

MOTIVATING FORCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT  
of  
COLLECTIVIZED FORMS OF LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY

by

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

Statement of Hypothesis and Definition of Terms. This study of the development of collectivized forms of leisure-time activity has had two main purposes: (1) To make a descriptive survey of the growth and present extent of collectivized services and collectivized forms of activity in the leisure-time field; and (2) to attempt to trace by inductive procedure the specific influences through which collectivism has developed in this field and to do it in such a form that the results could be utilized, along with those of observers of other fields, in formulating a general theory for the growth of collective enterprise in the United States.

There have of course been a number of histories of recreation and of the play movement. The earliest of these were Fulk's The Municipalization of Play and Recreation, a Ph. D. dissertation submitted to the University of Nebraska in 1917; H. S. Curtis' The Play Movement and Its Significance, also published in 1917, and C. E. Rainwater's The Play Movement in the United States, a Ph. D. dissertation published at the University of Chicago in 1922. The latter was written with a sociological frame of reference and described the development of the playground movement in an excellent manner, but the great growth of public playgrounds has occurred since 1922 and there was need for a study to bring Rainwater's description up to date. Indeed, the most rapid strides in the development of public recreation have been taken in the last ten years, and there has

been need for a description and interpretation of recent developments in this field. Furthermore, these early studies confined themselves to one narrow aspect of leisure-time activity, and as the concepts of leisure and recreation have broadened the need for a work of wider scope has been evident.

J. F. Steiner, in his Americans at Play, published in 1933 as one of the Recent Social Trends Monographs, accurately described the developments in public and commercialized recreation up until that date, but his work stopped just as the expansion of collectivized recreational activities under the New Deal began. His Recreation In the Depression asked many questions but answered few, so that it was felt that his contributions, great as they were, still left unexplored much important data bearing on the history of the recreation movement. Furthermore, he made little effort to describe specifically the motivating forces responsible for such developments as occurred. The fields of adult education, public forums, the little theater, hobbies, arts and crafts he left almost untouched.

In 1940 George D. Butler wrote for the National Recreation Association an Introduction to Community Recreation which deals thoroughly with the development of municipal recreation, but ignores the wider aspects of leisure-time activity and does not adequately portray the expanding activity of state and Federal governments in the recreation field, nor does the author trace the growth of activity by the semi-public or philanthropic agencies and what is designated later in this study as private forms of collectivized leisure-time activity. So, important as



Butler's study is, vital areas in leisure-time activity were still not covered.

Excellent studies of recreational development in certain areas have been made. Outstanding is the elaborate four volume Chicago Recreation Survey, sponsored jointly by the Chicago Recreation Commission and Northwestern University and conducted with the assistance of the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission who were able to furnish a large staff of workers for field investigation.

Miss Elizabeth Halsey's Development of Public Recreation in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago, a Ph. D. dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1939, presents a very intensive account of this one form of collectivism in leisure-time activities for one specific region.

Valuable as all these studies are, and they furnished much data for this particular study, they do not render the present study superfluous, nor does the latter involve a duplication of work already done. The present study aims not only at description as the above-mentioned works did, but in addition is designed to test in the leisure-time field a hypothesis concerning the motivation of collectivized activity. Even the data presented by the writers mentioned gain new significance when used to test this hypothesis, and there are in addition much relevant data they have omitted.

The central working hypothesis of this investigation was formulated by Professor Seba Eldridge, of the University of Kansas, in an article

entitled "Collectivism and the Consumer."<sup>1</sup> This article proposed the hypothesis that in so-called democratic countries, such as the United States, where capital is owned mainly by individuals and where ultimate political power is exercised, in some measure, by the masses, extensions of collective enterprise "have usually occurred primarily in response to demonstrated public and/or consumer need, demonstrated inability of individual initiative and private enterprise to supply the need, and consequent pressure in behalf of socialization either by the public or consumers themselves or by others acting in their interest."

On its negative side the hypothesis asserts "that the pressure of wage earners or other producers as such has usually been a secondary if not negligible, factor in those developments." This negative assumption grants that wage earners have contributed substantially to the initiation and development of many collective undertakings, but would hold that their interest has been primarily as consumers rather than as producers.

While the hypothesis asserts that the motivating force is mainly and primarily the pressure of consumer and/or general public needs or interests, it recognizes that there may be other pressures which will operate variously as minor, secondary, auxiliary or derivative factors in the processes of collectivization. Evidence will be collected to evaluate the influence of playground workers and teachers in terms of their interest as producers. The hypothesis classifies their pressure as a minor factor. Auxiliary forces will be searched for, and, tentatively, the activity of realtors, contractors, and manufacturers who supply land,

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<sup>1</sup> Annals of Collective Economy, 6: 293-343 (1930).

build facilities or furnish equipment will be so classified. Promotion of extensions of collective enterprise by politicians for the purpose of benefiting themselves or allied private interests; the extension of governmental machinery developed for another purpose into the field of leisure-time activity, as in the case of the Forest Service or the public schools; and the competition between communities with the consequent imitation of advances by specific communities will all be tentatively classed as auxiliary factors in collectivization and are hypothetically considered as limited in influence, except as they are correlated with consumer or public interests which are assumed to give them their primary significance in motivating the extension of collective enterprise.

Collective enterprise refers to enterprises where the capital is owned by groups or associations as such. This includes not only the Federal, state, county, and city governmental units as well as a few regional and other special authorities, but also religious organizations, fraternal bodies, philanthropic, charitable and civic organizations, research, educational and promotive foundations, consumers' cooperative associations, and other forms of non-proprietary or non-stock concerns. Collective forms of recreation are to be contrasted primarily with commercialized forms of recreation where there is a proprietary interest and where the primary motivation of the enterprise is the earning of a profit. Collectivized forms of leisure-time activity are also to be contrasted with individual unorganized activities.

The working hypothesis of this study is that: (1) Individual unorganized activities cannot meet all the recreational needs of individuals;

(2) that under private enterprise much needed services are not rendered; that much of the needed services in leisure-time activity are incompatible with profit making and that dependence upon the price mechanism leaves untouched wide areas of needed activity; (3) that humanitarian ends are often sacrificed for profit and collectivized leisure-time activities have developed as a means of counteracting the exploitation of commercialized recreation; (4) that as a result of the failure of individualistic and profit-making enterprises to meet a demonstrated consumer and public need, socialization has occurred; (5) that consumers' and public pressures, modified and supplemented by the above mentioned auxiliary factors, have been the primary motivating pressures and not producer's interests as such.

Consumers are considered as synonymous with buyers, but since much leisure-time activity is not adapted to the price mechanism, it is more accurate perhaps to consider consumers as equivalent to the users of commodities and services.

Public interests refer to those of the community, the state or the society as a whole. We may note two general kinds of public interest: (1) (a) That which is somewhat selfish in nature such as a recreation program supported by business men or other citizens not because they hope to benefit directly as users of the services provided but because it will increase the attractiveness of the community as a trade center or will increase land values from which they hope to gain; or (b) that which supports the expansion of collective leisure-time facilities, not because the advocates of such collective enterprise wish to use the facilities

themselves, but because they think it would make the community a more desirable place to live in and would improve the quality of community life. This latter type of public interest merges into a consumer interest-- indeed, may be considered as identical with it if the public is thought of as consumers of community life.

(2) There are also public interests of more "altruistic" character such as extensions of collective enterprise for the benefit of the community as a whole or for the benefit of certain "exploited" groups such as the residents of the slum areas or underprivileged neighborhoods of our cities.

Although a great deal of public interest will have an ethical implication, it is expected that, in tracing the development of collectivized forms of leisure-time activity, it will be impossible to separate the second type of public interest from the first. The imputation of motives is a very hazardous procedure, and the fact that even very unselfish promoters derive personal gratifications from their reform activities makes it impractical to differentiate the two types of public interest. It will be noted in the course of the study that many of the auxiliary interests of producers also suggest an interest in the welfare of the general public.

The main interest of this study will be to trace the growth of collective enterprise in leisure-time activity by collecting data on the extent of services rendered, the trends with regard to the extent of participation and the number and kinds of collectivized agencies offering leisure-time services, a description of the principal organized programs,

the amount of their capital equipment, amount of current expenditures and number of workers employed.

The basis for the selection and rejection of data will be their value for tracing the trends indicated and for the evidence they offer on the problem of central interest, namely, the factors responsible for collective developments, such as consumer pressure, public pressure, special promotive efforts, the role of leadership, the limitations of private enterprise, failures of legal regulation, the role of producers' interests, and the imitative influence arising from developments in other communities and countries. It is this search for motivating forces in an effort to test the working hypothesis that orients the whole study and sets it apart from other investigations in this field.

However, where possible, the types of ownership and control, the administrative organization, fiscal policies relative to capital funds and operating revenues, policies in regard to fees and charges for services, conditions of work including the rates of pay, factors in promotion, security of tenure, the use of a merit system, and the organization of workers, will be noted. While some evidence on these topics is available in governmental forms of collective organization, collectivized activity under other forms of organization, especially private philanthropic and semi-public forms (as later defined), is so diverse, decentralized and multifarious as to make generalization impossible.

Because this study is part of a larger cooperative project which is seeking to trace the growth of all aspects of collectivization in the United States, and to establish inductively a theory of motivation of

collectivism in America, it has been necessary to omit consideration of or limit the treatment given some aspects of collective organization that have leisure-time implications. Therefore, this study has omitted consideration of the schools (except for adult education), of libraries, and of museums, for the reason that their activities were included in other divisions of the general study, but it is recognized that all of these make significant contributions to the organization of leisure-time activity.

Similarly, the discussion of clubs and fraternal orders, and of the Forest Service has been confined to a description of the extent of the leisure-time services rendered without any attempt to trace the history of the organizations or ascertain the motivating forces, as these forms of collective organization were the main interest of two other investigations.

Likewise, there has been no inductive study of Workers' Education or of collectivism in the field of music, as both of these topics were studied in separate Masters' Theses undertaken as a part of the general investigation into American collectivism. However, since both of these studies were so distinctly investigations into the field of leisure-time activity, their conclusions have been incorporated in the findings of this study, as will be indicated at the proper place.

All the other forms of leisure-time activity have been inductively investigated, including governmental, semi-public, philanthropic, private, and commercialized forms of organization. More data have been available concerning governmental forms of organization, Federal, state, and municipal, and these occupy the greater part of the study. Especially has

the role of the Federal government been stressed because of its rapidly growing importance in the field and because all of the other existing studies either were made before it became important in the field, or else they ignored its influence.

This study has also attempted to include data on non-governmental forms of organization, partly because the widely scattered data concerning these forms of organization have been neglected, and partly because these types of organization are so frequently on the frontier fringe, making the experiments and initiating the practices which later are adopted by the governmental agencies.

Furthermore, as will be developed more adequately in the next chapter, this study has taken a broad view concerning the nature of leisure-time activity and has attempted to include within its scope far more than mere athletic interests or the playground movement, which were the center of interest of the earlier studies.

This study, to be properly understood, must be viewed as one of a great number (more than twenty) of inductive studies of the growth of collective enterprise in all its various aspects. As a part of a larger cooperative undertaking, it has as its purpose the development of a thoroughly tested theory of the growth of socialization. It is designed to show how a social movement develops and becomes assimilated in the institutional life of a society. Especially should the consideration of the negative assumptions of the study throw much needed light upon the current socialistic assumptions that wage-earners as such are destined to substitute a collectivistic for the present predominately capitalistic



system of organization. The central objective of the larger study is a theory of socialization which will be truly relevant to the American scene. Such a theory can be developed only by inductive studies into every realm of collective activity, as this study seeks to determine the influences at work in the field of leisure-time activity. It is the basic hypothesis of this study, the hypothesis we shall now seek to test, that the pressure of wage-earners as such has been a relatively unimportant factor in the growth of American collectivism; that wage-earners have brought their influence to bear more as consumers of services and goods, rather than as producers, and that the main motivating forces for collectivization have been consumer and/or public pressures.

## Chapter II

### THE ROLE OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE IN LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

What Are Leisure Activities? The often repeated question "Did you have a good time?" with its answers of varying enthusiasm points the way to the crucial criteria of leisure. Life in our clock conscious civilization may be thought of as occupied with required doings and desired doings. Time spent in the former is work, in the latter leisure. Leisure activities consist of the things men want to do when they have free time and where there are no ulterior motives. While the essence of leisure activity is that men shall be free to do what they like to do, and that the activity shall be interesting and satisfying in itself, it is not always easy or desirable to distinguish between work activities and leisure activities. The distinction is certainly not in the activity itself but rather in the spirit in which it is done. Almost any activity may be work for one person and recreation for another. Some fortunate individuals have chosen their occupations so well that the required doings and desired doings have merged so completely that it is impossible to separate work and leisure activities. When our pioneer ancestors went to quilting bees and cornhuskings they were combining good fellowship and recreational values with work activities into one integrated whole.

The work activities of modern industrial life often do not

permit such an integration with leisure activities. It is apparent today that for increasingly larger numbers of our population life can be dichotomized into work and leisure. The new leisure time is often thought of as "living time" as distinct from working time. It is time that is free of any sense of obligation to do anything other than what one's own tastes and interests invite. This individualistic aspect of leisure makes free time activities as varied as life itself. While athletics, games, sports, and the playground movement would have attracted the bulk of attention in a discussion of recreation a quarter of a century ago, today the conception of recreation has so broadened that art, music, drama, adult education and the activities of citizenship are recognized as important components of the recreational use of leisure. Conversation, reading, spectatorship, fellowship with family and friends, religious activities, civic and neighborhood association activities, commercial boxing, baseball, theatre, motion pictures and other commercial recreations, nature activities, craftsmanship, dancing and social discussion groups, listening to the radio are examples of the multifarious forms of leisure time activity.

Professor H. A. Overstreet has attempted to classify the use of "civilized leisure" into the following categories:

- I. The fun of handling materials--"Man the Shaper"
  - A. Working with the soil
  - B. Cabinet making
  - C. Organizing materials into wholes
- II. Being Social
  - A. Making music together
  - B. The dance
  - C. Amateur play producing
- III. Building the skilful body--the sportsman's spirit
- IV. Being alone--under the stars--retreats
- V. Adventuring with thought--discussion
- VI. Going wandering--hiking, touring, on the high seas
- VII. Taking some things seriously--politics, peace movements, voluntary associations.<sup>1</sup>

Leisure Time Interests Are Organized in a Variety of Ways.

Considering intellectual, aesthetic, physical and creative interests, it is clear that leisure does not belong wholly to the park, playground, recreation center, library, school or to any one institution or movement. Consequently, any attempt to trace the growth of collective activity in such a diversified and amorphous field of activity is

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<sup>1</sup> H. A. Overstreet, A Guide to Civilized Leisure, (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1934)

exceedingly difficult. It is not surprising that a great variety of agencies has developed to provide opportunities for individuals to engage in the desired activities. For some of these agencies recreation is the primary concern, for others it is only an incidental activity. Some agencies serve the entire community, others serve only their members; many offer a wide range of activities while others are concerned with a single form of recreation. For some the chief purpose is profit, for others it is the enrichment of life. Furthermore, it should be remembered that much recreation is essentially individual activity and may be carried on by the individual or the family independently of any recreational agency. Walking, reading, hobbies, automobile riding, fishing, hunting, and making collections are examples of this unorganized recreational activity.

It is impossible to set any exact figure but the home is doubtless still the chief center of recreation for most people. The National Recreation Association in their study of "What 5,000 People Do in Their Leisure Hours"<sup>2</sup> found that reading newspapers and magazines, listening to the radio, attending the movies, visiting or entertaining others, reading books of fiction, motoring, swimming, writing letters, reading non-fiction books and conversation were in that order the diversions reported by most people. These diversions also proved to be the ones most often engaged in but the order of popularity was different except for the first two on the list which again stood respectively first and

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<sup>2</sup> National Recreation Association, The Leisure Hours of 5,000 People, New York, 1934.

second. Bridge at home, picnicking, attending the legitimate theatre, attending parties or socials were also popular, each having more than 2,000 adherents. Fortune Magazine in a recent survey found that nearly twenty per cent of the men and women canvassed preferred radio to all other forms of recreation; movies were a close second, while reading newspapers ranked sixth, with seven per cent of the individuals interviewed indicating that "reading the newspaper" was their first and most enjoyable recreational preference. Our 2,000 daily newspapers reach a circulation of nearly forty million daily. While reading is often voted the most popular pastime of young people, not more than one-fourth of the reading population read books. Indeed more than fifty per cent of our population live in communities without book stores and a large percentage of our rural population are without adequate library facilities. A study of library service made in 1935 revealed that 36.7 per cent of the population of the United States was still without library service. However, only six communities of more than 25,000 population failed to make some library provision for their residents.

The most common recreations center mainly in or about the home, most of them cost little, and they are individual, quiet and passive. The National Recreation Association study indicated that the number of people reached by programs of recreational and educational agencies is small compared to those who participate in activities carried on individually, either at home, or informally outside the home. Of an average of twenty-five activities per individual, twelve were home and thirteen were outside activities. Especially for most children under

ten years of age and for adults is the home the scene of much recreational activity. While the family is a form of collective enterprise according to the assumptions of this study, the lack of primary data on this form of recreational activity makes it more pertinent to concentrate on the various forms of organized recreation in an attempt to estimate the extent of collectivization and the motivating forces behind such a movement.

Forms of Organized Recreation. The limitations of the home are such that many kinds of leisure time activity are impossible unless there is a more extensive organization to provide facilities beyond the means of individuals or families. Especially in cities under the limitations in space and under conditions of apartment house life has it been impossible for the individual or family to provide adequate recreational facilities.

Furthermore, much of the home recreation is engaged in not so much because it is desired, but because it is inexpensive. When the National Recreation Association asked their sample of 5,000 cases what activities they would like to take part in, the following were listed in order of the number of individuals who expressed a desire for them.

- |                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Playing tennis | 6. Caring for flower garden     |
| 2. Swimming       | 7. Playing musical instrument   |
| 3. Boating        | 8. Auto riding for pleasure     |
| 4. Playing golf   | 9. Attending legitimate theatre |
| 5. Camping        | 10. Ice skating                 |

It is evident that the greatest desires of this group are for out-of-door activities, away from home and involving strenuous exertion. Unlike the activities that engage the most time now, these desired

activities all involve expenditure of money for equipment or admission and also can frequently only be engaged in when there is provision of facilities by public or private organized agencies. Most of these leisure activities cannot be arranged by the individual himself but are possible only through group effort in gathering the needed equipment, in providing leadership and in organizing individual participation.

The extent to which desire for recreation is unsatisfied is shown by the fact that there were thirty-eight activities which the subjects of the study indicated they would enjoy sharing but at present are unable to participate in frequently. It is quite evident that what people are now doing with their leisure is not what they would like to do, but what can be done at home, at little expense and with the limited resources at their disposal. The study showed that people do desire participatory activities which take them out of their homes. It also showed, but to a lesser degree, a demand for opportunities in music, drama, social and educational activities. In contrasting what people do with what they would like to do there was one inescapable conclusion-- the need for community organization to provide the resources and the leadership in meeting these desires in recreation.

Organized leisure time facilities and activities may logically be classified in terms of the auspices under which they are administered and financed. They are: (1) governmental agencies, publicly owned, tax supported and operated by the municipal, county, state, regional or national governments; (2) semipublic, semiphilanthropic agencies, supported primarily by private funds, but which are non-exclusive in



their membership or offer recreation opportunities to individuals who are not members, such as the settlement house, youth service agencies like the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Camp Fire Girls, Boy and Girl Scouts and similar groups. (3) private agencies such as the innumerable clubs and associations maintained by members for their own benefit. Country clubs, service clubs, fraternal organizations, women's clubs, labor unions, athletic clubs are examples of this form of collective organization which often approaches the Consumers' Cooperative in principle. The workers in many industrial plants have organized such groups, a large number of churches seek to provide recreational opportunities for their members; almost every game and sport has large numbers organized to carry on the activity, as well as promotional organizations designed to popularize the activity, formulate rules, arrange schedules and conduct state or national tournaments. Social clubs, hobby clubs such as stamp, camera, crafts, and glee clubs are innumerable. The womens' clubs of America devoted to music, literature, current problems, dramatic activity, gardening, art and similar activities play a large role in our recreational life. Mens' luncheon clubs, civic clubs, lodges and fraternal organizations and nationalistic societies of the various foreign born groups are likewise important in recreational activity, both in providing facilities and opportunities for their own members and, in addition, often sponsoring community recreational projects. As George D. Butler says, "The private agency that does not carry on some form of recreation is exceptional."<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that while this form of organized

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<sup>3</sup> Geo. D. Butler, Introduction to Community Recreation (The National Recreation Association, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940), p. 41.

recreation has been labelled private it is nevertheless a form of collective enterprise under the definition accepted for this investigation, inasmuch as there is group ownership and group control and the chief function is that of rendering service to the owners rather than the earning of profit.

Commercial Agencies of Recreation. The tremendous demand for recreation, relaxation and release from the tension of daily routine has led to the development of huge industries catering to the leisure needs of people. This enormous expansion of commercial recreation likewise testifies to the inadequacy of the other forms of recreational organization in meeting community needs. Recreation as a whole represents one of our biggest channels of expenditures. Stuart Chase previous to the depression estimated it at about twenty billions per year.<sup>4</sup> Jessie F. Steiner arrived at the more conservative estimate of a little more than ten billion dollars a year around the year 1930.<sup>5</sup> Dr. A. J. Todd in the Chicago Recreation Survey concludes that

Probably in normal times ten billion dollars per year represents a fairly safe and justifiable estimate of the annual outlay on recreation in America. Thus, somewhere between one-fifth and one-seventh of the nation's total annual income is paid for various forms of play. Of this total between three and four billions may be set down to the account of commercial amusements. It is not easy to segregate the distinctively commercial elements in such forms of recreation as vacation travel by automobile,

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<sup>4</sup> Stuart Chase, "Play," Whither Mankind (C. A. Beard, editor, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928).

<sup>5</sup> Jessie F. Steiner, Americans at Play, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 183.

railroad, air or water, whether in the United States or abroad; nor is it much easier to analyze the distinctively commercial items in the pleasure use of automobile, motor buses, motorcycles, bicycles, etc. It is difficult also to know precisely how to uncover through an accounting system the commercial recreation involved in the manufacturing and sale of various kinds of amusement devices ranging all the way from toy games, playing cards or athletic equipment to fireworks, phonographs or electric organs. But if we take the approximate figure of two and a quarter billions for such easily identified commercial amusements as moving pictures, legitimate theatres, cabarets and night clubs, radio broadcasting, college football, resort hotels, commercial camps, baseball, prize fights, professional football, golf and liquor and add to them a conservative estimate of the commercial element in the other forms of amusement, we can easily account for roughly one-half of the total annual national expenditure for recreation.<sup>6</sup>

The Chicago Recreation Survey found that in Chicago the annual per capita expenditure for public recreation was ten dollars while the per capita expenditure for commercial amusements was eighty dollars. In terms of time spent the Chicago Survey makes the broad generalization that "Commercial recreation absorbs about one-fifth of our total fund of leisure time."

Dr. Steiner's figures for the years 1927-30, although admittedly subject to error, because of the difficulties Dr. Todd mentioned in the quotation above, likewise emphasize the fact that commercial recreation stands well out in front of other forms of recreation in terms of expenditure.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. II, "Commercial Recreation", 1938, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 183.

Dr. Steiner's estimates are as follows:

A. Government Expenditures

1. Municipalities (over 30,000)	\$147,179,000	
2. Counties	8,600,000	
3. States	28,331,000	
4. Federal	9,330,000	
		Total <u>          </u> \$193,410,000

B. Travel (includes vacation travel at home and abroad and pleasure use of automobile) 6,492,151,000

C. Commercial Amusements (about \$1,500,000 was in admission to motion picture theatres) 2,214,725,000

D. Leisure-Time Associations

1. Social and athletic clubs	\$125,000,000	
2. Luncheon clubs	7,500,000	
3. Lodges	175,000,000	
4. Youth service	75,000,000	
		Total <u>          </u> 382,500,000

E. Games, sport, outdoor life            883,071,000  
Grand Total            \$10,165,957,000

(Note that governmental expenditures amount to slightly less than 2 per cent of the total estimated cost of recreation.)

The movies, the radio, and automobile travel undoubtedly head the list as the most popular forms of commercial amusements. Of 37,677 places of amusements recorded in the Census of Business of 1935 nearly one-third were motion-picture theaters and they reported 72.7 per cent of the total receipts of all amusement places, which were nearly \$700,000,000.<sup>8</sup> Billiards and bowling alleys ranked next highest, but had only about six per cent of the total, horse and dog racing stood third (but gate receipts are probably an inaccurate index to interest in these sports), baseball

<sup>8</sup> Census of Business: 1935, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1937.

and football was fourth with about four per cent of the total receipts, legitimate theater and opera have only about three per cent of the total and about four per cent of what the movies receive.

With an invested capital of about two and one-half billion dollars, according to the Film Daily Yearbook, there were on January 1, 1939, 15,701 theaters, with the average weekly attendance in 1938 of eighty-five million persons. The same source estimates weekly attendance as follows for the stated years:

1922	40 million persons		
1925	46	..	..
1930	110	..	..
1933	60	..	..
1935	80	..	..
1937	88	..	..

The extent to which the motion picture dominates the amusement field in most cities is emphasized by the fact that the Census of Business reported only 158 theaters used for the production of legitimate drama and opera.

The radio, however, is an even more powerful factor in the leisure time interests of the American people. Its broadcasting of sports, music, drama, lectures and news comments has made available marvelous opportunities for recreation and education. Our radio resources have quadrupled during the last ten years. Out of a total of 32,500,000 homes in this country, 27,500,000 had radios on January 1, 1939. This amounts to eighty-eight per cent of our homes, with four million having more than one set. In addition a million and a half automobile sets have been sold during recent years making a total of 34,000,000 sets in operation. It is

interesting to note that the number of homes having radio sets is more than twice the total of telephone subscribers and approximately fifty per cent more than the number of American families owning automobiles. Approximately one out of five persons questioned in a recent survey indicated that radio was his or her favorite recreation. These radios are used on the average of four and one-half hours daily.<sup>9</sup> Dr. O. E. Caldwell, editor of Radio Today, estimated that our 1937 broadcasting bill was nearly a billion dollars. Of this total \$450,000,000 went for 7,700,000 new radios, another \$150,000,000 was spent for electricity to operate receivers and transmitters, and a similar amount was spent for repairs, parts replacement, and service. The 701 broadcasting stations sold \$125,000,000 worth of air time and some \$40,000,000 was spent for talent.<sup>10</sup>

It is to be noted that radio broadcasting in the United States is primarily a business enterprise with the profit motive foremost. In its dependence upon advertising as a means of revenue, the radio, like the newspaper and magazine, must appeal to popular taste, in order to attract substantial listening audiences. The newspaper and radio not only are sources of recreation in furnishing reading and listening material but they develop interests in other fields. The broadcasting of sports events helps to develop popular interest in many sports activities.

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<sup>9</sup> Irma Ringe, "Recreation for Children in a Democracy," Recreation, January, 1940, p. 553.

<sup>10</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. II, p. 4.

While newspaper reading is essentially an individual activity and for most persons is a form of private recreation, yet most newspapers promote and foster other recreational activities, both for participants and spectators, which make significant contributions to the recreational activities of the community. During 1937, for example, the five daily newspapers of Chicago sponsored twenty-nine annual sports events in which two million people were interested to the extent of either attending or participating.<sup>11</sup>

Likewise, while listening to the radio is primarily an individual or family activity, the furnishing of radio facilities is a large scale business enterprise. The type of ownership and control of American radio is indicated by the fact that of 701 stations in the United States in 1937 the National Broadcasting Company had 143 owned or affiliated stations, Columbia Broadcasting Company 111 stations and the Mutual Broadcasting system a total of 79 stations. These major networks are supplemented by many smaller groups of stations in various sections of the country. The following table indicates the type of ownership and control in 1937:

Newspapers	28.00	per cent
Colleges and universities	4.85	.. ..
Radio and electric dealers	2.71	.. ..
Radio and electric manufacturers	1.86	.. ..
Religious and charitable institutions	1.71	.. ..
Insurance companies	1.29	.. ..
State and municipal governments	.86	.. ..
Department stores	.72	.. ..
Labor and farm organizations	.43	.. ..
Separate private enterprises	57.57	.. ..

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

It is to be noted that the 7.85 per cent of the stations allocated to religious, educational, civic and labor organizations may be considered collective in character while the remainder are established as business enterprises and may be considered as commercialized leisure time resources.

Travel, including the use of the automobile for pleasure, accounts for the largest amount of recreation expenditure in America. Professor Steiner, as indicated previously, estimated expenditures for all forms of vacation travel at home and abroad and the pleasure use of automobiles, motorboats, bicycles, etc. to be nearly six and a half billion dollars annually between 1928-30. The American Automobile Association is authority for the statement that vacationists traveling in automobiles spent four and a half billion dollars in 1936. Glover and Cornell estimate tourist expenditures for vacation travel at two billion dollars for 1939. New Mexico has estimated that her tourist crop produces more revenue than does the state's mining, agriculture or livestock industries. California ranks her tourist travel next in importance to her great petroleum industry, and in Michigan, only the automobile manufacturers bring in more money than the tourist trade. In Florida, vacation travelers are far more important than the state's entire citrus crop. For the whole United States, according to Roger Babson, the monetary value of the tourist trade is equal to the earnings of iron and steel industry, 11 per cent greater than the clothing business, 60 per cent greater than the lumber business and 518 per cent greater than the 1933 cotton crop. The American Express Company says that serving pleasure travel is becoming the second leading industry of the country. The Census of Business



shows that the number of tourist camps has nearly doubled since 1938.

An estimate of the American Automobile Association indicates that, of each dollar of tourist expenditures, 20 cents goes for transportation, a similar amount for accommodations, 25 cents for incidental retail purchases, 21 cents for food, 8 cents for amusements and 6 cents for refreshments. Other agencies have indicated a similar distribution of expenditures.<sup>12</sup>

While the actual participation in travel is on an individual or family basis, and while an important stimulus for such travel has been such collective enterprises as national parks and national forests, state parks, county parks, and extensive public highways, travel for recreation is a large scale enterprise, and much of it is commercial in character. Furthermore, transportation and gasoline companies have been most active in promoting this sort of leisure time activity.

Many other forms of commercialized amusements appeal to the American people. The popular desire to dance is exploited by dine and dance restaurants, night clubs, taverns, excursion boats as well as by dance halls. In 1937 there were six million adults and children enrolled in dancing schools and a convention of dancing teachers reported the public to be spending more than one hundred million dollars yearly for dancing lessons.

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<sup>12</sup> The data above have been condensed from data presented in Forest Outings, p. 256, a volume edited by Russell Lord, for the Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1940.

Professional sports exhibitions have become a common feature of American life. A total of slightly more than a quarter billion dollars of paid admissions to various sporting events in 1935 were divided as follows:<sup>13</sup>

Basketball	\$80,000,000
Baseball	50,000,000
Football	40,000,000
Boxing	25,000,000
Horse racing	22,000,000
Wrestling	7,500,000
Hockey	6,000,000
Softball	5,000,000
Dog racing	5,000,000
Bicycle racing	4,000,000
Motorcycling	3,250,000
Track and field	2,500,000
Swimming	1,200,000
Ice skating	1,000,000
Tennis	650,000
Golf	200,000
Miscellaneous	3,000,000

However, commercial recreation agencies are serving the American people with facilities for participation as well as for mere spectatorship. The failure of public agencies to meet the demand for recreational facilities has resulted in the development by private interests of commercial facilities for swimming, tennis, golf, skating, bowling, billiards, and boating. The Census of Business for 1935 reports 12,412 billiard and pool parlors and bowling alleys, 698 swimming pools, 645 riding academies, and 939 boat and canoe rental services.

The latter services are also available as public facilities in most cities, thus illustrating the point that the furnishing of recreational facilities is under a variety of auspices at the present time, partly

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<sup>13</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. II, p. 6.

commercial and partly collective, either under public, semi-public or private sponsorship. The statistics for golf are an excellent example of this fact. There were 5,196 golf courses in the United States in 1937 distributed as follows:

	<u>9 hole</u>	<u>18 hole</u>	<u>Per cent of total</u>
Private membership clubs	2191	1298	67.0
Commercial (daily fee course)	613	457	22.7
Municipal	306	331	10.3

According to the Golfing Magazine there were 1,376,000 golfers in 1937 (the term golfer being defined as an individual who plays ten or more rounds a season). These were distributed as follows:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Private Membership Clubs	913,000	66.3
Commercial Daily Fee Courses	203,000	14.1
Municipal Courses	260,000	19.6

However, of the more than 65,000,000 rounds of golf played during 1937, the daily fee course accounted for fourteen million or more than one-fifth of all golf played during the year.

As in most forms of leisure time activity, we find here a variety of agencies undertaking to serve the different recreation interests of the community. It is obvious that recreational organization is neither completely collectivized nor commercialized. While commercial forms have often developed because of the inadequacy of provisions under other auspices, at the same time the community has generally recognized the need of some form of social control over the activities of commercialized recreation. While this control has frequently been in the form of

regulation and licensing, some developments in public and semi-public recreation may be regarded as attempts to control community recreation by furnishing more desirable public facilities. It is becoming clear that recreation is a vital factor in the welfare of the people and that it is a proper function of government to assume some responsibility for providing recreational opportunities for all the people. Private and commercial agencies are not suited to and cannot be expected adequately to meet this recreational need. It is the purpose of this study to show how the recognition of this need has eventually developed into consumer demand for collective recreational opportunities.

Especially has the municipality assumed a place of primary importance in furnishing recreational opportunities for all the people and in providing opportunity for democratic leisure-time experiences. In the last few years, too, the Federal government has become increasingly active in the recreational field. Much work is still to be done in properly coordinating and planning the activities of all the agencies, collective and commercial, that are interested in recreation. Many of the developments have been so recent and so rapid, especially the activities of the Federal government, that it is still uncertain what is the best sphere of action for the various agencies. It is certain, however, that collectivism in the leisure time field is increasing, and the remainder of this paper will seek to trace the extent of and motivating forces dominant in this movement.

### Chapter III

#### FACTORS SIGNIFICANT IN THE NEW EMPHASIS ON LEISURE

The new emphasis on leisure may advantageously be regarded as conforming to the principles underlying general social movements.

"A movement is a mode of collective behavior occasioned by social disorganization or contacts, involving inter-communication of desires, and manifested by an organization of social activities intended to accomplish a common object. These activities consist of adjustments to the given social situations."<sup>1</sup>

"The development of a social movement might be defined in terms of interaction between the social unrest among the masses on one hand and the intellectuals on the other hand."<sup>2</sup>

What are the elements in the social situation that have formed the background of the recreation movement? Preceding social movements are slow, unguided, unintentional changes in the social values of people. These changes we may call cultural drifts. Such cultural drifts give rise to new hopes, new interests and new desires. People form new conceptions of themselves and develop new bodies of beliefs as to what they are entitled to, they develop a new body of demands for rights and privileges. This provides the motivation for social movements.

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<sup>1</sup> Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, (University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Blumer, Class lecture, University of Chicago, July, 1938.

for this new conception of self provides new objectives of activity. But at first the lack of harmony between the ideal and actual roles only awakens dissatisfaction with the present modes of living and arouses vague unorganized longings. The role of leadership is both to stir up these longings and to organize them in such a way as to gain the objectives of the new conception of self. It is important to realize that there was a setting of cultural forces as well as the promotional activity of various individuals and groups in the rise of the recreation movement. The demands of consumers, producers, and the various economic and political interests arise and become effective only as they express this underlying cultural drift.

What was the nature of this cultural drift as it affected the recreation movement? What were the social conditions out of which it arose?

Foremost was the rise of urbanism. Between 1890 and 1930 the population in cities of more than 100,000 increased 275 per cent. In 1930 over one-third of the population of the United States lived in such cities. Urbanization meant a restriction in space for play or any sort of physical activity. It was frequently accompanied by community disorganization and in any event meant the disruption of village social life, and the discontinuance of such things as literary societies, ice cream socials, spelling bees, and similar activity. "In the cities where a consciousness of the social situation first arose, the behavior of children, youths and adults during their leisure hours and holidays frequently became delinquent conduct, play became crime, while leisure

pursuits became commercialized to an extent without precedent. Whereas, formerly both children and adults had participated in play and recreation, now they became spectators."<sup>3</sup>

Urbanism changed the social system in such a way that many people could not participate in recreation because they lacked both the physical facilities and the social organization for doing so. The city man needs the companionship of others with interests similar to his own but the lack of personal acquaintance and the decline of neighboring under urban conditions makes such opportunities for companionship possible to a large extent only through organized recreation. The presence of a large number of young unmarried people detached from their homes has likewise been of significance in creating a demand for organized recreation in the city.

Next was the rise of industrialism, which of course was also responsible for the rise of urbanism. The decline of outdoor life, the high degree of specialization of labor, with its lack of opportunity for expressing the creative urge, and consequent monotony, led to the use of leisure as a compensating factor. Eduard C. Lindeman has suggested that in industry only a part of the organism is used and play assumes the important function of balancing the organism by allowing expression of activity of the whole body. More and more the slave of the machine seeks to live his real life in his moments of leisure. Play not only serves as an escape from occupational drudgery and as a means of release of muscular tensions, but it is an area in which one may satisfy his

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<sup>3</sup> C. E. Rainwater, The Play Movement in the United States, (University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 10.

interest in new adventure, where the exciting pursuit of some goal enables every man to achieve a victory. Furthermore it is a socially acceptable means of escape into fantasy, serving as a means of expressing suppressed wishes for power (as demonstrated in much lodge activity). For people whose energies to a large extent are used mechanically and uncreatively, recreation becomes psychologically a matter of absolute necessity. Modern life has developed a speed and a nervous tension for which man is not biologically prepared, after centuries of less tense living. Only as people are able to relax and to forget about daily routine are they able to counteract the abnormal tension of modern living. Russell Lord has stated well the function of recreation as escape:

There are times when we all want out, and times when the fret and strain of modern life are such that this want becomes no mere whim, but a dominating necessity. We all rebel at times against the regimentation that commerce and fashion and custom, far more than our government impose. And if our inherited sense of personal rebellion can be diverted and soothed by wearing a dirty shirt, tramping lonely trails and going without shaving or tinting our fingernails for a day or so--well, that would seem a rather harmless way of trying to get a revolution out of our systems.

Modern life and urban life in particular enforces insistent and inescapable discipline upon the individual. Social customs, job, family, the group, and the church all demand compliance to codes. Many of these rules are irksome. Some of them run counter to human nature. Often man is forced into a pattern of behavior that makes him an indistinguishable member of a band.<sup>4</sup>

Thus he emphasizes recreation, especially forest recreation, as an escape from modern life--as a means of "getting away from it all."

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<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 24.



The rise of industrialism was accompanied by the release of time for leisure. For the first time in history the masses had time to play. During the past fifty years the normal work week has been reduced approximately twenty hours. The five-day week with the consequent long week ends, the growing practice of annual vacations, and the introduction of daylight saving time in urban areas have given the time for play. A recent report of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute points out that in 1899, 4.7 million workers were employed on an average of 56.8 hours per week while in 1937 the number of working hours had dropped to an average of 39.8 per week for 8.5 million factory workers. By means of Federal statutes and closer governmental regulation, especially in interstate enterprises, minimum wages and maximum hours are now well established in the United States. This increase in free time for the worker led many recreation leaders to appreciate the great opportunity for utilizing this leisure on a high cultural level and stimulated an expansion of the recreational opportunities offered by public and private agencies. Likewise it resulted in a rich harvest by commercialized recreation as indicated above.

