

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SOCIOLOGY

EDITOR

ALBION W. SMALL

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

CHARLES R. HENDERSON

MARION TALBOT

GEORGE E. VINCENT

CHARLES ZUEBLIN

FREDERICK STARR

WILLIAM I. THOMAS

VOL. 14
BI-MONTHLY
JULY, 1908—MAY, 1909

CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1909

LIFE IN THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL FIELDS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO WOMEN¹

ANNIE MARION MACLEAN
Adelphi College

The investigation upon which this study is based extended over a period of six and one-half weeks.² with two people at work in the field, and was undertaken at the instance of the National Board³ of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States in order that this body might be definitely informed in regard to the condition of women in these regions. The lives of women in mining camps are apt to be barren of opportunity if left to themselves; therefore, the National Board desired to know the situation as it is before attempting betterment work itself or setting other forces in motion.

Much is known in a general way of life in the mining regions of Pennsylvania,⁴ and very much detailed information in regard to working conditions in the mines has been given to the public, but no special investigation of the separate towns centered mainly on the social life of women has been made before this. It is therefore hoped that this study will contribute in a small way to a more intimate knowledge of an important body of people and their needs.

The inquiry was based on a schedule, which is here presented.

SCHEDULE III

FOR MINING REGIONS

For the Sociological Investigation Committee, acting under the auspices of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

¹ This formed one section of a national investigation of living and working conditions conducted by the writer of this paper for the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations in the year 1907-8.

² June 10 to August 1, 1907.

³ Miss Grace H. Dodge, of New York, president.

⁴ The very valuable work of Dr. Peter Roberts on *Anthracite Coal Communities* should be mentioned here and should be read for a general view of the situation. Dr. Roberts himself was most helpful in this investigation.

Name of Place....Population....Special Industry....Number employed
Nationalities....Women in community: Occupations....Housing Con-
 ditions....Social Life....Amusements....Clubs or Centers for Women....
 Church undertakings in behalf of women....Remarks.....

Before proceeding to a discussion of the towns it may be well to locate definitely the two great mining sections of the state. The anthracite fields⁵ embrace a territory of about 3,300 square miles⁶ in three parallel valleys in the northeastern part of the state, while the bituminous fields underlie about 15,800 square miles in six parallel valleys in the southwestern part of the state.⁷

The counties included in the anthracite area (12 counties), with the percentage of production, are: Carbon, 7.8; Columbia, 1.8; Dauphin, 1.0; Lackawanna, 29.2; Lebanon⁸, —; Luzerne, 20.8; Northumberland, 1.1; Schuylkill, 2.7; Sullivan, 0.8; Susquehanna, 3.48; Wayne⁸, —; Wyoming⁸, —.

The counties included in the bituminous area (24 counties), are: Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver, Bedford, Blair, Butler, Cambria, Centre, Clarion, Clearfield, Clinton, Elk, Fayette, Greene, Huntingdon, Indiana, Jefferson, Laurence, Lycoming, Mercer, Somerset, Tioga, Washington, Westmoreland.

Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, and Cambria are the four most important counties so far as output of coal is concerned.

A tabular comparison⁹ of the numerical importance of the two sections is now presented.

	Bituminous	Anthracite
Number of Mines.....	1,023	334
Number of Operators.....	514	119
Number of Salaried Officials, etc....	3,830	3,014
Number of Wage Earners.....	92,095	69,691

⁵The general boundaries are as follows: On the north by the north branch of the Susquehanna, on the east by the Delaware and Lehigh rivers, and on the west by the Susquehanna.

⁶"Less than one-sixth of this, or about 484 square miles, is underlaid by workable deposits of coal"—"Mines and Quarries," 1902 *Special Census Report*, p. 675.

⁷Running from the Ohio and Maryland lines well on toward New York.

⁸These counties produced nothing in 1902.

⁹"Mines and Quarries," 1902 *Special Census Report*, p. 291. The figures for normal years are nearly double for employees.

It will be seen that the anthracite coal fields extend from Forest City on the north to a little south of Pottsville in a long oval. This embraces three coal basins—the Wyoming, which is also the largest, including Nanticoke and Forest City, with the intervening places; the Lehigh, lying about Hazleton, and the Schuylkill, centering about Shenandoah and Mahanoy City, while the bituminous fields are scattered over a larger area, with centers at Johnstown, Greensburg, Connellsville, Punxsutawney, Spangler and Patton, Indiana, and Du Bois.

With the most important centers in mind, our work was undertaken. No attempt was made to visit all the towns and patches in either section, but only to select certain places which should be typical of the best, average, and worst conditions. The places visited were as follows:

Anthracite region.—Audenried (Carbon Co.); Dickson and Priceburg (Lackawanna Co.); Drifton, Duryea, and Edwardsville, (Luzerne Co.); Forest City (Susquehanna Co.); Freeland, Hazleton, Harleigh, Jeanesville, and Jeddo, (Luzerne Co.); Jessup (Lackawanna Co.); Lattimer I and II (Luzerne Co.); Mahanoy City (Schuylkill Co.); Mayfield (Lackawanna Co.); Milnesville (Luzerne Co.); McAdoo (Schuylkill Co.); Nanticoke, Ninth District (Hazleton) (Luzerne Co.); Old Forge and Mudtown, and Ollphant (Lackawanna Co.); Parkplace (Schuylkill Co.); Pittston and West Pittston (Luzerne Co.); Shenandoah and Trenton (Schuylkill Co.); Upper Lehigh, Warrior Run, and Wilkesbarre (Luzerne Co.).

