duty of every project supervisor to see that the amount allotted for his particular project was not exceeded. If the budget was in any case exceeded, the responsibility for meeting this obligation fell on the institution or city department represented by the project. If a worker was unable to complete his budget due to the fact that he started work on the project late in the month, he was allowed to make up his budgetary deficiency the following month.

If a case worker investigating a case believed that the worker was unable to meet his needs and those of his family, a certain amount could be reserved from his weekly pay. This amount was used to pay for such items as food, clothing, medicine and other articles considered necessary for the family. When it was discovered that a man spent his money carelessly he was paid partially in cash and partially in kind.

Wages conformed to those approved on the project application, except in cases where the wage rate committee, formed of representatives from organized labor, the Emergency Relief Administration, and business groups, made changes
after the approval of the project. In such a case
the project supervisor was notified from the office
of the Work Division by letter.

The compensation liability in the case of
accidents was borne by the institution or city
department using the relief labor. In order to keep
the expense of the project to a minimum, the fore-
man of each project must be continually on the
alert to prevent accidents. Every attempt was made
to prevent accidents by making the workers pre-
caution-conscious. Every foreman kept a daily ac-
count of all accidents and their cause. This
report was submitted each week to the project su-
pervisor, who reviewed the causes in order to make
recommendations. He in turn submitted the report
to the office of the Work Division for the same
purpose.

It was the policy of the Work Division to
allow employees to pick up odd jobs and continue
on relief work relief, but if the outside work
had any degree of permanence he was removed from
the relief rolls and not allowed to do relief work.
In some cases when a relief worker had found
private employment he sent someone else to take
his place on the work relief job. The workers were supplied by the social work division according to their needs, and it made a rather serious situation when they were supplied by former workers.

The Women's Work Department was a definite part of the Work Division. The local director of the Women's Work Division, Mrs. Elizabeth Kincheloe, was appointed by Miss Georgianna Sinclair, the Richmond relief director. She secured the personnel for the Women's projects in very much the same way as did Marcellus Wright, the local project engineer. She was furnished a list of employable women on the relief rolls who were eligible for work. These women were heads of families with others dependent on them for support, or else they were lone women who were their own only means of support.

The director of the Women's Work division secured a statement from the project engineer, at the beginning of each month, of the funds allocated to that department for the month. The two then planned projects suitable to meet the needs of the women on the relief rolls of the Social Service Bureau. The local Women's Work division arranged to have the women ready to be put to work
on the proposed projects, but they were not assigned to work until the project was approved by the state Women's Work director.

The types of projects suggested for women came under five divisions. First, women could be employed as cleaners and clerical workers for public organizations, or as landscape gardeners for schools and courthouses. Second, they could be employed on housing projects, remodelling the inside of a house for comfort and use and landscaping gardens. In many cases these projects were arranged with the property owners in lieu of rent. Third, the production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed, which proved to be the most satisfactory of the women's projects. The sewing rooms, besides furnishing employment for the women, furnished clothing for relief cases and taught mothers a way of meeting their clothes budget. In the sewing rooms instruction was given in weaving, knitting, crocheting, home dyeing, rug making, laundering, renovating of garments and furniture. School lunches were planned and prepared under the direction of the state nutritional director. Subsistence gardens, a most worth-while project, was under the supervision of the local
garden director. Fourth, women were employed on public welfare, health and recreation projects. These projects were supervised by leaders in the various fields, and offered opportunities to the unemployed with special training or with special qualifications. Fifth, women were furnished work on public education, art and research projects. Clerical workers, research workers, cleaners and in some cases teachers were given employment; however in most cases needy teachers were cared for by a special appropriation from the state department of education.

Raw materials used on many of the projects were obtained from the government supply of surplus products. Cotton, hides, foodstuffs and livestock, from the drought areas particularly, were taken off the market by the Agricultural Adjustment Association and were available to the Emergency Relief Administration. It was believed that the national emergency would be aided by the purchasing, processing and distribution for consumption of these farm products. By removing surpluses it was believed that prices would be improved. Much of the work of the Work Division was paid with surplus products; however relief could not be cut when surplus products were distributed. In 1933 there was distributed through
DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL AND FEDERAL FUNDS, APRIL 1934 TO DECEMBER 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td>-3,869.76</td>
<td>-5,382.72</td>
<td>5,502.00</td>
<td>293.60</td>
<td>417.48</td>
<td>-4,394.44</td>
<td>8,619.03</td>
<td>20,044.54</td>
<td>16,186.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Funds received during the month</td>
<td>40,000.00</td>
<td>45,000.00</td>
<td>525,915.00</td>
<td>26,000.00</td>
<td>27,000.00</td>
<td>35,797.00</td>
<td>53,144.00</td>
<td>56,940.00</td>
<td>74,580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Funds available:</td>
<td>36,130.24</td>
<td>39,617.28</td>
<td>31,417.00</td>
<td>26,293.60</td>
<td>27,417.48</td>
<td>31,401.56</td>
<td>61,763.03</td>
<td>76,984.54</td>
<td>90,766.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DIRECT RELIEF GIVEN