Technological advancement has affected the home as well as industry. Labor-saving devices such as the vacuum cleaner, washing machines, improved cooking stoves, and central heating have greatly lightened housekeeping duties. Apartment house living with no yards to care for, and the reduction in size of families further lessening household duties, have all operated to increase the amount of leisure for women as well as men. The Lynds in Middletown have emphasized

that inventions are remaking leisure and, with the exception of the radio, their influence is such as to increase the demand for recreational facilities outside the home. The commercial amusement interests were alert in recognizing the needs for recreation resulting from lack of facilities in the modern home and the playground and recreation center likewise have come to appreciate that changing home conditions are an important factor in stimulating the need for collective recreational facilities.

The general recognition that recreation is a fundamental human need was another factor of importance in the cultural drift. From about 1890 on there was a marked change in the concept of play. It began to be divorced from its earlier Puritanical interpretation as a form of laziness, and various religious taboos on certain types of play began to decline and disappear. Some churches even began to promote recreation. The introduction of many new forms of sports stimulated interest, and the rise of professional sports for spectator consumption stimulated interest among the people and laid the basis for their later demand for playing fields and equipment for their own participation.

The World War taught many men how to play; mass games and mass entertainment were utilized to conserve the health and morale of the fighting forces. The War Camp Community Service, organized by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, organized 604 community recreation projects near the great cantonments and wherever the troops spent their leaves. With peace there was a demand for community recreation by the returning sailors and soldiers; the abolition of the

saloon had left a vacant place in many communities; and finally the rejections of the war draft boards for physical unfitness called attention to the necessity of providing for better physical development.

The introduction of music, arts, drama, and athletics into the school program has had a significant influence on the recreation movement. Not only are large numbers of individuals turned out each year with skills in these activities, but they have demanded opportunities for continued participation in them. This means some kind of community provision for recreation.

As suggested above, the automobile, together with hard surfaced roads, has revolutionized our recreation habits and has been an especially important factor in the acquisition of state and national parks, public beaches, national forests.

Another important factor in the social situation was the rising national income, our higher standard of living and our increasing capacity to purchase the equipment for leisure-time activity, especially our capacity as a nation. One-seventh to one-eighth of our national income is now devoted to recreational activity.

Very important likewise is our cultural tradition of the propriety of government rendering services to the citizens that private business finds itself unable or unprofitable to supply. The postal system, the educational system, the highway system and many forms of municipal services give us a tradition easily adaptable to the extension of collectivism into recreation. This view has been expressed by many public leaders. Newton D. Baker as Mayor of Cleveland stated, "The control and

financing of recreation activities of almost every kind, I believe, is a definite and proper city function."<sup>5</sup> Even Calvin Coolidge, while President, said:

Play for the child, sport for youth, and recreation for adults are essentials of modern life. It is becoming generally recognized that the creation and maintenance of outdoor recreation facilities is a community duty in order that the whole public might participate in their employment. This presents a particular challenge to municipal and county administrations.<sup>6</sup>

And John G. Winant when Governor of New Hampshire stated that the provision for leisure "lies well within the province of the state."

General social movements tend to be pervasive in their influence and reform in various lines may proceed together. Recreation especially is related to and integrated with other phases of life. Many claims have been made for it as a means of building health, physical and mental, developing character, reducing crime and delinquency and achieving similar desirable results. While most social problems are caused by a multiplicity of factors and hence are not cured by any one single force, even by adequate recreational opportunities, nevertheless the recognition of the value of recreational opportunities as a means of preventing and alleviating social problems has been a powerful force in the social setting of collective recreation.

The first World War taught the value of recreation as a means of building and sustaining morale, and recreation has been invaluable

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted in George D. Butler, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

all during the depression in serving a similar function. The activities of the Federal government in the field of recreation were instituted to maintain morale as well as to give employment. Recreation has been found useful in promoting community spirit and solidarity; well organized playground programs contribute definitely to the reduction of traffic accidents as well as accidents in sports. Likewise, the economy of the recreation movement in preventing delinquency and crime, in restoring health, and in preventing accident and death has interested many in collective recreational facilities who would not be interested on other grounds. Robert Moses, New York City Commissioner of Parks states the case in this way:

No matter how difficult the problem of providing these increased facilities may be, and afterwards maintaining and controlling them, it must be met. It does not matter how conservative a citizen may be or how much he may deprecate the expansion of government facilities into new fields, recreation in cities and municipalities is not a new field and must be recognized as a vital necessity-----.

The demand for all these new facilities in the park system has unquestionably existed. The evidence that these new facilities have improved health, decreased juvenile delinquency and accidents is beyond dispute. I am not referring merely to the claims of exuberant reformers.....I have already stated my conviction that the non-revenue as well as the new self-supporting activities of the Park Department are an actual economy, and that they bring about a directly traceable reduction in the cost of policing, crime prevention, operation of accident wards and health administration. The beneficial effects of park and parkway improvements on adjacent property also needs no proof.<sup>7</sup>

Thus in the last forty years certain cultural trends have developed which have laid the basis for the recreation movement. In seeking the

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<sup>7</sup> Survey Graphic, "Who Will Pay The Piper?," June, 1937.

promotive forces for the increase in collectivization of recreational and leisure-time facilities these cultural factors that gave rise to new longings, new desires, new definitions of rights and new conceptions of self appear most significant. Specific promotive efforts by any interest group can only be successful where the forces at work in the social setting have developed a readiness to respond. As Professor Steiner says:

"Many of the factors and forces responsible for modern recreational trends are too deeply rooted in our entire social and economic structure to be readily amenable to social control. Such significant developments as the declining opposition to the so-called worldly amusements, the widespread use of Sunday as a day of recreation, the approval of women's active participation in athletic sports, the growth of interest in outdoor life, the great expansion of pleasure travel, the extraordinary vogue of competition sports, the popularity of moving pictures and radio programs and the almost universal acceptance of recreation as one of the necessities of life for old as well as young, are far more a natural outgrowth of our times than a direct result of foresight and planning in the interests of recreation itself. These recreational fashions and trends have been made possible, if not inevitable, by the expansion of cities, the emancipation of women, the rise of modern inventions, and various other achievements and events that have come about in recent years.

"The dominant patterns in the recreational world are determined by the prevailing mores and respond slowly to efforts of special interest groups to modify them in any essential manner. Recreational planning has been able thus far to do little more than build upon these fundamental patterns and advocate changes that do not depart too widely from generally accepted patterns."<sup>8</sup>

The trends of our culture had set the stage for the development of specific recreational movements.

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<sup>8</sup> Jessie F. Steiner, Recreation in the Depression, (Social Science Research Council, 1937), p. 113, 114.

## Chapter IV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL RECREATION

Municipal recreation facilities are provided by a variety of agencies. Park, recreation, and school authorities furnish most of the local recreational programs offered under municipal auspices, although libraries and museums are also significant. The primary service of the library is to furnish opportunities for reading, which, as we have noted, is the most common of all recreational activities. Some libraries also encourage hobbies and crafts, story telling, dramatic activities, study and discussion groups, and open forums, but inasmuch as the growth of libraries is a separate division of this cooperative research concerning the growth of collectivism it will not be dealt with in this chapter.

Likewise, museums sometimes play important leisure-time roles in the community by organizing study groups, opening workshops, encouraging collecting, furnishing auditoriums for civic, cultural, and nature study, and similar activities. In the art museums particularly, appreciation of art has been encouraged, and interests, hobbies, and abilities developed which have enriched the lives of the people. Since museums are a separate topic for research in the larger project no analysis of the motivating forces in their history will be attempted here.

The school authorities have contributed directly to the development of community recreation interests through such subjects as music,

dramatics, the manual arts and physical education. School plants and playgrounds have often been made available for a general community recreation program. Especially has the adult education movement been dependent upon the assistance of educational authorities, and an analysis of this aspect of leisure time activity will be made later in the discussion. The growth of education as collective enterprise is the subject of another section of the cooperative inquiry and therefore will not be considered in any detail in this description of the development of municipal recreation activities. This leaves for our analysis the growth of the playground movement, of recreation departments, and of municipal parks.

The Playground Movement. The playground movement in America in its origin had many of the characteristics of a typical reform social movement.<sup>1</sup> One of the marks of a reform movement is that it seeks to arouse sympathy among outsiders on behalf of a group in distress. Another characteristic is the appeal to the basic moral tenets of the old order and promoting the application of those tenets to a new social situation. Still another characteristic is the working through existing institutions. All of these characteristics are prominent in the movement for public recreation.

The play movement began definitely as a social welfare movement, starting in the congested areas of our cities from about 1885 on. That

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the fundamental principles of social movements, and especially a comparison of reform and revolutionary movements, see Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," Chapter 22 in Park, Outline of Sociology, (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1939).



year in Boston the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association established sand piles for small children in the poorer areas of the city. The project was financed by philanthropy. The year of 1889 marked the beginning of public subsidy. Land and equipment were contributed by the park department, but the operation and supervision continued to be by the private philanthropic organizations. In Boston "In the summer of 1901, the transition from philanthropic to public control, as well as support, was effected by the withdrawal from the Association of financial assistance on the part of the school committee and the establishment of playgrounds under their own administration."<sup>2</sup>

Jane Addams in connection with her work at Hull House established the first playground in Chicago in 1894. The Northwestern University Settlement followed with a playground in their district in 1896. In Pittsburgh the first playground was under the auspices of the Civic Club in 1896. Women's clubs in Cleveland, Denver, Minneapolis and San Francisco were active in 1898. The Chicago Recreation Survey makes the rather obvious point that almost all the contributions for such projects came from outside the area where the facilities were established. In the beginning the effort was definitely one of establishing facilities for the underprivileged, and the impetus came from the top down rather than from the bottom up. Rainwater indicates this in discussing the

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<sup>2</sup> Rainwater, op. cit., p. 32.

growth of social centers from 1915 to 1918 when he says "Here for the first time in the history of the play movement did the provision of facilities and the organization of activity come from the people-- from the bottom up instead of from the top down."<sup>3</sup>

Joseph Lee in writing about the play movement in Boston shows that its inception there was definitely connected with the anti-slum movement. The agitation in New York and stimulation of public opinion by Jacob Riis was likewise part of his fight on the slum. Even at the present time the work of public housing projects is having a controlling influence in setting standards for play space in modern construction, and in developing neighborhood play facilities.

The development of recreational facilities by these philanthropic agencies was part of their fight on adult crime and juvenile delinquency. In fact it can be shown that the development of playgrounds came in with the juvenile court and kept pace in its spread across the country.

The social welfare influence is also seen in the growth of the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and similar character building organizations, whose chief basis of popularity was the appeal to interest in recreation. Recreational projects also became one of the approaches to the immigration problem, especially in the programs of the settlement houses.

Thus, the first steps toward public recreation were undertaken by the various charitable organizations as a part of their general social welfare program. At first the charities supplied space, equipment, funds,

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

and supervision. Gradually municipalities began to assist with the provision first of space, then of equipment, later of funds and then finally, with the addition of supervision, began to enter the field in their own name. At the same time, beginning only with small children, there was an extension of facilities to older age groups until the whole community was offered facilities. It is clear of course that the persons operating and financing these welfare agencies were operating only secondarily in their own interest but primarily in the interest of a depressed group. It is important to note that the drive for collectivism in this instance arose from outside the consumers of the service. We shall show later that these consumers of the service did become powerful motivating forces in the later stages of development. Such welfare groups were of course also acting in the interest of the larger public. Graham Taylor has said that the movement started with the residents of the social settlements because they could count the costs of inadequate play better than others.

The School Board Report of Boston of 1902 will illustrate the source of these early pressures for municipal recreation. That report cites the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, the Brighthelmston Club, the Massachusetts Civic League and the Women's Educational and Industrial Club as being the active promoters of playgrounds in Boston. The records of other cities show similar names. It is quite obvious that the interest was one of social welfare. The activity engaged in was primarily demonstrational in character. Very early these societies reached the conclusion that provision for play must be made by public,

not philanthropic sources. The Massachusetts Civic League report of 1901 states "Our function is merely to carry the work through the experimental stage."

In New York an Outdoor Recreation League was organized in 1898. It consisted of nineteen local societies and its primary purpose was to force the Park Commission to carry out an act of the legislature of 1887 by acquiring small park spaces and then seeing that they were really used as play spaces. The tendency of the Park Commission was to use them as breathing spaces where as Jacob Riis remarked "one could do little else." This was the first organization that consciously tried to develop agitation, and through the cooperation of Jacob Riis and his newspaper articles they were able to generate considerable public opinion. Although this Outdoor Recreation League was agitating on the behalf of a depressed group and not for itself, it nevertheless made one significant step in the direction of converting the movement into one where the generative force would come from the bottom. It opened a model playground on June 3, 1899, and during the season thousands of small contributions were made by the residents of the neighborhood toward its maintenance. This was the first step in developing democracy in the play movement.

In Louisville, shortly afterward, a similar recreation league was formed and was instrumental in securing the approval of a referendum measure for public parks. In Philadelphia in 1888 a small park association was formed. Instrumental in this was the 22nd Ward Branch of the Civic Club. Following this, a Playground Association supported playgrounds

until in 1909, as a result of agitation, a public playground commission was created and in 1910 assumed control of all private playgrounds.

In Chicago, a Special Park Commission was appointed by Mayor Harrison in the fall of 1899 as a result of the agitation for playgrounds of the "small park" type that had begun as an outgrowth of the publication of a report prepared by the Municipal Science Club. This Commission was composed of nine aldermen and six private citizens. They established five playgrounds and in addition disclosed the inefficiency of recreational opportunities provided by the three park systems because of inaccessability and the insufficiency of park areas. They said that "the ultimate object of the operation of the playgrounds was to develop public opinion that would demand the creation of permanent playgrounds of the "small park" type."<sup>4</sup> The enthusiastic participation of Chicagoans in the South Park System gave immediate evidence of the need for playgrounds. There was an attendance of 1,443,901 the first year of operation and over five million in the second year. This evidence of need, the superior organization and leadership of the South Park System together with its marked influence in reducing delinquency greatly assisted in developing a public opinion which the Commission realized must be present if public recreational opportunities were to grow.

Thus in all the chief cities of the United States small local organizations like the Chicago Commission came into existence and began to agitate for public recreation. Rainwater shows that by 1905 they had succeeded in establishing the idea "that playgrounds should be provided

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<sup>4</sup> Rainwater, op. cit., p. 86.

for, at least in part, by municipal support and control."<sup>5</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt called Chicago's South Park playground development "the most notable civic achievement of any American city." The widespread publicity which these parks received, especially at the time of the first playground convention in Chicago in 1907, held under the auspices of the Playground Association of America (later the National Recreation Association), was of great influence in extending the idea of municipal recreation to other cities. An innovation in one city, after a period of testing, came to be adopted in others. Boston and Chicago were the two chief centers of diffusion of this cultural trait. Boston copied the idea of the original sand gardens from Berlin. Recreational developments in at least nine large American cities can be traced to plans and suggestions received from Boston. Miss Ellen Tower, for many years chairman of the Playground Committee of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association and especially active in the Boston Movement, spoke widely, including addresses at Baltimore and Montreal which were published and thus had still wider influence.

In Rochester, New York, in 1907 a school extension committee was organized and funds were appropriated for the use of the schools as social and civic centers. This experiment stimulated a wider use of school plant in other cities, and there was a gradual introduction into school buildings of features which served both school and recreation purposes. By 1911 Wisconsin had passed enabling legislation permitting school authorities to levy a special tax for recreation purposes, a

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

provision under which Milwaukee established its successful playground and community center program.

It is difficult to generalize on the role of school officials and school boards in the recreation movement. Some have been quite active in establishing school community centers, especially some state departments of education. Others have been passive and some have resisted the movement. There has been a reluctance to share the school plant, and a hesitancy to raise taxes by greater use of the school plant. This has been true in adult education as well as in recreation. On the other hand, the development of physical education programs in the schools has been one of the greatest popularizing influences and has led to a continuation of demand for recreational facilities after graduation from school.

In 1915-18 when the social center aspect of the play movement was being emphasized, it is interesting to note that in Chicago the impetus came from the district superintendent of schools. The principal of the school did the organizing and those who attended the organizational meetings were representatives of Association Settlement House, the Juvenile Protective Association, the Eleanor Clubs, the 15th Ward Civic League, the Jewish Educational Alliance, the Y. M. C. A. and the Northwestern Settlement.<sup>6</sup> Here again we notice the stimulus from outside the neighborhood. Yet the "self-supporting" centers developed out of this conference did come to bear about 57 per cent of their expenditures. Furthermore in April of 1916, representatives of all the organized

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<sup>6</sup> Rainwater, op. cit., p. 154.

neighborhoods in Chicago met and formed the Community Center Conference which was the first attempt to coordinate experts and laymen, officials and private citizens into an overhead organization with advisory rather than administrative power, designed to promote self-government and self-support through collective neighborhood effort. Thus we find here the beginning of a consumer influence, although directed from without.

That the consumer was still largely passive was indicated by the fact that at a state conference in Illinois in 1916 where play and recreation was discussed the sentiment was expressed that "The question was not whether they (the patrons) could be entrusted with power, but how they could be induced to take it, to accept responsibility for the local welfare."<sup>7</sup>

This passivity of consumers of recreation is to be explained partially by the fact that while recreation is a universal need, the particular forms in which the need is expressed are the result of educational influences. Only after a taste of recreational activities has been offered in a community do the citizens realize what the possibilities of enjoyment in certain recreational fields are and come to develop an active demand for such services. While the first stimulus to recreational development often comes from outside those affected, after the first taste, they develop an active demand for the new activities.

One of the outstanding events in the growth of the playground movement was the organization of the Playground Association of America in 1906. This organization, the National Conference on Community Centers,

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 175.



and the National Conference of Social Work voiced the aims of the play movement for many years. According to Rainwater, the personnel of these groups was much the same, including many recreational administrators and supervisors. The leaders in the cities where unusual recreational programs had been established were flooded with requests for advice and suggestions from other communities. A group of such leaders, including Jane Addams, Luther H. Gulick, and Henry S. Curtis met in Washington in April of 1906 to consider the desirability of a national organization to help towns and cities develop adequate recreational programs, and to help create public sentiment for such a program. One of the meetings was held at the White House and President Theodore Roosevelt gave his enthusiastic support to the organization. Dr. Curtis undertook the organization of the Association, saw nearly all the people to be invited, wrote the constitution, and raised the money for the preliminary expenses. He became the first secretary of the Association, Dr. Gulick became president, President Roosevelt, honorary president, and Jacob Riis, honorary vice-president. The purpose of the Playground Association of America as stated in its Constitution was "to collect and distribute knowledge of and promote interest in playgrounds throughout the country, to seek to further the establishment of playgrounds and athletic fields in all communities and directed play in connection with the schools."

A monthly magazine, The Playground, was established in 1907 by the executive committee of the Association. In the same year it organized the First Play Congress in Chicago. In 1909 it developed the "Normal Course in Play" which was the inspiration of most of the courses that

have since been given in normal schools and universities all over the United States. The first recreation survey of Washington, D. C. (the first recreation survey of any city in the country) was made by the Association and published in the Survey in the spring of 1908. In 1910 Joseph Lee, the philosopher of the movement and more than any one person responsible for the development of the play movement in America, became president of the Association and continued in that capacity until his death in 1937.

By 1910 Joseph Lee had already been active in the play movement for a score of years and was at that time known to many as the "father of the playground movement." Lee had been much influenced by Froebel's philosophy of play and his warning that through play the boy gets his first grip on moral relations. Lee's two books Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy and his Play in Education were widely read and influential in developing the philosophy of the movement. His philosophy of the recreation movement is summed up in this statement: "The boy without a playground is father to the man without a job and the boy with a bad playground is apt to be father to a man with a job that had better been left undone.....Give these qualities their legitimate means of expression in hard organized play and burglarly will be abandoned as an inferior form of sport."<sup>8</sup> Lee himself knew how to play, and he devoted much of his life to obtaining for others the delightful recreational experiences he himself had enjoyed. As indicated in the title of his first book he

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<sup>8</sup> Recreation, Dec. 1937, Vol. 31, p. 530. This whole number of the magazine is dedicated to Lee and is a memorial to his influence in the recreation movement.

saw the recreation movement in relation to other movements. He believed that the play and recreation movement was the easiest and most natural place to take hold to bring about some of the significant social changes that were necessary. He was, personally, an intense individualist and he felt that the play movement operated to give individuals the kind of surroundings which enabled them to be most truly themselves.

However, he urged political action as the most desirable method of bringing about such improved recreational opportunities. He believed in operating through local government. He helped found the Massachusetts Civic League to bring pressure to bear on governmental agencies. His belief in more governmental welfare activity was stated thus: "Newspapers and public speakers are always saying that it would be better if our legislators met less often, and had shorter sessions, and if they didn't do anything when they do meet. I believe that this talk is all rot, that the truth is exactly the opposite, that progress is to be sought, not in suppressing the means by which public purpose is announced, but on the contrary, by making such expression more adequate."<sup>9</sup> He was able to get a law through the Massachusetts legislature requiring every city of 10,000 or over to vote whether it would maintain playgrounds. As a member of the Boston Public School Committee for twelve years he made it a point that every public school should have a playground. Mr. Lee during the thirty-one years of life of the National Recreation Association (as the Playground Association later became known) up to his death gave more than \$360,000 to the work and was himself raising money and getting

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 531.

others to help him raise money. Under Lee, the Board of Directors, who knew most about the work, contributed or secured contributions of from 34 to 43 per cent of the entire budget for the various years. As a speaker, Lee also made a great contribution to the movement, these speeches before Conferences of Social Work, and Recreation Congresses in various cities influencing the listeners for years to come. The most significant contribution that he made, however, was by his example of devotion to the movement. The fact that such an outstanding leader would give so much of his time and resources to the task of promoting recreation gave the movement a prestige and a confidence it could not have otherwise attained.

In April, 1909, Howard S. Braucher became secretary of the Association, a position he still holds. He has also been most active in interpreting the recreation movement and in making significant the services of the Playground Association. In 1911 the name of the organization was changed to the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Later the name was changed to the National Recreation Association as the organization is known today. These name changes are significant in indicating the broadening scope of the movement, to include older age groups and to involve a wider program than mere physical play.

The National Recreation Association with its predecessors has been the greatest single motivating force in the development of collective recreational facilities. Serving as a source of information and as a clearing house for new developments it has distributed throughout America the best knowledge and techniques available in the field.

It has forced attention upon the need for public recreation, has planned programs, trained leaders, promoted experiments and helped establish programs in various cities. One of its most valuable services has been the drafting of the proper type of enabling legislation giving municipalities the power to engage in recreational activity, and the urging of the adoption of such statutes in the several states. It has served as a unifying force and as a great national agency representing what was for the best interests of recreation in America.

The first great increase in the play movement in the United States came immediately after the organization of the Association. Between 1899 and 1906, 26 cities had established playgrounds, or an average of four cities a year. In the next six years a total of 158 cities started playgrounds, or an average of 26 cities a year. During 1910 field secretaries were sent out for the first time and the number of cities establishing playgrounds for the first time exceeded 25 each year for the next ten years. By 1916 over 500 cities had established playgrounds or more than 20 times the number ten years before when the Playground Association was started. By this time the Association had two associate and nine field secretaries with an annual budget of over \$100,000. As Dr. Henry S. Curtis said:

The beginnings have been made in nearly every case by private organizations, usually by the Playground Committee of a Women's club or some civic club, but as time has gone on the tendency has been to organize a Playground and Recreation Association, which established one or more playgrounds and maintains them until the city is ready to take up the movement. In many cities, even after the city began to make appropriations, a portion of the funds still comes from private sources.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Henry S. Curtis, The Play Movement and Its Significance, (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1917), p. 12.

The emphasis of the National Recreation Association upon the idea of municipalities providing playgrounds and recreation centers through tax support has been of great assistance in bringing about a general acceptance of the idea of public support.

By the time of the World War the scope of the recreation movement had been much extended. It became recognized as of value for the whole community, not just for underprivileged neighborhoods. Adult needs as well as those of children became objects of attention and the playground idea expanded to include activity in music, drama, civic affairs, the arts and crafts rather than just physical play. Thus the whole community became involved in the emerging conception of recreation. Many city recreation surveys were conducted by staff members of the Russell Sage Foundation and the National Recreation Association. These surveys helped focus attention upon community needs for city-wide recreation systems. In some cities neighborhood groups were organized to help plan and conduct neighborhood recreation programs.

This trend toward city-wide recreation with opportunities for all members of the community received a further impetus by the formation of War Camp Community Service during the World War. Organized by the Playground and Recreation Association at the request of the War Department, the service sought to organize wholesome recreational activities for the soldiers by mobilizing the resources of the communities adjacent to the cantonments. The program was of great assistance in maintaining military morale and demonstrated the value of a recreation program, if properly organized, for adults, for civilians as well as for soldiers.

To conserve these recreational values when the war was over a national organization was formed called Community Service, Inc. This was a continuation of the War Camp Community Service and was sponsored by the Playground and Recreation Association with Joseph Lee and Howard S. Braucher as officers. This organization attempted to get carried over into civilian life the new-found pleasure enjoyed by the soldiers in the War Camp Community Service recreational programs. Soldiers who had become accustomed to outdoor games and sports, and communities which had come to realize the value of community sings, pageants, and festivals formed the nucleus of pressure groups urging community recreation. Geo. D. Butler describes the influence of this war experience thus:

"Influential citizen groups and committees which had played such a large part in these programs had been brought face to face with the significance of recreation and had come to realize the value of volunteer recreation service and the satisfaction obtained from it. Social, civic and religious agencies had acquired common interest in and a sense of responsibility for community recreation. Many communities for the first time had observed the vital contribution made by a worker who gave his full time to planning the effective utilization of the community's recreation resources. The rapid expansion of the Municipal Movement in the 1920's with its enriched programs and enlarged public support, was in no small measure an outcome of these earlier influences and developments."<sup>11</sup>

The influence of Joseph Lee was marked in the development of Community Service of Boston. He had visions of it becoming a recreational laboratory. His objective was to start some form of recreation under the auspices of Community Service with the hope of turning it over to the citizens of Boston as soon as it was operating satisfactorily,

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<sup>11</sup> Op. cit., p. 68.

leaving the sponsoring organization free to pioneer in some other direction.

Community Service Inc. also sought to do this nationally, and altogether it raised two million dollars to develop self-governing community recreation in 400 localities, assuming that they would match expenditures by ten dollars to one. The Community Service Inc. Bulletin #2 1919 contained the following statement:

The method of work will be to send to each city a community organizer to form a representative committee of citizens and start the work. But always the aim will be to draw out the strength that is in the people and make them conscious and efficient directors of their own affairs. The aim will be to make the people feel that the problem is their own problem and to hand the work over to them as soon as possible.

Here we clearly have the transitional stage from philanthropic pressure to consumer pressure. This stage developed large financial support for propoganda, emphasized educating the public in the use of leisure, organized the leaders of existing institutions into cooperative advisory councils, and secured the services of experts in helping put across bond issue campaigns. Self government and the use of democratic processes for agitation and expansion were stressed.

Another outcome of the War was the erection of community houses in many cities. This was partly the outcome of the developments traced above and partly due to the desire to erect fitting war memorials. These varied greatly in facilities, in methods of financing, and sponsorship, but almost all represented some form of collective activity and had some significance for community recreation, from merely furnishing



an auditorium and kitchen to the development of elaborate recreational programs under competent leadership.

As Professor Steiner says:

No phase of American life is more interesting than the rising tide of recreation during the 1920's. It marks the beginning of a new period in which the traditions of rural America gave way to the advance of an urbanized, industrialized world.....Play for the first time took its place alongside of work and was recognized as one of the major interests of life.<sup>12</sup>

This resulted in a marked expansion of recreational facilities and an accompanying increase in the number of individuals participating. Never before had recreation touched so intimately the daily lives of the rank and file. Recreation budgets were increased, but in spite of mounting cost popular opinion seemed to favor the further expansion of recreational opportunities. "There was an insistent demand that expenditures for this purpose should be as ample as economic conditions would permit."<sup>13</sup> Leadership training was emphasized, state legislation authorizing municipalities to establish and maintain recreational systems was passed, and there was a marked increase in the amount of recreation literature. The number of employed recreation leaders, according to the Recreation Year Book, increased from 10,218 in 1920 to 24,949 in 1930. The marked increase in facilities, programs and leaders brought an inevitable increase in expenditure for municipal recreation service. According to the Recreation Year Book, expenditures

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<sup>12</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, Research Memorandum On Recreation in the Depression, (Social Science Research Council, 1937), p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

for organized community recreation service increased from \$7,199,430 in 1920 to \$38,518,195 in 1930.

Prof. Steiner has adapted figures from National Recreation Association reports to indicate the growth of public playgrounds in cities above 2,500 population, as shown in the following table:<sup>14</sup>

Table I

INCREASE IN RECREATION 1910-1930 FOR CITIES  
OF 2,500 POPULATION AND OVER

Year	Number of cities reporting playgrounds	Per cent of all cities with playgrounds	Per cent of increase 1920-1930
1910	180	7.5	
1920	428	15.4	
1930	695	22	62.6

The percentage of increase in number of playgrounds per 100,000 urban population for the decade was 74.9.

The Bureau of Census report, Financial Statistics Of Cities, which presents expenditures for all types of municipal recreation service, including parks, museums, and public celebrations, showed a similar remarkable increase. Between 1919 and 1929 the total amount spent by 146 cities of 30,000 and over for the operation and maintenance of all forms of recreation service increased from \$24,204,797 to \$61,863,327.

The per capita expenditure of these 146 cities over 30,000 population for recreation increased from 74 cents in 1919 to \$1.55 in 1929.

<sup>14</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, Americans At Play, (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 15.

The following table shows the development of recreation in the same 146 cities during the period of 1903 to 1930. Unfortunately, the Financial Statistics of Cities, in recent years has been limited to cities of over 100,000 population so that the comparison can not be continued to the present.<sup>15</sup>

Table II

RECREATION EXPENDITURE OF 146 CITIES OF 30,000 POPULATION  
AND OVER, 1903-1930

Year	Total spent	Per capita expenditure	Per cent of total governmental expense
1903	\$ 7,457,424	.35	2.7
1905	10,201,070	.47	3.4
1907	11,794,950	.51	3.2
1909	14,076,633	.55	3.4
1911	17,114,125	.65	3.7
1913	18,555,635	.63	3.7
1915	20,416,484	.68	3.7
1917	20,636,954	.66	3.5
1919	24,204,797	.74	3.4
1922	38,703,377	1.09	3.3
1924	41,819,027	1.15	3.2
1926	50,427,407	1.34	3.4
1928	56,038,754	1.44	3.4
1929	61,863,327	1.55	3.6
1930	66,060,434	1.59	3.6

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<sup>15</sup> Financial Statistics of Cities, 1930, pp. 51, 52. It is to be noted that these are not total expenditures of all cities of this population class but only for the 146 cities for which comparative data are available. The 310 cities over 30,000 in 1930 spent a total of \$76,136,890 for recreation in 1930 or \$1.61 per capita. The total expenditures for 247 cities of this size in 1925 were \$49,934,122 or \$1.23 per capita.

One feature of the expanding recreation movement during this period was the increased recognition it received in books, magazine articles, news stories and lectures. The Playground and Recreation Association had issued pamphlets discussing the importance of recreation as early as 1912. In 1918 the National Education Association gave added recognition by listing the worthy use of leisure as one of the seven cardinal objectives of education. The growing recognition of the value of recreation in our national life was indicated by President Coolidge in 1924 when he called the Conference On Outdoor Recreation, a conference which emphasized the value of municipal recreation as well as other phases of outdoor leisure-time activity. Many research projects in the special fields of recreation were made or sponsored by the National Recreation Association during the twenties. Local recreation surveys were made as a basis for local planning and action and committees of recreation experts issued valuable reports on many phases of recreation. The report of President Hoover's Committee on Social Trends included valuable chapters with supporting monographs, which gave a nationwide survey of recreation and the related arts.

The National Recreation Association gained increased attention for the recreation movement when it sponsored the tour of Dr. L. P. Jacks, noted English educator, in 1931-1932 in which he visited the largest cities of America giving lectures. His book,

Education Through Recreation, 1932, and a number of others of similar character,<sup>16</sup> together with numerous articles and editorials by the other philosophers of the movement all served to focus attention upon our recreational needs and pointed to the desirability of a well formulated recreation program.

One of the developments of recent years in a great many cities is the organization of city recreation commissions. The Chicago Recreation Commission may be cited as an example. It was established in March 1934 to act as a clearing house for information on recreation in Chicago and as an advisory body on the city planning of recreation. More than forty of the leading citizens of Chicago representing educational, social, cultural civic and business interests of the city accepted appointment on the Commission. In its advisory capacity the Commission considers in detail the recreational plans that are presented by the Mayor or other persons or groups and formulates an opinion on them. It does not of itself carry out such projects, but where advisable refers them to the recreational agency best fitted to handle them. As a coordinating body it has brought about closer working relationships between various public and private recreation agencies and between Federal emergency recreation projects of many kinds. It has sponsored the following activities: The Police Institute series in which some

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<sup>16</sup> Arthur N. Pack: The Challenge of Leisure, 1934; M. H. and E. S. Neumeyer: Leisure and Recreation, 1936; E. T. Lies: The New Leisure Challenges the Schools, 1933; H. A. Overstreet: A Guide to Civilized Leisure, 1934; Marjorie B. Greenbie: The Arts of Leisure, 1935; C. D. Burns: Leisure and the Modern World, 1932.

ninety educational and recreational leaders delivered lectures to four thousand city police officers on the use of supervised recreation in the prevention of juvenile delinquency; the organization of vacant lot clearance for play use in which nearly a thousand lots have been utilized for play spaces; cooperation with thirty-two district recreation committees; cooperation with the Federal Housing Administration to make sure that projects have adequate recreation space; sponsorship of Recreation Training Institutes; encouragement of wider use of school plant; sponsorship of various special projects; annual recreation conferences; publications and a recreation information service gathering and distributing facts about Chicago's recreational facilities.<sup>17</sup> In the development of such lay commissions, which took place all over America, there was created a powerful motivating force in the creation of an enlightened and active public opinion in regard to leisure time activities. While such advisory boards were not acting in behalf of themselves as consumers of recreational service, in most instances they did represent the more or less inarticulate needs of consuming groups and of the general public. They helped arouse and express a rising consumer demand for leisure time facilities.

Another factor of importance in the growth of public recreation was the development of city planning. Failure of city planning in the past means lack of space today and serious obstacles to attempts made today to gain more recreational area. As the Urbanism Committee of the

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<sup>17</sup> By the Secretary of the Commission, Chicago Recreation Survey. Vol. I, p. XIII.

National Resources Committee pointed out in Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy in 1937, "the most obvious problem in urban recreation arises out of lack of sufficient space for play and recreation in some cities, and still more, out of the poor distribution and consequent ineffectiveness of existing recreational areas in many more cities." Before 1900 the acquisition of public open spaces according to a city-wide plan received little attention. It was only gradually that the city planning commissions responded to the rising interest in play and began including in their official plans recommendations for ample play areas. Even so their legal power has been weak as they have sought to provide space for recreation as their communities have extended their borders. Fortunately, it frequently has been to the self-interest of the real-estate sub-dividers to make such provision, so there has been some voluntary cooperation by business interests. Zoning began about 1915 but this has largely been limited to architectural developments, and has been applied but little to play and related problems. Local planning progress has been furthered by the extension of state planning laws; the courts have recently taken a more favorable attitude toward zoning and planning projects; and the Department of Commerce of the Federal Government has furthered zoning standards throughout the country. Enabling acts granting cities wide authority in the recreation field were first passed in 1917 and were actively promoted by the National Recreation Association. By 1931 twenty-one states had enacted such laws. In addition twelve states have passed referendum tax legislation--very helpful measures because

of the budgetary limitations of many municipalities.

The significance of the city plan can be seen in the instance of Chicago. It was adopted in 1908 with both commercial and humanitarian purposes. The Plan recognizes the need for breathing spaces and recreation grounds to provide for the health and pleasure of the inhabitants of the city. It stated that density of population beyond a certain point results in disorder, vice and disease and therefore as a means of prevention the establishment of adequate park area was essential. Thirty years ago the Chicago Plan asserted that "Not a foot of the city's lake shores should be appropriated by individuals to the exclusion of the people." The Plan advocated the acquisition of the Forest Preserves, and the general extension of parks, playgrounds, beaches, and highways. The growth of state planning agencies and regional planning authorities is beginning to extend the advantage of planned recreational facilities beyond the large cities. Especially is there a necessity of avoiding unplanned suburban developments, with their frequent failure to provide adequate recreational facilities. The current nationwide interest in large-scale public housing has likewise focussed attention upon the proper planning of new neighborhoods and some of the new developments like the Greenbelt towns have established standards that are likely to have a profound effect upon other housing developments throughout the United States. There is ample evidence that many public housing authorities are aware of the recreational implications of the housing program.

Still another force in the development of collective recreational



opportunities that merits analysis is the attitude of business and industrial groups. While on theoretical principles one might expect the opposition of such groups to any extension of collectivism, as a matter of fact industrial executives, property owners, real estate men, and business leaders have often appreciated the economic and financial advantages of good community programs in recreation. Real Estate Boards and Chambers of Commerce have recognized that good recreational opportunities in a community helps to bring in industrial plants, attracts residents, makes for a better satisfied labor supply, raises property values and in general has made for a more alert, progressive community. Industry has commonly favored any measure that would improve industrial relations. A letter of the Superintendent of South Parks Playgrounds of Chicago to the directors of small parks under the date of December 9, 1914, states that "The three fundamental and generic purposes to be secured are (1) preservation of health, (2) raising civic and industrial standards, (3) increasing industrial efficiency." It is interesting to note that in the days of volunteer subscriptions industry frequently contributed. Of a \$9,000 budget of a recreation district in Los Angeles \$1,000 each was subscribed by two industrial companies. In 1907 in Rochester, New York, when the community centers were being organized the organizational meetings took place in the Chamber of Commerce. It is certain that the manufacturers and dealers of sporting goods favored the extension of all recreational facilities. The Commercial Club of Chicago in 1903, five years before the Plan of Chicago was launched, had succeeded in obtaining state legislation authorizing the respective park commissions

to connect Lincoln, Grant, and Jackson Parks.

Property owners had a divided attitude. E. C. Hughes in his study of the Chicago Real Estate Board, in relation to the Board's activity on parks, playgrounds, and forest preserves, says:

These changes of front and close votes indicate that the development of a park system was not an object clearly and enthusiastically defined as valuable to the interests of real estate. A general sentiment seems to have favored it, but in actual measures the Board was usually divided. The 'burden of the taxpayer' remained with them.<sup>18</sup>

On zoning and the boulevard system the Board appears to have been somewhat more actively in favor--largely on the ground that such measures would increase land values and yet at the same time give a measure of stability. The Chicago Recreation Survey shows that a municipal stadium was discussed in 1899 but that a few property owners balked the plan. "Annual reports of the Board of Education indicate that the early school officials were fully aware of the need (for some form of school recreation), but were face to face with those constant forces of opposition which forestall every move of progress."<sup>19</sup> During the Civil War, music and light gymnastics were introduced in the school curriculum. There was opposition which led to a fight in the state courts to determine whether the program was constitutional. A forest preserve proposal was defeated in 1905 by a vote of 86,768 affirmative and 59,028 negative,

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<sup>18</sup> E. C. Hughes, The Chicago Real Estate Board, A Study of a Secular Institution, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1931, p. 315.

<sup>19</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. I., p. 20.

it being necessary for a measure to receive a majority of all votes cast in the election to carry. On the other hand the land for Grant Park was donated by property-owners in 1844. As previously mentioned the modern sub-divider frequently donates park and play space, although it is questionable whether his main motive is interest in recreation.