Bituminous region.—Adrian, and Anita (Jefferson Co.); Barnesboro (Cambria Co.); Big Soldier (Jefferson Co.); Cambria (Johnstown) (Cambria Co.); Chambersville (Indiana Co.); Conemaugh and Franklin (Cambria Co.); Connellsville (Fayette Co.); Crabtree (Westmoreland Co.); Creekside (Indiana Co.); Du Bois (Clearfield Co.); Ehrenfeld (Cambria Co.); Elenora (Jefferson Co.); Eriton (Clearfield Co.); Ernest (Indiana Co.); Fayette City (Fayette Co.); Florenza (Jefferson Co.); Forbes Road, Greensburg, Hannastown, Haydenville, Huff, Jamison I (Westmoreland Co.); Johnstown (Cambria Co.); Manongahela (Washington Co.); Mt. Pleasant (Westmoreland

Co.); Patton (Cambria Co.); Penfield (Clearfield Co.); Punxsutawney (Jefferson Co.); Rossiter (Indiana Co.); South Fork and Spangler (Cambria Co.); Sykesville (Jefferson Co.); St. Benedict (Cambria Co.); Tyler (Clearfield Co.); Walston (Jefferson Co.); Windber (Somerset Co.).

An investigation of this kind naturally resolves itself into a study of foreign population, as the Americans are found only in positions of more or less importance around the mines, so it was the life of the immigrant woman in her local setting that absorbed attention. The nationalities of the immigrants are practically the same in both sections. Sixty per cent. of the miners and almost all the mine laborers are Slavs,¹⁰ Lithuanians, and Italians. English, Welsh, Irish and Germans do only highly skilled work. The few Jews in the coal fields are engaged in trade, having followed the various nationalities coming into the coal fields.

A detailed account of the two sections is now presented:

A. ANTHRACITE FIELDS

Housing conditions.—Probably 75 per cent. of the houses in some sections are still owned by the companies, although one frequently hears it said that the company house is fast becoming a thing of the past. The newly arrived immigrant is likely to come without his family, so he boards with someone of his own race, as many as twenty or thirty men crowding into a four-room house with a man and his wife and family. In such cases three rooms, or perhaps four, are used as bedrooms, leaving only a lean-to to serve as kitchen and living-room. The family sleeps in one room and the boarders in the rest, one set occupying the beds at night and another during the day if they happen to have a night shift at the mine. Sometimes, however, boarders sleep in the room with the family. The woman does all the housework and cooking for the men, each man usually buying his own food and paying her a certain sum for cooking it. The houses in which this class of immigrants live are usually four-roomed with a lean-to. They

¹⁰ Including Slovaks, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Magars, Poles, and Bohemians, as the term is used in the Pennsylvania mining regions.

are poorly built and are cold in winter, and the rent averages \$1.00 per month per room.

It is said on good authority that all the houses in which the newly arrived immigrants live are swarming with vermin. All are very dirty and the yards and alleys are frequently filthy.

After the immigrant has been here a year or two he brings over his family, if he is a married man. They set up housekeeping in one of these old houses, taking boarders as just described. But they soon begin to save money to buy a house and lot. They accomplish this in the course of five or six years and they usually have a house in a better locality, with five or six rooms, not very well built but a great improvement over the old one. They have a parlor with lace curtains, rocking-chairs, and a gorgeous lamp, and in the kitchen they put a big cook-stove costing \$30 or \$40. They may not have a lawn in front of the house but usually there is a vegetable garden at the back. They are not yet clean according to American ideas, especially in the care of the streets and alleys, but they are no longer filthy. The boarder is apt to vanish when this stage is reached.

The third class of homes consists of those occupied by the skilled miners of all classes. They are usually six- or seven-roomed houses, comfortably built and furnished like any simple American home. In any case, they are Americans to all intents and purposes and have no especial need of help.

Water supply.—Besides the housing conditions there are certain other characteristics of the anthracite fields which deserve mention. The water supply all through the region is good. Usually it comes from springs in the mountains and there is a fair supply for each locality, though not often a faucet in each house.

Natural surroundings.—The natural surroundings are beautiful but not infrequently a patch is squatted down on a culm heap or between two culm heaps, so that the children play in coal from morning till night and the women see nothing but blackness from the windows. The culm heap¹¹ and the breakers are inevitable

¹¹ Successful efforts have been made to reduce the culm heap somewhat by converting part of it into a marketable product.

evils, but it is surely not necessary for houses to be built close to them when a walk of five minutes would bring the people to grass and often to a beautiful view as well.

Employment of women.—Throughout the anthracite fields the women among the Slavs are in the great minority and are usually married early and kept busy at home with the usual duties and many boarders. But scattered through the region are silk mills, knitting mills, and shirt factories which employ young girls. In these the laws regarding child-labor and the hours and conditions of labor are not rigorously enforced and many hardships result. Conditions in the silk mills are not by any means as good as could be desired.