|        | 39,313.39 | 38,841.30 | 33,833.76 | 28,505.97 | 28,810.26 | 24,218.57 | 28,028.26 | 32,178.70 | 34,684.72 |
| WORK RELIEF GIVEN | 1,979.62 | 16,316.47 | 22,136.30 | 29,705.76 | 40,046.95 | 30,455.71 | 26,494.64 | 42,677.29 | 43,751.05 |
| ADMINISTRATIVE COST | 5,756.20 | 6,523.79 | 7,111.39 | 6,535.27 | 7,404.47 | 7,061.15 | 15,256.43 | 12,329.43 | 11,668.20 |

TOTAL OBLIGATIONS INCURRED

|        | 47,049.21 | 61,681.56 | 62,981.44 | 64,747.00 | 76,260.78 | 61,734.43 | 69,779.33 | 87,185.42 | 89,503.97 |
| LOCAL EXPENDITURES | 5,536.25 | 27,566.28 | 31,858.04 | 38,870.88 | 44,447.86 | 38,951.90 | 28,060.84 | 26,386.90 | 21,005.95 |
| Federal Expenditures | 41,512.96 | 34,115.28 | 31,123.40 | 25,876.12 | 31,812.92 | 22,782.53 | 41,718.49 | 60,798.52 | 68,498.22 |
the Social Service Bureau 44,245 lbs. of salt pork, 7,671 lbs. of butter, 3,396 doz. eggs, 18,746 lbs. of fresh beef and 489-24 lb. sacks of flour.

The Federal funds contributed from April, 1934 until December showed a marked increase in December over that received in April. Although the state of Virginia did not match these Federal donations the city of Richmond made rather valiant efforts to do its part. Particularly during the summer months of June, July and August, when the Federal contributions were small, the amount spent by the city was greater than it formerly had been. In general when the amount spent on work relief was increased the direct relief decreased, however this relationship was not proportional.
CHAPTER V

THE CHIEF E. R. A. WORK PROJECTS IN RICHMOND, VA.

The projects used in Richmond after the C. W. A. employed only clients of the Social Service Bureau. They were similar to those in various other cities. We can give here only the outstanding projects and something of their function.

By July 27, 1934, there were eight projects operating, and using women workers, of which number six projects were using women workers exclusively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White women</th>
<th>Negro women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number on certified list 7/25/34</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; at work or assigned to jobs</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; called who did not report</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; woman dropped</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; not called</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sewing room, which at that date had been in operation for three weeks, had made 878 garments. A number of men’s shorts had been made and these garments required tedious work. At the end of the

100.
year 1934 there was a sewing room project for white women, giving employment to about 92 women, and a negro sewing room giving employment to about 78 negro women. By the end of February, 1935, 12,522 garments, consisting of slips, gowns, dresses, shirts, aprons, baby clothes and blankets, were completed.

**Mattress Project**

August 6, 1934 a notice was received from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, stating that funds would be available monthly for a mattress project. This project would not only furnish employment but would also furnish the relief clients with a necessary luxury. Before starting the project it was necessary to secure a location meeting the Federal requirement in regard to safety. It was also necessary to secure a supervisor for the work shop who knew how to direct the workers in making mattresses and was also capable of handling the necessary administrative and office work. The project was planned according to the number available from the relief rolls who were capable of keeping the shop operating. The F. E. R. A. wrote the local divisions that any project planning to begin operation by the first of September must estimate by
## Mattress Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unobligated balance</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$2,789.53</td>
<td>$2,052.72</td>
<td>$1,232.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning of month</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Relief</td>
<td>$2,982.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration Receipts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Receipts</td>
<td>216.66</td>
<td>280.11</td>
<td>330.70</td>
<td>164.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>$3,198.66</td>
<td>$3,069.64</td>
<td>$2,382.44</td>
<td>$1,397.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material and Supervision</td>
<td>$256.27</td>
<td>234.34</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount spent for relief Labor</td>
<td>152.86</td>
<td>782.55</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>$409.13</td>
<td>$1,016.89</td>
<td>$1,150.61</td>
<td>$1,137.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mattresses Made</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unobligated Balance, end of month</td>
<td>$2,789.53</td>
<td>$2,052.75</td>
<td>$1,232.84</td>
<td>$26.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
August 26th the supplies which they would need.
It was necessary to know at that time the approximate amount of ticking, cotton and other materials needed, to obtain them from the surplus products division.

The Richmond mattress project was started at 917-19 Hull Street on September 15, 1934. It was under the supervision of Mrs. Elizabeth Kincheloe and under the immediate management of B. H. Holbach, a trained and experienced mattress worker.