Rivalry between communities and the desire of one community not to have its achievements exceeded by another has been an additional factor. The establishment of New York's Central Park in 1857, for example, stimulated the development of similar parks in other cities which did not wish to be outdone. Miss Elizabeth Halsey's intensive study of the Development of Public Recreation in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago<sup>20</sup> shows that the city's financial leaders with growth as their obsession, with personal fortunes as well as personal and public pride involved, conceived the idea of a park system for Chicago. As early as 1849, John S. Wright, a large real estate holder, dreamed of a great park system. Other real estate developers, among them Paul Cornell, who had extensive real estate holdings in the neighborhood of Hyde Park were active in park promotion. "The park project was conceived as a means of attracting investors and home builders to the outlying districts south of the street railway terminal."<sup>21</sup> A bill incorporating the South Side Park Board was passed by the Illinois legislature in 1867, thanks to the work of Paul Cornell, but lost by a narrow margin when

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<sup>20</sup> Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1939.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

referred to the voters. A campaign of support was undertaken to insure the confirmation of the park laws by the voters. A great deal of opposition was encountered on the grounds of cost and the remoteness of the parks. There is evidence that the street railway promoters were not blind to the factors of remoteness and saw in the parks a chance to increase the demand for transportation. Hence they were active in supporting the purchase of park lands at the edge of the city. Evidence was introduced in the campaign to show how the development of Central Park in New York had increased land values. Finally the South and West Park bills were passed by a referendum of the taxpayers but "much opposition had developed and the Lincoln Park bill was never submitted to a vote since it was feared it would be defeated."<sup>22</sup> However, real estate values soared as soon as the prospects for parks became definite and rivalry for parks between sections of the city soon caused neighborhood forces to become active in urging the establishment of parks in other parts of the city. The editorial writing was on the whole encouraging as the real estate interests noted the advancing land values. Miss Halsey summarizes the promotive forces in the development of Chicago's parks thus:

Chicago's parks, large and small had their beginnings from some source other than a general recreation consciousness as we now use the word. Play was not only prohibited but fined on the first little parks of the city. The large parks were not open to active play for many years. The small park districts, although they developed at a later period were

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

interested primarily in neighborhood improvement. The recreational value of natural beauty in an urban setting was implied and sometimes stated, but the first causes were the individual enterprise of real estate and street railway promoters and the civic pride of the voters.<sup>23</sup>

That such business groups have not always acted in the interest of public recreation is indicated by the history of the fight for the control of the water front in Chicago. As early as 1835 a group of citizens resolved that the 20 acres of the Fort Dearborn Military reservation fronting on Lake Michigan should be reserved for all time as a public square accessible to all the people. Through the years there was the controversy over the use of the lake front by industry for harbor and terminal purposes against its use as park land. In 1884 the Citizens' Association of Chicago, the city's oldest organization for civic improvement, reported that the general opinion of the citizens was in favor of the sale of the lake front when it could be made with due regard to the rights and interests of the city.<sup>24</sup> Miss Halsey says, "Public opinion condemned the activities of the Illinois Central at this time, not so much because it thought that the lake front should be preserved as a park, but because the railroad was not paying what it was worth."<sup>25</sup>

The influence of the World's Fair of 1893 and the development of the Chicago Plan which emerged from it, aroused the citizens of

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 27, 28.

<sup>24</sup> Citizens' Association of Chicago Annual Report, 1884, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., p. 59.

Chicago to the possibility of the City Beautiful and the value of the lake front. As C. E. Merriam says:

The imagination of the city was captured by the exposition, not merely by its lavishness of display and numbers in attendance, but by its artistic and symbolic aspects which seemed to inspire Chicago with a new spirit, in which the chief element was a broader interest in the cultural aspects of municipal life and the emergence of a new type of civic pride.<sup>26</sup>

Daniel Burnham, who was the guiding architect of the Fair, conceived the Chicago Plan and was influential in its adoption in 1908. The Plan insisted that the lake shore should be reserved for the use of the people.

The Commercial Club of Chicago had in 1907 been lobbying in Springfield for a bill to reclaim the lake front to improve Grant Park and Jackson Park. Therefore it supported the New Chicago Plan. Real Estate interests which were opposed in 1907 to the park extension had come by 1912 to favor the Burnham development with its emphasis on the lake front for park developments rather than harbor facilities. Public opinion was active in supporting the park development by this time and in February 1920 the citizens voted by three to one an initial twenty million dollar bond issue to proceed with park plans. "In general, popular support has been given to the lake front expenditure of the South Park Board, even when otherwise advised by civic groups."<sup>27</sup> Since 1920, eighty million dollars have been spent on the

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<sup>26</sup> C. E. Merriam, Chicago, A More Intimate View of Urban Politics, (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1929), p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Halsey, op. cit., p. 67.

park development of the water front and twice that will be required to complete the plans. While the water front has been saved from industry, due to the vision of Burnham, the work of other citizens who shared Burnham's ideals, and the aroused interest of Chicago's citizens generally, who voted the money for its development, have assured a continuation of the fight against commercialism.

Following the Century of Progress there was in 1935 a proposal for a permanent World's Fair on the lake front. This attempt to establish commercial recreation on the lake front aroused a tremendous opposing public opinion. This opposition was led by the Chicago Recreation Commission, by the Chicago Daily News, by the American Federation of Labor, by civic organizations, womens clubs, social agencies, improvement associations, and youth service organizations. While the necessary bills passed the legislature, Federal funds were never granted to put the proposal in operation (probably due to the influence of Harold Ickes) and at present it appears that the whole plan is in abeyance.

Thus while Miss Halsey thinks that "Private initiative rather than governmental action originated most of the recreation movements studied,"<sup>28</sup> and that "The evolution of municipal recreation policies has in part followed public demand and in part anticipated and created it,"<sup>29</sup> she agrees that the water front fight shows that in recent years an aroused public opinion on recreation matters has developed

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 341.

and that this proposal for a permanent World's Fair was checked because this public opinion felt it to be commercial exploitation. The policy of the Chicago Park District in emphasizing public relations through issuing pamphlets, reports, articles and maintaining a favorable press has succeeded in creating an active consumer and/or public opinion in regard to recreation matters.<sup>30</sup>

Even during the rising tide of recreation, however, there was some opposition to increased governmental activity in this field from those who were opposed to increased governmental expenditure, and adequate appropriations were often difficult to secure. With the coming of the depression, it was inevitable that one of the first economies in governmental budgets would be a great reduction in recreational expenditures. The first years of the depression brought a marked decrease in local expenditures for recreation, for according to reports made to the National Recreation Association by 795 cities, the county and city budgets for public recreation in 1933 were only a little more than half the amount expended in 1929. In some places this meant a cessation of local recreational activities but generally ways were found to continue with a reduced program, a curtailed staff and lower salaries. There were other factors associated with the depression, however, that aided the advance of public recreation. Many persons with reduced incomes were compelled to curtail their personal expenditures for commercialized forms of recreation or for expensive forms of private

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<sup>30</sup> The Chicago Park District has a public relations division which spends \$14,400 annually in salaries and \$6,000 for supplies.



recreation and this led to a crowding of public parks and playfields. The reduction of hours of labor or the increased leisure as a result of unemployment gave large numbers additional time in which to utilize recreational opportunities. Many social and civic agencies sought to promote recreational programs as a means of maintaining the morale of the unemployed and of overcoming the deteriorating effects of long-continued idleness. Thus at a time when resources were most strained there developed an increased public demand for recreational services. Fortunately, into this breach stepped the Federal government, and to a lesser extent state governments, and utilized relief funds to help maintain recreational opportunities. As Steiner says:

In fact, one of the significant developments in the field of public recreation during the past few years was the active leadership and cooperation of unemployment relief agencies in the promotion of local community recreational programs. Never before were relief activities geared so effectively on such a large scale with the recreational needs of communities.....This broad conception of the relief problem grew out of the past experience of private social work agencies, and gained its significance during the depression because of its adoption by the Federal government as an integral part of its nationwide program of unemployment relief.<sup>51</sup>

In this work the Federal government was interested in the opportunities for providing white collar work projects as well as maintaining morale of the unemployed. Many white collar workers became recreation leaders and helped supplement the greatly curtailed local staffs. In

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<sup>51</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, Research Memorandum On Recreation In The Depression, (Social Science Research Council, 1937), p. 57. Many of above-mentioned effects of the depression were suggested by this volume.

many cities relief workers serving as recreation leaders have made it possible for agencies to maintain programs that would otherwise have been curtailed; in others relief workers have made it possible for agencies to enlarge their facilities. Many small towns and rural communities have for the first time experienced the benefits of a recreation program under leadership. In the promotion of this work the Federal government endeavored to cooperate with the local agencies and to develop local interest to the extent that the program would be carried on locally when emergency aid was withdrawn.

The use of local, state and Federal relief funds made it possible for communities to improve and increase the existing facilities. Detailed data on the number of projects, the facilities provided and the number of workers engaged will be presented when the activities of the Federal government are discussed.

It is to be emphasized, therefore, that, though municipal recreation budgets were reduced during the depression, emergency leadership, and facilities provided through relief activities, actually made for an expansion of the recreational program in most places and enabled many communities to have such a program for the first time.

Reports to the National Recreation Association indicate that in recent years, most of the losses of the depression period have been recouped and additional gains made. The Recreation Year Book for

1939 shows that expenditures from regular funds, which totaled thirty-two million dollars, were the largest reported since 1932, were exceeded only by expenditures in 1930, 1931, and 1932, and were 54 per cent over the low point reached in 1934. There were 25,042 paid leaders reported in 1939, a number exceeded only in 1931. Even more significant is the fact that 3,450 leaders were employed upon a full-time year round basis, the largest number ever reported. In addition to these leaders many recreation departments are still taking advantage of emergency workers, 16,941 being reported in 1939. Volunteer workers reached the highest level ever recorded with a total of 32,755.

As might be expected from the marked increase in the number of leaders, the total amount reported spent for salaries and wages of leaders, more than nine million dollars, was the largest expenditure for this purpose ever reported.

Playgrounds, recreation buildings, and indoor centers all showed a slight gain over 1938 and again set a new Year Book record.

Thus it appears that municipal recreation has largely recovered from the disadvantages of the depression, and, utilizing the many gains of the period, will go forward from 1939 toward a period of greatly increased service.

The trend of municipal recreation over the years is best illustrated with tables from the reports of the National Recreation Association. While these reports are voluntary and sometimes incomplete, and do not always reflect conditions in exactly the same cities over a period of years, they do illustrate the central trends, and whatever error is present is that of understatement due to partial reporting.

Table III

MUNICIPAL RECREATION TRENDS—1925-1939<sup>32</sup>

	1925	1930	1935	1939
Number of cities with play leadership or supervised facilities - - - - -	748	980	2,204	1,204
Cities reporting employed recreation workers paid from regular funds - - - - -	748	828	714	876
Total leaders paid from regular funds - - - - -	17,177	24,949	18,496	25,042
Cities with full-time year-round leaders - - - - -	( )	282	261	332
Total leaders employed full time year around - - - - -	( )	2,660	2,606	3,450
Total expenditures for public recreation - - - - -	\$18,816,166	\$38,518,195	\$37,472,410 <sup>33</sup>	\$58,217,279
Total number of separate play areas reported - - - - -	8,608	13,354	18,799	21,392
New play areas opened for first time - - - - -	654	791	1,790	1,029

<sup>32</sup> Data adapted from reports to the National Recreation Association and reported in Recreation Year Book.

<sup>33</sup> The 1935 and 1939 figures include emergency expenditures. In 1939 \$26,306,231 was expended from emergency funds and \$31,911,048 from regular funds. In 1935 \$21,473,186.71 was spent from regular funds.

Table IV

EXPANSION OF MUNICIPAL RECREATION FACILITIES 1925-1939<sup>34</sup>

Total number of play areas and special facilities by types	1925	1930	1935	1939
Outdoor playgrounds		7,677	9,650	9,749
Recreation buildings		642	1,149	1,666
Indoor recreation centers	1,613	2,066	4,949	4,123
Play streets			189	298
Archery ranges			179	455
Athletic fields		1,843	1,818	875
Baseball diamonds	2,831	4,322	4,197	3,846
Bathing beaches	273	457	605	548
Bowling greens			189	217
Camps (day and others organized)	200	134	113	264
Golf courses	153	312	336	358
Handball courts			1,188	1,983
Horseshoe courts			7,497	9,326
Iceskating areas	1,217	1,806	2,324	2,968
Picnic areas				3,511
Shuffleboard courts			833	2,299
Ski jumps		59	136	116
Softball diamonds			199	8,995
Stadiums		90	145	244
Swimming pools	879	1,042	1,098	1,181
Tennis courts	6,110	8,422	9,880	11,617
Tobogan slides		221	315	301
Wading pools			1,292	1,545

<sup>34</sup> Data adapted from reports to the National Recreation Association and reported in Recreation Year Book. Such data is subject to the error of incomplete reporting and a change in classification from year to year. For example, it is improbable that there has been an actual decline in the number of athletic fields since 1935, as the reports indicate.

The following data taken from the 1939 Recreation Year Book indicates the extensive range of municipal recreation activity.<sup>35</sup>

Table V

MUNICIPAL RECREATION FACILITIES AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS FOR 1939

Facilities	Number	Participation per season
Archery ranges	455 (257)	267,140 (155)
Athletic fields	875 (422)	2,327,658 (162)
Baseball diamonds	3,846 (704)	8,836,361 (355)
Bathing beaches	548 (253)	69,015,006 (132)
Bowling greens	217 (77)	244,568 (45)
Camps--day	160 (88)	293,326 (51)
Camps--others	104 (72)	109,983 (51)
Golf courses (9 hole)	146 (114)	2,272,798 (66)
Golf courses (18 hole)	212 (135)	5,987,349 (96)
Handball courts	1,983 (173)	4,759,038 (93)
Horseshoe courts	9,326 (646)	4,192,202 (346)
Ice skating areas	2,968 (427)	16,501,089 (217)
Picnic areas	3,511 (476)	15,413,950 (220)
Play streets	298 (46)	699,933 (25)
Shuffleboard courts	2,299 (259)	2,811,858 (149)
Ski jumps	116 (64)	68,728 (28)
Softball diamonds	8,995 (736)	17,256,306 (427)
Stadiums	244 (176)	1,519,066 (44)
Swimming pools (indoor)	315 (122)	3,849,822 (83)
Swimming pools (outdoor)	866 (399)	27,312,781 (257)
Tennis courts	11,617 (716)	10,504,762 (339)
Theaters	110 (70)	616,678 (35)
Tobogan slides	301 (114)	712,897 (57)
Wading pools	1,545 (426)	11,036,438 (200)

<sup>35</sup> The numbers in parenthesis indicates the cities reporting. Many recreation authorities do not record the number of different individuals participating in the various program features and therefore the participation figures fall far short of indicating the total number taking part in various activities. Nevertheless, the participation figures offer some indication as to the relative popularity of the activities.

While activities are largely built around facilities the following table indicates the wide range of activities which would not be suggested by the list of facilities above:

Table VI

MUNICIPAL RECREATION ACTIVITIES AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS FOR 1939

Activities	Cities reporting	Number of different individuals participating
Art activities for children	445	154,453 (218)
Art activities for adults	244	23,787 (114)
Handcraft for children	649	476,129 (342)
Handcraft for adults	364	113,438 (193)
Folk dancing	407	136,216 (206)
Social dancing	391	422,223 (225)
Tap dancing	292	80,404 (161)
Drama clubs	237	29,962 (128)
Festivals	179	118,995 (92)
Little theater groups	110	10,896 (66)
Pageants	213	72,980 (103)
Plays	344	58,515 (180)
Puppets and marionettes	255	35,224 (131)
Story telling	530	178,159 (253)
Choral groups	248	38,267 (142)
Community singing	326	432,614 (155)
Opera groups	42	2,764 (17)
Symphony orchestras	80	7,111 (45)
Other instrumental groups	289	39,431 (163)
Gardening	118	15,481 (57)
Hiking	446	351,276 (237)
Bicycle clubs	202	40,672 (109)
Circuses	125	51,803 (59)
Forums, discussion groups, etc.	156	52,385 (87)
Hobby clubs and groups	317	235,985 (164)
Motion pictures	223	306,855 (99)
Social recreation	379	669,234 (177)

The history of the development of public recreation and of the continual expansion of activities is fairly illustrated for the country as a whole by Miss Halsey's listing of the chronological order of development of recreation in Chicago. In Chicago the movement has gone through these stages.<sup>36</sup>

1. Passive recreation--emphasis on beautiful landscapes.
2. Promotion of normal play activities for children of the poorer districts. To ameliorate crime and disease breeding conditions.
3. Development of facilities for indoor, year-round play of adults as well as children; the park field house as a common center.
4. Wider use of the school plant.
5. Organization of communities, begun for war-time service.
6. Broadening of the activity program to include crafts, art, music, and drama.
7. Providing outlying areas for less highly organized activities such as picnicking, camping, and fishing.
8. Use of group work under trained leadership to redirect or supplant destructive gang activities.
9. Revival of community organization with emphasis on community use of park facilities for their own projects.
10. Revival of community organization with emphasis on cooperation between recreation, welfare, and law enforcing specialists and

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<sup>36</sup> Halsey, op. cit., p. 158 ff.



lay groups or lay leaders.

11. Promotion of great spectacles to dramatize recreational activities and enlist public interest on a large scale.
12. Emphasis on self-direction, creative expression, and expertness of those participating in recreation pursuits.
13. The increasing power of the consumer in the movement.
14. The increased awareness of recreation as a regional problem, and its inclusion in programs of regional planning.

Municipal Park Developments. The expanding public interest in recreation has resulted in the increased attention of governmental agencies to extension of park facilities, as well as provision of leadership and increased activities. In 1936 the National Park Service in cooperation with the National Recreation Association made a study of municipal and county parks and recreation areas.<sup>37</sup> A similar study was made in 1925, so there is opportunity to trace developments over the ten year period. The total acreage of municipally owned parks in 1935 was 381,496.5, which was far in excess of the 308,804.9 reported in 1930 and the 248,627.2 reported in 1925-26.

There is general acceptance among park officials and city planning authorities of the principle that each city should have one acre of park and recreation space for each 100 population. The average for the cities reporting in 1935 was 368 persons per acre of park. However, the 25 per cent of cities highest in this ratio, except for those over 500,000

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<sup>37</sup> National Park Service, Municipal and County Parks In The United States, 1935.

population, are far ahead of the recommended standard. The average for the 268 cities in the upper 25 per cent is one acre of park for each 64 people compared to one acre for each 368 people in the total tabulation.<sup>38</sup>

The following table<sup>39</sup> shows a comparison of 655 identical cities in total park acreage over the ten year period:

Table VII

GROWTH IN PARK ACREAGE IN 655 IDENTICAL CITIES,  
1925-26 TO 1935, BY POPULATION GROUPS

Population group	Number of cities	Total park acreage		Per cent of increase
		1925-26	1935	
1,000,000 and over	5	30,640	42,890	40
500,000 to 1,000,000	9	20,124	30,496	52
250,000 to 500,000	21	47,894	61,034	27
100,000 to 250,000	49	39,868	67,397	69
50,000 to 100,000	81	24,966	37,834	52
25,000 to 50,000	137	37,194	49,091	32
10,000 to 25,000	197	14,080	29,512	109
5,000 to 10,000	128	6,357	10,564	66
2,500 to 5,000	28	512	1,099	114
Total	655	221,638	329,920	49

It is doubtful if in any previous decade municipal parks expanded as much as in the decade ending in 1935. However, the 1930 study showed a 38 per cent increase in 534 cities during the previous five year period;

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

and it would appear therefore, that the expansion of municipal parks was much slower in the last half of the decade.

Because it is exceedingly difficult to appraise the capital value of parks about half of the cities, including New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Buffalo, did not attempt it. Five hundred and ninety-two cities reporting estimated their 238,524 acres of parks to be worth \$1,178,922,000, or an average of nearly \$5,000 per acre.

One of the outstanding developments in municipal parks in the last decade has been the acquiring of parks outside the city limits. Two hundred ninety-nine cities reported out-of-the-city parks in 1935 as compared with only 109 cities in 1925-26 and the number of such parks has more than doubled. These parks now comprise more than one-third of the total municipal acreage.

The increasing public demand for recreation areas and park facilities has caused park authorities greatly to increase their facilities. The findings of the National Recreation Association Year Book quoted above are substantiated by the data from this study of municipal parks by the National Park Service. Table VIII shows the number of cities of 25,000 population and over which reported on 14 types of facilities in 1925-26 and 1935.

Table VIII

NUMBER OF RECREATION FACILITIES IN CITIES OF 25,000  
AND OVER, 1925-26 AND 1935, BY TYPE OF FACILITY<sup>40</sup>

Type of facility	Number of cities reporting		Number of facilities reported		Percentage of increase in facilities
	1925-26	1935	1925-26	1935	
Bandstands	168	206	363	430	18
Baseball diamonds	216	289	1,596	3,090	93
Bathing beaches	71	121	138	305	121
Children's play-grounds	251	271	4,511	3,274	28
Dance pavilions	63	87	151	154	2
Golf courses	92	158	150	295	97
Ice-skating rinks	71	130	403	1,149	185
Outdoor theaters	26	68	28	105	275
Ski jumps	9	21	27	49	81
Swimming pools	106	162	326	548	68
Tennis courts	161	278	3,914	6,846	74
Toboggan slides	24	58	123	246	100
Tourist camps	85	59	89	67	25
Wading pools	83	212	175	985	462

The study shows that a remarkable construction program was also carried on during the decade in cities over 25,000 population. The number of field houses or recreation buildings increased 431 per cent, bathhouses 174 per cent, and boat houses 112 per cent.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

Although the data on park workers are incomplete, it is obvious that to a large extent park service in 1935 was made possible only through the availability of emergency personnel. Whereas in 1930, 610 cities reported 44,431 employees, in 1935, the total number of workers paid from regular funds in 944 cities was only 41,053. This, of course, reflects the large reductions in 1935 in park operating budgets. However, because of the emergency projects, more people were employed on park projects in 1935 than ever before. Only 388 cities reported the workers paid from emergency funds in 1935, but they totaled 102,761 as compared to 41,053 reported by 944 cities as workers paid from regular funds. The number of emergency workers was estimated to be approximately 150 per cent greater than the number paid from regular funds.<sup>42</sup>

The study made an attempt to determine whether or not park positions were filled on a merit basis. However, comparatively few cities replied to the question on this point, but, of those replying, 41 reported that park positions are filled by civil service on a merit basis, 93 that they are not, and 20 cities reported that some park positions are filled in this manner.<sup>43</sup> Earlier studies, however, have suggested that this method of employing and retaining workers is operative in only a comparatively small number of cities, most of which are in the larger population groups.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 33, 34, 36.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

The effects of the depression are particularly noticeable in the reports showing the expenditure for park purposes. Table IX shows a comparison of park expenditures from regular funds for the years 1930 and 1935, according to the type of expenditure.<sup>44</sup>

Table IX

A COMPARISON OF PARK EXPENDITURES, FROM REGULAR FUNDS,  
1930 AND 1935, BY TYPE OF EXPENDITURE

Type of expenditure	Number of cities		Amount expended		Percent total	
	1930	1935	1930	1935	1930	1935
Lands, buildings, improvements	350	385	\$27,586,689	\$ 3,509,495	28	6
Supplies, equipment, etc.	446	643	12,961,632	8,759,789	13	16
Salaries and wages	506	693	36,548,276	24,545,487	37	47
Interest and sinking funds	112	104	10,381,269	1,822,278	10	3
Total <sup>45</sup>	721	1,071	\$97,517,068	\$51,836,500		

It is to be noted that, although fifty per cent more cities reported their expenditures in 1935, the total spent was only approximately fifty-three per cent as much as five years previous. Particularly striking was the reduction of expenditures for land, buildings, and improvements, an effect of the depression. Likewise, interest and sinking funds in 1935 reflected depression conditions, being less than one-fifth that expense for similar

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> The total expenditure includes the reports of cities which did not classify their expenditures into the types listed.

purposes in 1930.

The average per capita expenditure for park operation and maintenance in 1935 in 688 cities was 59 cents, ranging from 43 cents per person in cities of 2,500 to 5,000 to \$1.44 per person in the cities over one million. While park costs mount with the size of the city, even in large cities the costs are relatively low in comparison to the amount spent for other municipal services. The average per capita expenditure for the best 25 per cent of the cities was \$1.34, ranging in these cities from \$1.06 for cities of 2,500 to 5,000 to \$2.39 for cities of one million and over. Because so many cities spend such negligible amounts for parks, the cost of the upper quartile give a more accurate picture of what cities with fairly adequate park systems spend to maintain them.

A study of the sources of park funds for 1935 indicates that approximately 82 per cent of the total park income came from city appropriations and special tax levies. Money secured from direct taxation was supplemented by fees and charges which amounted to nearly two and a half million dollars. Table X shows a comparison of sources of park funds for 1930 and 1935, by type of source.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

Table X

A COMPARISON OF SOURCES OF PARK FUNDS, 1930 AND  
1935, BY TYPE OF SOURCE

Type of source	Number of cities		Amount		Percentage total	
	1930	1935	1930	1935	1930	1935
City appropriation	524	717	\$38,246,010	\$30,770,778	39	68
Special tax levy	123	154	15,080,181	6,455,865	15	14
Bond issues	72	36	27,315,752	1,019,499	28	2
Assessments	12	18	538,138	126,882	0.5	
Donations	86	55	548,210	272,011	0.5	0.5
Special funds	69	94	3,300,471	1,599,562	3	3
Concessions	146	166	2,225,644	1,016,617	2	2
Fees and charges	158	228	4,866,692	2,409,000	5	5
Sale of property, etc.	42	33	108,936	55,873		
Other	57	117	6,094,571	1,291,084	6	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>647</b>	<b>998</b>	<b>\$93,324,607</b>	<b>\$45,017,171</b>		

The table shows marked differences in the source of revenue for the two years only in the relative importance of city appropriations and bond issues. In 1930 only 39 per cent of the income came from city appropriations as compared with 68 per cent in 1935. Bonds shrunk from twenty-seven and one-third million in 1930 to one million in 1935 when they represented only 2 per cent of the total income. Except for these two sources of income the amounts secured in 1935 from various sources were approximately one-half what they were in 1930, in spite of a 50 per cent increase in the number of cities reporting sources of park funds.

Gifts of land and money have played an important part in the history of park development in the United States. The National Recreation Association found in a study a few years ago that approximately one-third of the total municipal park acreage had been acquired through gift.



Gifts other than land, in 79 cities, totaled \$2,677,321 from 1931-35. The reported value of all park gifts during this five year period was approximately the same as that recorded during the preceding five year period.

There is a great variety of types of municipal park administrations. The park board or commission, however, is by far the most important of the municipal agencies managing parks, especially in the larger cities. In cities of 25,000 and upwards in 1935 there were reported 152 park commissions as compared with only 13 park commissioners and only 19 park departments not under a board or commission. The greater percentage of park boards suggests that this form of administration has been the most successful type. Next to the park boards the directing agency reported by the largest number of cities is the local municipal governing body, such as the city council, or a committee consisting of members of the council. Especially is this form prevalent in small cities, with two-thirds of the park-managing authorities of this type reported in towns of less than 10,000. In many small cities the small importance attached to park operation is reflected in the fact that no special agency is created to administer them. Park operation is often combined with the maintenance of other public works or public property. Table XI shows the types of park-managing authorities for 1,215 cities in 1935.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

Table XI

## TYPES OF PARK-MANAGING AUTHORITIES, 1935

Type of authority	Number
Park board or commission	424
City council, mayor, or park committee of council	251
Department of public works, property or buildings	109
Recreation, golf or swimming pool commission	76
City manager	53
Other combined departments, park and street, park and planning, etc.	49
Park department (no board)	45
Department of parks and public property	42
Park commissioner	39
Department of public service	25
Street department	23
Miscellaneous	79
Total	1215

Municipal Organization For Recreation. Just as in the case of park administration, there is no one pattern by which municipalities have organized to meet their responsibility for recreation service. Educators have sometimes urged the board of education as the proper administrative authority, as witness a recent pronouncement of the Education Policies Commission; park officials have regarded the park department as the logical agency; recreation workers usually have advocated the administration of recreation as a separate department, preferably under a citizens' board or commission; experts in municipal government have approached the problem from the viewpoint of the necessity of simplification of government and have urged centralized control of this as well as of other types of municipal services. Some who object to the recreation board favor a separate recreation department with an executive

responsible directly to the mayor or city manager, with a lay advisory board to furnish the significant lay services which is one of the advantages of the recreation commission. Still others have suggested that recreation should be under the department of public welfare, although in 1938 only 12 out of 935 public authorities had combined the function of administering public relief, old age pensions, operation of hospitals, jails, and similar services with recreation. Still others have suggested that the administration be divided between school authorities for the young and a special municipal authority for the adult group. However, there is no city on record which has split its administration on the basis of age and the fact that various age groups use the same facilities to a large extent would seem to make this suggestion impracticable.

In most communities, however, even in those with special recreation commissions, there is a multiplicity of administrative agencies, reflecting the various kinds of services for leisure time activity. As statistics in preceding pages indicate, recreation service has been one of the rapidly growing functions of cities, and this rapid growth is reflected in the lack of integrated administrative structure to supervise the services. The accompanying figure illustrating the situation for Chicago, by tracing the legal authority for public recreation in that city, no doubt could be duplicated in most of our large cities.<sup>48</sup>

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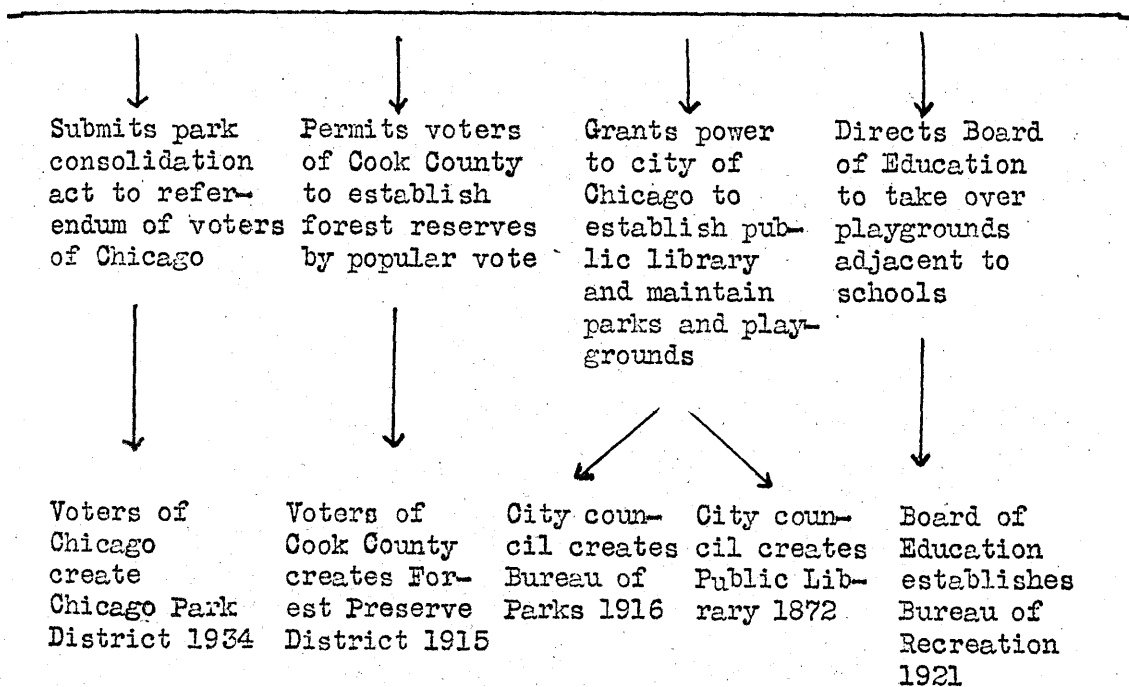
<sup>48</sup> Recreation Survey of Chicago, Vol. I, p. 49.

Figure 1

## LEGAL AUTHORITY FOR PUBLIC RECREATION IN CHICAGO

Voters of Illinois elect

↓  
State legislature → Creates state parks



The controlling boards of the Public Library, the public schools, and the Park District are appointed by the Mayor subject to the approval of the City Council. The Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation is a regular city department and is supervised by the City Council. The voters of Cook County elect county commissioners who are also by statute the Forest Preserve District commissioners. Thus, this agency is the only one in which the governing body is actually selected by the voters.

The powers of the Chicago Park District are limited and defined by the enabling state legislation. The same is true of the Cook County Forest Preserve District. The Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation, is limited by the ordinances of the City of Chicago, which created the agency, but the original power to operate municipal playgrounds and parks was granted to the city by the state legislature. The Bureau of Recreation of the Board of Education is operated as one of the divisions of the Board and is subject to whatever limitations and ordinances the Board may impose under the permissive legislation of the state legislature.

Since May, 1934, the administration of all tax-supported recreation in the City of Chicago has been vested in the five major agencies shown in the figure. Prior to that date there were twenty-six tax supported agencies controlling recreation. Before the state legislature passed the law giving the citizens of Chicago a chance to vote for the Consolidation Act on May 4, 1934 merging the park districts into one system, there were twenty-two separate park districts with 114 park commissioners. These park commissioners are now reduced to five.

The Park District and Forest Preserves are supported by a direct tax paid over to them by the county clerk. The Public Library, while the beneficiary of a special tax, receives its levy through the City of Chicago. The Bureau of Recreation of the Board of Education, likewise, is provided with a special tax and secures its funds through the Board of Education. The Bureau of Parks, Recreation, and Aviation has no special

tax and its annual budget is included in the Department of Public Works appropriation.

All of the agencies except the Bureau of Recreation of the Board of Education are under a merit system by statute, and the Board of Education by ordinance has placed this department on a similar basis.

The complexity of the Chicago situation illustrates the fact that the growth of public recreation facilities has been rapid and has come under a variety of auspices. There has been a lag between the establishment of facilities and the coordination of the new facilities with the existing recreational services. In a period of rapid growth it is inevitable that there would be some confusion, conflicts over jurisdiction, overlapping programs and duplication of services and facilities. In such a situation cooperation between the various managing agencies is essential. However, a study conducted by the National Recreation Association in 1937 indicated that in a majority of cities considerable cooperation has already been achieved.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the outstanding need at present is closer coordination of school authorities and municipal authorities in the use of school facilities.

Table XII indicates the total number of municipal agencies of various types administering recreation in 1939, and the number providing full-time year round recreation leadership.<sup>50</sup> The latter figures are

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<sup>49</sup> National Recreation Association, The Organization of Municipal Recreation Programs, 1938.

<sup>50</sup> Recreation Year Book, June, 1940, p. 139.

important because the authorities employing at least one full-time, year-round recreation worker are most likely to be the ones furnishing the significant and comprehensive community recreation programs of the country.

Table XII

## TYPES OF AUTHORITIES MANAGING RECREATION IN 1939

Type of managing authority	Total	With year-round leadership
Authorities administering recreation as a single function (recreation commissions, boards, departments, and councils)	327	174
Authorities administering recreation in conjunction with park service (park commissions, boards, and departments; park and recreation commissions; departments of parks and public property)	287	82
Authorities administering recreation in conjunction with school service	181	30
Other municipal authorities (city managers, city councils, departments of public works, etc.)	207	29
Total	1,002	315

The preceding table indicates that separate recreation boards and departments are most numerous, representing nearly one-third of the total agencies. They represent 55 per cent of the year-round leadership, or more than all other types combined.

The types of organization within each species of managing authority is shown by table XIII which summarizes the data for 1938.<sup>51</sup>

Table XIII

COMPARATIVE ORGANIZATION OF PARK AUTHORITIES AND  
RECREATION AUTHORITIES FOR 1938.

Type of organization	Park authorities	Recreation authorities
Policy making boards	61 per cent	54 per cent
Advisory boards	11 " "	20 " "
Committees and councils	2 " "	12 " "
Single executives (without councils)	26 " "	14 " "

It is evident that both park and recreation authorities appreciate the value of lay boards and the advice of responsible community leaders, but that the park authority is almost twice as likely to be without such a lay group as is the recreation authority.

It is also interesting to note the trends in the forms of municipal recreation service. In 1928 for the first time the Recreation Year Book reports were classified so as to make possible comparison with present conditions. Table XIV shows the trends in agencies administering recreation over a ten year period. The data are taken from the Year Book of the appropriate dates.

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<sup>51</sup> Recreation Year Book, June, 1939.



Table XIV

## AGENCIES ADMINISTERING RECREATION

Type of managing authority	Total number		Percent		With full-time leadership			
	1928	1938	1928	1938	number	percentage	number	percentage
	1928	1938	1928	1938	1928	1938	1928	1938
Separate recreation authorities	209	315	30	34	116	163	48	50
Park authorities	231	278	33	30	74	95	30	29
School authorities	158	172	23	18	25	29	10	9
Other municipal authorities	99	170	14	18	30	39	12	12

While the trends were not marked, the figures show that separate recreation departments are slightly exceeding the other forms of organization and a majority of cities with year-round recreation programs and full-time leadership established during the decade adopted separate recreation departments as the form of administration. Two earlier studies of trends by the National Recreation Association, one covering 1923 to 1933 and the other covering 1928 to 1936, substantiate this analysis of trends.

The consensus of recreation leaders seems to favor this trend toward administration by a separate authority. However, the best form may vary with local conditions, and the important thing in the organization of public recreation is to get a form of organization which will secure a maximum of cooperation from all the city departments having recreational facilities that should be utilized. Without such cooperation, no form of organization can succeed, while with it, under proper leadership, any form of organization can be successful.

One significant aspect of recreation administration is the wide use made of committees, councils, advisory boards, policy making boards, and other citizen groups which can lend effective support to the local recreation department. The work of the Chicago Recreation Commission was discussed earlier in this report. In some cases, the lay group has been formed to make a study of local recreation problems and needs and to recommend a plan of action. Sometimes, when formed to provide a needed recreation service, it has continued in an advisory capacity or has conducted parts of the program after public authorities assumed the major responsibilities. When local recreation services were threatened by severe cuts in the budget, groups of citizens have been organized to arouse public opinion in support of a public recreation program. Advisory committees have often explored the possibilities of expanding the offerings of the recreation department into new or special fields, such as drama, or craft work. Through making speeches, raising money, interesting potential donors of land or money, conducting surveys, lobbying before governmental bodies, many members of lay citizens councils have made significant contributions to the recreation movement. Neighborhood councils have been formed at individual playgrounds or indoor centers that have been effective in getting an improvement in facilities in particular areas of the city as well as supporting the work of the city-wide recreation council.

Mayor Harold L. Burton of Cleveland in an address entitled "The Role of the Layman in the Recreation Movement" given before the 23rd Recreation Congress in 1938 gave testimony to the effectiveness of citizen

groups in bringing about needed improvements in the city's recreation service. He has attempted to secure an advisory committee of competent interested citizens in every branch of sport to keep the rackets out of sports. The Advisory Committee on Music raises money for band concerts in the parks. The citizens' committees in the neighborhood centers help with the centers' activities, investigate complaints, and advise with reference to policies, program staff and finance. Mayor Burton said to the recreation leaders assembled in that congress, "I urge you not to hesitate to invite the layman-----He is anxious to help you, and you have a great opportunity for him."

Mr. George McAneny in speaking before the Regional Plan Association of New York City summed up the value of the voluntary recreation council thus:

Such organizations assure continuity of thought and action impossible in frequently changing political administrations; they attract and put at the disposal of the public a high order of civic and professional talent often lacking in the public service; provide imagination, foresight, and initiative which law and traditions at times combine to restrict in public office; and awaken potent resources of public sentiment and support for officials who undertake to do things somewhat ahead of popular understanding.<sup>52</sup>

Such lay leadership in behalf of the public interest has been one of the strong motivating forces throughout the development of the recreation movement. The Recreation Study Class at the 1938 national conference of the Association for Childhood Education came to this conclusion: "The greatest recreational problem is the education of the adult

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted by George D. Butler, op. cit., p. 137.

community as to the need for and the philosophy of play."<sup>53</sup> Public opinion favorable to recreation must be systematically cultivated if there is to be public understanding of the significance of the play movement. The use of citizens' councils has been one of the most effective ways of making citizens recreation-conscious, of showing the importance of recreation and of securing increased support for an expanded program.