B. BITUMINOUS FIELDS

Housing conditions.—In the bituminous fields the company house is in evidence everywhere. When an operator opens a mine he lets a contract to a builder to put up a town of anywhere from fifty to three-hundred houses. In their worst state these houses have four or five rooms, no clapboards or foundations, and a very thin coat of plaster inside. They rent for from \$4 to \$9 a month, according to the number of rooms, making in general an average of \$1.00 per month per room as in the anthracite fields. There is no water faucet in the house, and often there are not more than three or four in the town. The average house is clapboarded but has no foundation, or only a board one. The best houses are found at Ernest and have six rooms, are clapboarded, have stone foundations and a fairly good coat of plaster, and a water faucet in each kitchen. In this town the houses for the bosses have also an indoor closet and bath. In many towns the companies had no outdoor closets built when the houses were put up and therefore the people had to provide them for themselves. The result is buildings which in some cases do not provide for the requirements of decency and never for those of health. To go through an alley in one of these towns is a trip better imagined than described. In other cases the companies had out-houses built, but they are put up in groups of six or eight to serve for a block of houses. It is possible that part

of these are supposed to be reserved for women and part for men, but they are not so used. In exceptional cases an out-house is built for each dwelling, with a vault of the proper depth.

Furthermore, the immigrant in the bituminous fields has small opportunity to buy a house and lot for himself for the company will not sell him land, even if he be disposed to buy. He does not, therefore, have the same chance to improve his surroundings that he would have in the anthracite fields and one strong incentive to saving is taken away. Yet, owing to the exigencies of bituminous mining, the company house seems to be the only practicable thing.¹²

Water supply.—In several of these towns the water supply is bad and typhoid fever not uncommon. This is not entirely the fault of the companies, as the water is not naturally as good as in the anthracite fields. At the same time, since they are landlords, it seems as if they ought to take at least some rudimentary measures to make the water drinkable. In several cases there was only one place in the town where drinking-water could be obtained, and often the Americans were afraid to drink even that without boiling.

Sanitation.—These company towns, again excepting Ernest, have no sidewalks and no proper way of getting rid of garbage. The streets and alleys are very dirty and there is not even a pretence of cleaning them as there is in the anthracite fields, because there is no town organization to see to it, and the companies do not take the trouble. They clean up when there is an epidemic. At the same time, these company towns do not give the impression of crowding as do the patches in the anthracite fields. The houses are on larger lots and there are no hovels. The worst of the houses are not as bad as the worst in the anthracite fields, but neither do the best in the one case compare with the best in the other. The same may be said of the cleanliness of the towns.

Employment of women.—The women marry young, as in the anthracite fields, and are in the main given over to the arduous duties of housekeeping and taking boarders, besides trying to

¹²The life of a mine is only about ten years and men could not afford to own houses for such a suburb.

care for numerous small children. There are comparatively few factories here.

From the foregoing it will be seen that in many respects living conditions are most undesirable in the two sections. Other features of the two regions, such as amusements and moral conditions, may well be discussed together.

Amusements.—The amusements of the immigrants in both regions are few in number and practically all seem to be reducible to one root—drink. Even where there are theaters and concerts the immigrants do not go to them because they understand English so imperfectly, and for the same reason they do not frequent even the nicolodeons, penny arcades, etc., to any great extent. What characteristic social life they have centers about weddings and christenings, when a supply of liquor is bought and a carousal of several days follows. Then, too, there are many dances, with liquor always circulating freely. Everyone goes to these dances, from the baby to the grandmother. If there were no liquor sold it is probable that such dances would be an innocent enough form of amusement, for the round dance is seldom seen. As they are actually conducted, however, the women and children drink as well as the men, ugly tempers and evil passions are aroused, and there are frequent fights, while after the dance young men and women find opportunity to indulge their inflamed passions. During the summer the dance is replaced by the picnic, which is prolonged till late in the evening, with dancing and liquor. This is a source of grave danger to the girls and is deplored by the better element among the immigrants themselves.

Both dances and picnics are held under various auspices. Sometimes they are conducted by one of the men's societies of the Roman Catholic church, and sometimes by the church itself, for the purpose of raising money. Usually there is a charge of 25 cents a couple, and invariably the profits from the liquor-selling go into the church treasury. Neither picnics nor balls seem to be as common in the bituminous fields as in the anthracite.

Aside from these the only amusement is beer-drinking, either at home or in the saloons. Through the anthracite fields saloons

abound and the liquor laws are laxly enforced. In most places little pretense even is made of enforcing the Sunday laws, and where they are enforced some of the better class of Americans are doubtful as to the wisdom of this. The real question seems to be whether it is better for men to drink at home or in the saloon. If the saloons are closed on Sunday the men in one house together buy a keg of beer, which must be consumed by Monday morning or it will spoil. The result is a grand debauch, in which the women and children are participants. If the men could go to the saloon the women and children would probably get no beer and the men less because it would cost them more.

In this same line another great evil is the practice of selling beer from the saloons by the quantity.¹⁸ There is a great deal of this, though it is illegal up to the amount of a quart, and it tends to increase drinking because beer sold by the quantity is much cheaper than when sold by the glass.

In the bituminous fields saloons are not nearly as numerous and the laws are more strictly enforced. In the company towns there are no saloons, but to counterbalance this the beer wagon makes a visit every day or two and the people keep beer in the house by the keg.

Moral conditions.—The lax moral conditions among the immigrants flow in large part from the drink evil, but also in part from the conditions under which they live. There is no doubt that all of these nationalities are heavy drinkers and have brought the vice with them from their own countries. At home, however, they had not the money with which to buy much liquor, and it is possible that what liquor they had was less adulterated than ours and that it did less harm than when taken in our climate. However that may be, what they get here undoubtedly leads to most of the fights and murders among them and to much of the vice.