The city of Richmond paid 25% of the estimated cost of this project, and the remaining amount was paid from a special fund appropriated by the E.R.A. for this purpose. In return for the E. R. A. appropriation, 75% of the mattresses were delivered to it for its distribution. The cost of equipment and supplies was negligible, as the labor was done by hand and the supplies were furnished by the surplus products division. The efficiency in production gradually increased until finally the mattresses were made at a cost of $5.00 per mattress. More mattresses were made in September than any other month. There was a slight drop in December, probably due to the fact that the Federal grant
for the mattress project was diminishing and there
was uncertainty as to whether more funds would be avail-
able.

**Visiting Housekeeper Project**

The principal aim of the visiting housekeeper pro-
ject was to teach relief families higher standards of
living and intelligent use of their resources. Thus
the project gave employment and at the same time attempt-
ed to improve living conditions. A qualified visiting
housekeeper was required to be tasteful, patient, in-
genious, and a capable housekeeper, preferably not too
young. If she had training in cooking, sewing, and
child care, she was even better qualified for the job.
For a person to receive a position as a visiting house-
keeper she must be passed by the director of the
Social Service Bureau. Their services were not only
extended to the clients of the Bureau but in certain
cases could be used by other agencies. The visiting
housekeeper was introduced to the family by the case
worker, who prepared the way for her. She also gave
the visiting housekeeper some knowledge of the family,
so she would be better oriented in the situation.
The Federal government suggested that the visiting housekeeper in dealing with the client be impartial and fair, attempting at all times to be a good neighbor, sympathizing, helping, and suggesting. It should be remembered that the home belonged to the family and their standards of living had been fixed. Even though they did not come up to the standard which the visiting housekeeper considered to be normal their rights should be respected and too immediate changes should not be attempted. It was not possible to teach everything to one family; therefore it was wisest to teach them only what it was believed they would absorb. The visiting housekeeper should feel responsible for reporting all cases of disease. She kept records of all the visits which she made and the work done in these visits which gave some idea as to the value of the project and furnished some evidence of desirable and undesirable techniques.

The Federal government made the following general outline of the duties of the visiting housekeeper. This was followed in the Richmond visiting housekeeper project.
1. They were to improve the general sanitary conditions in the home if this seemed necessary.

2. Help the family plan their time and work to the best possible advantage and arrange so that all could share in it.

3. Assist in the arrangement of furniture and in the improvement of furnishings.

4. Teach the proper selection of foods for the individual needs and tastes.

5. Teach economics in buying and correct methods of cookery.

6. Give some instructions in regard to sewing and renovating.

7. When it is desired, offer tactful suggestions in child care and training.

8. Assist the mother to budget the family income so that it will meet the family needs.

In Richmond the visiting housekeeper project was started on December 15, 1933, with ten workers, one stenographer, five graduate nurses, one school teacher, and one worker with a B.S. degree in home economics. Cases were referred from the Family Service Society, the Social Service Bureau, the Bureau of Catholic Charities, the instructive Visiting Nurses Association, churches and neighbors. The records showed that in almost every case the visiting housekeeper improved the sanitary conditions. She also improved the menus, so that at the same cost the meals were more nourishing. In many cases it was possible to establish schedules of work which developed better standards of home management.

The types of projects offered to women varied more than
those for men. The professional and non-manual men's group were offered a rather wide diversity of projects, but the unskilled men were given work principally of a manual nature. By the end of February 1935 there were twenty-five projects operating under the local Women's Work Division and employing about four hundred and eighty-two women. As it was considered advisable to centralize the projects, a building was secured at 18th and Grace Streets which was large enough to house most of the women's projects. It had been observed that many of the women on the relief rolls were not trained for any definite work, and could not therefore be very satisfactorily placed on any project. It was hoped that a centralized building would serve also as a training center so that the women would be better prepared to execute certain projects and, in addition, learn a trade so that they would be more acceptable to private industry.

Women were employed principally in clerical positions, in renovating buildings, and on sewing, music, and nutritional projects. However, one of the outstanding women's projects was the Community Recreation Center work. This project was under the supervision of the Richmond Community Recreation Association, and although designed for women, it offered employment to some men. The purpose of this project was to provide for boys and girls of sixteen years and over an opportunity for instructive and constructive use of their leisure time. As unemployment is a breeder of delinquency and crime, this project attempted to meet the
needs caused by the existing situation.

The Community Recreation Centers were designed to teach music, art, drama, handcraft and home-making by the project method. In the various clubs business, English, arithmetic, diction, physical development, personality development, auto mechanics, and aeronautics were taught to those desiring such courses. These courses serve in some instances to prepare the individual for a certain job and also prepared him for a fuller life. The centers also attempted to satisfy the individual's social needs. Parties, dances, clubs and forums provided a wholesome outlet.