Financing Recreation. In the discussion of the development of the recreation movement it was pointed out that private funds and initiative made possible the beginning and early growth of the recreation movement. It soon became evident, however, that private philanthropy could not adequately finance the needed facilities and effort was directed toward the approval of the use of public funds for this purpose. That there was a prompt acceptance of public financial responsibility is shown by the first municipal recreation survey conducted by the Playground Association in 1907, which indicated that only 5 per cent of the money reported spent during the year by 44 large cities came from private funds. Thirty-two years later, in 1939, private sources furnished only 3 per cent of the total expenditures reported by 1,204 communities to the Recreation Year Book. The following table taken from the 1939 Year Book indicates the main sources of recreation funds:

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<sup>53</sup> Recreation, August, 1938, p. 292.

Table XV

## SOURCES OF RECREATION FUNDS, 1939

Source of support	Per cent of total
Taxes and other public funds	86 per cent
Fees and charges	11 " "
Private funds	3 " "

(If the fees and charges collected by recreation agencies but not expended directly by them, being turned over to local city and county treasuries, were included in the above-listed sources fees and charges would amount to 18 per cent of the total recreation revenues.)

An examination of the reports to the National Recreation Association over the years indicates that funds for community recreation have been derived almost entirely from public sources, and that the proportions derived from the various revenue sources have been similar to those of 1939.<sup>54</sup>

Capital expenditures, for the purchase of new facilities, have been made largely through the issuing of bonds. The extent to which bond issues have furnished the funds for expansion is indicated by the statistics for the peak year of 1930. Of \$27,500,000 reported for capital expenditures by 721 cities, bond issues yielded \$27,315,752. This was 28 per cent of the total amount spent for all recreational purposes in that year. Since 1933 few bonds have been voted and the cost of improvements

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<sup>54</sup> The reports to the National Recreation Association apply to the recreation program alone and therefore do not include park expenditures or other forms of leisure-time facilities, except as these come under the supervision of the recreation authority.

has come from emergency or relief funds with the cost being borne to a large extent by Federal agencies. In 1935, when \$3,500,000 or 6 per cent of the total recreation expenditure in 1,071 cities was for land, buildings, and permanent improvements, bond issues totaled only one million dollars. In 1939 out of \$5,644,525 spent for capital outlays by 454 cities only twenty-two cities reported bond issues for recreation totaling a little over \$300,000.

The sources of public funds for current operation may come through annual appropriations from general city, park, or school tax funds or they may come through the use of a special recreation tax levy. In most cities the recreation departments are financed by appropriations from general city funds. This makes the recreation budget subject to review and approval along with the budgets of other city departments. Under this system the recreation department must convince the city officials of the value of its work, for it must compete with other city departments for funds. Where the recreation division is merely a part of some department, such as park, welfare, or school, it must also compete with other divisions within the department for funds. While experts in municipal government tend to favor this unified budgetary control, the recreation department is often hampered in its struggle for funds by the opposition of unsympathetic councilmen and the demands of strongly entrenched departments which may have a greater influence with the appropriating body.

Consequently, many recreation leaders favor the special recreation tax levy which guards the recreation department against marked budget reductions, and assures a relatively steady annual income which can be used

by the recreation authorities without dictation from the city council. Such legislation generally involves the approval of the special levy by the majority of the taxpayers, if it is to be used, and hence recreation services can be maintained only if the taxpayers support the program. This makes it easier to secure funds if there is an insistent consumer demand and at the same time requires the recreation authority to interpret its program to the general public. Both of these features represent marked advantages in using the special levy method of finance, from the standpoint of keeping the recreational service in accord with general principles of democratic government.

Several cities, during the recent depression years when the pressure for reduction of governmental expenses has been intense, have had referendums on the special mill levies. Canton, Ohio, doubled its rate in 1932. Decatur, Illinois, where a recreation program had been carried on by a private association, in 1936 approved by a more than two to one vote a minimum levy of two-thirds of a mill. In Los Angeles the people by popular vote in 1937 increased the rate by 50 per cent. Milwaukee which has had a .4 mill rate since 1919 voted in 1937 to increase the tax gradually to .8 mill in 1940 and thereafter. These referenda indicate that cities with well managed programs and adequate interpretation of these programs to the public will be successful in translating consumer and/or public demand for recreation into approval of increased tax levies at the polls.

To what extent fees and charges should be utilized in financing recreation is a matter of controversy. While most park and recreation

executives consider fees and charges as a minor source of revenue, the issue is important from the standpoint of the effect of the practice upon the participation of all citizens in the benefits of the recreational opportunities. While there are some who argue that parks should be made self-supporting the great majority of recreational leaders look upon park service as a necessity which must be provided for through public funds obtained through some manner of public taxation.<sup>55</sup>

As in the history of the public school system, public recreation can eventually be expected to depend less and less on fees.

In those situations where recreation has been transferred from quasi-public agencies to public agencies there has been a diminution of emphasis upon fees and charges. In all probability as the social values of recreation are more generally recognized, public support will accelerate its present rate of increase and the number and amount of fees will be progressively reduced.<sup>56</sup>

The policy of the Cincinnati Recreation Commission is typical of many recreation authorities:

No charge should be made for use of publicly owned recreational facilities. The cost of operation should be taken care of by taxation, the same as for education because recreation is so essential to everyone, including children and adults of all ages; because taxes constitute the least expensive method of operation; and because the fee system tends to eliminate those who have the greatest need of public recreation.

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<sup>55</sup> See, National Park Service, Fees and Charges For Public Recreation, 1939, Chap. 8, for a debate on this topic between Col. Richard Lieber, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Conference on State Parks, and Theodore Wirth, Superintendent Emeritus of the Minneapolis Park Department.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 8.



However, when tax money cannot be gotten for the creation and operation of recreational facilities, it is better to make a small charge and provide the facilities rather than withhold recreational facilities from the people. The collection of fees and charges should be only an intermediary procedure until such time as sufficient tax funds can be secured to provide the necessary facilities and operating expenses.<sup>57</sup>

The general viewpoint of recreation agencies is that while the parks shall be free, so far as possible, it is legitimate to charge for special services or facilities or exclusive temporary privileges. A study of 98 agencies, which did not attempt self-support, by the National Park Service and National Recreation Association found such special services or facilities to consist of equipment with high cost per user, rental of expensive equipment (boats, bicycles, horses, etc.), exclusive occupancy of accommodations (picnic areas, auditoriums, gymnasiums), protection of property (checking clothing, supervised parking), use of consumable materials and supplies (fuel), use of living accommodations, and new or unusual services (lighted tennis courts).<sup>58</sup>

Golf and swimming are the activities mentioned most frequently as charge activities, with tennis next and then boating and camping.

The basic policy in the determination of the rates of charge by the agencies studied was to "meet the costs of operation" and to "assure the maximum satisfactory use and still yield the desired return." Just what this rate is varies according to local conditions. One city on charging for the use of tennis courts found play falling off 70 per

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

cent and the amount of revenue just enough to pay the caretaker who sat around to see that people did not play. In another city tennis players welcomed the small fee because it lessened congestion on the courts and in this case enabled the department to furnish better service.

In the study referred to above the National Park Service made a detailed investigation of 172 municipal, 50 state and 35 county or metropolitan agencies, a total of 257 agencies. No attempt was made to include all public recreation agencies, but only well-established agencies located in all parts of the country were studied.

This study showed no definite trend toward more charges or increased rates of charge, or toward reduction or elimination of charges, for approximately an equal number of agencies reported additional charges or increased rates and reduced rates or elimination of charges. The average per cent that fees and charges were of expenditures from 1928-37 was 16.4 per cent. There was no great variation from this with the low percentage being 15 in 1928, rising to a high of 18.9 per cent in 1935 and then declining to 15.8 per cent in 1937.<sup>59</sup>

The following tabulation summarizes the practices of all the agencies relative to the percentage of services charged for:<sup>60</sup>

76.0 per cent	No charge
9.9 " "	All charge
9.2 " "	Some charge
1.9 " "	Part time charge
3.6 " "	Concessions

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

Income from fees and charges represented only 9 per cent of the total funds available for expenditure by the agencies in 1937. (The ten year average of 16.4 per cent mentioned above included fees and charges collected by the agency and returned to the general treasury of the governmental unit. The 9 per cent represents only the funds available for expenditure by the agency itself.)

The sources of funds for the 211 reporting agencies for current expenditures for 1937 are shown in Table XVI.<sup>61</sup>

Table XVI

## SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR CURRENT EXPENDITURES 1937

Appropriations	76.2 per cent
Special tax levy	11.5 " "
Fees, charges, and concessions	9.0 " "
Donations	0.3 " "
Other	3.0 " "

These figures are very similar to those for 1,204 cities reported in the Recreation Year Book, and discussed above on page 102.

Although some data on expenditure for recreation were presented in the discussion of the development of recreation a summation of recreation expense will be made here. The 1939 Recreation Year Book shows the following:

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., adapted from Table 12, p. 32.

Expenditures from regular funds for 1939

Land, buildings, and permanent improvements	\$ 5,644,525
Upkeep, supplies, and incidentals	4,513,634
Salaries and wages for leadership	9,049,586
Salaries and wages for other personal services	<u>6,154,372</u>
Total expenditures for recreation 1939	\$31,911,048

Expenditures from emergency funds, 1939

Land, buildings, and permanent improvements	\$ 9,301,319
Salaries and wages for leadership	<u>8,695,964</u>
Total expenditures	\$26,306,231
Total expenditures for recreation for 1939 from regular and emergency funds	\$58,217,279

Data over a twenty year period 1917-1937 taken from the same sources and tabulated by George D. Butler show the following expenditures for recreation from regular funds (emergency or relief funds are not included).<sup>62</sup>

Table XVII

## EXPENDITURES FOR MUNICIPAL RECREATION 1917-1937

Year	Total expenditures		Expenditures for land, buildings, & permanent equipment		Expenditures for leadership	
	amount	per cent of 1930	amount	per cent of 1930	amount	per cent of 1930
1917	\$ 6,659,600	17.3	\$ 2,551,027	20.2	(Not reported)	
1922	9,317,048	24.2	1,680,383	13.3	"	"
1927	32,191,763	83.6	15,184,035	120.4	"	"
1930	38,518,194	100.	12,610,862	100.	\$8,135,656	100.
1934	20,668,459	53.7	2,314,294	18.4	6,406,896	78.7
1937	25,794,537	67.	3,403,191	27.	7,469,427	91.8

<sup>62</sup> Op. cit., p. 466.

1930 represents the peak of expenditures and 1934 the lowest depression year. The per cent of total current expenditure for leadership remained close to 33 per cent for the period 1930 to the present since such data has been available.

It is to be noted that, although 1939 expenditures from regular funds are still about at the 1927 level and far below that of 1930, the recovery from the 1934 low has been great, and that, including emergency funds, a larger expenditure for public recreation is made today than ever before.

How much a city should spend for recreation depends upon a large number of local factors, such as the amount of gifts, donations, private facilities, Federal, state and county facilities. The National Recreation Association estimates that in order to provide adequate recreation facilities a city should normally spend one dollar per capita annually for its program under leadership, plus the maintenance costs which should be an additional fifty cents, making a total of \$1.50 per capita for organized recreation activities. Of this \$1.50, one half should go for recreation leadership. For the park and leisure time services not in the active or organized program, such as operating a zoo or museum, giving band concerts, and similar activities, an additional \$1.50 is required, making an annual per capita expenditure of \$3.00 necessary for adequate municipal recreation services in all forms. Table II on page 61 containing the data on per capita expenditures of 146 cities over 30,000 for such services, taken from Financial Statistics

of Cities, found the 1930 average per capita expenditure to be \$1.59. Financial Statistics of Cities for 1937, which contains the data only for cities over 100,000, found the average per capita expenditure to be \$1.54. However, the cities in the upper quartile are expending far more than this and a few cities in the large population groups are approaching the standard suggested above. In view of the rapid expansion in municipal recreation services traced in this report and the approaching stability of our population, it is reasonable to expect that the per capita cost of recreation in the years ahead will be somewhat greater than in the past. Expanded recreation facilities and areas will be effective only if funds are available for their operation and maintenance. Trends of the last few years lead to the conclusion that this will be the case.

Employment Policies in Municipal Recreation. The employment conditions of recreation workers vary greatly from city to city. In general the larger cities pay better salaries than smaller ones, and those in the Central and Northeast sections of the United States pay better salaries than those in the Western section, with those in the South paying the least. The status of workers in regard to a merit system is in general similar to that of other municipal employees. If the city hall is not under a merit system it is unlikely that the recreation worker will be. In general it may be said that the salaries are slightly less than those paid in public education, a comparable profession. There is on the whole less stability of tenure and less use of a merit system than in the public schools.

The most recent and thorough study made of salaries of recreation workers was for the year of 1938. In this study 218 recreation departments

in 206 cities and five counties voluntarily replied to questionnaires circulated by the National Recreation Association. Table XVIII shows the salaries of full-time year-round recreation workers. Table XIX shows the weekly salaries for seasonal workers.

Table XVIII

## ANNUAL SALARIES OF FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND RECREATION WORKERS

Number of departments reporting	Titles	Highest salary reported	Lowest salary reported	Median salary reported
176	Executive	\$10,000	\$1,200	\$2,800
54	Assistant executive	5,520	840	2,014
City-wide supervisors of				
24	Playgrounds and/or community centers	3,660	720	2,070
8	Music	2,545	780	1,800
11	Dramatics	3,120	900	1,620
28	Athletics	3,985	720	1,980
41	Girls and women	3,600	720	1,536
19	Boys and men	3,000	1,080	1,800
8	Arts and crafts	3,120	1,200	2,070
1	Nature	1,200	1,200	
4	Dancing	1,380	840	1,536
36	Construction and maintenance	3,900	900	1,800
43	Playground and community center directors	2,510	600	1,500
14	Playleader	1,950	634	1,344
12	Specialist	2,000	1,020	1,650
2	Camp director	2,775	2,600	
19	Manager of golf course	2,500	720	1,300
9	Manager of pool or beach	3,000	780	2,280
7	Swimming instructor	2,100	1,500	1,750
6	Life guard	2,700	720	1,780

Table XIX

## WEEKLY SALARIES OF FULL-TIME SEASONAL RECREATION WORKERS

Number of departments reporting	Titles	Highest salary reported	Lowest salary reported	Median salary reported
0	Executive	-	-	-
2	Assistant executive	\$27.00	\$21.00	\$ -
	City-wide supervisors of			
46	Playground and/or community centers	75.00	10.00	24.22
6	Music	28.00	10.00	19.11
9	Dramatics	33.33	10.00	15.00
10	Athletics	25.00	11.11	15.33
5	Girls and women	24.00	10.00	20.00
5	Boys and men	31.11	10.00	20.00
17	Arts and crafts	28.00	9.00	16.66
3	Nature	20.00	13.33	17.00
12	Dancing	27.00	10.00	20.00
6	Construction and maintenance	35.00	10.00	12.22
127	Playground directors and playleaders	38.00	8.77	16.50
12	Community center directors	30.00	8.00	14.00
29	Specialist	45.45	8.88	18.00
6	Camp director	38.88	8.00	26.25
13	Manager of golf course	58.00	18.00	35.00
33	Manager of pool or beach	42.00	16.00	27.50
30	Swimming instructor	40.00	8.00	17.50
70	Life guard	34.00	10.66	18.25

In addition to the salaries shown in the tables there are in most cases some sort of car allowances for those having transportation expense in carrying out their work. In regard to sick leave and vacation with pay there is great variety, but most of the better organized departments make



some kind of provision for these privileges.<sup>63</sup>

Because recreation leaders and workers are usually placed under governmental agencies in local municipalities they are not often fully covered by provisions of workingmen's compensation insurance. This lack has, however, in some instances been taken care of by special blanket insurance policies taken out by the municipal departments under which they serve or by group insurance plans instigated by organizations of recreation workers themselves.

There are two national organizations for recreation workers:

(1) The National Recreation Association of approximately 12,000 individuals is made up in part of professional recreation workers, the remainder being interested lay citizens who lend their support to the Association. (2) The Society of Recreation Workers of America, initiated within the past three years, is entirely composed of professional recreation workers. The two organizations are closely affiliated. In addition, there are in some sections of the country local organizations for recreation personnel established for mutual benefit and advancement of the profession.

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<sup>63</sup> See National Recreation Association, Survey of Salaries Paid to Recreation Workers 1938, for detailed tables concerning vacations, sick leave, increases in salary since 1930, variation in salary by size of city and variation by region.

## Chapter V

### STATE AND COUNTY AGENCIES OF RECREATION

In the United States, as a whole, county governments do not take a significant part in public recreation. Some counties have done work with emergency funds, and a number of counties have developed excellent park systems. The most outstanding systems are generally in metropolitan districts. The National Park Service reports the growth of county parks in the following table:<sup>1</sup>

Table XX

#### COUNTY PARKS IN THE UNITED STATES 1925-1935

	1925-26	1930	1935
Number of counties	33	73	77
Number of parks	125	415	526
Number of acres	67,465	103,485	159,262

The county park systems differ widely in the facilities offered, varying from the comprehensive system of Cook County, Illinois, of 33,000 acres and a wide range of facilities, to one or two meagerly developed parks reported by some of the rural counties. The most marked development of county parks is found in California with 13 counties reporting, Michigan with 12 counties and Wisconsin with 10.

The slight increase in the number of counties reporting park systems from 1930 to 1935 indicates that the movement for the establishment of parks by county authorities has been retarded in recent years. This may

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<sup>1</sup> National Park Service, Municipal and County Parks in the United States, 1935, p. 63.

be due to the activity of states and municipalities in developing park areas outside the city limits.

County park agencies have had about the same experience in respect to finances during the depression as reported above in the case of city parks. Total expenditures in 1935 were reduced 42 per cent from those of 1930, and capital outlays were less than one-fifth of the amount reported in the earlier year. Current operating expenses declined only slightly, however, and many county parks benefited greatly from the use of emergency funds and personnel. Thirty-six counties alone in 1935 spent nearly five and a half million dollars from emergency funds on park projects.

The county systems situated in or near metropolitan areas are intensively used. In Cook County alone it is estimated that the parks are visited by fifteen million persons a year. Picnic centers are the most numerous and popular facilities but other common facilities are bathing beaches, baseball diamonds, swimming pools, hiking and nature trails, golf courses, and winter sports facilities.

Public interest in state parks and forests began to develop early in the twentieth century but not until the last fifteen years has there been rapid expansion in this field. The beginnings of the movement go back to 1865 when Congress granted to California the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees for state park purposes. As early as 1865 New York moved to recapture Niagara Falls and prevent defacement, an object not attained until 1887. The Niagara State Reservation was New York's first State Park. In 1885 New York began acquiring the Adirondack and

Catskill areas which today comprise more than two million acres. In the same year Michigan set apart Mackinac Island as a park. Soon other states, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Illinois, began to develop parks.

The National Conference on State Parks was organized in 1921 to bring together the leaders in the movement in order to define the purpose and character of state parks, to help develop practical methods of administration and to urge the acquisition of additional land. It also proposed to educate the citizens in the values and uses of recreational areas. The reports of the National Conference on State Parks were included in the publications of the American Planning and Civic Association, with which it is closely allied. This organization worked for years to establish the National Park Service and has been instrumental in establishing state park systems as well. It has received substantial contributions from several great foundations to assist in in this work.

By 1926, thirty-three states had state parks. In 1939 according to a report of the National Park Service, forty-seven states had a total of 1,633,880 acres of state parks although this was still far from the total of ten million acres which the National Resources Board suggest as ideal.<sup>2</sup> The establishment of the CCC provided a great stimulus to the acquisition and development of state parks. In September of 1935, there were 432 units of the CCC at work on units of state parks in 46 states. By June 30, 1938, \$295,000,000 had been expended by CCC camps for the improvement of state parks. In the first two years of the emergency conservation work begun in 1933, seven states had acquired their first park

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<sup>2</sup> National Park Service, 1933 Year Book, Park and Recreation Progress, p. 6.

properties and two dozen states had acquired new parks or additions. Twenty-two states have made their initial appropriations for the operation of state park agencies since the inauguration of the CCC program. A number of states have created administrative agencies to acquire and maintain parks in accordance with federal standards. State park acreage has increased approximately 70 per cent since the National Park Service and the States joined hands in 1933. Other state properties such as forests, reservations, and game preserves also have varied recreation uses. New York pioneered in this development too; as early as 1873 it started the practice of holding tax reverted lands for forest purposes. The total area of state-owned forest lands in 48 states on June 30, 1937, was 17,815,772 acres, scattered in 750 units over 39 states. Approximately twenty-eight million persons a year visit the various state forests.

The National Park Service was responsible for the technical supervision of the CCC work. The state park movement has been encouraged all through its development by the Directors of the National Park Service who emphasized that a well developed state park system served to supplement and relieve the pressure on the larger but widely scattered national parks.

State and local organizations have often been active in promoting the acquisition of state parks or addition of special areas to them. In California, for example, the "Save-the Redwoods League" has preserved and given to the state land covered with the Sequoia, the cost of which was \$3,250,000. This was matched by a state bond issue which brought the total amount to \$6,000,000, used for the purchase of 30,000 acres of trees.

In addition this league has added 3,746 acres of related projects with a value of nearly a million dollars.

In some states sportsmen's organizations have been active in programs for conserving wild life, in stocking streams with fish and in promoting the acquisition of new park areas. The Isaac Walton League may be cited as an example of such an organization.

Local organizations have usually been active in the development of state park systems by securing contributions of land or purchase money, by supporting necessary legislation, by securing public support and by helping remove local obstacles to the creation of park areas. Sometimes it has taken years to complete the acquisition proceedings. The volunteer citizens' associations have been most valuable in furnishing the support necessary to sustain this part of the process of state park development.

There is considerable variety in the types of administrative authority responsible for the administration of state parks as well as variety in the designations of such departments. The type of unified administration most common in eastern United States is the conservation department or commission, while west of the Mississippi the park board or commission is dominant. In eight states a forest department is the administrative agency, while in four others there is a department charged with dual responsibility for parks and another phase of conservation, such as game or fish. Other types of administrative authority are represented by the Historical Society in North Dakota, Highway Department in Oregon, Departments of Public Works in Illinois and Idaho, and the Board of Land

Commissioners in Montana.<sup>3</sup>

In several states the forestry and game and fish departments have merely been authorized to acquire areas for recreation, thus supplementing their primary function. In some states there is no recognized primary agency but the administration is divided between two or more agencies. In five states there are one or more individual areas under the direction of independent boards with no relationship to a central park or recreation authority.

The great diversity of administrative organizations indicates that in most states state parks are in an immature stage of development and that careful integration of state park services into the general scheme of government has not yet occurred or that a period of experimentation is in process. Most often, the administrative scheme, like Topsy, has "just growed." This new function of state government has most generally at first been provided for through the following presumably temporary forms of organization: (1) Independent board or commission for each park, (2) division of responsibility between two or more existing state agencies, (3) subordination to existing agencies as a secondary function. Finally, as the system matures there has evolved the more desirable types of organization, (4) creation of a State Park Board or Commission, or (5) the integration of park and recreation functions with the over-all function of conservation.

The administering body is generally a board or commission of five or

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed description of the administrative machinery of state parks see National Park Service, 1938 Year Book, Park and Recreation Progress, p. 27-47.

seven members although the number ranges from three to thirteen. In a few states the administering agent is a commissioner appointed by the Governor, with sometimes a group of citizens officially appointed to serve as a lay advisory board. On practically all boards certain officials of the state government are *ex-officio* members. In only a few instances are professional qualifications prescribed for the executive in charge of state parks.

The principles exemplified in the financing of municipal parks apply as well to state park systems. Since parks and recreation constitute a public service the basic means of support should be appropriations from the state treasury. It is desirable, if possible, to secure support through a special tax. This has already proved a satisfactory means of support in a few states. Provisions are generally made for the acceptance of gifts and the establishment of trust funds by donors through which areas may be secured and developed. The departments also generally have authority to make charges for special services, the income from which generally goes for park purposes. The issues with respect to fees and charges are the same as those discussed in connection with municipal services.

In some states, state education departments are also becoming interested in the question of leisure-time activity, partly as a result of the depression. In several states comprehensive programs of adult education and community recreation have been carried on with emergency funds under the direction of state educational authorities. Some states have undertaken to provide funds to put the program on a permanent basis. New York, for example, has given an appropriation to the State Education Department to establish a



supervisory service "to develop more satisfactory preventive and corrective physical education and recreation programs for children and adults."

Other phases of the adult education program will be discussed in a later section of this study.

State agricultural colleges have contributed to the improvement of recreational activities in rural areas through the employment of recreation specialists in their extension departments. In 1938, sixteen states were using such workers either on a full-time or part-time basis. These workers have assisted local groups in planning programs, have dispensed information, have held recreation conferences and have helped train persons for local recreation leadership. Additional reference will be made to this work in the discussion of the recreational activities of the Department of Agriculture.

Generally speaking, it may be said that state governments have been relatively inactive in the recreation field, and although many of them have taken initial steps in recent years, their contributions have been much less significant than that of either municipal or Federal government.

## Chapter VI

### ACTIVITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN PROVIDING LEISURE-TIME FACILITIES

Up until the World War the Federal government gave little attention to the furnishing of leisure-time facilities for its citizens. The work of the National Park Service was its principal contribution in this field. In recent years, however, especially since the advent of the New Deal in 1933, the Federal government has taken an increasingly active part, and through a variety of agencies is making a major contribution to the recreational use of leisure time. This interest of Federal agencies in problems of recreation has grown to such an extent that an Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities has been established. This committee through its Technical Committee on Recreation reported that there were in 1937 "thirty-five units scattered through twelve departments of the Federal government that are engaged in promoting sixty to seventy separate programs affecting the citizens' use of leisure-time."

While many of the programs being offered are incidental to the primary purpose of the agency, nevertheless the total amount of Federal activity is a significant contribution to the field of recreation. The agencies most active in recreation service and those whose work will be discussed in some detail are the National Park Service; the CCC Camps; the Forest Service; the Works Progress Administration through its Division of Recreation, with its provision of trained leaders and organized activities,

its art, drama and music projects, its adult education activities, and its construction of recreation facilities; the Office of Education with its sponsoring of the public forum movement and its assistance in adult education; and the NYA which has rendered much recreational service through its program for American youth.

Other agencies of less importance, but many of them rendering significant recreation service, are the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Biological Survey, Agriculture Extension Service, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Child Welfare Division of the Department of Labor, Bureau of Fisheries, National Resources Committee, Tennessee Valley Authority, United States Housing Authority, and the Farm Security Administration through its rural and suburban resettlement projects.

The Report of the Technical Committee on Recreation, of the Inter-departmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities in 1937 grouped the purposes and activities of these governmental agencies under the following headings:

1. Conserving natural resources to be used for recreational purposes.
2. Constructing recreational facilities.
3. Maintaining and administering recreational areas.
4. Making surveys of recreational facilities and needs.
5. Planning and advising on standards of recreation.
6. Furnishing information concerning recreation through correspondence, publications, and conferences.
7. Conducting educational programs designed to promote recreation.

8. Providing recreational supervision and leadership.
9. Training for recreational leadership.
10. Furnishing employment on projects designed to make additional recreational facilities available to the public.

#### The National Park Service.

The founding of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872, the first of a series of such reservations in the United States, was a capital event in regional culture. It was the first public recognition of the need for primeval wilderness as a background for a civilized life, and of the value of the natural environment for other purposes than reckless financial exploitation..... the United States National Parks were the first recognition of landscape as a communal resource.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of the Yellowstone National Park pointed the way to a new set of land values and a new type of land-use that has served as a beacon to guide the United States in the conservation of land for sociological purposes. Its establishment was the beginning of the "National Park Idea." For the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century tales of the natural wonders of the Yellowstone region had filtered to the outside world, through the stories of Indians, hunters and trappers. At first disbelieved and derided, the persistence and growth of these tales, led to the explorations of the official Washburn-Doane Expedition in 1870. This party confirmed the rumors about the springs and geysers of the region. Sitting about the campfire at the close of the exploration in September, 1870, the members were discussing the wonders they had seen, the certainty of the area becoming an attraction for tourists, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities, (Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1938), p. 323.

probable disposition of it all. Several members of the expedition suggested that it would be a profitable speculation to purchase the lands surrounding the major phenomena and to exploit them as commercial enterprises. While this was the conventional policy at that time concerning land distribution, Cornelius Hedges, a Montana lawyer, objected to this point of view and advanced the revolutionary suggestion that the individual members of the party forego personal gain in order that this region, unlike anything else in the country, might be set aside for the use and enjoyment of all the people for all time. His idea captured the enthusiasm of the other members of the party and all united in the endeavor to keep Yellowstone unimpaired and unspoiled for public enjoyment. The publication of articles by members of the party and the pushing of the project by them and by Dr. F. V. Hayden of the Geological Survey led to the passage of the necessary legislation by Congress on March 1, 1872.

The national park system began with the passage of this law which was significant in that it was a marked innovation in the traditional policy of governments. While game preserves for the privileged classes were an old established policy of European governments, never before had a region of such vast extent as Yellowstone been set apart for the use of all the people without distinction of rank or wealth.

Even before Yellowstone, however, the United States Government had shown an interest in the public ownership of lands that were valuable for social purposes. The Hot Springs Reservation in Arkansas was established by Congress in 1832, because of the medicinal values it was believed its waters contained. It should not be considered the first national park, however, for

there was no idea of recreational use, but it was definitely a place for the treatment of the ill. In 1921, this area was made a national park and today its recreational use is being stressed.

No other national parks were created until 1890, when Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant Parks in California were established, followed in 1899 by Mount Rainier in Washington. After the turn of the century additional national parks were established.

In June of 1906, Congress passed another piece of important legislation that affected parks, the "American Antiquities Act." This act gave the president authority "to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest as national monuments." The acquisition of a large part of the areas operated by the National Park Service are based upon this act. The passage of this act was the result of an organized movement led by archeologists who wished to safeguard the archeological treasures of the ancient pueblos in the Southwest. In this connection, it is significant to point out that according to Pearl Chase:

The park movement all over this country has benefited by the support of many disinterested groups. Societies of mountaineers, naturalists and conservationists, historical societies, garden clubs, and women's clubs are among those which have devoted some time and attention to park affairs. Chambers of commerce and local booster organizations have at times been very helpful. Foundations and departments of universities and scientific societies have assisted in making constructive studies. The varied contributions of all these organizations has been very great.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Pearl Chase, "Public Participation in Park Work" in 1938 Year Book Park and Recreation Progress, p. 18.

From 1906 until 1915 additional national parks and national monuments were established, but each of these was an independent development and there was no well thought out policy of park establishment nor coordinated plan of administration for the parks already making up the system. The parks were really more of a conglomeration than a system, for each park was a law into itself.

Under Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in 1915, there was an attempt at reform in administration by placing an assistant to the secretary in charge of parks. Many friends of the parks, however, realized the necessity of added legislation to implement the needed reforms and there began the agitation which culminated in the National Park Act of 1916, which organized the National Park Service.

The American Civic Association, a society which has always been active in any movement for improving our state and national parks, was very influential in the campaign establishing the National Park Service.

Jenks Cameron says:

It is not too much to say that the untiring zeal of this organization in keeping up interest in the project, both in and out of Congress, by meetings, publications, and influence brought to bear through the most powerful press organs, had more to do with the final successful issue of the movement than any other one factor. Sentiment in general was in favor of the creation of the bureau, but it was not organized and was largely passive. But for the life the American Civic Association put into the movement it is to be doubted if Congress could have been induced to create a new bureau to do work that had been getting done somehow for so long a time without it.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Jenks Cameron, The National Park Service, Its History, Activities, and Organization, (Institute For Government Research Monograph No. 11, 1922), p. 11.

This agency has made important studies, arranged many conferences in different parts of the country, has published and distributed conference papers and many valuable data and suggestions coming from varied sources. With other national and state planning groups it has encouraged interest in land planning, urging the importance of properly correlating all the recreational opportunities within a region and making them available by proper highway developments.

The American Civic Association also has served as a medium of interchange of experience of those within and without the park administration. It should be noted that for several years previous to 1916 there were annual conferences held at Yellowstone, Yosemite, and other national parks which were participated in by the park superintendents and others concerned with park administration. These conferences of practical park men were another important factor in getting the National Park Service Act passed.

The "Canadian Argument" was much used by those who were proposing the new legislation in 1916. It was emphasized that Canada had already established such a park system and that it was functioning brilliantly.

Still another factor in the campaign for the new law was the active support of the administrative officers of the Department of Interior and of the Presidents of the United States. President Taft had gone so far as to address a special message to Congress on the subject. The Division of Publications in the Interior Department was also very active in distributing circulars, disseminating information about the parks, and indirectly arousing sentiment for the legislation. In 1916, 275,000 copies



of an elaborately illustrated brochure entitled "The National Parks Portfolio" were distributed by the Department, and this publication became very popular and the demand for it widespread. Thus it is evident that park officials and governmental administrative officials had been quite active in the campaign for the adoption of the National Park Service Act.<sup>4</sup>

From its establishment in 1916 up to 1933 the growth of the Park Service was simply one of gradual expansion. In 1933, however, another important step was taken when President Roosevelt issued an executive order which effected the consolidation of all Federal park activities under National Park Service, thus bringing national monuments, national historical parks, national military parks, battlefield sites, national memorials, national cemeteries, and national parkways all under the jurisdiction of the Service.

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<sup>4</sup> The appeal to public opinion has been continued and is effectively utilized today. A multifaceted information service explains the policies of the Service and directs attention to the facilities and attractions of the various areas. The press, radio (the Service has one full-time radio script writer), printed literature, a picture distribution system, illustrated lectures, and motion pictures are all used as media to advance public knowledge of and interest in the Federal parks. The Service also cooperates with patriotic societies, civic and conservation organizations, study clubs, and schools to disseminate national park facts. Besides stories on all phases of its work that are released to the press, much additional material is furnished to free lance writers and reporters making additional requests.

The Service now issues 269 free informative booklets and in 1939 distributed approximately 1,000,000 circulars of general information. The Director of the Service complains that this is grossly inadequate in view of the 16,250,000 visitors of that year. See Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior, 1939, pp. 285-288.

The National Park Service in 1920 embraced nineteen parks with a total area of 10,859 square miles. On April 15, 1940, there are twenty-six National Parks occupying 16,110 square miles. A summary of all the areas now administered by the National Park Service is shown in Table XXI.

Table XXI

SUMMARY OF AREAS ADMINISTERED BY NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
AS OF APRIL 15, 1940

Type of area	Number	Area (Sq. Miles)
National parks	26	16,109.91
National historical parks	4	11.97
National monuments	82	14,764.40
National military parks	11	32.70
National battlefield sites	7	2.70
National historic sites	4	0.35
National recreational area	1	2,655.58
National memorials	8	.50
National cemeteries	11	.55
National capital parks	1	16.88
National parkways	3	51.95
Total	158	33,647.49

In 1916 annual attendance in the parks was approximately 350,000. By 1921 it was more than a million; in 1926 it was close to two million; by 1932 it exceeded three million and in 1939 nearly seven million people visited the national parks. Advance figures submitted on September 5, 1940, indicate that the 1940 season will exceed all others, with more than 500,000 visitors at Yellowstone Park alone. Comparable figures show that in twenty-two years attendance in national parks has increased twenty times while acreage was not quite doubled.

Table XXII shows the 1939 attendance figures at the various types of areas under the control of the National Park Service.

Table XXII

## VISITORS TO NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AREAS, 1939

National parks	6,804,216
National monuments	2,566,452
National historical parks	683,194
National military parks and cemeteries	2,008,121
National battlefield sites	128,618
Miscellaneous memorials	2,650,871
Boulder dam national recreational area	611,895
Salem maritime historic site	1,000
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Total	15,454,367

In 1939 nearly two million private automobiles entered the National Parks. There is no doubt that the use of the automobile has been one of the primary factors in the development of the National Park System. Oil companies, and national and state automobile clubs through the distribution of maps and descriptive literature have stimulated tourist travel to the parks in private cars. Railroads and bus lines have also printed material concerning the parks and have encouraged travel into national park areas. Likewise, some of the park concessions owned by private individuals or corporations have sought to increase their own profits by inducing people to go to the parks. Russell Lord, however, is probably correct in analyzing this rush to the parks when he says:

Apparently the major factors in growth of use in both national parks and national forests were neither advertising nor provision of facilities--or absence of either--but rather the enormous expansion of all forms of travel, based on increased national wealth and leisure and on autos and good roads.<sup>5</sup>

From 1930 to 1933 the average annual appropriation for the National Park Service was \$10,849,780. Since then the average annual appropriation

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<sup>5</sup> Forest Outings, p. 109.

has been \$16,024,700. In addition, from the inception of the various emergency programs up to June 1, 1940, approximately \$109,715,000 has been allotted to the Service by the CCC, \$47,513,000 by the Public Work Administration and \$47,174,00 by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts. Thus it is quite evident that the activity of the National Park Service has been expanded greatly by the advent of the philosophy and activity of the New Deal.

Table XXIII shows the data on appropriations and revenues of the Service for selected years.<sup>6</sup>

Table XXIII

APPROPRIATIONS AND REVENUES OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
FOR SELECTED YEARS (REGULAR FUNDS ONLY)

Year	Appropriation	Revenues
1917	\$ 784,566.67	\$ 180,652.30
1920	907,070.76	316,877.96
1925	3,027,657.00	670,920.98
1930	7,813,817.18	1,015,740.56
1935	12,461,513.00	907,189.96
1939	26,216,712.00	1,567,333.70

Under the emergency appropriation acts of the last few years the National Park Service has had its interests extended to include a great deal of cooperative activity with state and local park and recreational authorities. The more important of these relationships have revolved around the work of the CCC and emergency relief programs, beginning in 1933, the recreational demonstration area program begun in 1934 and the Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area study, authorized in 1936. The

<sup>6</sup> Table adapted from data in the Annual Report of Secretary of the Interior, 1939, p. 308.

Service has developed a set of minimum requirements which must be met before CCC Camps will be assigned to state park work and thus has had a far-reaching influence on state park organizations. A general development program and plan must be submitted to the National Park Service, and approved methods of administration and finance adopted before the Service will receive applications for CCC Camps.

In the recreational demonstration projects the Service has used emergency relief funds in acquiring 46 acres in 24 states and is using relief workers and CCC enrollees to develop the areas and construct camping and day-use facilities. Fifty camps were completed in time for use in the 1938 season. These vacation areas offer opportunities for low income groups of populous urban and rural sections, public and semipublic organizations and others to enjoy low cost vacations of outdoor life for short periods. In addition there are wayside developments for picnicking, play, and general recreation for a day's outing. It is planned gradually to transfer most of these areas to state agencies for operation after the National Park Service has completed the initial development work. Thus, through its demonstration program, the Service hopes to stimulate state and local agencies in undertaking recreational projects.

The Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area study has the objective of developing a plan for coordinated and adequate recreational facilities through Federal-state collaboration in the conduct of a study in each state. In all except three states the governors have designated established state agencies, such as planning boards or conservation or park departments, to be responsible for the state's participation. The National Park Service

furnishes the personnel for the studies and most of the states help share in the expense. Twenty-four states have sponsored WPA projects to obtain personnel to assist in the study. Under this cooperative arrangement, the recreational resources of the various states are being analyzed and well-rounded recreational programs formulated at the present time.

In addition to the cooperative relationships developed under the above-discussed emergency programs the National Park Service has developed a staff to furnish technical assistance and to conduct research for state park authorities. Legislation has been drafted, programs planned, and community organization stimulated for the benefit of state and local agencies.

Thus it is evident that the National Park Service at the present time is a most important agency, not only in carrying out national recreational services, but in stimulating the states to improve their services.