A difficulty arises from the necessity put upon the mine-workers of a daily bath. They come home with coal dust ground into them from head to foot and find a daily tub bath a necessity. In winter time there is no place in which to take this bath except

¹⁸"Pushing the growler."

in the kitchen in the presence of the women and children. This lack of privacy is demoralizing.

The three factors of drink, crowding, and the daily bath unite to make the standard of purity in the coal fields admittedly a low one. Illegitimate children are not uncommon, though when a mother is unmarried the priest usually makes it his business to see that the father of her child marries her.

Favorable conditions.—Aside from these serious evils little else can be charged against the immigrants. Their standard of living is lower than ours but they slough off these faults in an amazingly short time if they have any chance at all. Furthermore, they are frugal and thrifty, and law-abiding and peaceable when not under the influence of liquor. All of these nationalities, except perhaps the Italian, are well-developed, sturdy, healthy people. Taking them all in all, the immigrants in the coal fields make upon one the impression of being not vicious and criminal, but only ignorant and lacking in self-control. Those who know them best say they are most teachable when their suspicions are allayed.

They soon become suspicious, because they are fleeced on every hand, from the instant that they land in New York or Philadelphia throughout their journey to the coal fields, in securing and retaining work. Conductors and brakemen hustle and jostle them into the cars and put them off at wrong stations; landlords charge exorbitant rents; doctors and druggists wring money out of them in sickness; mine bosses tax them for allowing them to keep their jobs; unscrupulous men put on a gaudy button or badge and frighten the wife into paying them money to save herself from the fancied danger of an arrest; company stores force them to trade at them and supply shoddy goods at high prices, and so the list might be prolonged indefinitely. Where one American or company treats them with consideration and justice, not to speak of generosity, half a dozen take advantage of their ignorance of our language and laws to make money out of them. It is small wonder that they soon become suspicious and surly to strangers.

It seems desirable here for purposes of definiteness and com-

parison to put in tabular form certain classes of facts, in accordance with a twofold grouping, as follows:

First, general information in regard to each place studied, including population and occupations of women.

Second, social life. For lack of a better term this has been

TABLE I
ANTHRACITE FIELDS.—GENERAL INFORMATION

Place	Population*	Occupations of Women
Audensried	2,000	Housekeeping; † Work in factories near
Dickson and Frisburg‡	5,000	Housekeeping; 100 girls in silk mill
Drifton	2,120	Housekeeping
Duryea	1,500	Housekeeping
Edwardsville	5,165	Housekeeping; work in factories in Wilkesbarre
Forest City	4,279	Housekeeping; 50 girls in silk mill
Freeland	5,254	Housekeeping; 120 girls in silk mill; 220 girls in overall factory
Harleigh	585	Housekeeping; a few girls in nearby mills
Hazleton	14,230	Housekeeping and factory work; ¶ 498 in three shirt factories; 388 in two silk mills; 160 in two knitting mills; many go to Waverly factories
Jeanesville§	1,070	Housekeeping; work in factories in Hazleton
Jeddo	1,613	Housekeeping; work in factories in nearby towns
Jessup	3,243	Housekeeping
Laurie I and II	1,600**	Housekeeping; a few in nearby factories
Shahany City	13,394	Housekeeping; 220 girls in three shirt factories
Stargardt	6,000††	Housekeeping
Stonesville	824	Housekeeping; factory work in nearby towns
St. Arden	2,122	Housekeeping; 60 girls in shirt factory
Hambooke	12,110	Housekeeping; 200 girls in two silk mills and one hosiery mill
"High District"‡‡	3,000††	Housekeeping; ¶¶ a few in Hazleton mills
Old Forge and Midtown	3,610	Housekeeping; work in Taylor factories
Clyphant	6,120	Housekeeping; 300 girls in silk mill
Parkplace	100	Housekeeping
Pittston	12,330	Housekeeping; work in factories
West Pittston	5,840	Housekeeping; work in factories
Shenandoah	20,331	Housekeeping; varied factory work
Trenton	300††	Housekeeping
Upper Lehigh	1,200	Housekeeping; 20-30 girls in nearby mills
Waverly Run	905‡‡	Housekeeping; work in factories in Wilkesbarre
Wilkesbarre	51,721	Housekeeping; varied industries

* Figures from the Census of 1900 used.

† The term "housekeeping" is meant to include taking boarders, as the great majority of women engage in this work.

‡ The mining center frequently includes more than a political division.

§ Some girls come mostly from Audensried, Freeland, and other small nearby towns.

¶ Most works here also employing 222 men. ** Estimated at the present time at about 2,000.

†† Just outside the city limits of Hazleton.

‡‡ Much more before the age of sixteen as a rule, especially among the Italians.

§§ Most about 1,200.