Many of the workers in the recreational centers were able to make close contacts with the members and in many cases helped individuals to adjust to the so-called difficult period of adolescence. The membership of the centers was large and it is believed that the leaders were successful in many cases in assisting an individual to solve his problems in a socially accepted manner. There is a super-sophisticated group unwilling to find pleasure in accepted recreation who prefer to destroy the plans of the recreation centers and cause as much disturbance as possible. In Richmond, as most of the recreation center leaders were untrained in group work, it was impossible in most cases to reach this group who so definitely needed the opportunities which the recreation centers offered. Attempts were made to discover the interest of this antisocial group and if possible offer them a chance for self expression when this was not possible they were excluded from the group before
**WOMEN'S PROJECTS: AUGUST 18 to DECEMBER 19, 1934.**

**SURVEY OF WOMEN'S PROJECTS FOR WEEKS ENDING:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>810</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>449</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
they had an opportunity to exert a bad influence on the other members.

The women's projects did not undertake as large enterprises as the men's; however, they served the same purposes. The number of projects in 1934 increased very little from August until December, whereas the number of women working in December was almost four times that working in August. There were, however, a larger percentage of women eligible for work employed from the relief rolls in August than in December. The lower percentage in December was, of course, due to the fact that their were more women applying for work relief at that time. This may have been due to an increased unemployment among women or due to the publicity given to the women's work projects.

Subsistence Gardens

Families on relief having backyards on land available for gardening were encouraged to turn them into gardens. Each family considered needy and capable of raising a garden was allotted a seed collection which would enable him to have a well-balanced supply of fresh and canned vegetables throughout the year. The garden collection contained: potatoe plants, string bean, lima bean, beet, cabbage, corn, cucumber, kale, lettuce, onion, parsnip, peas, pumpkin, mustard, spinach, tomatoe and turnip seed and fertilizer. Whenever it was possible recipients of the garden seed were expected to work in relief projects in payment for what they were given. The seed collection for a small family was valued at $4.50 and for a larger family at $7.00. Where vacant lots of
from one to five acres could be secured by the relief director these were used as work relief projects.

The state E.R.A. Director suggested that there be a garden director attached to the staff of the local relief administration. Upon this individual would rest the responsibility of organizing, supervising and reporting on the garden program. The relief director reported cases to the garden director who were either on relief or were considered marginal cases, that is, cases that without aid would be on relief within two months. The garden director used meetings to put across the program effectively. At these meetings practical phases of gardening were discussed, as succession planting and pest control. In addition to these meetings, personal visits to the individual gardens were made in order to know the individual problems and needs and to encourage the gardeners.

The garden director in Richmond was Miss Charlotte L. Steakley. She divided the city into local communities and neighborhoods, and secured a responsible person as chairman of each local committee. The volunteer chairman was obtained principally through personal contacts or through garden organizations. It was attempted to select the local committees of men and women who understood gardening and were sufficiently interested to be willing to work. The garden program began operating in April of 1934. As the facilities for the operation of the program were limited, it was necessary to use the assistance of interested organizations. The Parent-Teacher groups and garden clubs were instrumental in the enrichment of the program and schools were loaned for organization meetings.
Representatives from the above groups were active in distributing fertilizer, seed and instruction bulletins.

Mrs. B. E. Joyner and Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Ballard volunteered to instruct in gardening. The chairman of the various committees and volunteers were as follows: Mrs. Walter Beverly, Mrs. E. H. Mitchell, Mrs. C. B. Naumann, Mrs. J. H. Montgomery, Mrs. Garland Webster, Mrs. J. C. Wood, Mrs. B. R. Welford, Mrs. Arthur Knight, Mrs. T. E. Tragle, Mrs. W. C. Carpenter, Mrs. L. R. Martin and R. M. Granger. The garden director was able to secure the use of a number of central places which were used as distributing centers. The volunteer workers were not only valuable in distributing the seed but were also of aid in suggesting to the gardeners means of transporting the peck of potatoes, large seed collection and fifty pound bag of fertilizer. In many cases the volunteer workers contributed to the program by interpreting the instruction bulletins and visiting the individual gardeners to help them with their individual needs and problems.

There were a total of 498 garden seed collections distributed to relief clients in the city of Richmond. By June 1, 1934 the gardens were distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number of Gardens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Richmond</td>
<td>20 gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Richmond</td>
<td>202 gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Richmond</td>
<td>190 gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West &amp; Central Richmond</td>
<td>86 gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>498 gardens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of this number there were 148 gardens divided among the colored families and 350 among the white. The gardens were valued from nothing to $60.00. There were only eight gardens in the zero class and eliminating those, the range was from $7.00 to $60.00 per garden.