The National Forest Service. The national forests of the United States total about 176 million acres or about an acre and one-third for each person in the country. This acreage is distributed among 161 different national forests scattered within or across the borders of 36 different states and in Alaska and Puerto Rico. The setting aside of these forest reservations was begun in 1891. In 1897 laws were passed for their administration; in 1905 they were transferred from the Department of Interior to the Department of Agriculture and "provision was made to use the resources inherent in the Lands in accordance with the broadest

concept of conservation—wise use of all the resources in the interest of all the people."<sup>7</sup>

In 1907 the name was changed from "forest reserve" to "national forest" to avoid the implication that the resources were locked up and not for use. In 1911 Congress passed the Weeks law which authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase lands necessary to protect the watersheds of navigable streams. Soon after this, lands were purchased for this purpose and this initiated national forests in the Eastern States. As these forests were close to urban areas, they had recreational use from the beginning. However, these first developments were the result mostly of concern over destruction of watershed and commercial forest values by uncontrolled ruthless exploitation of private interests. The early interests were primarily utilitarian and economic in character. The issues of soil conservation, timber conservation, the protection of wild life, the prevention of floods, the protection of range lands, the establishment of watersheds for cities, and preservation in certain areas of purely natural beauty and charm were the primary purposes for establishing these forest areas under national control. At first recreation was purely incidental to the main functions of the forests. The field force admitted it knew little about recreational planning, and some were reluctant to learn. Until about 1914 the administration of the recreational use of the national forests was wholly in the hands of the field force. The recreational usage was so small that the need for a national policy on recreation in the forests was not evident. In 1915 and 1916 some preliminary surveys

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<sup>7</sup> Russell Lord, Forest Outings, p. 63.

and reports were made but in general little or no attention was paid to recreation until after the World War. The forests received their share of the "Rush Outdoors" which started in the twenties and has continued since. As suggested earlier in the discussion this outdoor movement was the result of the combined effects of the improved means of travel, the expansion of leisure, the necessity of escaping urbanization, and the other factors mentioned in the discussion of the cultural setting.

An increase from some four and a half million visits in 1924 to fourteen and a half million (exclusive of transients and sightseeing visitors) in 1939 has involved such heavy use of some parts of the forests as to defeat their purpose. Some idea of the rate of growth can be gained by using the Apache National Forest in New Mexico and Arizona as an example. As a national forest it is forty-one years old. While occasional hunters entered it earlier, the first recorded tourist dates from 1912. Today there are 50,000 visitors annually, of whom some 35,000 are merely passing through. About one in ten lingers long enough to enjoy the scenery or the climate; around 4,000 stay an average of seven days fishing, hunting or camping. There are now seventeen camp and picnic sites on this area, 250 miles of forest highway and 400 miles of forest development roads (built primarily to get the forest products out and assist in administration).<sup>8</sup>

Data for all regions of the United States are not available but the North Pacific Region and Rocky Mountain Region show the trend in

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 105.



attendance:

	1909	1938
North Pacific	45,000	1,507,000
Rocky Mountains	115,000	1,735,000

In 1939, the recreational use of the national forests was as follows:<sup>9</sup>

Summer home guests and residents	878,168	Campers	5,157,490
Hotel and resort guests	1,987,812	Picnickers	7,019,180
		Winter sports participants	1,289,211

Total recreation use - - 14,331,361

In addition, a total of 20,462,560 people came to the forests for sightseeing.

Russell Lord estimates that in 1937 national-forest visitors spent about 250 million dollars on or near the national forests, which is about five per cent of all outdoor recreational expenditures.<sup>10</sup>

In the last few years forest recreational usage has been greatly increased by the growth in popularity of winter sports. While officers and members of skiing and other outdoor sportsmen's organizations have been most active in promoting this development, commercial interests have recently found it most profitable. Where in 1935 Americans spent \$417,000 for skis and snowshoes, in 1938 they spent \$3,000,000 for skis, \$6,000,000

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from Forest Service, Division of Recreation and Lands.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., p. 257.

for ski clothes, and \$15,000,000 for transportation to and lodging at the winter playgrounds. Winter sports visits to the national forest in 1938 exceeded one and a fourth million, nine-tenths of which was on fifty forests lying mostly in six states: California, Washington, Colorado, Oregon, Utah, and New Hampshire.

While the commercial interests were active in this surge toward winter sport their promotion would not have been successful if they were not appealing to the desires of the people. Russell Lord sums up the motivating force in the increase of general recreational use of the forests as follows:

The plain truth is that forest recreational facilities have been extended under the push of a constant, driving, increasing demand. This has been done mainly by the willing aid of relief labor. Much has been done but it falls far short of meeting the peak loads and the immediate prospect of an increasing human use..... Foresters in general do not yearn to go any deeper into this socialized recreational business; but the push is on, strongly, plainly, not so much in lobbies, or in organs of public opinion, or in Congress and the state legislatures, as in an actual pressing swarm of the people, themselves..... Present facilities are in most places crucially inadequate; and by the most conservative of forecasts, based on attendance charts, projected recreational use of the national forests seems certain to double, at least, within the next ten years.<sup>11</sup>

The general objectives and policies of the Forest Service with respect to the recreational use of forest areas may be said to be the following:

1. Recreation use will take its place with other uses such as timber production, grazing, mining, and water storage.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 113-115.

2. The viewpoints of interested groups will be considered, and the organization of associations of those concerned in recreation to act in an advisory capacity encouraged.
3. An effort will be made to preserve the natural and the primitive.
4. Preference will be given to recreation developments which emphasize opportunities for participant rather than spectator enjoyment of forest recreation activities.
5. The objective will be to provide facilities that will be used by relatively large numbers of people and not for the exclusive use of individuals or small groups.
6. Particular attention will be given to facilities for the use of the majority of American citizens who can enjoy forest recreation only if its cost is small. This means emphasis on camping and picnicking facilities, and on organization camps owned by the Government and made available either to individuals or organizations whose members are in the low-income groups. The Forest Service will cooperate with public, semi-public and private welfare organizations endeavoring to sponsor or further forest vacations for underprivileged groups.<sup>12</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established in 1933 for a two-fold purpose: To give relief to single unemployed young men and their families, and to conserve and improve our public lands. The CCC has been related to recreation in two ways: (1) Through the construction and improvement of recreational facilities in our national and state forests and parks, and (2) through the recreational programs established in the camps for the enrollees themselves.

At the start the CCC was designed to furnish employment to 250,000 jobless youths between 18 and 25 years. The enrollees were to work forty hours a week during their six-month enlistment for a cash wage of \$50 a

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<sup>12</sup> Condensed from National Forest Manual, Chap. I, Recreation Section.

month in addition to food, clothing, medical care, and shelter. Relief for the enrollee's family was provided by requiring him to allot his family \$25 a month from his wage.

The plan has not changed greatly during its seven years of operation. The present authorized strength is 300,000 men and 1,500 camps. Enrollment has varied from 505,000 in July of 1935 to 280,000 in January 1938. In the five-year period ending April 30, 1938, the CCC had provided employment for 2,202,636, of whom 1,984,396 were enrollees. During this period the CCC spent nearly two billion dollars, of which over \$400,000,000 was sent to needy dependents. The appropriations for the fiscal year of 1939 totaled approximately \$286,000,000 for all CCC activities.

The advent of the CCC made it possible to start on a program of providing more adequate facilities for the rapidly increasing visitors to our national and state parks and forests. On December 31, 1938, 311 camps were being operated under the technical supervision of the National Park Service. Seventy-three of these camps were on the continental national park areas and recreational demonstration areas. Hundreds of new camping grounds have been developed, which in turn called for construction of thousands of picnic table-and-bench combinations, outdoor stoves, waste disposal systems, toilets and sanitary facilities, and adequate water supply systems.

Through water conservation work and stream improvement, many good bathing facilities and camping and picnicking facilities have been developed. Fishing streams and lakes have been improved and hundreds of millions of trout and other game fish have been planted in cooperation

with the United States Bureau of Fisheries and state fish and game departments. Since 1933 more than seven and a half million acres have been added to the national wild life refuges. The CCC has almost exclusively developed or improved forty-four of the most important wild life refuges and, in addition, CCC enrollees have worked in nearly all of the 200 smaller refuges.

The construction of foot trails has been one of the most appreciated items in the list of CCC recreational improvements in the forest and park areas. The CCC has contributed greatly to the development of winter sports facilities by constructing ski trails, runs and jumps, and constructing numerous structures from small trailside shelters to large rustic lodges.

As indicated in the discussion of state parks, many states have acquired their first park properties as a result of the stimulus provided by the CCC program. Since 1933, a total of 471 new parks have been acquired by the states and today forty-seven states have state park properties. In many cases the CCC literally created attractive state parks out of areas in a most wretched condition.

While the physical improvements the CCC enrollee has been making are most valuable in improving the recreational life of others, he has at the same time been doing something for himself. The two million enrollees who have served in the camps now know through their actual experience and hard work something of the national attempt to restore and conserve wildlife resources for future use. Most of the camp sites were remote from urban areas and a great many were in settings of unspoiled

forest beauty. Thousands of the boys experienced for the first time the vastness and variety of this country's natural resources and received their first taste of out-of-door-recreation.

In the camp life, recreational activities played a significant part. Baseball, basketball, football, boxing, and track athletics were among the organized sports in the various camps. Many of the enrollees developed interests in handicrafts, collecting, and other informal activities. Bands, orchestras, glee clubs, and other musical groups were developed in many of the camps. Some of them had plays, pageants, debates, and amateur nights. Thus it is evident that the enrollees were exposed to a wide range of desirable recreational activities, and the improvement of the use of leisure among the boys, themselves, has been one anticipated by-product of the CCC program.

While recreational interests cannot be said to have been a primary purpose for the establishment of the CCC program it is evident that, incidental to the main functions of relief and conservation, much of great significance to the recreation movement has been accomplished.

The Relief Program and Recreation. Between 1933 and 1940 no Federal agency has given more recreational opportunities to a larger number of people in as great a range of activities and in as many communities as the Works Progress Administration and its predecessors in relief administration, the Civil Works Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Through its Recreation Section in the Professional and Service Division thousands of white-collar workers have received training and employment as recreation leaders in playgrounds and

community centers. Millions have participated in organized leisure time activity for the first time through WPA projects and many communities have had their first organized recreation program under its auspices. Hundreds of communities have recreational facilities of all sorts that have been constructed with WPA labor. Through the art, drama, and music projects, needy artists not only have been given employment but large numbers of people for the first time have had an opportunity to enjoy fine music and the legitimate theater at little or no charge. Some four million of our population through the emergency education program have used their leisure time to build up their intellectual resources. There is no question but that these relief activities of the Federal government have been the most significant development in the history of collectivized forms of leisure time activity in America.

The major objectives of the Division of Recreation as stated by it are as follows:

1. To give employment to qualified white-collar workers on relief as leaders of public recreation activities, which will result in:
  - A. The preservation of the skills of these workers so that they will be prepared to take other types of employment when it is offered.
  - B. The development of these skills as tools in recreation and the training in leadership of these workers to the end that those best qualified may be employed in the steadily increasing number of public and private recreation systems other than the WPA Program.
2. To provide leisure-time organization, leadership and service to urban and rural communities in cooperation with local governmental and private agencies, which will result in:

- A. A free Public Recreation Program for all the people—adults and children, rich and poor, all creeds and colors.
- B. A year-round Recreation Program operating in winter as well as summer.
- C. A sufficient number of attractive facilities for recreation so that one will be easily accessible to every member of the population.
- D. A sufficient variety of leisure-time activities so that each person will find one which interests him.
- E. A democratic program giving the participant a part in the planning of the program and a free choice of the activities in which he will participate.

While these objectives indicate the broad social viewpoint of the WPA administrators it must be kept in mind that the primary objective of the WPA has been to give employment, and that the recreational benefits accruing as a result have been somewhat incidental. This policy is most clearly indicated in the June 30, 1939, Report on Progress of the WPA by the Administrator. He says:

The WPA operates the principal program of project work designed and administered for the employment of unemployed workers. As such, its primary objective is one of supplying jobs on useful public projects to unemployed persons until private industry is able to reemploy them. In keeping with this purpose, the program is organized to provide with the funds available, the maximum number of jobs consistent with the skills of the unemployed, to operate projects yielding substantial benefits in the form of public improvements and services, and to integrate its operations as closely as possible with the labor market.<sup>13</sup>

Before 1933 there were only about 22,000 persons, volunteers and professionals, engaged in the field of recreation. Of these only 2500

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<sup>13</sup> Works Progress Administration, Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1939, pp. 3-4.



were employed full time. Hence, there were not a great many workers with recreation leadership experience on the relief rolls. However, there were large numbers of "white-collar" workers on relief for whom it was desired to find relief activities in which their abilities could be utilized. Recreation projects seemed admirably suited to many of this type of unemployed. Within three years after the inauguration of the recreation program, approximately 45,000 full-time workers were added to the recreation field. In 1939, some 20,000 men and women leaders were furnished to cities, towns, and rural areas where no other leadership had been provided before. In the fifteen months previous to January 1, 1940, some 40,000 workers per month were being supplied in over 7,000 communities, 69 per cent of which were under 2500 population. Only 14.5 per cent of these communities had permanent recreational leadership programs, and of these only 50 per cent were year-round programs. Almost 70 per cent of all urban areas (those with 2500 or more inhabitants) and 36 per cent of all rural communities were participating in the WPA recreation program during the week of February 12-18, 1939.<sup>14</sup>

From the beginning of the WPA program, the Recreation Division has encouraged pre-entry and in-service training programs for all those engaged in any way in the field. Approximately 25,000 recreation workers employed in the program received some type of training in 1939. This training occupies from two to five hours a week. Two things are being accomplished

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<sup>14</sup> These statistics are condensed from a report of the WPA Division of Statistics on activities of the week of February 12-18, 1939.

through the training conferences, institutes and demonstrations:

(1) Persons with professional possibilities and special aptitudes are being discovered and their skills being improved; (2) unemployed persons assigned to recreation projects who show no special aptitude for a career in recreation work have at least received the type of training which will make them more intelligent consumers of recreation, and lay leaders in improving the quality of leisure-time activities in their own communities. Thirty-five state and five regional conferences have been initiated by the WPA for the purpose of promoting a better understanding of the recreational program. As a result of their training on the project more than 5,000 of the WPA leaders have already found permanent employment in local recreation agencies. In fact one out of six employed on the projects, who have returned to permanent employment, have found positions in recreation.

One of the primary purposes of the WPA recreation projects is to serve as a demonstration program. Through these projects hundreds of communities are learning how to secure for themselves the benefits of public recreation. The aim is to stimulate communities to take over in adequate measure the kinds of services which the Federal project provides.

What it wishes to leave in our American cities, towns and rural areas is not a permanent Federal organization but an example, a guiding spirit--guiding only by virtue of its enlightening force--and a trained personnel of workers.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Works Progress Administration, Government Aid During the Depression to Professional, Technical, and Other Service Workers, 1936, Section IX.

Each recreation project of the WPA operates with the aid and advice of local and state committees. Recreation projects are state-wide. The official sponsor is ordinarily the State Department of Education, the State Department of Public Welfare, or the State University. The materials, equipment, and facilities are contributed by local sponsors so that all but 3 per cent of the Federal funds goes for payment of wages to relief leaders. These local sponsors contribute approximately 25 per cent of the cost of the program.

The program operates in 7,085 communities and in some 15,000 job locations. Sixty-nine per cent of the communities in which the program operates are definitely rural, with populations of 2500 or less. Local programs are co-sponsored by mayors, city councils, county commissioners, departments of recreation, park boards, or school boards.

In each community the program is assisted by an advisory council of agencies and individuals interested in recreation who participate in the planning and operation of the program. They interpret the program to the community and gain support for it from the public. More than 38,000 people in 5500 local recreation councils are engaged in this activity. The types of sponsoring agencies are shown in Table XXIV.

Table XXIV

NUMBER OF AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS ACTING AS LOCAL  
CO-SPONSORS OF WPA RECREATION PROJECTS,  
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

Week of February 12-18, 1939

Type of agency or organization	
Total	<u>10,173</u>
Agencies of government - total	<u>4,939</u>
School boards or commissions	2,353
City, township or borough councils	1,137
City recreation departments	334
County boards of supervisors or commissioners	331
Park boards	254
State, county, or municipal departments, bureaus, boards or commissions not included above	226
Semi-public and private organizations - total	<u>5,155</u>
Lay committees	2,529
Civic clubs	1,313
Churches and church groups	311
Parent teachers associations	224
Social agencies	112
Private companies and corporations	111
Clubs (except civic)	83
YMCA and YWCA	61
Patriotic organizations	53
Educational institutions	22
Lodges and fraternal organizations	21
Other	315
Unspecified	120

It is significant that over half of the sponsoring agencies are semi-public or private groups with no responsibility for organizing such activities. The fact that they would accept such responsibility must indicate their recognition of the great need for such a program in their community.

The Recreation Program was introduced into many small communities

which never before enjoyed the benefits of public recreation service. As shown above, in 86 per cent of the communities in which the program operates, WPA provides the only source of organized public recreation activity. In many cases, the program has met with such local public favor that it is now being carried on by local public agencies established for that purpose and supported by local tax funds. Often the advisory councils of the program have become the nucleus of the public recreation commissions.

In larger communities, where other recreation programs existed previous to the Emergency Program, the relief leaders have supplemented the local program and extended it to new groups, new areas and new activities.

Thus communities formerly unaware of the necessity for a well-planned leisure time program have been given vivid demonstrations by the WPA recreation program. The influence of the program was well illustrated when Decatur, Illinois, established a permanent program in 1936 with WPA help.

The Decatur Community Recreation Association reports:

The victory was especially notable as the same proposition for a special tax under the sponsorship of the Park Board as a levy for playground improvements, was defeated in the spring of 1935, and carried in only two of the city's precincts at that time. It was a victory and a vote of approval for the program which has been carried on for the last ten months under the supervision and aid of the Works Progress Administration.

More than 5,000,000 people per week participate in recreation programs. In the week ending February 18, 1939, when the last survey was made, the public spent almost sixteen million participant hours in the WPA recreation programs. This does not include time spent by employees or by spectators. Table XXV shows the distribution of this time among types of recreation and by age groups.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Works Progress Administration, Community Recreation Programs, February, 1940, p. 27.

Table XXV

NUMBER OF TOTAL PARTICIPANT-HOURS ON WPA RECREATION  
PROJECTS AND THE PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE  
PARTICIPATION OF PERSONS IN DIFFERENT AGE  
GROUPS, BY TYPES OF RECREATION

Week ending February 18, 1939

Type of recreation	Participant-hours	Total	Under 16	16-25	Over 25
Total	15,680,197	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Physical	<u>7,015,733</u>	<u>44.7</u>	<u>45.8</u>	<u>46.6</u>	<u>35.4</u>
Swimming	105,919	00.7			
Snow and ice sports	1,439,373	9.2			
Basketball	1,893,408	12.1			
Ballgames (excl. basketball)	1,353,610	8.6			
Gymnastics	653,332	4.2			
Other	1,538,503	9.8			
Not specified	21,588	0.1			
Social	<u>4,797,566</u>	<u>30.6</u>	<u>27.0</u>	<u>35.8</u>	<u>35.5</u>
Game-room activities	3,030,336	19.3			
Dancing	1,045,175	6.7			
Special events	325,167	2.1			
Other	270,666	1.7			
Not specified	126,172	0.8			
Cultural	<u>3,336,649</u>	<u>21.3</u>	<u>22.5</u>	<u>16.3</u>	<u>27.1</u>
Arts and crafts	1,635,275	10.4			
Drama	491,915	3.2			
Music	798,665	5.1			
Other	410,794	2.6			
Children's play center	334,206	2.1			
Therapeutic	23,414	0.2			
Not specified	172,624	1.1			

Those under sixteen years of age accounted for more than nine and a fourth million of these hours of active participation. While this table gives an adequate picture of the activities of the program in the winter, the distribution of time in the summer season would obviously be quite different. A similar survey was made in August, 1937, and at that time 70 per cent of the hours were spent in physical recreation, only 2 per cent in social activities, and 15 per cent in cultural activities.

The distribution of spectator hours for the week ending February 18, 1939, is shown in the following table.<sup>17</sup>

Table XXVI

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATOR HOURS  
ON WPA RECREATION PROJECTS, BY TYPES OF RECREATION

Week ending February 18, 1939

Type of recreation	Total hours	
	Number	Percent
Total	5,932,099	100.0
Physical	3,900,695	65.8
Social	994,030	16.8
Cultural	970,185	16.3
Children's play center	20,502	0.3
Therapeutic	8,094	0.1
Not specified	38,593	0.7

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 51

Lack of suitable physical facilities has long been one of the difficulties facing our regular recreation programs. With the depression, as indicated earlier, the demands on public facilities increased and the amount of physical equipment became increasingly inadequate. The lack of suitable equipment not only hampers existing programs, but is often a reason for municipal officials hesitating to establish a regular tax supported program.

The WPA has been of great assistance to a large number of communities in expanding and improving their recreational facilities through the large number of construction projects which have been in operation. From the beginning of WPA operations in 1935 through June 30, 1938, approximately 5500 recreational buildings, 1594 playgrounds, 1787 athletic fields, and 1607 parks have been newly constructed. Furthermore, the improvements and additions to the existing facilities have been of equal value in increasing the efficiency of community recreation programs.

Table 25 shows in detail the type of facilities newly constructed or added to and improved since the inauguration of the WPA program. Obviously it has made a notable contribution to the physical equipment of our recreational agencies.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 20.



Table XXVII

NUMBER OF RECREATIONAL BUILDINGS AND OTHER RECREATIONAL  
FACILITIES CONSTRUCTED AND IMPROVED THROUGH  
WPA PROJECT OPERATIONS, BY TYPES OF FACILITIES

Type of facility	New construction	Improvements and additions
Athletic fields	1,787	1,504
Parks	1,607	4,342
Fair grounds	28	125
Playgrounds	1,594	5,010
Swimming pools	471	225
Wading pools	440	60
Golf courses	143	214
Tennis courts	4,582	1,851
Handball courts	728	62
Horseshoe courts	1,142	70
Ice skating rinks	1,037	205
Ski jumps	41	13
Ski trails (miles)	62	32
Outdoor theatres	73	12
Band shells	116	33
Recreation buildings	<u>5,436</u>	<u>3,842</u>
Auditoriums	215	316
Stadiums, grandstands, etc.	974	380
Gymnasiums	497	401
Other (pavilions, bathhouses, etc.)	3,800	2,745

Since its inauguration through June 30, 1939, the WPA has expended a total of \$7,676,253,945. Of this amount \$737,371,455 was spent on the construction of the physical equipment of parks and other recreational facilities. This amounted to 9.6 per cent of the total. The white-collar projects, which included the education, art, and music programs as well as recreation, expended \$985,991,719 or 12.8 per cent of the total. That spent on the recreation projects alone through March of 1939 amounted

to \$129,154,000. The employment on the recreation project has amounted to about 2 per cent. of the total WPA employment.<sup>19</sup>

It is evident that such tremendous sums spent in a field that had previously received rather meager financial support would have an almost revolutionary effect upon the recreation services that could be offered to the public. There is ample evidence to indicate that the WPA recreation projects are fulfilling the purposes for which they were established. They have developed well balanced recreation programs in many new communities as well as extending the facilities and services of many established programs. Training in recreational leadership has been provided for the recreational projects established, and this training has not only increased the efficiency of the various programs, but will act as a force in bringing about a future increase in recreational service. Finally, through acting as demonstration centers, and through getting the active cooperation of the numerous lay advisory councils, a public opinion favorable to community recreation is being established so that the experimental WPA programs are being continued as a permanent local function, and by locally tax supported agencies.

Thus, while recreational needs were secondary among the motives in the establishment of WPA, nevertheless, the recreational values achieved by it have been among the greatest social gains of the New Deal.

Not only through its recreation projects has the WPA made notable contributions to the worthy use of leisure, but through its Arts Projects it has taken American artists out of the "alleys of Bohemia" and as

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<sup>19</sup> The above data are taken from the WPA Report for 1939, p. 31.

Eduard C. Lindeman says:

They are now trudging the highways of America, shaking hands with farmers, workers, technicians, politicians, teachers;-----they are painting American "stuff" on the walls of American buildings, acting plays before audiences who can pay only fifty cents for a theater seat, furnishing music to farmers and workers paid for out of taxation.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, the WPA has taken the arts to the public. Since 1935, well over 150,000 painters, sculptors, designers, musicians, special instructors, and writers have received their salaries from the Federal government.

The basic idea of the arts projects, like that of recreation was to furnish unemployment relief. With the depression theaters closed, concerts were reduced in number, school boards dropped their art courses, and American artists, often on the margin even in good times, suffered severely. The Actor's Equity in an effort to improve the situation for its members offered to stake unemployed actors to their equipment and traveling expense if the government would pay subsistence salaries. In New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, all cities with a large artist population, local work relief units had been operating with state and municipal funds for several years before the entire arts program came under Federal financial provisions with the establishment of the WPA in 1935.

While the basic idea was that of unemployment relief, there was a definite effort to take art into places where little, if any, of it had

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<sup>20</sup> Eduard C. Lindeman; "Farewell to Bohemia," Survey Graphic, April, 1937, p. 207.

gone before. Grace Overmyer says:

Of the four million persons who, within two years, participated in activities of the new federally-sponsored community art centers—more than half live in sections of the West, Middle West, and South, in which art activities had previously been lacking; and the other half mostly in the poorer parts of cities. Of the 25 to 30 million persons who attended 1700 performances by the Federal Theatre between February, 1936—the date of its first play—and the beginning of 1938, fully half were youthful products of the motion-picture era, who had never before seen a performance by actors on a stage. Of the stupendous audience total of ninety-two million to whom, it is estimated, the Federal Music Project, through more than a hundred thousand programs brought "living music" between October, 1935 and January, 1938, there is reason to reckon that at least nine-tenths lacked the means to attend the high-priced performances in opera houses and concert halls with which the upper tenth of American music lovers is splendidly served.<sup>21</sup>

About 65 per cent of the music and theater performances were free.

While the best theater or music program could be seen for twenty-five cents, top prices were higher and in the case of some of the smash hits have been as much as a dollar and ten cents. The theater project took in \$2,000,000 in four years of operation, but during the same time spent \$46,000,000. It had, however, given some 13,000 troupers employment during that period.

By December of 1936, of more than 15,000 musicians on the Federal payroll, over 6000 were in 168 symphony and concert orchestras (these were of high professional competence); 2684 in eighty-five bands; 2085 in 133 dance, theater, and novelty orchestras; 2428 engaged in teaching;

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<sup>21</sup> Grace Overmyer, Government and the Arts, (W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1939), p. 111.

1204 in thirty-five choral groups; 440 in opera projects; 265 in thirty chamber music ensembles; and 217 soloists. It is evident that there was ample talent for giving a great variety of performances. As a sample of the services rendered the public we may note that there were in the month of June, 1938, 4355 music performances with an aggregate audience of over three million. From January to June, 1938, the music classes taught by WPA artists had an average monthly attendance of 530,000.

At the peak of the Art Project (1936) more than 5000 persons were on the projects payroll. The Art Project has not only given a minimum of subsistence to the artist (\$87.60 a month in New York in 1940) but has been a vital force in stimulating popular interest in the arts. Public buildings have been decorated; art exhibits have been sent about the country, and hundreds of free art classes for children and adults have been established. In four years more than 63,000 works have been created by WPA artists, some of them of exceptionally fine quality.

The Federal Theatre from its inception, through June, 1939, when it was killed by Congress, gave 63,600 performances of 1,200 major productions to audiences of 30,300,000, of whom some 65 per cent had never before seen a living actor at work.<sup>22</sup> While it has been very popular with its consumers, its vigorous dealing with social issues, especially by its Living Newspaper unit, aroused the enmity of many conservatives. Some of its presentations were on the propaganda side, as in "Triple A Plowed Under," "Power," and "The Class of '29." The leftist accent aroused the opposition of many

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<sup>22</sup> Data are from Time Magazine, December 23, 1940. For a history of the Federal Theatre see Hallie Flanagan, Arena (Duell, Sloan and Fierce, New York, 1940).

patriotic, religious, and civic organizations, and accusations of Communistic infiltration succeeded in causing Congress to abandon the project when appropriations were made for 1940.

While it is quite clear that the Arts Projects were primarily employment projects, the leisure-time values for the general public accruing from them have been enormous. If consumer demand was not one of the main influences in their establishment, they have nevertheless been well patronized. Artistic experience has been increased, tastes have been developed, and now that the Federal government has for the first time in history assumed some responsibility for bringing the arts to the masses, it is unlikely that the public will consent to a cessation of governmental activity in this field of leisure-time enjoyment.

Cleo E. Wilcox, testing in the field of music the same general hypothesis as is under examination in the present study, came to this conclusion concerning the role of the Federal music project:

To diffuse culture to a nation's consumers unable to purchase it otherwise is a declared purpose of the Federal music project co-equal with that of relief. This we recognize to be the highly significant function of the development, the function of service to the consumer. But may federal music be considered an achievement of the consumer? Only in a qualified sense. The consumers served by relief music were too much unorganized and inarticulate to have any collective consciousness of their common want. The development must be credited to the cultural leadership of a political regime. No matter what the attendant influences or motives, the New Deal contrived to serve the interests of both impotent producers and impotent consumers. Thus the action may be considered a consumer achievement in collectivization only in the sense that the Federal government itself is maintained by, and in the interests

of, a public of consumers. Any services of this nature are nominally responses of an obligatory agency to what are thought to be the needs of all or part of its body of consumers.<sup>23</sup>

The Emergency Education Program. Still another important field of activity, from the standpoint of the increase of collectivized leisure-time facilities, that the Federal government has engaged in through the WPA is the emergency education program. The education program is intimately related to the recreation program, for as Morse A. Cartwright says:

Neither adult education nor recreation should be conceived of as without the other. Education that has not a recreational effect upon the individual fairly may be said to be a waste of time;--quite as true is it that recreation which has no educational value at all fails of its ultimate purpose, that of the refreshment of the individual.<sup>24</sup>

Large numbers of our citizens are spending some of their leisure time in the varied types of education, and the emergency education program of the WPA has been a vital force in this direction. During the past few years, the Federal government has been spending 20 to 25 million dollars a year on educational programs which give work to an average of 36,000 teachers and enable approximately 2,000,000 adults a year to enroll in classes for instruction. The size of the operations of this phase of WPA activity is indicated in the following table which gives the data for March, 1937.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Cleo E. Wilcox, The Role of Collectivism in American Music, Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 1937.

<sup>24</sup> Morse A. Cartwright, Ten Years of Adult Education, Macmillan Co., 1935, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> Biennial Survey of Education, Vol. I, Chap. 4, p. 25, of the advance pages, 1938.

Table XXVIII

## REPORT OF EDUCATION DIVISION, WPA, FOR MARCH, 1937

Type of education	Teachers and other employees	Number of classes	Persons enrolled
Literacy	6,004	22,779	241,048
Workers education	731	3,977	69,436
Public affairs education	392	2,200	40,501
Parent education	701	4,067	66,267
Homemaking education	2,102	9,029	107,141
Vocational education	3,878	15,667	206,297
Education in avocational and leisure-time activity	3,361	35,641	646,770
College level instruction	597	373	15,747
Correspondence instruction	355	736	23,409
Other general adult education	7,477	30,557	394,628
Other assignments	10,325	12,321	157,016
Total	35,923	137,847	1,963,260

All of the states except Nevada had an enrollment of over 2000.

The three states having the largest enrollments were Pennsylvania, New York, and California. The Pennsylvania enrollment was over 500,000.

A great many states operate their own regular adult education program besides the emergency program. California has one of the better developed programs and perhaps the relative significance of the emergency program and the regular program can be judged by a comparison of the two systems in that state. The data are for the year 1935.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 26.



Table XXIX

## EMERGENCY AND REGULAR ADULT EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

	Number of teachers employed		Enrollment	
	Emergency program	Regular program	Emergency program	Regular program
Parent education	57	190	3,226	7,381
Literacy education	227	459	6,863	14,400
Vocational training	405	1,656	10,503	58,981
General adult education	1,168	2,628	43,016	91,733
Total	1,947	4,933	63,608	172,495

Like many other forms of local governmental activity there was a decline in adult education under local auspices under the impact of the depression. As the number of cities offering night and Americanization schools declined in 1934 to almost half what it had been in 1926, the education program of the WPA came in to fill the gap.

Table XXX shows the trend over a ten year period of night and Americanization schools under the regular school program.

Table XXX

NIGHT AND AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS IN CITIES OF 2500 AND MORE POPULATION, 1926-1936<sup>27</sup>

Year	Number of school systems	Enrollment	Number of supervisors, principals, teachers,	Expenditures
1926	992	822,893	22,822	8,966,385
1928	711	993,985	23,604	9,496,170
1930	664	1,038,052	24,071	10,682,349
1932	561	978,471	23,675	8,342,352
1934	382	811,882	16,524	6,469,185
1936	385	783,726	16,563	7,455,054

<sup>27</sup> Biennial Survey of Education, 1934-36, Vol. II, U.S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, p. 21.

The prime motivating factors back of the WPA activity in adult education are well stated in a speech delivered by Harry L. Hopkins at Teachers' College, Columbia University on May 15, 1937, when he stated:

Education was the first work project undertaken when the government started Federal relief back in 1937. Why did this happen? Primarily, I think, because as a nation we have awakened to the fact that unemployment means more than physical want and physical idleness. We saw that many of the unemployed were gradually losing their fitness for work. We were forced to change our traditional conception of relief and public work....The recent depression taught us that the conservation and development of our human resources is even more important.

A far greater number of white-collar and professional workers were unemployed than ever before....Manual labor was not the answer. Common sense told us that it was not only inefficient but wasteful to put an artist to work chopping trees or a teacher digging ditches....We had some experience with a work program for professional groups in New York State....We decided to organize a similar program on a national scale. We did not want to duplicate or supplant the services of the regular school system. We wanted our program to supplement what the public school teachers were doing; to discover what services the schools were not providing. The public school offers educational opportunities to only a part of the many people who need educational services....

Under the WPA program we have tried to make a beginning in the development of a broad program of social education which would meet the needs and interests of adults—a program which would aim to make education fit the needs of our industrial democracy, which would take care of some of the countless numbers of people, who are either too young or too old to be taken care of by our public schools. We do not claim, by any means, to have established an adequate program. Adult education on a public scale as large as this had never been tried in the United States before.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, as in the playground activity of the Federal government, we find the desire to conserve human resources, to maintain the morale of

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<sup>28</sup> Biennial Survey of Education, 1934-36, Vol. I, Chap. 4, p. 23.

the unemployed, to give employment to white-collar workers, to meet a wide but often inarticulate need of the American public, and the presence of a superb leadership among public officials with a broad social viewpoint among the primary motive forces in the establishment of the WPA emergency education program. While a consumer need was an important element of the social situation, its expression by the consumers of the service itself cannot be regarded as the prime motivating forces. These consumers were, however, ready to accept and utilize what was offered. In this, as in many forms of increased social services offered by governmental agencies, there is a latent consumer need that can be translated into a consumer demand by articulate leaders and by a demonstration program.

Although adult education as an organized movement is of recent origin in the United States, there is no intention to imply that it is solely or even mainly the product of the WPA program. The term itself did not come into general use until about 1924 when the Carnegie Corporation called the first conference on adult education. It was scarcely ever used until 1917 when it grew out of the Americanization movement during the World War, which had established classes for non-English speaking residents. However, Americanization seemed inappropriate for the native born who also came to and needed the schools. So the term adult education was adopted from England where it had been common for a half a century.

While the interest of the public school in adult education is relatively recent, the education of adults has long existed in the

United States. Town meetings, political conventions, literary clubs, and fraternal organizations have all served as a medium of civic education. From the days of the early New England Town meetings it has been recognized that democratic institutions are based upon discussion by citizens informed concerning the issues at stake. The Lyceum first organized by Josiah Holbrook in Massachusetts in 1826 to assist in the struggle for free public school education, spread rapidly and became an important agency of adult education. The lyceums served in the following ways: (1) They were associations of citizens interested in promoting and improving public education; (2) they were a means of diffusing scientific knowledge and interesting information to an unschooled adult population; (3) they served as teacher training centers where the many untrained teachers could discuss their professional problems and improve their own knowledge; (4) they were part-time schools for young people without other means of continuing their studies; and (5) the lyceum engaged in political education through the promotion of discussions and debates on public affairs.

At the peak of its movement there were as many as 5000 of the lyceums, but after 1839 the national movement began to decline when its objectives were achieved by the formation of a public school system. The individual lyceums, however, continued to function for many years as agencies engaged in conducting public forums, lectures, and debates. Many notable Americans, including Emerson, Horace Mann, Thoreau, and Garrison, devoted much time to lecturing to meetings of the lyceum all through the East. John Studebaker in speaking of the lyceum says:

The movement represents one of the really great crusades for American democracy. It was carried on in the tradition of the town meetings and the committees of correspondence. And when the American people had come to the place where they understood the importance of education through widespread discussion of it, the opposition which had seemed so formidable was overwhelmed by public opinion.<sup>29</sup>

Still another influential forerunner of the modern adult education movement was the Chautauqua Movement which started about a half century after the inauguration of the lyceums. This began as an attempt to improve the quality of Sunday School teaching by holding institutes, the first of which was held at Chautauqua Lake, New York, in August, 1874. According to John H. Vincent the plan was "to utilize the general demand for summer rest by uniting daily study with healthful recreation and thus render the occasion one of pleasure and instruction combined."<sup>30</sup> While at first the course of study was largely Biblical and religious it rapidly expanded to include broad cultural and civic training. In 1881 Chautauqua organized a correspondence course of study and developed a four-year course in home reading. These readers were encouraged to form discussion groups to talk over their work and participate in debates, lectures or entertainment. Over 10,000 such local circles were formed in the first twenty years. These circles were active in small communities where there were no other cultural or educational agencies for adults, 25 per cent of them being in towns of less than

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<sup>29</sup> Choosing Our Way, A Study of America's Forums, Bulletin 1937, Misc. No. I., Office of Education, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> John H. Vincent, The Chautauqua Movement, 1886, p. 24.

500 population, and 50 per cent in places of 500 to 3500 population.<sup>31</sup> Some twenty years after its inauguration an average of 10,000 to 15,000 new members were enrolling each year in the home reading courses. Thus the Chautauqua Movement was a significant forerunner of the present-day summer school and also of teaching by correspondence.

The original Chautauqua succeeded so well that it soon had many imitators. Altogether between 200 and 300 were organized. Of these traveling imitators, John Studebaker says:

Some served small communities with high purpose and left their imprint on the cultural development of America. Others were but traveling circuses, their appeal based solely on showmanship; their success or failure entirely dependent upon the boredom or lack of it in the communities they visited.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that the traveling Chautauquas were private business engaged in profit seeking placed definite limitations on their usefulness. In recent years they have practically disappeared, as the motion picture, the radio, and the depression combined to destroy their market.

Since the turn of the century numerous public forums have been opened in various cities. At one time the Open Forum National Council had over 200 forums in its membership. Social movements such as women's suffrage or the labor movement contributed to the establishment of such discussion groups, utilizing them as a medium for propagating their viewpoints. The educational associations, women's clubs, service clubs have

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<sup>31</sup> John S. Noffsinger, Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauqua, 1926, p. 109.

<sup>32</sup> Op. cit., p. 7.

all organized and supported forums or other forms of adult education. The World War, however, virtually stopped all this activity. People were too busy for one thing, and were too regimented by the war to tolerate forums, almost all of which disappeared.