TABLE II
ANTHRACITE FIELDS.—SOCIAL LIFE

Place	Amusements*	Clubs and Centers for Women	Church Efforts
Audenried.....	Dances, picnics, excursions (with beer and whiskey).		Methodist: Sewing-class of 30; kindergarten of 120.
Dickson and Priceburg.....	Church (Catholic) picnics in summer and balls in winter. Christenings, weddings, much drinking.		
Drifton.....	Nicolodeon, dance hall; beer, etc. sold at dances.		Episcopal:† Women's Guild, 33 members.
Duryea.....	Dances, picnics, saloons.		Presbyterian: Kindergarten, sewing-class, cooking-classes, mothers' meetings.
Edwardsville.....	Nothing special here; seek amusements in nearby towns.		
Forest City.....	Dances, excursions, theater, saloons, etc.‡		
Freeland.....	60 saloons, church picnics, two dance halls, Cath. entertainments.	Sewing class of 30 for girls from 12-16. ¶
Harleigh.....	Picnics; go to parks near Hazelton.		Methodist: Visitor.
Hazleton.....	Dances, picnics, saloons, two nicolodeons, one family theater, one fairly good theater.§	Civic Club, 100 women, chiefly Americans; United Charities, a woman visitor, sewing class of 30 girls, Friendly Visitors' Society; a free sewing class of 75 girls.	Methodist: Visitor, sewing-class. Presbyterian: Visitor, kindergarten, industrial school.
Jeanesville.....	Go to Hazleton for amusements.		Methodist: Deaconess from Hazleton pays visits.
Jeddo.....	Go to Hazleton for amusements.		Methodist: Deaconess from Hazleton pays visits.
Jessup.....	Numerous saloons.		Presbyterian:** Visitor, kindergarten of 35-40.
Lattimer I and II.....	A few dances; company ice-cream and soda-water stand in Lattimer I. Go to theater in Hazleton.		

* As the men and the women in the main enjoy their amusements together, no attempt was made to designate amusements for women alone.
 † Minister's salary paid by mine-owners' families, who do much good.
 ‡ Liquor sold on all occasions. Town drinks 1,000 barrels of beer a year; said to drink more than any town in the Lackawanna valley.
 ¶ There are 6 Protestant, 4 Catholic, and 5 Greek churches. The wife of a mine owner pays part of the salary of each Protestant minister.
 § Entertainments in Hazleton said to be decent. ** Mission; minister lives in Scranton.

TABLE II.—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Efforts
Mahanoy City	Dances, picnics, excursions, church picnics and balls, etc.		Catholic: General work.
Maple	Dances, picnics, church picnics, etc.		
Minersville	Go to Hazleton for amusements.	Sewing-class †	
Northampton	Picnics and excursions.		
Northampton "Northampton"	Entertainments of all kinds with liquor. ‡ (See Hazleton).		(See Hazleton)
Old Forge and Mahoning	Same as in Duryea.		
Olyphant	40 saloons; church entertainments.		Presbyterian: Kindergarten of 30, sewing and social class of 15.
Partridge	Go to Mahanoy City.		Methodist: Sewing circle of 15 women.
Pittston and West Pittston	Dance halls, with liquor sold. ¶		Presbyterian: Sewing school for mill girls of 25-30; Florence Crittenden Circle. Baptist: Kindergarten.
Shenandoah †	Dances and picnics, two nicolodeons, one theater, 160 saloons.		Catholic: Theater under supervision of priest. Baptist: Sewing-school.
Tremont**	Go to Mahanoy City.		
Upper Lehigh	Dances, etc., in Freeland (long walk).		
Warrior Run	Saloons.		
Wilkesbarre ††	Theaters, concerts, penny arcades. ††	Halka Singing Society, 24 Polish girls; Heights Settlement among Welsh mine workers (classes and kindergarten); Loyal Friends' Aid—a sewing-class of Jewish girls.	Episcopal: Sewing-class of 200 girls, all nationalities; sewing- and cooking-class of 500 girls. Presbyterian: Sewing-classes at mission in Lee Park.

¶ In Carbondale, three miles away.
 † In Audenried.
 ‡ 40 saloons, owned by Poles, besides "speak-easies."
 ¶ In addition to the activities indicated many others will be found not primarily for foreigners.
 †† It is claimed that none of these amusements reach the foreigners. They find entertainment chiefly in saloons and at balls and picnics.
 ¶ Other amusements found in Wilkesbarre and Scranton.
 § Deplorable conditions found here.
 ** No saloons.
 *** No saloons.

TABLE III
BITUMINOUS FIELDS.—GENERAL INFORMATION

Place	Population	Occupations of Women
Adrian.....	800*	Housekeeping
Anita.....	2,500	Housekeeping
Barnesboro.....	1,482†	Housekeeping
Big Soldier.....	900*	Housekeeping
Cambria†.....	1,200*	Housekeeping
Chambersville.....	400*	Housekeeping
Conemaugh and Franklin¶.....	2,175	Housekeeping
Connellsville**.....	961§	Housekeeping
Crabtree or Jamison IV.....	7,160	Housekeeping
Creekside.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Du Bois††.....	1,000*	Housekeeping
Ehrenfeld.....	9,375	Housekeeping; 100 girls in overall factory
Elenora.....	567	Housekeeping
Eriton.....	1,500	Housekeeping
Ernest.....	200*	Housekeeping
Fayette City.....	2,600*	Housekeeping
Florenza.....	1,595	Housekeeping
Forbes Road or Jamison III.....	1,500*	Housekeeping
Greensburg‡‡.....	1,000*	Housekeeping
Hannastown or Jamison II.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Haydenville.....	600*	Housekeeping
Huff¶¶.....	1,000*	Housekeeping; 80 in brass fitting factory
Jamison I.....	1,200*	Housekeeping
Johnstown§§.....	35,936***	Housekeeping; some factory work
Monongahela†††.....	5,173	Housekeeping
Mt. Pleasant‡‡‡.....	4,745	Housekeeping; 200 girls in glass factory
Patton¶¶¶.....	2,651§§§	Housekeeping
Penfield****.....	716	Housekeeping
Punxsutawney††††.....	4,375††††	50 girls in shirtwaist factory
Rossiter.....	4,000*	Housekeeping
South Fork.....	2,635	Housekeeping
Spangler.....	1,616¶¶¶¶	Housekeeping
Sykesville‡‡‡.....	156§§§§	Housekeeping
St. Benedict.....	400*	Housekeeping
Tyler‡‡‡.....	2,000*	Housekeeping
Walston‡‡‡.....	1,937	Housekeeping
Windber.....	6,000	Housekeeping; 14 girls in kindling factory at Arrow