In evaluating the gardeners at the close of the program, it was believed that 150 knew something about gardening, 50 could have worked independently, 25 became students of gardening, 10 were efficient gardeners and 263 remained helpers all during the program. The program showed that few of the gardeners knew how to have an all the year round garden but most of them were anxious to learn. If the garden program continued in 1935, it was believed that its possibilities for success would be greater. It could be begun in "off season" and the plans for the use of vacant lots, the rotation of crops, and the beauty of arrangement could be studied.

A survey of the activities in connection with the garden program showed:

- Miles traveled by director and helpers: 4,100
- Number of committee meetings: 139
- " chairman ": 201
- " news articles published ": 39
- " letters written ": 391
- Total gardens planted: 498
- " active at the end of the season ": 425
- " visits to gardens ": 1,550
Two hundred and forty-five of the relief cases receiving garden supplies were dropped from the relief rolls. So we see that the gardens served in a very real way to meet the relief needs. Miss Steckley also pointed out that the gardens offered an excellent opportunity for adult education. She said, "The gardeners have been eager to learn and appreciative of their opportunities. Why should not gardening be one of the sports that cause men and women to grow and be proud?" There are many skills involved in the art of gardening and by a mastery of these one's thinking habits and use of leisure time may be successfully employed.

The garden program furnished adult education along the lines of soil preparation, home economics and a better home standard. Those entering into the garden program have found that they received guidance toward employment and occupation. Special aptitudes were discovered and many gained preparation for specific jobs. There was a change in their facial expression and in the attitudes toward life of some of the gardeners as they gained increased self respect and interest in life. In many cases persons who had been "enjoying ill health" were stimulated to recovery through interest in their gardens.

In the fall the garden program was followed by a canning program. Those who had been on relief rolls and were likely to return were eligible for canning supplies. There were 285 dozen jars, 279½ dozen tops, and 347 dozen rubberers distributed. The canning demonstrations were attended by 565 gardeners, and 9,459
Jars were filled, estimated at a value of $1,891.80. The value of the table products was estimated at $6,761.62, thus making the total value $8,653.02. The canning program continued until late in October and in some cases until November.

The garden director was also the director of the canning program. She was responsible for the distribution of the supplies and equipment. She was also instrumental in securing economics assistants and assistants in food preservation to give demonstrations. In her position as canning director, the former garden director was responsible for sending frequent reports in regard to her program to the director of the Social Service Bureau and to the director of the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration.

Civilian Conservation Work

There were no Civilian Conservation Camps located in Richmond, however, they offered opportunities to gain employment for relief clients approved by the Social Service Bureau.

Under the provisions of the act of Congress approved on March 31, 1933, 250,000 men were to have the opportunity of six months employment (an additional 45,000 men from the drought stricken areas were enrolled). Each man received subsistence, clothing, and medical attention, in a work camp, plus a minimum cash allowance of $30.00 a month. Twenty-five dollars a month cash allowance was allotted to the men's dependents, and he was allowed to keep only $5.00 of his monthly wage. The Civilian Conservation Work provided opportunity to build men as well as to grow trees. The Department of Labor was anxious that the
men selected for the camp be those best suited to outdoor camp life in order that the greatest advantage be derived from the experiment.

On April 5, 1933 the President appointed a director of the Civilian Conservation Work, and directed the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, Interior and Labor to appoint representatives to serve on an advisory council with the director. The Department of Labor was responsible for the final selection of all the regular workers except the Veterans' contingent, which was selected by the Veterans' Administration. The War Department was responsible for the enrollment, equipping, and conditioning of the men. It was also responsible for the construction, command, supply, administration, sanitation, medical care, hospitalization, pay and welfare at the camps. The Departments of Agriculture and of the Interior were responsible for the selection and planning of work projects on national parks and national forests, and for the supervision of the men while at work on these projects. The Department of Agriculture also recommended for or against all projects on state and private land and assisted state authorities in the administration of these projects.

The enrollment for the Civilian Conservation Camps was voluntary. Of those who enrolled, the men of character, who were ambitious and purposeful were selected in order that the camps should be a success. The men were first taken from the relief rolls, for these were needy and it was believed that the cash allowance s
would take their families from the relief rolls. In selecting
the juniors it was necessary that they fulfill certain require-
ments; they must be unemployed and between the ages of eighteen
and twenty-five. Any man employed at a C.C.C. must be an American
citizen, which did not include foreigners who had filed only their
first citizenship papers; the man must be unmarried and must have
dependants, who may be either blood or obligation dependants.

Any man discharged from a camp for any cause, prior to the
expiration of his term was not permitted to enroll again. No
junior enrollees who had married since enrollment were permitted
to re-enroll. Men in the vicinity of the project, who did not
fulfill all of the necessary requirements due to the fact that
they were outside the age limit or were married, could be em-
ployed if they were skilled in the project under operation and
would be a good influence on the younger men. The men on the
administrative staff or employed for special tasks did not need
to fulfill the same requirements as the campers.