However, the desire to Americanize the aliens mentioned above, and the shocking revelation of the War Draft in 1917 that more than one-fourth of the men examined could not read a newspaper or write a letter served to stimulate the movement for leisure to be partly used for education after the war was over. The social setting was ready for the growth of a great movement in adult education supported by public funds. First, of all, there was the tradition of free public schools for all the young and many leaders saw the logic of extending the service to the general population. In 1927 Dr. E. L. Thorndike published his research upon the learning ability of adults showing that those of mature years are capable of learning. "If he fails in learning, inability due directly to age will rarely if ever be the reason."

The growth of adult education previous to the depression was greatly affected by the work of two promotive organizations, the American Association for Adult Education which was formed in March, 1926, and the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association organized in 1924, both organized by the leaders of the Americanization Schools. Morse A. Cartwright, Secretary of the American Association for Adult Education, says that the present American emphasis on adult education is attributable to the social vision of one individual, Frederick F. Keppel, who came to the presidency of the Carnegie Corporation of New York

in 1923.<sup>33</sup> While this may be an extreme statement Mr. Keppel and the foundation he represents have been most influential. Affected by knowledge of British experience in this field, Keppel assembled the first conference on adult education. Financed with Carnegie money, Keppel formed an advisory committee made up of such outstanding leaders as Dean James E. Russell of Teachers College, Everett Dean Martin, Chas. A. Beard, E. C. Lindeman, Wm. Allen White, Dr. Clark Wissler, and many others. This committee guided the movement, called regional and national conferences, all of which led up to the founding of the American Association for Adult Education. In its report of 1933-34, the Association gave its purpose as follows:

We remain a clearing house for information about adult education, a medium for publication, an agency for the sponsorship in rare cases only, a medium for conducting studies, researches, experiments and demonstrations in the methods and techniques of aiding adults to educate themselves. With subject matter offerings we have no direct concern. As a national association, we do not believe in superimposition or in undue interference in community, state or regional educational affairs.<sup>34</sup>

Through its active contact with more than 400 different organizations interested in various phases of adult education it has served as a national clearing house for information and research on the movement. It has sponsored a number of national studies and has published many

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<sup>33</sup> Op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 28.



influential books in the field.<sup>35</sup>

Most vital in the spread of adult education has been the development of local councils, just as in the recreation movement. These councils, now numbering over fifty, seek to promote, organize, serve as a clearing house for adult education, and a few offer programs of their own. Some of these councils are made up entirely of representative organizations, others are composed of interested individuals. The Handbook for Adult Education says, "A council or some similar agency is the only apparent means of giving local direction to rapidly expanding programs of adult education in terms of community needs rather than in terms of organizational interests."<sup>36</sup>

As a result of such promotive organizations discussed above capitalizing upon the cultural drift and the needs of the people, in the ten years from 1924 to 1934 Cartwright estimates that the participants in some form of adult education, practically all of which is leisure time activity, have increased from 14,881,500 to 22,311,000. At an

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<sup>35</sup> Among those the Association has published are: E. L. Thorndike and others, Adult Learning; A. L. Hall-Quest, The University Afield; John S. Noffsinger, Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, and Chautauguas; Nathaniel Peffer, New Schools for Older Students; Wm. S. Gray and Ruth Monroe, The Reading Interests and Habits of Adults; C. S. Marsh, Adult Education in a Community; John D. Willard, A Preliminary Inquiry into Rural Adult Education; Unemployment and Adult Education--A Symposium; Handbook of Adult Education; Morse A. Cartwright, Ten Years of Adult Education in Action.

<sup>36</sup> Handbook for Adult Education, (published by American Association for Adult Education, 1936), pp. 197-207.

estimated cost of ten dollars per person this would represent an expenditure of over \$200,000,000 in 1934.<sup>37</sup> Except for the one million listed in private correspondence schools and the five million listed in radio education this is all organized under some form of collective enterprise.

With the effect of the depression becoming more marked, not only the need for employment opportunities for teachers, and the need for vocational retraining, but the rising awareness of the general public of the need of discussion and study of our social problems operated to give momentum to the adult education movement. The result of this was the creation of the Emergency Education program discussed above and the sponsoring of the Demonstration Forums by the Office of Education. As the American Year Book for 1935 says, "The Federal government may be credited with having made the country adult education conscious."<sup>38</sup> This should not blind one, however, to the large number of other collective agencies making contributions to the movement, among them: libraries, museums, men's and women's clubs, churches and other religious organizations, the public schools, settlements, little theaters, colleges and universities, private correspondence schools, and radio stations.

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<sup>37</sup> Op. cit., p. 61. This rather striking total is increased by his inclusion of six million in agricultural extension and five million in radio education. There is apparently an error in calculation, also, for ten dollars a person would create an expenditure of \$225,110,000, while he says it would amount to two billion dollars.

<sup>38</sup> P. 869.

Workers' Education. As the foregoing discussion indicated, there are several varieties of adult education and perhaps more evidence on the central hypothesis of this study can be produced by concentrating attention more closely on one type on which there has been some intensive research.<sup>39</sup>

Workers' education is a program offering to industrial, office, store, domestic, and agricultural workers an opportunity to train themselves in clear thinking through the study of those questions closely related to their daily lives as workers and citizens. Workers' education is designed to meet the educational needs of wage earners who have had little formal schooling. Its purpose is to stimulate an active and continued interest in the economic and social problems of the times and to develop a sense of responsibility for their solution;...and on the basis of new facts discovered, to assume definite responsibilities leading to various forms of social action.<sup>40</sup>

This movement, as in the case of the playground movement, has developed out of situational factors that were conducive to its growth. Certain developments in the cultural setting laid the basis for the specific promotive forces we are seeking to trace. There was a rising labor movement; there was an increased need for workers to develop the skills of public speaking, to know parliamentary law, to have a knowledge of economics and the philosophy of the labor movement. Particularly the

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<sup>39</sup> The data for the discussion of Workers' Education have been obtained to a large extent from a study by Miss Ethel C. Clark, Motivating Factors in the Development of the Workers' Education Movement in the United States, Master's Thesis, the University of Kansas, 1939.

<sup>40</sup> Hilda W. Smith, "Workers' Education as Determining Social Control," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1935.

New Deal through its National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act aroused labor to the necessity of seeking information concerning the privileges and responsibilities created for it by this recent social legislation. There was a background of dissatisfaction with the public school discussion of social and economic conditions, ranging from the criticism on the far left that the schools had a bias against labor to the criticism of the more moderate liberals that public school education was merely education for a static social order. Furthermore, there were many for whom the problems of the depression had been extremely difficult and who were stimulated to engage in workers' education as perhaps offering a way out. The depression focussed attention upon the desirability of workers understanding the basic factors underlying our social and economic problems.

As early as 1899 the needle trades workers organized a workers' school in which courses in economics, political science, socialism, and allied subjects were given. During the first ten years of this century the unions grew rapidly and many made attempts to organize educational work of their own. Educational committees were appointed, lectures, discussions, and classes were sponsored by many of the larger locals. In 1916 the International Ladies Garment Workers Union started its scheme of workers' education and organized the Workers' University in New York. About the same time Socialists and independent intellectuals were organizing schools in various places.

The rising interest in workers' education, especially the reports of the experiments in the garment trades, led the American Federation of

Labor to appoint a committee to study the movement and bring in recommendations. In the 1919 convention of the AF of L, a report was presented on the movement and a recommendation was adopted that central labor bodies should demand workers' education opportunities from the public schools and, failing in that, the central labor committee should organize classes for which there was a demand under their own auspices. Following this 1919 convention there was a continued development of the movement, especially in the organization of labor colleges. A survey made in 1920 showed twenty-six enterprises, twenty-two of which were under control of labor unions.

In 1921 the Workers' Education Bureau of America was established by a group composed of members of trade unions and of teachers for the purpose of serving as a clearing house for information and to serve in an advisory capacity in the development of workers' education. This Bureau has exercised a great deal of influence in guiding the growth of the movement, in directing its aim, in developing better methods of instruction, in providing instructional materials and literature, and in stimulating the morale of workers in their educational activity.

Since its establishment the Bureau has been in active cooperation with the American Federation of Labor and has received much financial support from it. However, it has also received grants from the General Educational Board (Rockefeller) and the Carnegie Corporation. In 1935 both foundations made grants to be used by the Bureau in aiding the Emergency Educational Program.

The Director says:

In a general way, we have moved from a position where outsiders contributed the vast majority of our budget and the unions a small amount to a position where today the unions contribute more than 91 per cent of our funds and we receive the balance from a limited number of friends of labor.<sup>41</sup>

The Bureau today is a cooperative educational agency supported by the affiliated American Federation of Labor and 692 National and International Unions, state federations of labor, central bodies, local unions, and workers' educational enterprises. The Bureau is directed by an Executive Committee upon which the American Federation of Labor has a majority control.<sup>42</sup>

The Bureau's Executive Director, Spencer Miller, Jr., in discussing its origin says:

The Bureau was not the creation of one man or of a set of persons; it is rather the evolution of an idea which has been taking shape for a longer period. In very truth it is the consummation of a long felt desire on the part of working people to have some center to which they could repair for both information and guidance on the difficult problem of carrying on a program of education under their own direction, to help them understand their own problems of life and work.<sup>43</sup>

The only other national promotive organization is the Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., an independent workers' education organization. It functions in relation to the labor movement but is not controlled by

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<sup>41</sup> Quoted by Clark, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>43</sup> Miller, Spencer, Jr., "Our Fifteenth Anniversary", Quarterly Journal of Workers Education, Oct., 1936, p. 2. Quoted by Clark, op. cit., p. 44.

any official labor group. Its principal contribution has been developing sound educational techniques, supplying literature and information adapted to workers' needs, and maintaining a center through which the experience of the various projects could be shared.

The most recent impetus to the Workers' Education Movement was its authorization as part of the Emergency Relief Program. As indicated above, its primary motivation was to furnish employment for teachers who needed work, but as Miss Clark says:

Indirectly, it too, came into being because of a need for it, expressed by pioneers in the Workers Education Movement who knew its importance. It probably would not have been included in the program had it not been for the persistence of those leaders in the Movement who saw and seized the opportunity for its extension. (Notably, Hilda Worthington Smith, a pioneer in the movement, Director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, and appointed in 1933 as Nationalist Specialist in Workers' Education for the government program). The fact that thousands have responded to it, would indicate that there was a need on the part of workers, even though it was articulated for them by a leader.<sup>44</sup>

Under WPA auspices programs have been conducted in 36 states with continuous programs in 17 states. As shown in Table XXVIII in March of 1937 there were nearly 4,000 classes serving 69,436 students and employing 731 teachers under their Emergency Education Program.

The enrollment in workers' education classes carried on by the WPA has declined since the peak was reached in early 1937. This is due chiefly to the decrease in the number of teachers employed because of the cutting of appropriations. However, the project still runs on a less extensive scale and continues to conduct classes, train leaders and hold institutes.

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<sup>44</sup> Clark, op. cit., p. 129.

It is difficult to make any accurate statement concerning the total number of students engaged in workers' education, owing to the informal procedures in many classes where attendance and enrollment are not rigidly checked. In 1936 Hilda Smith estimated that 150,000 workers were enrolled,<sup>45</sup> and Dorothy Rowden estimated well over 100,000 for 1939.<sup>46</sup> It is thought that continued strife between the CIO and the AF of L as well as the reduction of the emergency program has curtailed the movement to some extent.

The fact that only 150,000 out of some seven million organized workers in the United States engaged in workers' education might argue that there is little interest among the potential consumers of such education. On the other hand twenty years ago there were only 9,000 workers participating in the movement and this increase in number may well represent an increase of interest by workers in this form of leisure-time activity. The National Specialist in Workers Education, Miss Hilda W. Smith, has indicated an active consumer interest in the movement. She says:

This office is overwhelmed by the interest of organized labor in WPA classes, by the flood of resolutions from state federations and local unions, by their reiterated and urgent requests for teachers. Unorganized workers, also through various community channels, are expressing the same need for instruction....From large urban centers and from small villages come the urgent requests for teachers. Many letters are neatly typed, confirming a personal request from some union official who has come to the Washington office to present the needs of his own membership; others, from some

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<sup>45</sup> Social Work Year Book, 1937.

<sup>46</sup> Social Work Year Book, 1939.



share-cropper or factory worker, are written in pencil, almost illegible scrawls, every other word misspelled. But all these letters, official requests representing thousands of organized workers or a personal plea from some isolated farm laborer, are alike in their earnestness of desire, this conviction that somehow, there must be a chance for education, and their strong appeal to send teachers 'right away'.<sup>47</sup>

Miss Clark adds that "attendance by thousands at institutes and weekend conferences and training courses would seem to furnish the same implication."<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, the difficulty of drumming up trade for some WPA workers' classes; the attempts on the part of leaders to entice students by offering refreshments or popular entertainment as bait; the difficulties in financing and the stragglng attendance all give grounds for questioning a strong consumers' demand as the motivating force of the movement. Certainly it is clear that the initiative is taken by a relatively small percentage of workers and if the movement continues to grow it will be by the interest this group arouses in others, both by example and publicity.

There is often a great lag between consumer need for a service and consumer demand for it. The degree of demand that is necessary for a need to be translated into an active pressure is difficult to measure. It is certain that in workers' education, as in the play movement, certain intellectuals have played an active role as leaders in transforming a

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<sup>47</sup> Quoted by Clark, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

passive need into a more active pressure group. Some of the outstanding institutions of the movement have had their beginnings in the promotive efforts of writers, professors, ministers and social workers.<sup>49</sup> Miss

Clark says:

"Those leaders were not actually creators (of the Movement); they were rather centers through which forces could be focussed....The extent of the contribution of these leaders is quite impossible to measure, for needs may be many and important, but they remain unanswered until they have been discovered and analyzed. Then only is there an awareness of their existence which demands satisfaction."<sup>50</sup>

Thus these leaders have been very significant in the rise of the movement, but their effort has been not in a selfish attempt to gain occupational advancement for themselves, but rather have they acted as representatives of a non-articulate consuming group and an incipient public. Miss Clark feels from her study of worker leaders in the movement that there has been a false distinction between so-called leaders and the rank and file of the movement. She says:

"Teachers and other leaders in the Movement are unanimous in proclaiming that they have received as much of the product as they have given. Might not this particular enterprise be an example of a quite completely cooperative undertaking in which all are

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<sup>49</sup> Miss Clark mentions Charles E. Beard, Abraham Epstein and Hilda Smith as active promoters. Among those who appealed for funds in an open letter for Brookwood Labor College, thus showing their interest in the promotion of the Movement were: John Dewey, Paul Douglas, George Counts, William H. Kilpatrick, John R. Commons, Harry A. Overstreet, William M. Leiserson, Robert Morss Lovett, E. A. Ross, E. C. Lindeman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bruce Bliven, Stuart Chase, George Soule, Sinclair Lewis, Freda Kirchway, Harry Laidler.

<sup>50</sup> Op. cit., p. 255.

"consumers" of the services of the Movement which they have created together to furnish these services."<sup>51</sup>

Thus leaders of the movement are also consumers of the product.

Still another promotive force of significance in the growth of the Workers' Education Movement was the example of foreign developments. It is far easier to borrow culture than it is to invent it, and there is as much evidence of borrowing in this movement as there was in the Play Movement. Much of the work of the Workers' Education Bureau was patterned on the English Movement; the California plan was inspired by a similar English development; many of the Affiliated Schools in the United States were organized because of the success of a few pioneer attempts made by earlier schools. Horace Kallen in describing the rise of the movement says:

"The boom in labor education was drummed up during the post war hysteria about Americanization; in large part it was a precipitation of the same wartime emotion and was directed to the same goal. The patterns and ideals which shaped and uttered it were mostly of British origin.... In its beginnings, the Movement certainly had all the earmarks of a fashion.

However it takes more than prestige to make a fashion go across. Fashions spread only as they give release and expression to the felt tensions and needs of the people. Thus, the imitative factor does not really start a movement but only suggests channels through which felt needs can be expressed.

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<sup>51</sup> Op. cit., p. 260.

<sup>52</sup> Kallen, Horace, M., Education, The Machine and the Worker, (New Republic, Inc., New York, 1925), p. VII.

After reviewing the evidence in detail concerning the growth of Workers' Education, Miss Clark comes to this conclusion concerning the motive force involved:

If the hypothesis requires the existence of a highly organized consumer pressure group, it might not be so easily supported by the facts of this study, as it has been demonstrated that there is a considerable amount of promotive effort necessary among the unawakened would-be consumers. However since much of this promotive effort is put forth within the group, such promoters might well be considered the nucleus of a pressure group....Many cases throughout the study seem to indicate that although the Movement has been both inspired and encouraged by leaders, their contributions to its development have rested squarely on the needs of the participants, in which, indeed, most of them are themselves included.<sup>53</sup>

The United States Office of Education and Public Forums. One phase of adult education that has grown spectacularly in recent years is the public forum movement. The background of this movement is essentially the same as that traced for adult education in general, having its roots in the town meeting, the lyceum and the Chautauqua. As suggested in the previous discussion, the rise of social reform movements such as women's suffrage or the labor movement gave a stimulus to public discussion through the efforts of minority groups to popularize their viewpoints. Other groups with no particular reform to propagate, such as women's clubs, men's service clubs, church groups and youth's service organizations likewise have organized and promoted forums for free public discussion. The depression especially has caused virtually a renaissance in public discussion. In times of stress and difficulty it has been

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<sup>53</sup> Op. cit., p. 261-262.

American tradition to seek public discussion concerning methods of alleviating the difficulty. A survey recently made by the Office of Education found that of a sample of 431 forums conducted under various auspices 58 per cent were established since 1933. Seventeen per cent were started between 1929-1932 and only 25 per cent before 1929. Especially significant is the fact that the forums sponsored by public agencies, the schools in particular, have been organized mostly since 1929.<sup>54</sup> John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, says that in 1937 he received 10,000 inquiries on how to establish a forum where five years previously the Office of Education would have similar requests not to exceed 200 a year.

The list of sponsors of public forums is long and varied and it is difficult to classify some sponsoring bodies. However, the Office of Education Survey showed the following variety of sponsorships in

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<sup>54</sup> U. S. Office of Education, Choosing Our Way, 1937, p. 17. This survey is the most comprehensive of any yet made of the forum movement. With the aid of Congressmen, superintendents of schools and adult education leaders, more than 1500 organizations were listed for study. However, it was discovered that many of these discussion groups didn't consider themselves as forums, others found the questionnaire used in the study unsuited to their program, still others neglected to answer, but data were collected in usable form from 431 forums. Therefore, while this survey is not a complete study of American forums, it may be considered an adequate sample.

its survey of 431 forums:

Religious organizations.....	118
Civic or educational organizations....	109
Citizens' committees.....	75
Public education.....	53
Individual directors.....	22
Universities.....	28
Political groups.....	7
Libraries.....	7
Miscellaneous.....	12

While these forums were scattered through 42 states, very few were found in rural communities. The forum is primarily an urban phenomenon, found in its best developed forms in the largest urban centers.

From the reports of 280 forums on their methods of finance, it is evident that almost 50 per cent of the total income reported came from admission charges. A few forums have been financed with grants from foundations, but this is limited, for the most part, to those forums experimenting in new methods or new areas. The public funds spent by the reporting forums were exceedingly small. The following table shows the source of income for the 280 reporting forums.<sup>55</sup>

Table XXXI

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR 208 FORUMS

Season fees.....	\$189,355
Individual admissions.....	53,325
Collections.....	26,954
Foundations grants, private donations.....	85,075
Public funds.....	12,029
Balance from previous year.....	20,883
Miscellaneous.....	<u>38,768</u>
Total.....	\$435,389

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

The most significant promotive force in the rapid growth of the forum movement since the depression has been the activity of the United States Office of Education under the direction of John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education. While Superintendent of the Des Moines Public Schools, Mr. Studebaker had operated a community-wide system of public forums for three years. The Des Moines forums had been sponsored by the American Association for Adult Education as a demonstration project. When Mr. Studebaker became Commissioner of Education in 1934, he sought to stimulate the growth of public forums all over the United States by establishing demonstration centers in all parts of the country.

The activity of the Office of Education in this connection began late in 1935 with an allocation of funds from the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation. The first allocation of funds, \$330,000, was used to establish ten demonstration programs in ten different states under local management, with unemployed teachers, librarians and clerical people on relief receiving the work opportunities. In the three years from 1936 to 1939, federal funds were used to set up demonstration forums in 580 communities in 38 states. More than 14,000 meetings were held and more than 1,700,000 persons attended the various forums held in the demonstration centers.

The purpose of these forums was not to show how a Federal agency could operate a discussion program in local communities but rather it was to demonstrate to the local community practical ways by which the local agencies, through the help of the Office of Education, could develop and carry on their own plan for local forums. Consequently the success

of the experiment can be judged only as time elapses and it is seen whether the local projects are continued under local support and management.

In the demonstration centers administrative responsibility was definitely placed on the local agencies of public education, but every effort was made to arouse lay support and to generate interest among the citizens of the community. Citizens' advisory committees were organized to represent the various local organizations that would be interested in such a program. These groups were encouraged to take an active part in the planning of the forums and in arousing interest in them. These promotional committees appeared at meetings of various organizations and clubs and made brief announcements of the forum program; they established contacts with leaders of various community groups and through them sought to encourage interest in the experiment; and they "drummed up" trade for the forums by calling persons on the telephone and informing them of the meetings.

The literature used by the Office of Education in their efforts at organizing the various demonstration centers indicates very clearly the emphasis that they place on promotive activity and the necessity of stressing publicity about the forums if they are to be successful.<sup>56</sup> This emphasis on promotion suggests that the forums have not been established as the result of any large amount of articulate demand. Rather, the main purpose of the demonstration center is to encourage and develop

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<sup>56</sup> U. S. Office of Education, Forum Planning Handbook, 1939, U. S. Office of Education, Choosing Our Way, 1937, Chap. V., "Promotion—Making Forums Take Root in Communities."



this demand so that a local project will be continued after Federal aid is withdrawn. John W. Studebaker describes the role of promotion thus:

"You cannot choose something which has never come to your attention. You aren't likely to choose something unless it has made an effective appeal for your time. The alternative choices people may make in deciding how to spend their leisure are numerous. Many of these alternatives are effectively brought to their notice. Therefore, next in importance in planning an interesting forum program is an adequate plan of promotion."<sup>57</sup>

Studies made of the types of attendants at the demonstration forums indicate that the poorly educated and the unskilled or semi-skilled do not contribute any active demand for such public discussion. The attendance, at least in the demonstration centers, has been predominantly of those in the upper educational and occupational levels. One survey reported in Choosing Our Way<sup>58</sup> shows the following level of educational attainment of forum goers as compared to the general adult population:

	Forum goers	Adult population
Grade school	20 per cent	62 per cent
High school	40 per cent	26 per cent
College or post graduate	40 per cent	7 per cent
Illiterate		5 per cent

In a study of the occupational grouping of forum audiences of Minneapolis the following results were found:

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> P. 71.

Housewives	35 per cent
Professional and proprietary	22 " "
Students	15 " "
Clerical	12 " "
Skilled workers	9 " "
Semi-skilled workers	4 " "
Unskilled workers	2 " "

Occupational studies in other cities have revealed a similar composition of forum audiences.

The survey of the recent development of public forums in the United States would seem not to validate the basic hypothesis of this study, namely that the demand due to consumer and/or public interest was the predominating motivating force. Much of the development that has occurred has been promotional in character with its chief aim that of eventually developing such a consumer demand. At the present writing, the main factors in the development of the movement seem to be (1) a favorable cultural setting and a tradition for such activity; (2) excellent leadership in the Commissioner of Education and local school administrators; (3) the process of cultural diffusion with the example of Des Moines and the other demonstration centers spreading to other cities; (4) the promotional activity of the Federal government, motivated partly by desire to maintain morale in face of crisis, and to give work opportunities to the unemployed as well as to encourage the development of local forums by setting up demonstration centers; (5) the assistance of financial grants from various foundations; and (6) the activity of promotive organizations like the American Association of Adult Education. Of course there was some consumer demand as indicated in the letters of inquiry and requests addressed to the Office of Education and as indicated

by the attendance figures. While the leadership has largely been that of the professional educators that should not be interpreted as disproving the negative assumptions of the study, namely that "the pressure of wage earners or other producers as such, has usually been a secondary, if not negligible, factor in the development of collective enterprises." The role of the professional educator seems to have been to articulate and formulate unexpressed needs of the consumers of this form of adult education rather than to improve their own employment opportunities. In almost every case leadership came from professional educators for whom the forums meant only added responsibilities with little or no possibility of financial gain. Their activity therefore should be interpreted in terms of representing and expressing public and consumer interests rather than being attempts at professional or occupational advancement.

#### The Recreational Activities of Other Federal Agencies

National Youth Administration. The activities of the NYA in providing opportunity for leisure-time activity have been quite similar to those of the WPA described above. The main purposes have been to maintain the morale of unemployed and out of school youth through providing recreation facilities and programs and at the same time to give youth employment opportunities both in playground and recreation work and in the building of facilities. In May 1940 out of a total NYA employment of 279,664 there were 6,589 playground and recreational workers. At the present time (August 1940) the NYA is carrying on musical activities of various kinds in 22 states. These include 14 symphony orchestras in 12 states, choral

groups of Negro youth in 20 states, 25 swing bands, and 35 brass bands. More than 2500 youths are employed in arts and crafts, music, drama and writing projects.

Projects for the construction and improvement of recreational facilities employed 19,000 youth who built or improved athletic fields and playgrounds, grandstands, bleachers, tennis courts, swimming pools and other facilities for public use.

The value of our national, state and municipal parks is being steadily increased by the work of NYA youth. In 1939 they planted 1,838,244 trees and built 1,474 nurseries to provide plant and tree stock for future reforestation. Recreational facilities for these parks are also being provided through the efforts of NYA youth who, in 1939, constructed 1,549 outdoor fireplaces, council rings, and permanent tent floors and constructed and repaired 146,802 units of recreational and playground equipment and 217 miles of bridle paths, bicycle paths and hiking trails.

The United States Housing Authority. The public housing program of the United States Housing Authority has attempted more than the mere construction of dwelling units. It has sought to make its projects demonstration areas where the benefits of proper site planning, and the provision of recreational areas and facilities as an integral part of a housing project could be exhibited and thereby call attention to the recreational aspects of properly planned housing. Therefore the projects planned by the USHA have made adequate provisions for play areas for children and large open areas for the activities of youth and adults.

Playgrounds, tennis courts, wading and spray pools, horseshoe and shuffleboard courts, game rooms, and community center rooms have been incorporated in the plans for the projects. The projects have emphasized the idea that housing is primarily an aspect of city and neighborhood planning and that projects should be located with reference to the recreational facilities of the city as a whole.

After the projects have been completed and dwelling units occupied, the housing authorities have assisted in developing tenant organizations for recreational purposes. Soft-ball leagues, dramatic groups, social groups, discussion clubs, craft and hobby groups have all been organized among the tenants of the various housing projects. The recreational activities in the housing projects have been an important instrument in building in an urban setting the fundamental attitudes of community spirit and neighborhood organization so frequently absent in the city. Especially has this been a significant outcome of the discussion clubs and the study groups organized in the community rooms of the projects, and vital public opinion concerning the problems of the neighborhood has been generated by means of such leisure-time activities.

The Farm Security Administration. This agency through the administration and planning of its resettlement projects is affecting the development of collective leisure-time facilities in a manner similar to that of the housing authorities. Under the Resettlement Administration, predecessor of the Farm Security Administration, the United States Government built three new communities, known as Greenbelt Towns. They were Greenbelt in Maryland near Washington, D.C.; Greenhills near Cincinnati;

and Greendale near Milwaukee. There were four dominant purposes in these projects:

1. To demonstrate a new kind of community planning.
2. To show the possibility of maintaining community life in an urban community.
3. To provide good housing at reasonable rents for moderate income families.
4. To give jobs to thousands of unemployed workers.

These towns were completely planned in every detail before construction started to provide the greatest possible efficiency and livability. The location of schools, parks, recreational areas and adequate space for them were essential elements of the plan. Each of the towns is surrounded by a protecting "green belt" of parks, farms, and forest, to keep undesirable developments from crowding into the community and the town's own plan will prevent such growths within the village limits.

In the center of each block at Greenhills are playgrounds for small children. In the area bordering the village are six baseball diamonds used extensively by a Softball League in which over 300 male residents take part. Also in a convenient location are a swimming pool, running track, and football field; tennis courts are being constructed by the residents themselves. Over 900 acres were given by Greenhills to the Hamilton County Park Board for development of an extensive park including picnic areas and an eighteen hole golf course.

Greenbelt has an artificially created lake of 25 acres available for boating, and a completely equipped swimming pool. There is also a large recreation center with baseball fields, tennis courts, playgrounds,

and picnic areas. Trails and camp sites are located in the surrounding woods. All of these recreational facilities are available not only to Greenbelt tenants but also to the residents of adjoining communities.

With the exception of the lake and swimming pool, Greendale has similar facilities.

Meeting rooms, recreational rooms, and libraries are located in the community center provided in each town. Most of the 2258 families now living in the Greenbelt towns came from urban areas where they had little opportunity to engage in community life, but in these new projects such opportunities are almost unlimited. Greenbelt citizens run their own stores, debate their own problems in town meeting, form clubs and organizations that fulfill the social and educational needs they feel, and partake actively in all sorts of recreational activities. Each community has a Citizens' Association through which the members utilize part of their leisure time in promoting better community and civic life through discussing their civic problems, serving as a sort of planning and guiding body for community affairs and occasionally sponsoring certain activities such as adult education programs. Each of the communities has formed its own hobby clubs, Parent-Teacher Association, dramatic societies, glee clubs, mothers clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts and similar organizations. In short, the Greenbelt towns are seeking to develop a type of community life and leisure-time usage that will demonstrate to the American people what the opportunities for genuine community life are in an urban community under intelligent planning and sponsorship. As demonstration centers, the Greenbelt towns may greatly affect the development of leisure-time

activities in many urban communities, especially in the new suburban areas arising in the outskirts of most of our large cities.

The United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service.

The work of county agents, home demonstration leaders, 4-H club leaders and Farm Bureau leaders has been of great significance in enriching the recreational life of rural communities. Fifteen states are receiving the services of full time recreational specialists; seven states have a community organization specialist who puts some time on recreation work; twelve states have rural sociologists who are interested in recreation and in some cases do considerable work in the field.

The following data indicate the activity of the Extension service for 1938:<sup>59</sup>

Communities assisted in making social or country life surveys or in scoring themselves or their community organizations.....	6,785
Country-life conferences or training meetings conducted for community leaders.....	5,769
Community groups assisted with organizational problems, programs of activities, etc.....	28,012
Communities developing recreation according to recommendations.....	18,953
Community or county-wide pageants or plays presented.....	9,563
Community houses, clubhouses, permanent camps, etc. established for	
Adults.....	901
Juniors.....	511
Communities assisted in providing library facilities.....	5,328

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<sup>59</sup> Extension Service Circular, 309, May 5, 1939.



4-H Clubs engaging in community activities such as improving school grounds, conducting local fairs, etc.....17,191

The work of the Extension Service has largely been that of guiding and assisting local people in the carrying out of projects formulated by the local community. Rural Life Conferences and meetings on Community Scoring have helped develop an appreciation of the role of recreation in rural community life. Through such meetings local leaders have been made conscious of the opportunities as well as the deficiencies of their own local communities in regard to recreation. Demonstration meetings have been held showing how dramatics, social recreation and the development of rural arts and crafts could enrich rural life. Thirty-three states have reported assistance in musical activity by the Extension Service. Community choirs, county choruses, and song festivals have been organized. Song leaders have been trained for the local Farm Bureau groups.

Community clubs, picnics, box-suppers, ice-cream socials, flower clubs, and discussion groups concerned with agricultural problems have all been organized with the advice and assistance of Extension Service leaders. Community rodeos, sports events, baseball leagues, basketball tournaments, softball leagues, especially for the 4-H Clubs, but occasionally for adult groups as well, have all helped enrich rural recreational life. Through the 4-H Club and the Farm Bureau parks and playgrounds have been developed, log cabins, community houses and various kinds of play equipment have been constructed. Parent education discussion groups have been organized by the

extension agents and through these groups children's reading has been guided, backyard playgrounds have been established and parents have been taught how to construct economically children's toys and play equipment.

Thus it is evident that the work of the Extension Service has been very significant in improving the quality of rural recreational life.

Miss Ella Gardner, Recreation Specialist of the Extension Service, summarizes her work as follows:

"(Our) programs include the training of volunteer leaders in recreational activities; the preparation of materials to be used by those leaders; organization meetings in which programs for the year are mapped out; consultation service through which recreation projects are developed; the preparation of materials and programs for special occasions such as junior and adult camps, short courses, and state-wide conferences.

"The work was established in the Extension Service because both the 4-H Club and adult groups demanded help in recreation. It began with music, especially community singing, and games, particularly those that fitted well into a club program. The progress during the past ten years has been rapid and very broad."<sup>60</sup>

Other Agencies of the Federal government rendering some service in the field of leisure-time activity are the Bureau of Indian Affairs which employs more than 2,000 teachers who instruct children and adults in the Indian community in physical education, native arts and crafts, music, folk dancing, and pageants.

The Bureau of Biological Survey promotes the preservation of wild-life and game for recreational use and publishes information for sportsmen, naturalists, and students. It also provides supervision and administration--but not recreational leadership--for public recreational areas with facilities for picnicking and day camping, and for bird

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<sup>60</sup> Personal letter to the writer, May 20, 1940.

sanctuaries, wherever practicable.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has published a bulletin on "Health and Recreation Activities in Industrial Establishments." With the National Recreation Association it has made several studies on Park Recreation Areas in the United States.

The Child Welfare Division of the Department of Labor administers that portion of the Social Security Act which provides for aid in "developing state services for the encouragement and assistance of adequate methods of community child-welfare organization in areas predominantly rural and other areas of special need." It has stimulated interest in the development of recreational activities for underprivileged children in rural and urban demonstration areas in cooperation with local coordinating councils which, it is hoped, will permanently administer the activities.

The Bureau of Fisheries preserves and propagates game fish for recreational purposes and issues publications for sportsmen. It provides administration and supervision--but not recreational leadership--in recreational areas for picnicking and day-camping at all ninety hatcheries.

The National Resources Committee has established a Subcommittee on Recreation and is relating recreational needs to the development of regional plans. It is responsible for the coordination of the recreational-areas programs being made by the National Park Service.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has constructed at the dam-sites in the Valley recreational facilities which are to be operated by the local communities. It has cooperated with the State and National Park

Service in the construction of park areas to serve the Valley. Most significant, it has made a comprehensive survey of the recreational facilities in the Valley and is seeking to include the recreational needs and resources of the people in the social and economic plans being made for the region.

The Relation of Federal, State and Local Activity. The foregoing discussion has described the extraordinary growth in both variety and volume of Federal activities in the general field of leisure-time activity during the past seven years. As indicated, much of this growth has been incidental to other purposes than that of promoting recreation; much of it has been hastily planned and often there has been lack of coordination between Federal departments as well as lack of integration of activities of local, state and national agencies. Therefore, the future development of collective recreation programs depends upon the wise consideration of how to integrate and consolidate what has been done, as well as working out plans for closer cooperation of the various agencies in the future.

The Technical Committee on Recreation of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities is already at work seeking to provide for closer cooperation among the Federal departments. It has suggested the creation of a permanent bureau of recreation to be attached to the public welfare agencies in operation under the Federal Security Agency. As Professor V. O. Key, Jr. says, workers in recreation, confronted with the extensive additions to the nation's recreational plant under the emergency expenditures of recent years, are faced with a number of basic problems which must be considered in planning the future of

recreation.

"How can the best of the hastily erected structure of recreation functions be permanently maintained and operated? How can it be fitted into the continuing program of governmental functions? What is to be the role of the Federal government in recreation? Shall the Federal Government gradually withdraw its assistance to state and local governments? If not, what shall be the form and machinery of a permanent program of Federal aid to recreation?"<sup>61</sup>

Each of these questions needs careful consideration and well thought-out answers if the great gains in the recreation movement of the past few years are to be maintained in the future. Mr. Weaver W. Pangburn, field representative of the National Recreation Association, writing in the Municipal Yearbook for 1940 reports that local authorities have been hesitant in taking over activities that demanded an increased expenditure where the expense had previously been met by the Federal government.<sup>62</sup> "The question is," says Mr. Pangburn, "as Federal subsidies dry up, can the present expanded plant and program be operated with a shrunken "regular" personnel? Will public demand be strong enough to increase local appropriations sufficiently to make up the threatened shrinkage in programs?"<sup>63</sup>

While a definite answer to such a question is not at present possible, it is probable that many of the activities recently initiated

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<sup>61</sup> 1938 Year Book Park and Recreation Progress, "Federal Grants-in-Aid for Recreation," pp. 11-17.

<sup>62</sup> Municipal Year Book 1940, p. 483. (Published by International City Managers' Association, Chicago).

<sup>63</sup> W. W. Pangburn, "Recreation to the Fore in American Cities," National Municipal Review, Sept. 1938, p. 448.

will be dropped if some method of continuous Federal aid is not adopted. In a great many cities and states, even if there were an active demand for local increases in appropriations to meet the shrinkage of Federal funds, there are simply no new sources of revenue available to the municipality because of our present allocation of tax sources to the state or Federal governments. The method of grants-in-aid has been suggested as a means whereby the Federal government may continue its promotive activity in the field of recreation on a permanent basis. There is ample precedent for such a plan in the schemes that have long been successful in highway construction and in the Agricultural Extension Service. As a matter of fact such grants have already been used indirectly to promote recreational activity, as shown above in the discussion of the Agricultural Extension Service. Likewise the grants to the States for child-welfare services have resulted in the development of recreational programs for rural children and the grants to the States for forest-fire protection have stimulated the use of state forest lands for recreational purposes. The use of CCC camps on state park developments has in effect constituted a grant-in-aid although the Federal contribution was made in the service of the Corps rather than in a cash payment. Furthermore the present practice of the Federal government in subsidizing some functions by grants-in-aid puts tremendous pressure on state governments to raise money to match funds for such purposes. This makes it more difficult for other state functions unassisted by the Federal government to get state appropriations for these functions. Thus the fact that the Federal government is already helping support some activities in this way may be

used as an argument that it should assist other desirable functions of state and local government in the same way.

While theoretically the use of grants-in-aid is assumed by students of government to be a means for stimulating action by state and local government (as has been one of the fundamental purposes of the entire recreational activity of the Federal government) practically such grants are rarely discontinued and frequently become a permanent means of support. However, a decision to permanently support local recreational programs by lump-sum cash payments made by the Federal government to a specified state administered program under definitely stated Federal conditions raises far more problems than it solves.<sup>64</sup>

The question of what national agency should be in charge of the grants is a vital one for by its methods of administration it can project its policy over wide areas and into the future. Certainly it should be an agency whose personnel has a wide vision of the function of public recreation. What types of recreational activity should be assisted would be another vital issue. Should a broad field of activity be encouraged or should the grants be limited to some specific sphere such as the development of children's centers? If a wide variety of activities are fostered would one Federal agency be competent to administer the grants? How would it get along with other established agencies with an interest in the same field, for example the National Forest Service? Or should a

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<sup>64</sup> Most of the problems discussed in the following paragraphs were suggested by V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., pp. 15, 16.

number of Federal agencies administer the grants-in-aid? What would this mean in terms of a unified recreation policy? Should Federal funds be allocated for capital outlay only as is the case in many of the existing examples of grants-in-aid, or should they also be used for operation and maintenance? If complete responsibility for operation and maintenance were placed on state and local governments would the funds for operation be adequate or would the program have to be curtailed because of inadequate support? Should the laws regulating the grants-in-aid be rigid and specific in regard to standards and forms of recreational development or should they be flexible with broad powers to the administrative agency?