*Approximate. ¶ Steel works here employing several thousand men.
 † Now about 3,000. § Both now about 6,000; five-sixths foreigners.
 ‡ In Johnstown city limits. ** Iron mill here employing 300 men.
 †† Resident center for small mining towns nearby. Adrian Furnace, 100 Slovaks; Du Bois Iron Works, 64 Germans and Scotch; Locomotive Works, 500 Germans, Scotch, and Irish; many Italians on railroads.
 ††† Business center for small mining towns; residential town for retired merchants and farmers.
 ¶¶ Brass-fitting factories here employ a great many men.
 §§ Great steel works here, also minor industries using steel and iron.
 *** Estimated to be 45,000 now.
 †††† Factories here employing 1,000. Business center for nearby mining towns.
 ‡‡‡ Coke ovens here also. ¶¶¶ Clay works here employing 500. §§§ About 4,000 now.
 **** Lumbering and farming also employ the men here. Town a decadent one; lumbering nearly over and coal mine almost worked out.
 ††††† Business center for small mining centers near. ¶¶¶¶ Now about 2,500.
 ‡‡‡‡ Now estimated at 10,000. §§§§ Now estimated at 800.

TABLE IV
BITUMINOUS FIELDS.—SOCIAL LIFE

Place	Chapel Undertakings	Catholic Sisters' house	Chairs or Centers for Women	Other
Adrian				
Anita				
Barnesboro				
Big Soldier				
Cambria				
Chambersville				
Conemaugh and Franklin				
Connellsville				
Crabtree or Jamison IV				
Creekside				
Du Bois				
Ehrenfeld				
Elenora				
Eriton				
Ernest				
Fayette City				
Florenza				
Forbes Road or Jamison III				
Greensburg				
Hannastown or Jamison II				
Haydenville				
Huff				
Jamison I				
Johnstown				
Monongahela				
Mt. Pleasant				
Patton				
Penfield				
Punxsutawney				
Rossiter				
South Fork				
Spangler				
Sykesville				
St. Benedict				
Tyler				
Walston				
Windber				

Chapel Undertakings
Catholic Sisters' house

Chairs or Centers for Women

(See Johnstown).

W. C. T. U. (50 members) has done some civic work and started Loyal Legion for children. Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A. (200 members) helps to relieve the poor.

Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.

* No saloon in town, but beer wagon is regular.
 † Prices practically controls town.
 ‡ Saloon laws enforced; no liquor sold to minors or on Sunday, but many buy a barrel of beer to last over Sunday (the boarders club together).
 ¶ For three years the Presbyterian minister has been trying to organize the ministers but so far without result.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Creekside.....	One saloon. Social life among the Americans as in any small town.		
Du Bois.....	Card playing, drinking, christenings, weddings. One fairly good theater; two good moving-picture shows.	Women's Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A. Conductors' Club for girls (anxious to start industrial work for poorer girls).	
Ehrenfeld.....	Long walks; no saloons but bring beer from South Fork. Theater at South Fork.		
Elenora.....	Go to Punxsutawney. Beer wagon.		Presbyterian: Sewing society. (No churches).
Eriton.....	Play cards; drinking parties at weddings and christenings. Go to Sykesville to moving-picture show or to park near there.		
Ernest.....	Occasional sociables among Americans. No saloons but beer wagon. Go to Indiana.		
Fayette City.....	Drinking at weddings and christenings and over Sunday.* One moving-picture show; two dance halls.	W. C. T. U. (20 members); Women's Auxiliary to Y. M. C. A.	
Florenza.....	Beer wagon. Go to Punxsutawney or Anita.		
Forbes Roads or Jamison III.....	Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.		(No churches).
Greensburg.....	Social life as in any American town. One theater, two nicolodeons, two roller-skating rinks; dances, but no liquor sold. Well-conducted park with usual attractions.	Friday Club; Tuesday Club (musical); card clubs; W. C. T. U. and Y. W. C. T. U.	Usual societies for church members. Needlework Guild (100 women of different churches), sews for charity.