The United States Department of Labor designated the Virginia
Emergency Relief Administration as the selecting agency for the
state, and the government determined the state quotas. The state
agency determined the local quotas, and advised as to the time
by which quotas should be filled. If a man applied to enroll
and was approved by the local relief agency, the application was
approved and held until he went to the recruiting station for a
preliminary physical examination. In the majority of cases
the men were first sent to a conditioning camp for about two
weeks, where they were given more thorough physical examinations
and if necessary were given inoculations. As the work at the camp
was strenuous he was better able to stand it, if gradually
orientated to strenuous labor. The man was therefore sent to
finish his six months at the regular camp.

In camp the men were under the supervision of United States Army officers, but they were not under military discipline nor did they wear military uniforms. A man was honorably discharged if he was leaving camp to obtain permanent employment. If a person failed to perform duties assigned to him, refused to work or showed continued unwillingness to abide by the rules, he was given an administrative discharge. When proved guilty of more serious violations of rules or of refusal to work, he was given a dishonorable discharge and forfeited his allotment from the time of the commission of the offense until his discharge.

The Civilian Conservation Camps offered an opportunity for about 350,000 men to work in the forests. The principal work of these men was to make trails, build roads, and construct fire lanes in the forests. In connection with parks, they did landscaping and improved the natural scenery. They also improved the forests by eradicating tree pests and thinning trees, removing undesirable species. The men worked forty hours a week between Monday and Friday, but they could be called on to work extra hours in emergencies.

In addition to the work, an educational program was conducted under competent direction in order to develop in the men power of self-expression, self entertainment, and self culture. They were given as far as practicable some understanding of prevailing social and economic conditions. Attempts were made to develop
pride and satisfaction in cooperative endeavor, and to preserve
and strengthen good habits of health and mental development.
The men were given some understanding of appreciation of, country
life, and in some cases were given vocational training, and guidance
Libraries, radio, educational movies, and opportunities
for hiking, swimming, and fishing were offered in connection with
the educational and recreational programs.

In April 1934 the Social Service Bureau was authorized by
the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration to select men for
the Civilian Conservation Camps. Virginia was allowed to send
5,000 men to the camps. Of this number a certain per cent went
as cooks, who did not have to fulfill the same requirements as
the regular group, which was between eighteen and twenty-five
years of age. Applications for camp were taken in April, July,
October and January. The following number were sent to camp
from Richmond agencies from April through December 1934:
385 juniors and 46 cooks from the Social Service Bureau, 22
juniors from the Family Service Society, 13 from the Bureau of
Catholic Charities, one from the Children’s Aid Society and
11 from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

White Collar" Projects

The Work Division under the E.R.A. continued many of the
projects that had started under the C.W.A. The projects for
the men were principally out of doors and and in the nature of
a construction project. Under the C.W.A. there were offered
opportunities to the professional and non-manual group, but
under the C.W.A. the "white collar" program of the Work Division
was given special "ear marked funds". The "white collar" program
## Administrative Expense of Relief Projects, July to August, 1934

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons on payroll at end of month</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Earnings</td>
<td>$5,914.18</td>
<td>$6,722.27</td>
<td>$6,834.71</td>
<td>$7,436.12</td>
<td>$7,418.41</td>
<td>$7,261.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>51.40</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>62.00</td>
<td>122.16</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>315.13</td>
<td>341.82</td>
<td>197.40</td>
<td>286.07</td>
<td>193.27</td>
<td>243.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Expenses</td>
<td>254.46</td>
<td>865.38</td>
<td>428.04</td>
<td>773.16</td>
<td>661.91</td>
<td>598.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenses Exclusive of payroll</td>
<td>621.09</td>
<td>1,207.20</td>
<td>625.44</td>
<td>1,121.23</td>
<td>977.34</td>
<td>841.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
began the last of September 1934 and ended in December of the same year. The program employed an average of 375 workers and operated at an average additional cost of $15,000 per month. Only about one-half of the men fulfilling the requirements under the federal regulations were able to secure employment on the "white collar projects". The principal enterprises for this group were: a real estate survey, and city planning, art museum, research and music projects.

This survey of the projects in Richmond does not mention all of them but has given the various types and classes. The Federal Government realized that people's work needs could not be satisfied merely by occupation but they required an occupation suited to their interests and ability. The administrative staff for such a large number of projects was comparatively small and has increased very little in comparison with the increasing number of projects in Richmond.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Since 1922 when the Social Service Bureau, Richmond's public outdoor relief agency, was founded, many changes have taken place. In 1923 there were six workers at the Social Service Bureau, and its administrative cost amounted to $6,259. These workers, though interested and capable, had not received training in case work and methods of dealing with people. In 1934 there were in the month of December ninety-three workers at the Social Service Bureau and salaries alone for that month amounted to $6,986.52. The Bureau in 1934 had not yet been able to employ an entire staff of trained social case workers, but it has as far as possible made this the objective. There was in 1935 criticism of the high administrative cost of relief in Virginia. Mayor Bright of Richmond replied to this by stating that he preferred high administrative cost to high relief cost. He understood the correlation between a well trained staff of social case workers and low relief cost.
In 1922, the forms of relief were very limited. Wood, coal, shoes and medical service were given to "worthy clients" without asking anything in return. At that time Mothers' Aid was extended to a few applicants, for the rearing of good citizens as assets to the state.