Should the Federal government demand the establishment of some state agency having control over local recreational agencies as was done in the establishment of Federal aid for social welfare purposes or should the Federal agency attempt to make administrative arrangements directly with the cities and other local authorities with the consequent increases in details of administration? Today most state administrative agencies are totally lacking in control over local recreational agencies and if a unified state administration were demanded it would have to be started without any predecessor in most states. Would it be desirable to thus rigidly supervise local recreational activity by a state authority? Recreation is to a considerable extent an urban problem and would it be desirable to subject any more urban problems to state governments which in many cases have not been very attentive to problems of the city?

On what basis should funds be apportioned among the various states? On the basis of population or by some objective measure of need? How could



the availability of existing Federal recreational facilities be figured in an objective index of need? How much should the states be required to assist in financing the program? What would be the effect on the recreational program in states in poor fiscal condition if any large percentage of state contribution were demanded?

These very difficult to answer questions indicate the great variety of problems that must be solved if Federal aid to recreation is to be placed on anything like a stable permanent basis. Only a beginning has been made in working out the role of Federal agencies in a program of public recreation. All of the foregoing questions need to be discussed and in many cases no doubt experimentation with the alternative answers will have to be attempted before the proper solution can be found. However, it is exceedingly difficult to change any form of Federal aid once it has been established, owing to the pressure brought by local officials and representatives seeking advantage for their locality. Hence the preliminary plans should be as carefully worked out as possible.

Some have suggested that such questions present insuperable difficulties and that it will be best to continue with the present emergency grant-like arrangements. However, the uncertainty and temporary character of many of the present administrative and financial arrangements is making it difficult to develop a stable, permanent, well-considered plan of Federal-state-local cooperation in recreation. Only in working out answers to the problems above indicated will it be possible to develop a strong recreation structure integrating the activities of the various units of government. The institution of some form of permanent recreation grant

with its emphasis on state and local administration and responsibility is more conducive to the development of a sound recreation program throughout the United States than is a continuation of our present experimental methods. However, as indicated in the discussion of WPA activities in leisure-time projects, and as Weaver W. Pangburn states, "Some of the expansion (of recreational activities) is inspired not so much by official enthusiasm for recreation as by the desire to relieve local relief loads."<sup>65</sup> Such an attitude, if widespread, makes unlikely any permanent plan of assistance in the near future, although that is a goal toward which an increasingly larger number of persons interested in the recreation movement are looking. As the recreation movement matures, the probability of some plan of permanent Federal aid will increase, although more than likely for a long time the amount of Federal aid to recreation will bear a close relationship to the unemployment problem, rather than to recreation needs alone.

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<sup>65</sup> Op. cit., p. 483.

## Chapter VII

### SEMI-PUBLIC AND PHILANTHROPIC FORMS OF LEISURE-TIME ORGANIZATION

Social Settlements. The great increase in public recreation facilities described in the earlier sections of this study should not be permitted to blind the observer of recreation trends to the great contributions made by private or semi-public philanthropic agencies to the enrichment of community recreational life. These agencies have been responsible for much of the pioneering, experimenting and path-finding in all phases of social welfare work. The description of the rise and growth of the playground movement showed how they had been instrumental in establishing the first sand gardens and model playgrounds. Their broadly trained personnel have often appreciated the value of new techniques and new services and through their experimentation have set the pattern for later public developments.

A settlement consists of an institution established in an under-privileged neighborhood by a group of people of education and more fortunate social status in an effort to improve the quality of life in that area. The idea and form of the settlement was directly borrowed from London, where it had been developed by university people interested in social service among the poor. In 1884, Toynbee Hall named in honor of Arnold Toynbee, one of the Oxford students who went into East London to live with the poor, was established as the first social settlement. The idea spread and other settlement houses appeared in dreary London districts.

In America the increasing urbanization and industrialization were creating community conditions of poverty, overcrowding, unemployment and misery, thus presenting a situation favorable to the importation of the settlement idea. Stanton Coit, who had lived at Toynbee Hall, established University Settlement on the east side of New York City in 1886. Other early settlements included College Settlement on the lower east side in New York and East Side House. Hull House was established in Chicago in 1889 by Jane Addams, and the Northwestern University Settlement in 1891. South End House in Boston was started in 1895. These early experiments stimulated similar developments in other cities and there was a rapid growth of such agencies in the nineties and through the second decade of this century. A National Federation of Settlements was organized and in 1930 it had a membership of 160 houses with 1500 staff members and 7500 volunteer assistants and over one million people reached by the programs. The total number of settlements has not changed much since 1919 although more than forty new houses have joined the Federation since then. For the last twenty years more than ninety per cent of the houses have been in cities of over 100,000, with no apparent tendency to spread into smaller cities.

While the settlements have reached their peak in numbers and in recent years have been overshadowed by public developments, their total influence in the recreation movement can scarcely be exaggerated. Up until the depression, the private agencies of all types were spending nearly twice as much as government was putting into recreation. While private recreation agencies of the philanthropic type were receiving less

financial support during the lean years, they nevertheless were able to extend their influence because of the greater need of their constituents, because their workers were skilled and equipped to organize groups easily and quickly and because they were able to take advantage of the services of much emergency personnel assigned by the WPA.

While the settlement has had a broad program of social amelioration and leisure-time activities have been only a part of their interest, they have nevertheless had tremendous influence. It was recognized by the early leaders that recreation and fellowship were avenues through which the settlement could stimulate the interest of the slum dweller in social betterment, good citizenship and informal education. Through the establishment of clubs, the settlements combated the anti-social ideals of the gang, and attempted to develop neighborhood consensus among those of divergent culture. The work of the settlement in Americanization, vocational education, education in civics, English, and domestic science was greatly assisted by the appeal to the recreational interests of the community.

Not only did the settlements use their own facilities in the provision of recreational service, but through such activity they whetted the demand of their clients for increased facilities and thus through demonstration and leadership they led in the drive for the wider use of school plant in out-of-school hours; they were active in forming a public opinion that demanded increased public facilities in the form of parks, beaches, athletic fields, and community houses.

As the public developments have made increased provision for physical recreation there has been a tendency for the settlements to lead the way

in developing the cultural leisure-time activity of their clients in the form of festivals, dramatics, music, dancing, modeling, painting and the various other arts.

It is evident that the motivating force for the establishment of the settlement was not that of an insistent consumer demand. Only by the exercise of the great skill and patience of the early leaders did some of the communities come to accept the services of the settlements. Having once tested the benefits of the settlement program, however, consumer demand for such activities did develop and most settlements sought to make their programs as democratic and community directed as possible. Thus, through the leadership of the settlement was a strong demand for public recreational facilities developed.

Today social settlements continue to play an important part in the organized recreational life of the underprivileged areas of large cities and are doing especially valuable work in experimenting with new forms of activity and in showing the benefits of operating with exceptionally well-trained personnel. They have led the movement for personalized recreation activities, and because such a program requires personnel, the settlements and other group work agencies have done much to set high standards for leadership and training—an influence which has been felt by the public agency. Thus the outstanding service of the private agency has been its pioneer work on the advancing frontier of recreational activity.

Religious Agencies. Throughout the history of most religious groups there have been activities which provided social recreation even if that

were not their main purpose. The medieval mystery plays go back for 600 years, and feast days and religious holidays with their celebrations and pageantry have been the occasion of gaiety and relaxation over long periods of time. While in the past many churches have been opposed to recreational activity, for a long time being successful in preventing recreational use of the Sabbath, there has in recent years been a marked decline in this viewpoint so that today most churches no longer oppose such activity. Indeed, a great many denominations today are actively engaging in leisure-time activities as a church function. While the recreation opportunities in many churches are still largely social in character, an increasing number of churches are providing for gymnasiums, club rooms, kitchens and dining rooms as part of their facilities for members and are employing recreational leaders to organize programs around such facilities. One-third of a representative sample of Protestant city churches reported recreational programs. In urban areas the Roman Catholic Church has been very active in recognizing and meeting youth's recreational needs. Jewish groups have likewise recognized the importance of recreational programs by their religious agencies. In Westchester County, New York, 90 per cent of the Protestant ministers replied "yes" to the question, "Shall the church provide for the new leisure?"<sup>1</sup>

Such formerly tabooed amusements as billiards, bowling, handball, movies, card playing and even dancing are now utilized as part of their

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<sup>1</sup> George A. Lundberg, et al., Leisure a Suburban Study, Columbia University Press, New York. 1934, p. 213.

recreation program by many urban churches. In Chicago in 1938, sixty-seven Chicago churches were operating 135 billard tables, thirty-five more were actively promoting bowling on their 115 alleys and many others were giving plays and operettas within church property.

However there is no unanimity among religious groups as to the propriety of the various forms of recreation. Not only do the denominations vary a great deal in their attitudes toward such activities as dancing and smoking, but there is much variation within each denomination. Within the same denomination can be found some churches frowning upon women smoking and other churches providing smoking rooms for them. The liberalism of some churches in regard to recreation has even gone so far that they have sponsored bingo and other forms of gambling for charitable purposes.

One of the most thorough recreation surveys of recent years, made by the Chicago Recreation Commission, shows clearly the nature of the recreational activity of urban churches. In 1937 out of 1577 reporting churches 228 had gymnasiums; 161 churches reported dressing rooms and showers; 913 churches had dining facilities; 971 had kitchens; 376 special rooms were designated as specifically for recreational purposes; 62 sound motion picture machines were reported on 50 schedules; 256 churches reported 490 radios; 35 churches reported 115 bowling alleys; one-fifth of the churches reported 500 ping-pong tables. One hundred and seventy-one churches reported a total of 186 children's playgrounds but three-fourths of these were reported by Catholic or Lutheran Churches which had areas



adjacent to parochial schools. One hundred and thirty-five Chicago churches reported that their juvenile members had access to summer camps.

Approximately one-third of the churches supplied information concerning the supervision and leadership of their leisure-time programs. In 350 churches activities were directed by volunteer leaders while 118 assigned the supervision of recreation programs to salaried staff members, 86 of whom were on a full time basis.<sup>2</sup>

Churches have been active sponsors of athletic teams, church athletic leagues, Boy Scout Troops, Girl Scout Troops, Camp Fire Girl units, Girl Reserve organizations, ladies' aids, women's guilds, handicraft clubs, hobby clubs, choral societies, hiking clubs, dramatic organizations, discussion groups, musical organizations, and similar groups catering to the recreational interests of the community.

No general statement concerning the motivating forces of all this recreational activity of churches could be accurate in regard to any specific program within any given church and denomination. There were some cases where the program could be interpreted as "bait" to catch the interest of prospective members or to encourage attendance at religious services. In many churches, the programs were developed at the insistence of the members themselves, with the benefits often reserved for members. However, many churches regard their recreational facilities as community resources to be utilized in serving all members of the community, non-church groups as well as their own religious groups. Especially

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<sup>2</sup> Chicago Recreation Commission, Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, Private Recreation, 1938, pp. 30-45.

have many churches provided facilities for NYA activities and for the Adult Education programs of the WPA.

Thus it is evident that religious organization recreational activities vary from being primarily consumers' cooperative activities motivated by consumers' needs and pressures to being promotive activities by church leaders hoping to increase the influence of the church by appealing to the recreational interests of the neighborhood. In addition, much church activity is similar to that of the social settlements, in that it consists of a program developed by public spirited leaders in the interests of a depressed underprivileged group whose recreational needs are great but are latent and unexpressed. For many churches the recreational program is merely one method of improving the quality of community life and is motivated largely by the vision and community spirit of the pastor and lay leaders rather than being the direct response to insistent consumer demand.

Youth Service Organizations. Many of the youth service organizations are religious in character and are direct outgrowths of church recreational programs. This is especially true of the Catholic Youth Organization (C.Y.O.) and the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (B.B.Y.O.). The Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) and the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) likewise are religious in character although they are interdenominational.

The C.Y.O. was begun in Chicago in 1930 with the purpose of providing "a program of recreation so adequate, interesting and attractive that youth would have a desire to participate in no other." It is sponsored by the

Holy Name Society which had previously had the responsibility of reclaiming delinquent boys. Since 1915 the Society had attempted to rehabilitate delinquents through its Big Brother Movement. The establishment of the C.Y.O. was an attempt of the Society to extend its program into the preventive field and thereby complement its curative work. The general activities of the organization are divided into four major groups: scouting, athletics, vacation schools and stores. The recreation program is conducted by the individual parish units with no set program prescribed by the diocesan headquarters. Therefore the activities and facilities vary a great deal from area to area but the following activities are common: baseball, basketball, boxing, bowling, dancing, drama, evening classes, football, forums, handicraft, lectures, movies, orchestra, painting, scouts, study clubs, tennis, track, volleyball, woodcraft, wrestling and summer camps.

Over 5000 boys in Chicago have learned to box under C.Y.O. direction. The general public probably comes into contact with the C.Y.O. most frequently through its boxing program. In Chicago, for example, outstanding boxers and trainers are employed to teach the boys. Each year the final championship bouts attract large crowds and the winners are matched against representatives of some foreign country.

While the C.Y.O. program was originally intended to operate just in the Chicago metropolitan area, it has been so successful in interesting youth that it has spread rapidly to other cities all over the United States. In 1938, parishes in 106 cities had programs under way.

The B.B.Y.O. program for Jewish Youth is very similar to the program just described, with its activity covering athletic, educational and social

features. Organized in 1935, it has grown steadily in number of participants and in number of activities sponsored. For example, in Chicago in 1938, its basketball tournament included 153 teams with 1530 individual youths participating. The organization likewise has utilized the leisure time of many adult Jewish leaders, drawing in men prominent in education, athletics, and youth work to assist in the program.

The Young Men's Christian Association leads all other youth organizations in terms of size and age. It was started in London in 1844 and was introduced into the United States in Boston in 1851. The Y.M.C.A. grew rapidly during the early part of this century up to the War. Since 1920 its rate of growth has slackened with its membership remaining virtually constant since 1930, and with a considerable decline in number of Associations. In 1920 the membership was 821,756, in 1930, it was 1,034,019 and today it is only slightly more than a million. In 1920 there were 2,069 local Associations, in 1931 this had declined to 1,435 and in 1937 there were 1123 local Associations. During 1937 an aggregate of \$39,000,000 was expended by the affiliated Associations and they employed approximately 3,600 secretaries on a full-time basis.

The Y.M.C.A. is defined as a "world wide fellowship of men and boys united by a common loyalty to Jesus Christ for the purpose of building Christian personality in a Christian society." In achieving this aim wide use has been made of social, educational and recreational activities. Classes or groups are maintained in all types of indoor and outdoor sports as well as in the arts and crafts. In Chicago, for example, there are 126 specific types of classes in nine major divisions, namely, management

of group affairs, health education, marriage and home, arts and crafts, citizenship, understanding the physical universe, teaching of life philosophy, social recreation, sports skills.

Various forms of physical recreation, especially swimming, have been most popular in the recreation program. Baseball, basketball, and handball leagues are sponsored. Dramatics clubs, socials and entertainments, and motion picture shows have been arranged for members and their friends. Special efforts are frequently made to attract outsiders to the facilities of the "Y", thus acquainting them with the advantages of membership. In 1936 almost 650,00 non-members participated in the activities of the various Associations, while at this same time there were around a million members. Of the total membership, 55 per cent were 18 years of age or over, a fact which indicates that the Y.M.C.A. program is reaching a portion of the population that lacks other institutional provision for recreation.

However, boys' work constitutes a very important part of the program and an increasing number of boys under 12 years of age are being brought into the work of the Associations. Contacts are established with the boys in their own neighborhoods in an attempt to prevent the development of delinquent ganging activities. Hobby clubs, special interest clubs and summer camps have been established to promote this field of activity.

In the smaller cities that lack the resources to support regularly organized "Y's" the Hi-Y movement has developed in the Junior and Senior High Schools. While these organizations lack the facilities for the use of

leisure found in the City Associations housed in their own buildings, in many states committees organized on a state-wide basis have been formed to promote camp activities for boys of high school age. Thus the "Y" plays an important part in providing summer recreation in many areas lacking other resources.

The Y.M.C.A. also conducts the most extensive institutionalized recreational work among Negro youth. Stimulated by the philanthropy of George Peabody in the gift of buildings and by Mr. Julius Rosenwald's offer to give \$25,000 to any city raising \$75,000 for the construction of Negro "Y's", the Association is now conducting programs similar to that described above in many Negro areas. To date 18 cities have taken advantage of the Rosenwald offer.

The work of the Young Women's Christian Associations is very similar to that of the Men's Associations except that it is devoted to the needs of the opposite sex. It too started in Britain, and was transplanted to America in the city of Boston in 1866. It has expanded until in 1937 there were more than 1,000 city, town, rural and student units. Slightly more than half of these organizations were among students in colleges and universities. Interracial programs are a significant part of the activities and 63 branches have been established for Negro women and girls as well as 60 Associations and clubs among the American Indians.

In 1937 the membership consisted of 86,000 industrial women and girls, 125,000 business girls, 30,000 students and an estimated 325,000 Girl Reserves. Large numbers who are not members of the Association, however, take part in the activities sponsored by it, so that the membership rolls

are a poor measure of its influence. It is estimated by the Association that at least 2,500,000 women and girls take part in Association activities yearly.

The primary aim of the Association is to assist the members "to make articulate their conviction of the supreme importance of the Christian way of life both to the individual and to society." In realizing this purpose the Association has established facilities for residences, clubs, classes, and camps. Many of the "Y's" were established originally to provide agencies where respectable girls could live while working or searching for work in the city. While housing is still an important part of the program, attention has shifted more to the social and economic problems young women in the city face today. Particularly have educational and recreational programs been developed. In Chicago, for example, the program includes courses in English, in dramatics, and in the fine arts. Physical activities are organized in golf, tennis, badminton, bowling, basketball, hiking, riding, swimming, dancing and formal gymnasium in classes. Social entertainments are provided, often in cooperation with the Men's Associations, with social committees assisting in making introductions. Supplementing the facilities of the branches and residences within the city, many of the Associations maintain country lodges or camps where activities are carried on at low cost to the members. As in the case of the Men's Associations, game rooms, reading rooms, lounges, lectures, motion pictures and similar recreational activities are available to the members.

The Y.W.C.A. has sponsored as an integral part of its activity the

Girl Reserves which are organized especially for girls of high-school age. In 1937 there were 343,494 girls between twelve and eighteen who were members of 544 local organizations in the United States. The purpose of the program is "To face life squarely; to find and give the best."

While its purpose is far wider than to merely provide wholesome leisure-time activity, as in the case of the parent organization, the Girl Reserves have utilized a recreational approach in achieving their aim. The trend nationally is for the Girl Reserve Club to become established as an extra-curricular activity and thus become integrated into the school's program for leisure-time activity.

The Boys' Club is a specific social service institution with its own building, program of activities, and trained leadership directed primarily toward meeting boys' needs, especially those boys living in underprivileged areas. It is not merely an adjunct to some other type of service, but is a distinct organization devoted specifically to serving boys. It is non-sectarian, open to all boys without regard to nationality, or creed, and while it acknowledges spiritual values, it leaves the responsibility for religious instruction to other agencies.

Boys' Clubs were first established in some of the New England mill towns shortly after the Civil War to provide leisure time leadership for street gangs of boys. They are almost entirely in urban areas, and as America has become increasingly urbanized they have increased in number. In 1906 a federation, the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., was formed as a service and promotional agency to organize conferences, to make studies,



to provide publicity, to train leaders and to encourage the formation of new Boys' Clubs. Each Boys' Club however is an independent unit and may carry on its program in its own way.

One of the primary purposes of the Boys' Club is to fight delinquency, and because of its emphasis on this it has had the active support of many of the country's most prominent business and industrial leaders. J. Edgar Hoover has supported it vigorously, and Sanford Bates resigned as Director of United States' Prisons to assume the Presidency of Boys' Clubs of America, Inc. As a consequence, the movement has made a rapid growth in recent years. On January 1, 1938, Boys' Clubs of America, Inc. had 309 member organizations, consisting of 197 member Boys' Clubs, 102 affiliated settlements and other group work agencies with distinct Boys' Club departments, and ten co-operating members--- recreational agencies supported by taxation with boys' departments providing leadership and programs acceptable to the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc. Almost 5,000 salaried and volunteer workers were active in the various units and membership includes nearly 200,000 boys in 148 different American cities. Among the facilities of the organizations established exclusively for boys were 113 buildings valued at more than 13 million and a half dollars. Endowment funds totaled three and three-quarter million dollars. One hundred and sixty-seven of the Boys' Club units participated in Community Chest funds. The promotion activities of the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc. for 1938 had a budget of approximately \$150,000. The central organization is financed by volunteer contributions, by payments for services it renders local agencies and by appropriations of at least

one per cent of their budget by the member agencies.

Trained leadership is an important attribute of all Boys' Club activities. While the local programs vary a great deal from place to place, in general they emphasize all kinds of games, sports and physical activities. Scouting is often part of the program. Club rooms provide places to meet friends, to loaf and to read. There are often opportunities for activity leading to vocational guidance and placement activities.

Music and art are important activities, with all sorts of musical groups being formed and with opportunities for art expression in drawing, painting, and modeling. There is a wide assortment of entertainment features, ranging from motion pictures, minstrel shows, and dramatics to boxing tournaments.

Thus it is evident that Boys' Clubs play an important role in the recreational life of large numbers of urban youth, especially those living in deteriorated and disorganized areas of the city. The individuals establishing these clubs have done so primarily in an attempt to improve the quality of citizenship and to prevent crime. The success of their program in attracting even larger numbers of participants indicates they are meeting an intense need of the areas concerned, but it cannot be said that these organizations were started in reply to the demands of the youth of the area. The main motive force was that of social workers, civic leaders and philanthropists seeking to improve the quality of community life.

Similar to the youth organizations described above are the scouting organizations devoted to the needs of children of the early adolescent years.

The primary object is to help the child develop a wholesome and active life, mentally, physically, and spiritually. Anti-social conduct will be prevented by means of ample socially-approved leisure-time activities, and by the inculcation of socially approved ideals. Josephine Schain, National Director of the Girl Scouts, states the objective of her organization thus:

Girl Scouting offers girls wholesome, constructive recreation in groups, encouraging achievement through play, and stimulating the sense of happiness gained by serving and sharing with others. It aims to set free the energies of girls and to use these energies fully, joyously and effectively.....Girl Scouting is recreational, but in a very deep sense it is also educational. Through a series of projects a Girl Scout has the opportunity to acquire proficiency in home-making, nature lore, arts and craft, athletics and many other skills, some of which will develop into life-long hobbies, while others may point the way to a vocation.<sup>3</sup>

The Camp Fire Girls have the same objectives and much the same program as described by Miss Schain. With a few minor changes owing to difference of sex the statement is also applicable to the Boy Scouts. The establishment of such children's organizations as a means of reaching the above-mentioned objectives is a practice of relatively recent origin. It is the result in large part of the changed conditions of urban living, with the almost complete breakdown of the older forms of child recreation that satisfactorily fulfilled the needs of a rural civilization. It is an attempt to consciously develop forms of recreation suitable to the child in an urban civilization, as the older forms met his needs in rural areas.

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<sup>3</sup> Social Work Year Book, 1935, p. 444.

The Boy Scouts of America is the largest and best known of these children's recreational agencies. The Scout movement itself is of British origin, having been developed by General Baden-Powell out of his experiences in a boys' camp. The introduction of Scouting in America grew out of a "good turn" rendered to William D. Boyce of Chicago by a London Scout in 1909. Mr. Boyce became interested in the British Movement and with Edward S. Stewart and Stanley Willis applied in 1910 to the District of Columbia for the incorporation of the Boy Scouts of America. In 1916 Congress granted a Federal charter which gave exclusive privilege to the name and insignia and limited membership to American citizens.

The movement was successful from the first, acquiring a membership of 60,000 in the first year. By 1920 it had a membership of 389,352, in 1930 629,303 and today it has 1,129,827 Scouts in 38,151 different units. Part of this phenomenal increase in numbers is due to the fact that the movement in recent years has extended its program to interest both those of lower and higher ages than were included in the original programs. There are today 760,765 "regular" Boy Scouts, from twelve years to sixteen, who represent 87 per cent of the total enrolled number. The Cub Scouts are now providing "an attractive character-influencing program of interest gripping leisure-time activities" for boys of nine to twelve years of age. The Sea Scouts, Explorer Scouts and the Rover Scouts are directed toward the interests of older boys, so that Scouting now has a program for boys ranging in age from nine to eighteen. According to James E. West, Chief Scout Executive, and one of the dominant influences in the success of Scouting, "it is hoped that the organization will by 1942

expand its influence so that as a result one of every four new male citizens will have been a four-year Scout trained man." The cumulative membership of those who have been Scouts is already nearly six and one-half million persons. More than a quarter-million men are serving as volunteer leaders and scoutmasters.

No other youth organization in America has approached the success of the Boy Scouts in providing desirable leisure-time activity for as large a number of individuals. With the increasing urbanization of the population, with modern living conveniences rendering unnecessary the children's chores of yesteryear, and with the increasing stringency of child labor laws, the demand for its services may be expected to grow. The organization hopes not only to reduce delinquency, as has been done in many metropolitan areas where it has been an influence,<sup>4</sup> but through its appeal to average boys of average families, leaders of the movement believe that, if they can reach their goal of one boy out of every four a scout long enough to become affected definitely by the organization's ideals of unselfish service to others as expressed in the scout oath and law, the scouting movement can "leaven the whole lump" of our citizenry and thereby improve the quality of life in America.

Like the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts were patterned after a British movement. In 1910 Baden-Powell and his sister Agnes B. Powell organized the Girl Guides in which activities similar to those in the Boy Scout movement were adopted for girls. In March of 1912, Mrs. Juliette Low

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<sup>4</sup> Henry P. Fairchild, Conduct Habits of Boy Scouts, Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1931, p. 50.

in Savannah, Georgia organized the first American Girl Scouts after the British pattern. The organization apparently met the modern girls' recreational needs for its growth has been rapid, especially in urban areas. In 1920 it had 62,248 members, in 1930 there were 283,931 members and on December 31, 1937, 441,964 girls and adult advisers were members of the organization. This represents an increase of 56 per cent over the 1930 figure.

The Camp Fire Girls organization is the result of a number of educational experiments begun in 1911 by a group of prominent educators who sought to plan a program for girls based on their interests. The organization itself was established in 1912, and with its activities grouped around the crafts of home, health, camp, hand, nature, business and citizenship, it has operated on the basic educational philosophy of learning through self-activity. It grew rapidly at first having 96,756 members in 1920, but it was outdistanced soon after that by the Girl Scouts. In 1930 it had a membership of 209,980 and in 1937 its total was 250,358, compared to 441,964 for the Girl Scouts. Of the local groups 40 per cent were organized under the auspices of schools, 25 per cent under the auspices of churches, and 35 per cent were organized independently.

The rapid growth of the various youth agencies for girls is an indication that girls as well as boys have been affected by the changed conditions of urban living. With less energy needed for household duties, with the transformation of the folkways and mores of an earlier rural era often creating difficult decisions as to conduct, with the urban environment giving many vicarious thrills but few first-hand authentic experiences,

the ideals and activities of the scouting movement have met a great need. That need, however, was not frequently expressed by those most affected, and as in the other play movements studied, the initial leadership came from outside those most needing the assistance. E. E. Muntz describes the role of the movement thus:

Their (the girls') interests and attention are directed or exploited in the direction of beautification processes; the motion picture substitutes passive and make-believe experiences for real ones, and substitutes them in a highly exaggerated and over-stimulating form; the dance hall, road house, and types of commercialized recreation possess like disadvantages. In fact, modern society has been furnishing its young people a steady stream of sensational material, highly charged with suggestion and emotion. The basic purpose of the Girl Scout Movement might well be described as an antidote for such social maladjustments.<sup>5</sup>

This survey of semi-public, semi-philanthropic leisure-time agencies indicates that they play a very important role in the entire panorama of American activity in this field. Much of the pioneering has been done by them and they have often laid the foundation for the later increased extension of public activity. Most of the service agencies for youth had their experimental roots in the last part of the last century with their phenomenal growth from 1900 to 1910. Since then their gains have been at a slower rate. The programs for children on the other hand have had their most rapid gains since 1920 with many of the agencies even increasing membership right through the depression. In spite of phenomenal gains in membership, however, only a portion of American youth are reached

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<sup>5</sup> E. E. Muntz, Urban Sociology, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1938, p. 611.

by their programs. The Chicago Recreation Commission estimates that "not more than one out of every four youths between sixteen and twenty-four, and not more than one out of every eight between the ages of ten and twenty-four are actively participating in the programs and facilities of these agencies."<sup>6</sup>

It is impossible to state accurately how much of the total recreational expenditures is by organizations of this type. In 1930 Steiner estimated that youth service and similar organizations had an annual expenditure of \$75,000,000, about 20 per cent of the total spent upon all forms of leisure-time associations, and less than one per cent of the total American recreation bill of 10 billion dollars.<sup>7</sup> It is certain, however, that these organizations have had an influence exceeding by far their portion of the recreational expenditure and that in spite of the great increase recently of public recreational facilities there will continue a need for these private and philanthropic agencies to fill in the gaps, experiment with new techniques and programs, improve the quality of leadership, and give extra service to underprivileged areas. The activity of this form of collectivized recreation can accurately be regarded as one of the greatest motivating forces in the extension of public recreation facilities.

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<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, Americans at Play, p. 183.



## Chapter VIII

### PRIVATELY ORGANIZED LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

Many of the organizations to be discussed under this heading are only quasi-recreational, frequently being attempts to organize leisure time for serious purposes, as in the promotion of a cause. However, the promotion of good fellowship, and the sponsoring of social activities occupy a large portion of the activity of many of those organizations which profess some more serious purpose.

Fraternal Organizations. There is a wide range of fraternal organizations which make contributions to leisure-time facilities and activities. These run all the way from Masonic groups at one extreme to insurance benefit societies, sometimes organized on a nationalistic basis, at the other. While these groups claim many other purposes than recreation, that sphere of life is an important object of attention in their program and the large number of such fraternal organizations thus constitute an important aspect of the total picture of leisure-time facilities. In Chicago, for example, one-fourth of all halls are licensed by fraternal organizations.

It is probable that fraternal organizations have passed their peak as forms of leisure time activity. The Lynds are of the opinion that in Middletown lodges are definitely on the decline in influence although they are more popular with the working class than with the business class who have much greater opportunity for social contacts.<sup>1</sup> Professor Steiner

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<sup>1</sup> R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937, Chap. VII.

also indicates that this form of leisure-time organization has reached its peak and is now undergoing a decline in numbers and influence.<sup>2</sup>

The Masons, probably the oldest and best known of the fraternal groups in the United States, had in 1937 a total membership of 2,599,250 distributed among 15,826 individual lodges. Like most other fraternal organizations, the Masons suffered severe losses in membership during the depression as is seen in the decline from their 1930 membership of 3,304,304 members in 16,579 lodges.

Nevertheless, there is a membership of some 35,000,000 in the various lodges and fraternal organizations of the United States and even a continued serious decline of membership would still leave the fraternal organizations an important source of leisure-time activity.

The recreational programs of most lodges are under the control of the individual units and therefore there is considerable variation depending upon the resources and interests of the members. A typical urban lodge will, however, generally provide for a large auditorium, a room suitable for banquets, bazaars and parties, club rooms for parties, meetings, cards and various games, as well as lounges furnished in varying degrees of luxury and completeness. Often bowling alleys and billiard tables are part of the equipment with an occasional affluent lodge providing for gymnasium and swimming pool. The facilities of the Shriners, the Masonic order devoting itself most completely to recreation, in our large cities frequently include all the recreational opportunities of a modern urban athletic club. The Medinah Temple in Chicago, for example, not only

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<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 128.

furnishes downtown facilities to its members, but the Medinah Country Club provides for golf, tennis, boating, riding, swimming, shooting and the various winter sports.

Typical recreation programs of the Masonic lodges include such activities as parties, smokers, dances, community singing, minstrel shows, golf tournaments and fathers' and sons' nights.

The Order of DeMolay for boys between 16 and 21 in many communities has taken an active part in recreational work by sponsoring various social events and inter-lodge competition in various sports such as basketball, softball, bowling and golf.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks is a lodge of much recreational importance in many cities. Lounges and club rooms provide facilities for smokers, dances, card games and other activities. Various athletic teams are sponsored but bowling is the major sport of the Elks. In 1938 they had a membership of more than 500,000, all of whom were located in communities of over 5,000 white inhabitants.

In many fraternal organizations of the insurance benefit type recreation is provided only as an added inducement to attract new members and hold old ones; in others the insurance phases have diminished in importance and recreation and fellowship are now the dominant purposes. It is estimated that today more than 8,000,000 Americans belong to fraternal organizations of the insurance benefit type, although this represents a decline from the more than 10 million reported in 1925 and 1930. The present membership is near the level of 1915. There are approximately 120,000 individual lodges. A recent study made by the

National Fraternal Congress of America of lodge activities of fraternal insurance organizations indicates their importance to recreation in the following statement:

"The information furnished this year should put an end for all time to the oft-repeated claim that lodge activities are no more, for the roll call of activities enumerated in our report represents practically every type of social and fraternal endeavor."<sup>3</sup>

Almost every conceivable type of recreational and educational activities were reported from all types of sports and athletic contests to classes in social etiquette, hobby clubs, public speaking and folk dancing.

Fraternal organizations may be organized around a religious sect, restricted to a nationality group, or be open to the general public without reference to religious or nationality affiliations. Of the latter type some of the larger orders are:

1. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows who have a national membership of 1,500,000.
2. The Fraternal Order of the Eagles with 600,000 members.
3. The Loyal Order of Moose with 500,000 members in 1700 lodges. It is estimated by officials of the Order that 80 per cent are wage earners.
4. The Modern Woodmen of America with a claimed membership of 438,469 distributed among 10,127 lodges.
5. The Maccabees with a national membership of 212,320 in 3726 lodges.
6. The Independent Order of Foresters with approximately 135,000 members in over 2,000 individual lodges.

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<sup>3</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, p. 98.

There are in addition numerous fraternal groups with a smaller national membership, but which may be very active in certain regions. Space prevents a detailed analysis of the recreational activities of all the above mentioned groups, but in general each lodge attempts to cater to the interests of its members, and on the whole the programs tend to be much like those described for the Masons and Elks.

Organizations based upon nationality groupings play an important role in the leisure-time activities of urban communities. In American cities of over one million population the foreign-born or their children constitute two-thirds of the population. In the city of Chicago, for example, there are nine nationality groups of more than 100,000 population each and there are ten additional nationalities of more than 10,000 population each. Living in a strange country, with language and cultural barriers to overcome and facing frequent exploitation in housing accommodations, wages, hours and other working conditions the immigrant has been stimulated to organize associations for fellowship and for mutual aid in times of crisis. The emergence, first, of mutual benefit societies for burial and sickness benefits was followed by the establishment of all kinds of fellowship societies, many of which had provisions for fraternal insurance.

These organizations became important in the development of the cultural and recreational life of the immigrants. National holidays and festivals are celebrated under the auspices of these nationalistic organizations. Native songs, pageantry, athletic skills, arts and crafts have been preserved and taught to the young through their efforts. The program of one organization, the Polish National Alliance, may be considered as

typical of the activity of the well organized nationalistic groups.<sup>4</sup> It has a national membership of 287,463, approximately one-fourth of which is in Chicago. One-seventh of the Polish residents of Chicago are affiliated with this organization. In Chicago it has sponsored two baseball leagues of ten teams each; three basketball leagues consisting of twenty-three teams; bowling with ten leagues and sixty teams for men, and four leagues and sixteen teams for women; three softball leagues with twenty teams; soccer teams; tennis tournaments; and track meets. An auxiliary for Polish youth provides activities consisting of athletic events, excursions, camping and other forms of social recreation. The Women's Alliance has a program that includes dancing, group theatricals, physical culture, choirs and orchestra, drum and bugle corps and lectures. Both men's and women's organizations maintain libraries in which a large per cent of the volumes are in Polish.

While this program is more elaborate than that of some of the smaller nationality groups, almost every nationalistic society supplies recreational opportunities for its members through providing facilities and occasions for social activities, parties, dances, literary societies, music festivals, theatricals, athletic competition, parades, picnics, drill exhibitions and similar activities. While recreational activity has not been the sole purpose of these organizations, in most cases not even the chief purpose in the founding of the organizations, it has nevertheless become one of their very important functions. Hence nationalistic organizations such as the Polish Alliance, the Italo-American National Union, the Independent

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<sup>4</sup> The following data are condensed from the Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, pages 87-97, 101-105.

Order of Svithiod (Swedish), the Independent Order of Vikings, the German Mutual Benefit and Aid Society, the Hungarian Workers Sick Benefit Association, the Slovene National Benefit Society, the United Irish Societies, the Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol, the Ukrainian Nationalist Association, and the Turnvereins are important examples of the total collectivized forms of recreational and leisure-time activity that have been developed in the urban community. They have been popular because they have met a vital need of the immigrant in his struggle to adjust to a new cultural order.

With the rate of immigration tremendously reduced by restrictive legislation, and the gradual process of assimilation rendering the nationalistic basis of organization less necessary, it is reasonable to expect that this particular form of leisure-time organization will become less significant in the future.

Social Clubs. Social clubs refer to the various associations of persons which have organized for the promotion of some common object such as study of literature, interest in civic and political problems, development of hobbies and special interest, or merely the stimulation of good fellowship. The functions of many of these clubs are mainly for purposes other than recreation, but most of them have recreational features and all represent a form of leisure-time activity.

The total number of such clubs or the total extent of their leisure-time influence can only be guessed.<sup>5</sup> The greater part of such groups have no headquarters, conduct their meetings in members' homes, in rented halls or dining rooms. Comparatively few of the total number of such clubs are

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<sup>5</sup> Herbert Goldhamer in an unpublished manuscript estimates there are some 15,000 such associations in Chicago.

affiliated with larger national organizations such as the State Federations of Women's Clubs. Consequently, there is no standardization of program and the clubs may occupy themselves in all varieties of ways from sewing to literary and artistic discussion, but in one way or another they do minister to social life and recreational needs. The breadth of interest of women's clubs is indicated by the names of the twenty-six standing committees of the Chicago and Cook County Federation of Women's Organizations.<sup>6</sup> They are American Home, Art and Literature, Auditing, Citizenship, Civic, Civil Service, Conservation, Education, Institution, Legislation, Membership, Motion Pictures, Music, Publicity and Printing, Program, Public Health, Public Welfare, Radio, Recreation, Reception, Resolutions and Revisions, Safety, Ways and Means.

Through programs utilizing materials in art, music, literature, gardening and public welfare the members' own leisure-time is enriched. In addition, in the great majority of communities, such clubs have been among the most active supporters of community recreational programs, thus doing much to improve the leisure-time facilities of the community in general.

Thousands of women through their membership in the League of Women Voters are not only utilizing their own leisure for activity in civic improvements, but through the political enactments gained by their efforts, have often been most important in improving the quality of public recreational programs. Consideration of the issues involved in public and commercial recreation has in many cities been an important aspect of

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<sup>6</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, p. 106.



the civic study carried on by the League of Women Voters. Thus the League has had an influence in the recreational field far greater than the mere number of its members would indicate.

The American Association of University Women and the Business and Professional Women's Clubs may be cited as further examples of the large number of women's clubs which, indirectly at least, are influencing leisure-time activity. They utilize recreation as a means of recruiting and holding membership, they seek to serve their own members by providing them with organized forms of leisure-time activity, and are often active in promoting recreation in the community at large.

The Parent and Teacher Associations of America have interests far more extensive than that of simply extending recreational facilities, yet much of the progress in increasing the quality and quantity of recreational programs in the schools reflects their influence, especially the development of trained recreational leadership. Committees on leisure-time activities are functioning in a large number of the Associations. These committees not only operate to combat anti-social leisure-time forces in the community, but have taken the initiative in providing recreational facilities in areas not previously served. "In Chicago individual Parent Teacher Associations have provided supervision on school yards not included in the regular playground system, and have taken an active part in efforts to open the school buildings for community use."<sup>7</sup> The Associations themselves often undertake a wide range of social activities as a means of recruiting members, and thus help serve the recreational needs of their own members as well as improving

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 109.

the quality of community life. In 1938 there were affiliated with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers 26,000 associations with an aggregate membership of 3,250,000.