* Fayette City is a prohibition town but liquor is sold in great quantities; three large drinking clubs; officials in league with them; druggists sell liquor openly.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Easton or Jamison II.....	Few picnics, occasional moving pictures and reception views in schoolhouse by missionary. No saloon but beer wagon. Go to Greensburg or Irwin for dances.	Sewing-class of girls 8-14 years.	(No churches). Presbyterian: Visitor, supported by church in Greensburg.
Haydensville.....	Parks. Foreigners have dances and beer in their homes. Go to Greensburg.		(No churches).
Huff.....	Social life as in any American small town. Two saloons in hotels. Go to Greensburg.	Bazaar Society (15 girls from 12-16 years).	Methodist: Ladies' Aid. Social Christian Workers.
Jamison I.....	Few excursions and picnics. Beer wagon. Go to Greensburg.		
Johnstown.....	Two good theaters, four good moving-picture shows.* Park; dances.	Civic Club (200 members), has organized Juvenile Court, has vacation schools (industrial), reaches mothers through visiting, etc. Benevolent Society, Children's Aid, Women's Aux. to Y. M. C. A.	
Monongahela.....	Weddings, christenings, drinking, etc. Carnegie Library, patronized a good deal by foreign children. Moving-picture show, one fair theater, four dance halls.	Mothers' clubs.	Methodist: Visitor, who has a sewing-school and kindergarten games for the smaller children.
Mt. Pleasant.....	Card playing, walking and shooting, christenings and weddings. One fair theater, three moving-picture shows, three dance halls where liquor is sold.	W. C. T. U. (100 members) does some civic work.	Presbyterian: Ladies' Home Mission Society. Methodist: Trying to start industrial work.
Patton.....	Two nicolodeons, skating rink, park and pavilion for dancing, with beer sold; dance halls; six saloons; two wholesale liquor houses, one brewery.	A social club for sewing, cards, etc. (15 American women).	

* Foreigners patronize these more than they do the theaters.

TABLE IV—Continued

Place	Amusements	Clubs or Centers for Women	Church Undertakings
Penfield.....	Social life somewhat lower than in usual American town. Girls on streets a good deal in the evening.*		Presbyterian: Sewing-society of 45 girls, 8-14 years (few foreigners).
Punxsutawney....	Few dances; cards; people from small mining towns nearby come in to moving-picture shows and saloons.†		
Rossiter.....	One fairly good theater; three moving-picture shows; two dance halls. Moving pictures; one small dance hall; two saloons; great amount of liquor sold.		Presbyterian: Kindergarten and industrial work under missionary.
South Fork.....	Drinking and card playing; one fair theater, two good moving-picture shows.		
Spangler.....	Great deal of dancing; one theater; go to Barnesboro.		
Sykesville.....	Card playing, christenings, weddings, one moving-picture show, one park nearby.		
St. Benedict.....	Go to Spangler and Barnesboro.		
Tyler.....	Merry-go-round. One saloon.		
Walston.....	Celebration of saints' days, weddings, christenings; playing cards and shooting; two fair dance halls, with beer; one moving-picture show. No saloon but beer wagon every day.		
Windber.....	Dances, with liquor.‡ One theater (plays such that women are sometimes not admitted); one nicolodeon (some of pictures indecent).		Presbyterian: Sewing-class of 24 girls, 5-16 years. Also house-to-house visiting to teach women cooking, machine sewing, etc.

* American girls marry as early as fourteen frequently.

† People work too hard for much social life.

‡ Catholics have dances in basements of churches, also moving pictures and other entertainments.

made to include amusements, clubs and classes for women and church undertakings of a definitely social, as distinct from a purely religious, character.¹⁴ The kindergarten has been considered in undertakings for women on account of its great importance to mothers. The public schools have not been mentioned as they are found in accordance with the law in every town.

SUMMARY

The situation may be summed up in this way: In the coal fields there are, roughly speaking, a million immigrants—men, women, and children—most of them of Slavic races, who have brought over to this country the manners and customs of a lower civilization than ours and who are living under conditions which tend to perpetuate their civilization instead of raising them to the level of ours. They live by themselves, not mingling with Americans and usually knowing them only as arrogant and unjust superiors. They live together so far as possible, they work together in gangs, they go to their own churches where they are preached to in their own tongue, they trade at stores where there are clerks of their own race. In spite of all this, the men do learn some English in the course of a few years, but many women never learn it at all. It is probably true that it is exceptional for a woman who is married to learn it. The children are more likely to acquire it, but when they go to the parochial schools, as most of them do, they get only a smattering. The immigrants have practically no opportunity to learn anything of our history and traditions or about our standards of living and morality.

In the better parts of the towns, quite apart from these immigrants, live the Americans and the immigrants of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic origin, holding the best positions and frequently scorn- ing the slaves. Socially they will have nothing to do with them; many of them have the strongest dislike, even contempt, for the slaves. The proportions between these two classes, of course, varies considerably, but probably in towns of more than 6,000

It is sometimes difficult to divide church work in this way without appearing to discriminate in favor of certain churches, and the fact that only one or two denominations are reported as doing special social work does not mean that the others are not doing valuable work along distinctly religious lines.

the proportion is usually from 50 to 75 per cent. Slav and from 25 to 50 per cent. American, German, English, Welsh and Irish, while in the small patches not more than from 10 to 20 per cent. would belong to the latter class.