In 1934, although the relief offered was not adequate to meet the need, it served better than that of the earlier days. Grocery orders, surplus products and in some cases cash allowances were added to the benefits formerly given. The Social Service Bureau attempted for a short while to pay rents, but was unable to continue this. If the Bureau had not through its increased resources been able to assist people more than in 1922, the City Home and the children's agencies would have been unable to meet the great demand which would have fallen on them.

The federal government continued the system of work in return for relief which was started by the City of Richmond. The projects under the government system of work relief were more socially useful and better planned than those inaugurated by the City of Richmond. Projects were required to meet
Persons Receiving Direct and Work Relief
July to December 1934.
certain requirements and as the projects were expensive both in planning and operation, it was not possible to furnish work relief to all applicants for relief.

From July to December 1934 the amount spent in direct relief far exceeded that spent in work relief. Nor does it appear that when more money was spent in work relief the cost of direct relief was proportionally diminished. The system of work relief has weaknesses, but is attempting to satisfy individual social needs better than the system of direct relief.

In a public agency the intake is unlimited. All applicants must be heard and those eligible under the public system must be aided, which makes the estimating of expenses a matter of "higher mathematics and prophesy." The number of applicants for relief at the Social Service Bureau has constantly increased, but it was not until 1931-32 that the greatest increase took place.

A sample of the intake at the Social Service Bureau gives some idea of the weekly turn over, that is, the number of cases opened in a week and of cases
### Sample Weekly Intake Report, Period July 7, 1934 To December 27, 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week Ending</th>
<th>Applications rec'd during week</th>
<th>Cases opened previous week</th>
<th>Cases open during week</th>
<th>Cases closed during week</th>
<th>Cases open end of week</th>
<th>Active cases end of week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7-7-34</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>4,851</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>4,961</td>
<td>3,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-14-34</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>4,961</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>4,832</td>
<td>3,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-21-34</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>4,832</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>4,786</td>
<td>4,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-28-34</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>4,786</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4,781</td>
<td>4,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-4-34</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>4,781</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>4,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-11-34</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4,908</td>
<td>4,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-18-34</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>4,908</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>3,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-25-34</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>4,859</td>
<td>3,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-29-34</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>4,899</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4,660</td>
<td>3,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-5-34</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4,772</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4,686</td>
<td>3,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12-34</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>4,660</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4,636</td>
<td>3,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-19-34</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>4,686</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>4,505</td>
<td>3,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-26-34</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>4,705</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4,622</td>
<td>3,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-3-34</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>4,612</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,760</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-10-34</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>4,676</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4,658</td>
<td>3,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-17-34</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>4,698</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4,784</td>
<td>3,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-24-34</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>4,784</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>4,876</td>
<td>3,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-1-34</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>4,876</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4,960</td>
<td>3,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-8-34</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>4,960</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5,085</td>
<td>2,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15-34</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>5,085</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>5,146</td>
<td>3,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-22-34</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>5,148</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>5,238</td>
<td>3,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-29-34</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>5,238</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5,371</td>
<td>3,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-6-34</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>5,371</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5,451</td>
<td>4,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13-34</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>5,451</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>5,528</td>
<td>4,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-20-34</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>5,528</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>5,496</td>
<td>4,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-27-34</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>5,496</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5,564</td>
<td>4,202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
closed. The largest number of cases opened in any week from July through December, 1934, was 223. For the week ending August 30th there were 281 cases closed, which was the largest number closed in any other week during the period. Although the cases that were closed keep the case load down this was not enough to prevent constant growth. From February until December 1934 there was an increase of about 50 per cent in the cases registered at the end of the month.

There has been in the later years a difference in the type of person applying for relief. Many of those applying for relief after 1931 have lived on a standard much higher than the marginal standard usual for the older type of relief client. The fact that such a large group are in need of public support is significant in our economic system. Whereas we formerly had an important middle class it seems as if this may disappear and we may have only an upper and a lower class.