Betterment work.—The agencies at work Americanizing these immigrants are few and feeble. The only Protestant work at all systematized and extensive is that undertaken by the Presbyterian church and the Y. M. C. A. The Presbyterians have a committee in the anthracite fields, and another in the bituminous region, in charge of the work among the foreign speaking peoples, and these committees have established missionaries in nearly all of the larger towns, who work out from them to the smaller towns. Their work for the most part is professedly religious, consisting of holding services in the native language of the people and in the distribution of tracts, but some of the missionaries also do a great deal of house-to-house visiting, protect the people from injustice in one form or another, and teach them their legal rights. They also have women as missionaries who conduct sewing and cooking classes and visit in the homes, and nearly all the kindergartens in the coal fields are supported by the Presbyterians. In a few places the Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists have missionaries. Aside from these, there seem to be no other Protestant churches working among the foreigners.

There are various reasons why the Protestant churches are doing so little. Among them must undoubtedly be put the indifference referred to above, but in justice to the churches other causes must be noted. One reason is that the efforts of the Presbyterian church seem to have met with small results compared with the money and energy expended. This has deterred others. Those who have charge of this work say they have met almost insuperable difficulties in finding the right men and women for the work.¹⁵ In several cases men sent have proved to be of bad character and the priests are still making the most capital possible out of that fact. In other cases, when they were ex-Catholics,

¹⁵ The great difficulty, of course, is in getting suitable people who are at the same time familiar with the Slavic tongues.

the people looked upon them as renegades and would have nothing to do with them. Altogether, the men on the committees in charge of the work feel that it is slow and shows small results. This naturally discourages other churches from any attempts.

A second reason is to be found in the weakness of the Protestant churches all through the coal fields. The Protestant population consists of the Anglo-Saxons and they are moving out of these fields as the Slavs come in, so that the congregations are steadily diminishing through no fault of their own. They are making a desperate struggle to keep open at all in the smaller towns and are expending all their strength in raising enough money to pay their ministers \$40 or \$50 a month.

The strongest reason of all, however, lies in the fact that practically all of these immigrants are Roman Catholics. There are a few who belong to the Orthodox Greek church and some who are Lutherans or Calvinists, but the great majority were brought up Catholics and fear and respect the priest enough at least to keep away from Protestant churches and ministers. The policy of the Roman Catholic church is to give the people priests of their own nationality so far as possible. These priests in the coal fields are as a rule foreign born and bred and in many cases speak and understand English imperfectly. They know little of American ideas and ideals and often they fear the liberty of thought and speech characteristic of the country because they believe it makes the people less loyal Catholics. They use their influence, therefore, to isolate their people. In some cases they urge them not to learn English. In all cases they forbid them to have any dealings with Protestant ministers or to enter classes that have any religious features.

Their most permanent hold upon the people is probably gained through the parochial schools. In the bituminous fields there are comparatively few of these but in the anthracite region they are numerous. Here in many places it is estimated that 90 per cent. of the children attend them, which means that practically 90 per cent. never get into the public schools and so have no real opportunity to become Americanized in the true sense. It was difficult to get accurate information about the parochial schools

because, unlike the public schools, they do not report to the local or state superintendent, but it appears that they are far inferior¹⁶ to the public schools both in buildings and instruction. They rarely do more than fulfil the law as regards the teaching of English, and in some cases their professed object is to keep the children speaking their native tongue, that tongue being used in the school.

The Roman Catholic church is undoubtedly the strongest power in the coal fields. It possesses the land and any agency which reaches these immigrants has to deal with the church in one way or another. This fact alone would explain why the Protestant churches have done little and why their attempts show such meager results. The bolder spirits, the more restless or dissatisfied minds, can sometimes be touched, but not the rank and file, and the women least of all. The priests have repeatedly broken up kindergartens and classes when they heard that the Bible was read or a hymn sung in them, and they have no hesitation about denouncing from the pulpit either a school or an individual.

For the same reasons the Y. M. C. A. works under disadvantages, though not to so great a degree as do the churches. Toward it the attitude of the priest varies. Occasionally a priest is on friendly terms with the secretary and encourages his people to make use of the Association rooms and to attend classes which have no religious features. In most cases he is openly hostile, while in a few cases he is passive but is watchful to see that members of his flock do not slip away. The Y. M. C. A. secretaries admit frankly that even they do not touch the rank and file of the immigrants but they hope shortly, by emphasizing their purely educational features, to widen their influence.

The Roman Catholic church itself, which could do almost anything with these people, seems to confine itself largely to mere formal requirements. It has some benefit societies for men and women and these societies are the ones which give the dances and balls and, when the priest is so disposed, plays or entertain-

¹⁶ Exceptions being the Irish and German parochial schools.

ments. In some cases the priest organizes temperance societies but this seems to be exceptional.

It seldom appears that the priest sets forces to work to teach the people how to live better, to keep themselves and their houses clean, or that he makes any effort to improve the bad housing conditions and the intemperance, both of which result in so much immorality.

Before closing this study, the more obvious needs of the people in the Pennsylvania mining regions might be summed up under the following six heads:

1. They need better houses and more of them at reasonable rents.
2. They need public baths, either free or very cheap, in every town and patch throughout the coal fields. Such baths, if sufficient in number, would do away with the kitchen bath and would surely help toward better moral conditions.
3. They need places of amusement to offset the influence of the saloon.
4. They need to mingle with Americans who are kindly disposed toward them; the women in this way to have opportunities to learn better ways of housekeeping, cooking, sewing and caring for children and the sick.
5. They need simple lectures or some other form of instruction in our laws, customs and history.
6. And most important of all, they need to learn the English language.

That is, in brief, they need a chance to become good Americans, and the withholding of this opportunity may eventually jeopardize the moral standards of a free people.