The great variation in types of those applying to the Bureau necessitates greater individualization of care at present than in the earlier years. This
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU CASE LOAD FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cases carried past month</td>
<td>3,612</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>5,289</td>
<td>5,233</td>
<td>4,851</td>
<td>4,886</td>
<td>4,723</td>
<td>4,674</td>
<td>4,949</td>
<td>5,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications during month</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>1,493</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>1,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cases opened</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>1,459</td>
<td>1,291</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New cases opened</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old cases reopened</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total monthly case load</td>
<td>3,958</td>
<td>4,609</td>
<td>5,579</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>5,578</td>
<td>5,423</td>
<td>5,269</td>
<td>5,078</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>5,716</td>
<td>6,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Cases</td>
<td>1,894</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>1,455</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>1,433</td>
<td>1,284</td>
<td>1,070</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>1,338</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>1,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief Cases</td>
<td>2,064</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>4,124</td>
<td>4,301</td>
<td>4,145</td>
<td>4,139</td>
<td>4,199</td>
<td>3,974</td>
<td>4,162</td>
<td>4,479</td>
<td>4,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cases closed</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cases end of month</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>5,289</td>
<td>5,233</td>
<td>4,851</td>
<td>4,886</td>
<td>4,723</td>
<td>4,674</td>
<td>4,949</td>
<td>5,408</td>
<td>5,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active cases end of month</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>1,165</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
factor has been met as adequately as limited resources permitted, however a greater realization of this need is recognition of growth in the philosophy of the agency.

Federal government participation in relief was, and continues to be, a matter of much debate, as was the source of the funds, the method of determining eligibility, and the form of relief. The present method of relief on such a widespread basis is considered only a temporary structure until economic recovery, or until a system of social insurance can be established.

Many considered the intervention of the federal government into relief as "un-American." By the control which the government is able to exert because of its financial power it takes away from the state some of its responsibility for managing its own affairs. 1.

The destructive effect of aid under the poor laws or by private charities had an deteriorating influence on the physique and morale of the working class; however, it was usually concealed by the abundant opportunities for work that hitherto characterized our country. 2.

1. Ikes, Harold C., "Jobs vs. Dele." Pg. 3.
2. Ibid., Pg. 3.
The fact exists that many were unable to find employment. President Roosevelt considered that the problems of those seeking unemployment aid were different from those applying for relief in 1922. His attempts to meet the needs by work relief instead of direct relief only affected the consumption industries. Public works projects were expected to stimulate capital and restore a balance between capital and consumptive industries.

Prior to 1931 the Social Service Bureau played a fairly inconspicuous role despite the fact that it was disbursing about $50,000 a year. In the latter part of 1932 the federal government through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation aided public relief in Richmond by creating work on four bridges. But the situation became worse and in March 1933 the Emergency Relief act was passed, allowing the federal government to give aid to localities through the public agencies. With the increasing number of applicants and the large funds at its disposal, the Social Service Bureau has played a more important role. In January 1934 the Social Service Bureau gave relief to 3,102 families, and in six months the number had increased to 4,591 families. After a survey of public relief agencies in Virginia,
the NEWS-LEADER stated on July 24, 1934 that in comparison with the other agencies in Virginia, the Social Service Bureau of Richmond gave evidence of better organization and greater stability.

In 1934, about $700,000 was spent in Richmond on unemployment relief, in contrast with 1923, when the expenditure of the Social Service Bureau amounted to about $17,000. This was an enormous increase, though not large in comparison with some other cities.

As the necessity for relief still continues we will conclude by considering some of the constructive effects of relief. First, through widespread relief the standards of living of thousands have been raised. 1 Educational facilities have been extended. Recreation has been given to a group formerly unable to enjoy it, and parks, playgrounds and recreation centers are better equipped and better staffed. Housing conditions have been improved. Second, the relief administration has challenged the sub-minimum wage and many formerly working at insufficient wages have been able to bargain with more security with their employers. Third, the present system of relief has removed to some extent the devastating effect of relief on morale. And fourth,

1. Wilbur, Walter C., "Special Problems in the South" Pg. 55.
the present system of relief has set changed standards
of public service and has awakened new interest in
the problems of government administration of welfare
measures. 1.

1. Wilbur, op. cit. pg. 55.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Annual Reports of the Department of Public Welfare, Years ending December 31, 1873, 1920 - 1933.


Richmond City Code, revised to July 1, 1930, compiled by City Attorney, 1930, Richmond, Virginia.


Williams, James M., Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1923.

Magazine Articles and Bulletins


"Federal Civil Works Administration Bulletins."


"Manual of Relief and Service," Virginia Emergency Relief Administration, Richmond, Virginia, 1934.

Raushenbush, Stephen, ... "Common Sense Follows the C. W. A. As" Nation, Vol. 138, April 18, 1934.

"State C. W. A. Bulletins,"


"Works Division B. R. A. Bulletins."
VITA

MARY COLEMAN HANKINS - Born: December 31, 1910,
Richmond, Virginia.

Preparatory School:

Diploma: - Collegiate School for Girls,
Richmond, Virginia,
June, 1928.

A. B. Degree: - Hollins College,
Hollins, Virginia,
June, 1932.

Certificate of Proficiency,

School of Social Work and Public Health,
Richmond Division of the College
of William and Mary,
Richmond, Virginia,
June, 1935