Another type of club in which women members predominate is the Garden Club. While many clubs and organizations may have an incidental interest in this type of activity, in most cities will be found active Garden Clubs promoting flower shows, tours to gardens, lectures on horticulture and competitive exhibitions. Such clubs are often affiliated with state federations of women's clubs.

There are not as many men's clubs devoted to leisure-time interests as there are women's, but this is perhaps due more to the lack of leisure-time on the part of business men and their devotion to business interests rather than to any lack of community spirit or interest in community welfare. Men's clubs however do often develop in the various community areas of the city and in almost every case some social recreation in the form of lectures, smokers, or sports exhibitions will be mixed in with the more serious purposes of the clubs. Of still greater importance is the interest that such groups take in promoting more adequate parks, playgrounds, and public recreational facilities in their own neighborhoods.

In the urban community social groupings on the basis of profession or occupation are increasingly supplementing those based on neighborhood. While business or occupation may be the basis of the grouping, such business and professional clubs frequently play a large part in providing recreational opportunities to their members. Club rooms with a great variety of recreational facilities for the use of members are maintained by many business and professional groups.

The Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce have frequently been active agencies in urging more adequate community recreational facilities. The Junior Association of Commerce is one of the groups sponsoring Clifford Shaw's Chicago Area Projects in which the problem of juvenile delinquency is being attacked by the development of community organizations and more adequate socially approved leisure-time activities. Furthermore, the luncheon meetings of the various commercial associations with guest speakers and other forms of entertainment provide opportunities for social forms of recreation in addition to considering business problems.

While the recreational interests of the commercial organizations are incidental most cities have men's clubs whose purposes are predominantly social and recreational. The physical equipment and facilities of such clubs tend to be quite similar to those of athletic clubs found in most cities. There are provisions for all sorts of physical activities, as well as game rooms, billiard and pool tables, special facilities for hobby groups and the usual club rooms, dining rooms and ballrooms, library facilities, lectures, dances, and parties.

One of the most popular forms of leisure-time associations has been that of the men's service clubs, such as Rotary International, Kiwanis, Lions and a number of similar, less well-known organizations, making altogether 27 different national organizations of luncheon clubs with a total membership of around a half million. Rotary, the oldest of these organizations, was started in Chicago in 1905 by an attorney seeking fellowship in a strange city. The first Kiwanis Club was organized in Detroit in 1915 and the Lions International was established in 1917 by the

affiliation of a number of independent clubs. The growth of these organizations is indicated by the following table:<sup>8</sup>

Table XXXII

## Number of clubs and membership in men's service clubs

Year	Rotary		Kiwanis		Lions	
	Number of clubs	Number of members	Number of clubs	Number of members	Number of clubs	Number of members
1917	311	32,000	52	5,900	25	800
1921	975	70,000	538	47,970	245	13,739
1925	2,096	108,000	1,382	94,422	939	43,647
1929	3,178	144,000	1,812	103,308	1,849	69,778
1931	3,460	157,000	1,879	87,951	2,491	80,456
1938	4,577	130,000	1,980	101,000	3,000	105,000

The growth of these organizations appears to have been halted by the impact of the depression, and inasmuch as membership in the older clubs is limited to the business and professional classes and to only a few in each occupation it would appear that the older organizations have reached their peak. If further expansion is to occur it will be most likely through the introduction of new clubs or the expansion of the older ones into the smaller towns.

Using the Rotary Club for purposes of illustration, the organization claims as its primary objective the encouraging and fostering of the ideal of community service with the emphasis on the development of friendships among

<sup>8</sup> Data from Steiner, Americans at Play, p. 132, together with the 1938 figures from Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, p. 112.

the members, the promotion of high standards in business, and the development of international understanding. The activities of Rotary Clubs are developed under four major committees: the club service committee concerned with the fellowship aspects within the individual club; a vocational service committee; an international service committee; and a community service committee which encourages interest in all kinds of civic affairs, including those which have implications for the leisure-time activities of the community. This latter committee has been especially active in the promotion of boys' work activities.

Thus it is evident that the men's service clubs, as in the case of the women's clubs, are influencing collective leisure-time organization, not only by providing facilities and programs for their own members in the luncheons, parties and programs of the clubs, but through their interest in community affairs they have become powerful motivating forces in improving the quality of community recreational life.

A similar statement would also accurately describe the influence of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and similar patriotic organizations, as well as the women's auxiliaries of the same. While patriotic motives are dominant, through their activities in improving the quality of community life, many recreational advances have been made. The posts' participation in civic activities, in parades, in conventions, in carrying on post activities and through maintaining club rooms offers leisure-time activities to their members. The promotion of youth programs in the various posts has led to the Legion sponsoring baseball tournaments, establishing community center buildings, obtaining playgrounds, and sponsoring

night schools and libraries. In 1938 the Legion sponsored annual "Boys' States" in nineteen states. The "Boys' States" is a program designed to educate the youth in the functions of the various units of government and includes recreational activities as part of its program.

Through their auxiliaries and other dependent organizations the patriotic organizations do much to provide recreational opportunities for the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of the members.

Thus the recreational life of most communities is incidentally enriched by the activities of the various patriotic societies organized primarily for interests other than recreational.

Athletic Organizations. Athletic clubs are another form of private organization among the great variety of collectivized forms of leisure-time activity. While to most persons the term athletic club suggests an organization devoted to providing opportunities for participation in some sport, it should be recognized that many of the so-called athletic clubs found in our large cities are quite limited in the athletic facilities they provide, rarely engaging in extensive competition in the athletic program of the city and generally having facilities only for a limited number of indoor sports. The social aspects of such clubs predominate and athletic interests play such an insignificant part that there is little to differentiate their program from that of the ordinary social clubs or fraternal groups described above. Their program generally includes such activities as dancing, parties, mixers, lectures, dining facilities, club and lounge rooms, and facilities for physical recreation on an individual or small group basis, with sports such as handball,

badminton, squash, bowling, billiards, swimming and tennis being emphasized. The fees of such clubs in most cities are high and their membership thereby confined to the upper socio-economic strata of society.

The great increase in team play in city recreation programs in recent years has led to the formation of a great variety of more or less loosely organized groups to sponsor teams in the great variety of leagues that have been formed to provide play in baseball, basketball, football and similar competitive sports. While the churches, fraternal organizations, patriotic organizations, nationality organizations, and service clubs have been active sponsors of teams in this competition, there have grown up in most cities large numbers of independent, unsupervised social-athletic clubs to fill in the gaps left by the other organizations. These are truly indigenous associations and are most clearly a consumer motivated and controlled type of organization. Facilities and programs vary so greatly that a general characterization is almost impossible. On the whole, few facilities for either outdoor or indoor sports are owned by these organizations, their main functions consisting of sponsoring groups for league competition, and for utilizing the facilities provided in the parks, schools, and public playgrounds.

Some of the groups do maintain club rooms where cards may be played, meetings held, the radio listened to and similar social activities carried on. In some such clubs there are bars, others receive quarters rent free or place for meeting from some retail liquor establishment. Gambling is an important form of divertissement in some of these clubs. In some of these informal clubs the recreational activity is on a low

moral plane, but in others there is no trace of anti-social influence, and they are functioning well to meet recreational needs of individuals and neighborhoods that would be otherwise unsatisfied.

It is not feasible to describe all the forms of organizations that developed to promote individual sports. Almost every city has clubs that have been organized to encourage and provide facilities for participation in some sport. Archery clubs, badminton clubs, baseball clubs and leagues, basketball teams and leagues, bicycling clubs, boxing and wrestling clubs, casting clubs, equestrian organizations, bowling and billard clubs, fencing clubs, gun clubs, golf clubs, tennis clubs and yacht clubs are all examples of organizations of participants who are seeking to promote the sport and to provide means for their own participation in it. All of these clubs are examples of collective enterprise, as defined in this study, where the property is owned by the club as a whole, and where the club is supported by means of dues. In general, the economic principles involved in such recreational organizations conforms most closely to those of consumer's cooperative associations. Many of these organizations possess very little in the way of capital equipment and therefore the principal financial obligation of the members is the apportioning of the costs among the members in the form of dues. Others such as tennis and golf clubs do have large capital investments, funds for which are raised by selling shares of stock to the members. These costs vary a great deal depending upon the location and facilities of the club. In the Chicago area, for example, the purchase of membership into a club will range from one hundred to eight hundred dollars and in the years before the depression in some instances



cost up to five thousand dollars. The average annual dues in the Chicago area are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars.<sup>9</sup>

In smaller cities the dues and initiation fees are correspondingly smaller, it being possible to join the golf clubs of the smaller cities of Kansas with dues of twenty-five to fifty dollars annually. If these private clubs accumulate any profits these are ordinarily returned to the member in the form of additional services or facilities or by the occasional omission of the call for dues. As indicated in an earlier chapter the private golf course or country club includes the larger part of the golfing facilities of the United States for 67 per cent of all golf courses are operated by private membership clubs and these have as affiliated members over 80 per cent of the golfers of the United States.

In addition to these local clubs described above, almost every sport has a national organization devoted to promoting its interests by increasing the number of participants, promoting opportunities for competition and formulating and standardizing rules. The United States Lawn Tennis Association, Amateur Trapshooting Association, United States Golf Association and the National Cycling Association may be cited as examples.

There are also more general organizations of this type having control over a number of different sports. The Amateur Athletic Union of the United States is an example of such a general organization. Membership in the Association is limited to bona fide clubs, educational

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<sup>9</sup> Chicago Recreation Survey, Vol. III, p. 126.

institutions or other organizations of a permanent character actively promoting or participating in amateur sports and games. The organization sets the standards of amateur competition in track and field events, basketball, boxing, gymnastics, handball, swimming, tug of war, wrestling, volleyball and hockey. The organization lists the following as its chief purposes:

1. The encouragement of systematic physical exercise and education in the United States.
2. The improvement and promotion of athletic sports among amateurs.
3. The promotion of the civic interests of the country by the universal education of all classes of individuals in the benefits to be derived by participation in athletics and wholesome recreational sports.
4. The union of all eligible amateur athletic groups in the United States into separate associations with representation in the national parent organization, and the maintenance of alliances with other organizations devoted to the promotion of amateur athletics.
5. The establishment of uniform tests of amateur standing, and the development of uniform rules in the various sports.
6. The institution, regulation and awarding of the amateur athletic championships of the United States and the keeping of records in all sports.
7. The promotion of national, state, and local legislation in the interest of the institution of public playgrounds, gymnasiums, and facilities for amateur sport in the United States.

The foregoing organizations may all be regarded as types of collective organizations that have arisen through the influence of the participants and leaders in the various sports. It is impossible to

state specifically what the contribution of each has been in the development of collectivized forms of recreation, but as the influences of each have converged with the others their total effort in making the country recreation conscious and in bringing about an increase in public recreational facilities must have been very great.

Industrial and Trade Union Recreation. The labor union or the employing organization in many parts of the United States has served as a convenient base upon which to develop leisure-time activities. Regular activities within the trade union, such as participation in regular business meetings, serve to a limited extent as mechanisms of social recreation.

Occasional smokers, annual picnics and parties constitute the specific recreational activities of the great majority of unions. In some cases the union headquarters serve as card rooms and lounges. There are specific instances, however, where individual unions are making noteworthy contributions to the leisure-time interests of their members. In Chicago, for example, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have their own building where since 1927 they have maintained a social and recreational program for their 16,000 members. The facilities include a gymnasium, handball courts, wrestling and boxing facilities, showers and dressing rooms, club rooms, bowling alleys, billiard tables, an auditorium with stage and theatrical equipment and a library. There is a regularly employed staff of recreation leaders, and organized activities for both men and women are carried on in softball, bowling, basketball, volleyball, dramatics, choral singing and lectures. The Chicago Association of Street,

Electric Railway and Motor Coach employees have a somewhat similar program. Bowling is the major recreational activity of this union, as it is of a great many unions who seek to make recreational provisions for their members.

Those rather ambitious recreational programs are to be regarded as exceptional among labor unions, with most unions having only a minor interest in recreational activities aside from providing a medium for social gatherings. The ambitious programs described above are, however, clearly forms of collectivized leisure-time facilities and directly reflect the recreational interests of their members.

The industrial establishments have often been used as a convenient unit for organizing competitive teams and leagues in the various sports. No complete nation-wide study has been made of the recreational practices of industrial establishments, but a preliminary report of a study in the Chicago area indicates that some industrial recreational activity is truly collective in character and is indigenous with the workers while in other cases it represents paternalistic activity upon the part of the employer.<sup>10</sup> Of six hundred establishments studied in Chicago, 233 indicated they had employees' recreation programs. The majority of these were relatively large firms having over 250 employees each. In answering the inquiry concerning responsibility for and control of the program, 40 per cent of the firms indicated that the employees directed the entire range of activities; in 34 per cent the program was a joint employer-employee project; and in 26 per cent the company conducted the activities. Where the company was

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Chap. XII.

active, most of the supervision came through the personnel department. In the employee-directed programs benefit associations, clubs or committees had control; where a combination had control the personnel department frequently assisted in the formation of the policy, with much of the execution and direction of activities in the hands of employees.

The industrial companies in the Chicago study were used most often as units of competition for bowling leagues, softball leagues, and basketball leagues. Golf tournaments, tennis tournaments and trap shooting were common as intra-plant forms of activity. Annual dances, picnics and Christmas parties are utilized by large numbers of companies. Choral societies, glee clubs and various instrumental music organizations are frequently organized in industrial establishments. Classes in calisthenics, dancing, swimming, dramatics are often organized as well as classes in more serious forms of adult education where the chief aim is not recreation but to improve the employees' professional status in the company.

The methods of financing such recreational activity vary a great deal from plant to plant, depending upon the type of control. The greater number of recreational programs are financed by the employees, but where there is some degree of employer control the company pays part of the cost. The employer's share may vary from merely meeting deficits in the employees' recreational funds to bearing the entire cost of the program. When the latter occurs the plan is ordinarily paternalistic in character and does not come under our definition of collectivism. The most ambitious industrial recreational program of this type that has come to the writer's attention is that of the Hershey Chocolate Company of Hershey, Pennsylvania.

The Hershey Company has planned recreational facilities for its 6,000 employees and the community of Hershey in the form of a community club valued at several million dollars; a sports arena seating 10,000; a clubhouse with a little theater, public library, social rooms, gymnasium, swimming pool, bowling alleys, and handball courts. Hershey Park serves as an active recreation area occupying over 1,000 acres and containing a zoo, museum, golf course and rose garden. However, when the Company states that "Hershey plans for the whole community and the township in the interest of all the people" it is evident that the program is the product of an employer with a paternalistic labor policy rather than a collective organization that is the outgrowth of consumer demand.

It is evident, however, that in most urban communities there is a large amount of collectivized leisure-time activity organized around the place of employment, as economic and occupational interests have exceeded neighborhood interests in importance.

Literary, Dramatic, Artistic, Hobby and Special Interest Associations. Groups organized for the enjoyment of leisure-time activities falling under this general heading are according to all estimates exceedingly numerous, but they are so informal, so amorphous, so fleeting that it is impossible to obtain reliable statistical information concerning them.

One of the most significant recreational developments in recent years has been the rapid growth in the number of people having avocational interests commonly known as hobbies. While hobbies to a large extent are a form of individual recreation, taking place for the most part in the home,

there has been an increasing number of clubs organized by followers of hobbies, whereby they can exchange experiences and share their skills. One of the factors leading to the development of the increased interest in hobbies has been the encouragement given by public recreational agencies through providing facilities, giving instruction and holding exhibitions. Camera clubs, stamp clubs, coin clubs, model airplane clubs, model sail-boat clubs, hiking clubs, inventors' clubs, and kennel clubs are examples of hobby clubs that have greatly increased in number and membership in recent years. The rise of the amateur movie camera and the miniature still camera has made the Camera Club the most rapidly growing of these hobby clubs. In Chicago, the Park District fieldhouses, the public schools, churches, private clubs, youth service organizations and industrial establishments are all used as a basis for establishing camera clubs. While some of these clubs reflect the interest of new camera enthusiasts others merely represent persons who had previously followed their hobby individually coming together into collective activity. Discussions of common problems, demonstration of techniques, the holding of exhibitions, the sponsoring of competitive displays, and among the wealthier groups the collective ownership of laboratory facilities constitute the principal activities of these camera groups.

Stamp collecting is probably the most popular collecting hobby. In the city of Chicago alone there are seventy-five stamp clubs to which 600 of the city's estimated 10,000 stamp collectors belong.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

Similarly, clubs and groups have been formed around the common interests generated by almost every conceivable hobby. The growth and persistence of such groups indicates that they are meeting the recognized needs of their participants and there is no evidence substantiating any motive force that is at all substantial other than this consumer demand.

A common interest in music has been a basis of organizing recreational groups in almost every community. Music clubs like hobby clubs are innumerable. These are promoted not so much by persons wishing to listen to the music produced but rather by amateurs who wish to produce music and need the stimulus of a collectivity in order to do it. Such individuals, while producers of music, are users of the leisure time in which the activity takes place and their promotive activity is therefore to be classed as that of consumers rather than as a professional producer's interest.

Musical activities constitute part of the recreational activities of a great proportion of all the recreational groupings listed earlier in this study. The large number of special clubs with music the principal activity involves organization around practically every instrument with any appreciable following as well as a great variety of choral groups.

In addition to such producer-consumer groups most of the larger cities of America have a number of promotive organizations sponsoring philharmonic orchestras, civic opera companies, music festivals, vesper choral concerts and similar musical activities. These promotive organizations for the most part are private non-profit groups interested in enriching



the musical opportunities of their city. They furnish the guarantees for financial deficits, assist in ticket sales, and interest the leading civic agencies as well as other citizens in supporting the activity. Such groups are definitely collective enterprises as defined in this study. The motivating force producing such organizations seems to represent a blend of consumer and public interest. The members are interested not only in producing superior opportunities for their own consumption of music, but are also seeking to improve the quality of community life and to enrich the musical opportunities of all members of the community, including those not actively organized to represent their own interests.

Similarly, groups interested in dramatics have organized to sponsor the spoken drama, partly in order to give amateurs an opportunity to take part in dramatic activity and partly to give the community the opportunity of experiencing the spoken drama. Both represent primarily a consumers' interest, the first being a case of producer-consumer interest spoken of above when the amateur dramatist is utilizing his activity as a means of utilizing leisure time rather than as an economic producer, and the second, directly and primarily having only a listener's interest in the project.

Kenneth MacGowan in "Footlights Across America" says the extent of the local theater audience in America cannot be estimated at all accurately.<sup>12</sup> The Handbook of Adult Education for 1936 says "statistically speaking, they are difficult to count, for many of them twinkle in and out of existence before they can be duly catalogued and indexed; that there are

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<sup>12</sup> Kenneth MacGowan, Footlights Across America, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1929, New York, p. 12.

300 to 350 established non-professional theaters, there are more than 1,000 university, college and community theater units, and many times that number of schools and clubs giving one or two performances a year. The audience runs to millions, and is unnumbered and innumerable."<sup>13</sup> George P. Baker of Yale names 1800 organizations. Theater Arts Monthly reports correspondence with 1,000 groups. Drama Monthly has 1,000 on its list. The Pasadena Community Theater sent questionnaires to 600, and found one-tenth of them dead and gone. MacGowan found in his survey trip of America one-half dozen theaters that were handsomer and better equipped than any on Broadway. He found 30 other playhouses decently built or skillfully adapted to local production. These theaters were producing plays of Shakespeare, Shaw, Barrie, Milne, O'Neil, and turning comparatively seldom to the ordinary popular traffic of Broadway. The movement has had a large influence on certain farm communities. Cornell in New York has been particularly active in stimulating rural dramatics, and by 1925, fifteen country fairs had little theaters. Alfred G. Arvold, the inventor of the Little Country Theater, through his work at North Dakota Agricultural College, has set a large part of the state to producing plays in all manner of buildings.

The interests of the amateur actor and producer have been a powerful motive force in this movement. MacGowan says "Back of all the little theaters in America lies one dominant motive. If you want to define it at its highest, you call it creative impulse. If you want to estimate it a

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<sup>13</sup> Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, American Association for Adult Education, 1936, p. 257.

little more realistically.....then you talk about a kind of exhibitionism."<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, there is in the public a deep craving for spoken drama. If a town wants spoken drama, it will have to provide it for itself. The little theater organization is the only financial set-up that can present spoken drama in small towns, and still pay the bills. The decline of the road companies and dissatisfaction with the quality of motion pictures have been important factors. The high schools of America have been important in breeding an audience for community drama, and in stimulating the desire of adults to act. The Pasadena Community Theater, in their questionnaire study of community theaters, found evidence indicating consumer influence as being most important in this field. When the community theaters had to choose between providing "an opportunity for self-expression of many people" and "producing creditable productions worthy of the admission paid," only 19 out of 95 stood for the former. Six of the 19 were connected with schools or colleges. There is a tendency for the successful amateur little theater to become professional (though still a collective enterprise) by small stages, owing to insistent consumer demand for good performances. This most frequently takes the form of hiring resident directors and occasionally paying for guest stars. A great number of local theaters are frequently the creation of some one dominant individual. This accounts for the high death rate of community theaters--when this individual moves, or retires, the theater dies.

In recent years the most outstanding development in the field of the little theater has been the activity of the Federal Government in the

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<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., p. 81.

W.P.A. theater projects described earlier in this study in the discussion of Federal activity in the field of recreation. These projects, however, had more of an economic motivating force than the pioneer experiments, for as we stated before, they were primarily work relief opportunities for actors, and the rendering of consumers' services was a secondary factor. They too, however, were a form of collective enterprise, although differently organized from the customary producer-consumer groups promoting the typical little theater.

Thus in surveying the panorama of collectivized forms of leisure-time activity in America it is evident that what we have designated as private, though at the same time collectivized, forms of leisure-time organization have played a most significant role. Fraternal organizations, social clubs, women's clubs, Leagues of Women Voters, Parent-Teacher Associations, professional clubs, men's service clubs, patriotic societies, all sorts of athletic clubs, industrial groups organized around the place of employment, trade-union groups, art, music, literary and dramatic groups all represent aspects of this form of collectivized recreation and leisure-time activity and loom large in the total picture of American recreational life. Because membership in such groups is so completely voluntary, their growth and development perhaps represents consumer pressure as a motivating force more directly than any of the other forms of organization discussed.

## Chapter IX

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY OF THE MOTIVATING FORCES IN THE GROWTH OF COLLECTIVE FORMS OF LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY

The imputation of motivating forces of any social movement should be regarded as a hazardous undertaking.<sup>1</sup> While it is possible to describe in objective terms what has been done and what groups or individuals have been most active in the promotion, the attempt to discover and identify the motives back of such action must at best remain a matter of inference. Leaders and participants in social movements may not clearly recognize their motives; the expressed motive may be only a mask for the real unconscious motives or it may be an attempt at rationalization or may even involve deliberate falsification. Furthermore, motives may well exist in complex intricate interrelationships so that no clear-cut motivating influence is in independent operation.

The foregoing considerations indicate the difficulty of ascertaining motives in any sense of certainty. What this study has sought to do has been to describe the behavior of various individuals and groups who have been active in promoting collective forms of recreational and leisure-time activity. It has been possible to do this in exact and definite terms. The attempt to say why what has been done is dependent upon what has been given by the participant as verbal explanation or by the manifestation of the motive through overt behavior. At best, these

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<sup>1</sup> For a suggestive discussion of the difficulties of isolating and describing motives, see Robert M. MacIver, "The Imputation of Motive", American Journal of Sociology, July, 1940, Vol. 46, p. 1-12.

signs can only be interpreted as carefully as possible and must be regarded as probabilities rather than certainties.

Furthermore, the attempt to read psychological motives into behavior ignores the influence of the cultural setting in producing certain types of behavior. As Robert H. Lowie demonstrated in Culture and Ethnology,<sup>2</sup> an exhaustive analysis of the cultural milieu may very well render unnecessary any attempt to explain behavior in terms of psychological motives. This study has emphasized in its opening pages that an understanding of the cultural milieu is essential in properly explaining the rise of a social movement. The kindling must be prepared if the match is to set it off. The rise of industrialism, the development of urban conditions of living with the occasional necessity of "getting away from it all", the increase in the amount of leisure time, the decline of Puritanical conceptions concerning play, the Democratic tradition, the rising cult of health, the War experience in community recreation, the rising national income, the introduction of the automobile, and rapid transportation, and the many other inventions affecting leisure, the increased activity of governmental agencies in various other fields of service to the citizen all operated to create a tradition and a milieu which was favorable to the development of the recreation movement. In Sumner's terminology most of our institutions are crecive and are the result of impersonal forces of social organization. The folkways, mores, attitudes, and values of a society to a large extent represent the development of an

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<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Lowie, Culture and Ethnology, (Horace Liveright, New York, 1917), Chapter I, "Culture and Psychology."

unplanned and non-rational social order. There is this underlying situation in every social movement and only as there is cultural preparation for the unrest, new longings and new aspirations prominent in the early stages of a social movement can it develop and go "over the top." A suitable "cultural drift" therefore was a prerequisite to the development of collective leisure-time facilities.

This means that the development of the recreation movement was the result of a "situation." And in this situation there were a complex of factors operating to produce the social change. No error is more prevalent in the discussions of social causation than that which W. I. Thomas has described as the "particularistic fallacy"—the attempt to impute a single causative factor to what in effect is the result of the interaction of a complex of multiple factors. Therefore, while attention may be centered on one causative factor after another in our discussion it should be recognized that each factor is in interrelationship with many others and that the actual situation is the result of the interaction of a variety of these forces.

It is to be recognized that many extensions of collective activity in the leisure-time field have been somewhat accidental. That is, they have been merely fortuitous by-products of programs consciously designed for other purposes. For example, it was shown that the recreational use of state and national forest lands was for a long time incidental to purposes of conservation, watershed control, etc. and only in recent years has the recreational use assumed importance. There was much evidence to indicate that the W. P. A. projects were mainly work relief projects and

attempts to maintain morale, and that their great role in developing public recreation, public music and art, a national theatre, and adult education were a secondary consideration, even though these services were recognized as significant. Likewise, the C. C. C. camps intended primarily to rehabilitate underprivileged boys and secondarily to engage in conservation work have nevertheless made significant contributions to the recreation facilities of the nation. Lands purchased to protect watersheds of navigable streams have through their efforts incidentally been made attractive for recreational purposes. Likewise, the agencies engaged in housing have illustrated the value of community planning for recreation as a by-product of their housing activity.

The role of the philanthropist has been significant, especially in the early development of the playground movement. The evidence presented above indicated that in practically every case the initial movements were made by reform groups, social workers, civic leaders, newspaper publicists, and philanthropic organizations. The influence of such individuals has been the primary motivating force in that form of leisure-time organization designated as semi-public in this study. These groups came from strata of society and from community areas generally divergent from those for whom the programs were being developed. It is certain that these individuals were not direct consumers of the services being offered and that their activities were not immediately for their own benefit, but rather that they were acting in behalf of a disadvantaged group, of which they were not themselves members. As indicated above the exact imputation of motives is impossible. To what extent the given



activity was an attempt at self-gratification and to what extent it represented interest in the welfare of the community at large, and thereby their own welfare, must remain in the realm of estimation. It is possible, however to assert that as consumers of community life these reformers were attempting to improve the quality of the product being consumed, and as such their activity represented interests closely related to consumer interests, but more accurately designated as public interests, the interests of the community as a whole.

The role of the philanthropist and reformer calls attention to the significance of leadership in the development of the movement. Herbert Blumer has called attention to the different types of leadership active in the different stages of a social movement.<sup>3</sup> In the stage of social unrest the leader is apt to be the agitator who arouses people, awakens new desires and ideas within them so that they become restless and dissatisfied; he suggests goals toward which they may act. In a reform movement, of which the recreation movement is an example, the preliminary stages consist of the arousing among outsiders of a favorable public opinion towards some program for the "exploited" or "oppressed" group. The leadership in this stage of a reform movement often takes the form of criticism by detached intellectuals or consists of the leaders showing by example what type of activity is desirable.

In the second stage of the movement, that of popular excitement, there is a sharpening of objectives toward which the movement should act

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<sup>3</sup> Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior", An Outline of Sociology, (R. E. Park, editor; New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1939), p. 259ff.

and more definite notions emerge both as to causes of the condition and as to procedures for reform. In this stage the leader is likely to be a prophet or a reformer. In the stage of formalization the movement becomes more clearly organized with specific rules, policies, tactics and discipline. Now the leader is more likely to be in the nature of the statesman, formulating policies and deciding basic issues. In the final stage the movement crystalizes into a fixed structure with definite policies. In this stage the leader is likely to be an administrator carrying into effect the purposes of the movement.

Certainly the leadership of outstanding intellectuals, social reformers and publicists has been most significant in the development of the recreation movement. Men like Jacob Riis called the attention of the general public to the problem. Joseph Lee gave a philosophy to the movement as well as his time and money. Jane Addams and the other settlement workers established semi-public means of recreation as well as urging governmental action. The personal example of such prominent citizens working for a movement spurred countless others less well known to take an interest in the movement. The example of unselfish leaders like Cornelius Hedges of Yellowstone Park fame putting national interest above personal gain had a stimulating effect on the development of the National Park system. This leadership of the agitation and social reform type was of tremendous importance in generating an intelligent public opinion concerning recreation in the early stages of development and is still of considerable importance as indicated by the wave of books devoted to the philosophy of leisure-time activity which swept the country in the early thirties.

Political leadership has been an especially vital factor in the development of all forms of governmental leisure-time activity in recent years. The evidence produced in every phase of activity examined in this study has pointed to the advent of the New Deal as the occasion for a renaissance of interest and activity. It cannot be said that recreation policies have been a vital issue in the selections putting Mr. Roosevelt into power. Rather citizens chose an official on the broad basis of social policy which involved incidentally a viewpoint favorable to collective developments in recreation. Certainly the heads of the W. P. A. and the various other governmental agencies that have been involved in the expanded program of the Federal government were chosen on the basis of issues other than those primarily dealing with recreation. Yet the influence of men like Mr. Hopkins, and particularly his appointees, Eduard C. Lindeman and Aubrey Williams, has been of tremendous influence in the development of the leisure-time program. Cleo Wilcox at the conclusion of his careful study of the growth of the W. P. A. music project came to the conclusion that "The development must be credited to the cultural leadership of a political regime."<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, Miss Ethel Clark has shown in her study of Workers' Education how the labor policies of the New Deal as well as the provisions of the W. P. A. Emergency Education Program have been significant factors in the development of that form of leisure-time activity.

Certainly the leadership of John Studebaker has been the outstanding factor in the spread of the Public Forum Movement all over the United States.

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<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 95.

Yet it must be emphasized that leaders are successful only as they find a response in those with whom they work. Leadership has the function of articulating that which is but dimly recognized. Basic to all these brilliant examples of successful leadership has been the fact that there was a latent consumer need which these leaders were crystalizing and translating into a consumer demand.

Miss Clark points out that in Workers' Education the leaders themselves are consumers of the product, in that they are achieving an enlarged knowledge of the social and economic problems of labor through the very discussions which they lead. Thus it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between consumers' interest and leaders' interest.<sup>5</sup>

At the present time three varieties of leaders are essential to the growth of collective forms of leisure-time activity: (1) leaders capable of understanding the nature of social change and its relation to leisure, who may become planners, organizers and administrators; (2) leaders who deal with the technical problems involved in recreation and are actually teaching people how to utilize leisure; and (3) leaders among the citizens who will assist in bringing about a working relationship between technical specialists and administrators on the one hand, and the social forces of local communities on the other hand. While this summary has emphasized the significance of the first type of leadership, it should be recognized that people can scarcely demand what they have no conception of and that therefore the success of the technical specialist in teaching people how

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<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 260.

to enjoy various types of leisure-time activity has been of great importance in building up a consumer demand for the needed facilities and services.

The third type of leadership has been emphasized in the discussion of both the Forum and W. P. A. recreation projects with their insistence on local sponsorship for projects and the creation of local advisory committees to assist in the adaptation of the program to local needs. These local committees have had as one of their main functions the generation of an active public opinion supporting the program, thus assisting in laying the basis for a permanent continuing program after Federal aid is withdrawn.

Much of the leadership of the New Deal in promoting collectivized leisure-time activity has been in the form of setting up Demonstration Centers to indicate to local governments what the possibilities are and to generate local demand for the continuance of the project under local support. The Forum program of the Office of Education is a good example of this technique where this purpose is explicitly stated. Likewise, the National Park Service is carrying on a number of recreational area demonstration projects seeking to show the local and state authorities what the possibilities are. The National Park Service plans eventually to transfer these areas to local control.

The National Park Service likewise is seeking to develop increased local and state activity through its present "Park, Parkway and Recreational-Area Studies" described above. Similarly the research activities of other governmental agencies have assisted in publicizing local needs and in discovering available local resources.

The use of publicity in promotive activity receives a prominent place in the printed materials of the various organizations and governmental agencies administering the programs. Even if the evidence does not show the demands of the consumer of the service to be the vital motivating force in the early stages of development, he is a significant element in the long-run growth of the movement and great attention is placed upon cultivating his more or less latent demand. The history of the playground movement and of the community center shows that original promotive efforts generally coming from outside the community do succeed in generating local interest, and through demonstrations, open house, newspaper and radio publicity the local residents become more and more integrated into the program until they eventually do become active demanders of the service and vigorously resist retrenchment. Thus by means of publicity, by the use of neighborhood advisory councils, by setting up demonstration centers, and by skilled leadership community need gradually becomes translated into a consumer demand which plays a most active role in promotive activity in the later stages of development of the movement.

The grants-in-aid or "grant-like" aid of the Federal government has permitted many communities their first taste of collectivized, community supervised recreational programs. Once having experienced such a program they are reluctant to give it up and thus through its W. P. A. projects the Federal government has generated a demand for such service even though it was not the primary motive force and the main purpose of the project was to furnish employment.

Likewise, data have been exhibited above indicating how the availability of C. C. C. camps had assisted in starting a phenomenal increase in state park acreage, many states entering this field of service for the first time.

What might be labelled socialization by imitation has also been a factor in the development of leisure-time facilities. It was shown how the Boston playgrounds were suggested by those of Berlin and how the development of most city programs were influenced by the activities of Chicago and Boston. Similarly the success of the Canadian National Park system was a stimulus to the development of our own National Park Service. Workers' Education drew heavily on English experience. The examples of Federal activity in the many fields cited above have served as centers of cultural diffusion and many state and local developments are the result of exemplary activities of the Federal government.

The work of the various promotive organizations has been most influential in the development of the various programs. The service of the National Recreation Association was shown to have been invaluable. Similarly the Workers' Education Bureau and the American Association for Adult Education played an important role in their spheres of activity. Almost every aspect of American sport or leisure-time activity has had some sort of promotive organization developed to further interest in that field. While some of the sport associations may be said to represent directly consumer interests, the membership of organizations like the three mentioned above comes only in a very limited extent from those who are direct consumers of the movement. The National Recreation Association for

example is composed mostly of interested laymen with a public spirit, social reformers and social workers, philosophers, city officials and professional workers in the field of recreation. The motives back of the participation of this varied group must be a matter of inference and speculative interpretation. In the writer's opinion their interests as consumers of recreation are extremely limited. Their interests in improving the quality of community life through collective recreation are probably much more active. Many are not activated by any personal gains at all but merely wish to improve the quality of life for those who cannot make their own provision for recreational facilities. Others may be motivated by the gratification of "doing good." It is impossible to state objectively what the interests of the professional worker are in such a promotive organization. It is true that their own work opportunities are enhanced and perhaps the salary scales raised by the increase of collective recreational activity. One cannot say positively that they are not motivated primarily by their interests as workers in the field. Yet a careful review of the evidence leads the writer to believe that this is only a very minor factor in explaining their activity. It seems far more plausible and in harmony with the known qualities of many of these leaders to interpret their activities as leadership on behalf of an inchoate public and an inarticulate body of consumers. The evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the National Recreation Association is representative of community and public interests and is only secondarily acting for recreation leaders as workers. It does however have some interests in this field as indicated by the employment condition statistics quoted in the main body of this study.



The evidence collected conclusively supports the negative assumptions of the basic hypothesis being tested in this study; namely that labor pressures, as such, have been a negligible factor in socialization. Laboring people of course have often been active in the support of collective programs of recreation, but they were acting in the role of consumers and/or as members of the public and not as workers in such instances. The recreation worker has been significant in spreading the movement primarily as he has succeeded in interpreting it to the public and the consumers, and as he has demonstrated its worth through a successfully functioning program; thereby has he been able to build up public support for the program.

The evidence does indicate, however, that labor union activity was one of the most important pressures responsible for the Federal Theater projects and for the Federal Music projects. Likewise, it may be true that some of the leaders in Workers' Education had strong professional reasons as part of their complex of motivating forces. As indicated above, their interests as leader and consumer are so intertwined it must remain a matter of conjecture to what extent their activity is due to each interest.

Private enterprise has on the whole been a minor factor in the positive promotion of collective leisure-time activities. Oil and gasoline companies have, however, encouraged the use of state and national parks through widespread publicity and travelers services such as maps and guidebooks. The concessionaires in the parks have promoted use of the parks but their activity has been insignificant as far as the total situation

is concerned. Railroad companies have promoted ski-trains and bicycle trains thus building up a public demand for such recreational facilities. The activities of the sporting goods manufacturers and retailers have increased the sale of their products and have incidentally helped create a demand for more facilities--many of which must be provided on a collective basis if the great mass of consumers are to have opportunity to utilize such equipment. Industrialists have often been active in organizing leagues for their workers to engage in recreational activity which has demanded public facilities. Soft-ball leagues and basketball leagues are the most common examples of this type of promotion. Evidence has been presented showing that industrial enterprise is often significant as a contributor to semi-public forms of activity where the support is on the basis of gifts or community chest funds. The influence of public recreation in preserving health, raising civic and industrial standards, and increasing industrial efficiency has won it much support from leaders of private enterprise in our large cities.

Furthermore, it was shown that many park developments have been stimulated and promoted by realtors who hoped to reap increased land values from such a program. Commercial clubs have generally supported parkway programs because they increased the attractiveness of cities, attracted people, and that raised land values and was good for business. However, in other cases property owners and business men have defeated park and recreation expansions because of opposition to increased governmental expenditure.

Negatively, commercial interests have been most significant in the

development of collective leisure-time facilities through their own failure to develop adequate facilities for recreational activity. There has been only a limited amount of competition between public and commercial recreational enterprises. The general pattern has been for public facilities to be developed where commercial enterprises found it impossible or unprofitable to meet the need. The deficiencies of commercialized recreation therefore have been an important influence leading to collectivized developments.

There remains finally to be considered the evidence bearing on the working hypothesis of this study, namely that collectivized developments of leisure-time activity "have been effected mainly and primarily through the pressure of consumer and/or general public needs and interests." The weight of the evidence leads to the general conclusion that such pressure, especially consumer pressure, has not been the dominant motivating influence in public and semi-public developments, particularly in the early stages of the movement. In the early stages of development the primary force seems to be that of a cultural development creating need, and the presence of outstanding leadership capable of visualizing the public interest and of eventually generating consumer interest. Given competent leadership, as has often been the case, leadership by laymen as well as professionals, and consumer demand has often been generated to the point where it does become a strong motive force. That process of development of consumer interest is well illustrated in the drive for municipal provisions for recreation. It appears to be a less potent force in most of the other fields of activity examined. Consumers' and public interest to be effective must be generated and directed by intelligent promotive activity.

The promotive activity can have continued success only if it is in harmony with latent consumer and public interest. The statistics produced in connection with municipal recreation showing the tremendous increase in attendance and great increase in facilities indicates that today there is a great demand for such services. The history of the movement, however, shows the initial efforts were not due to such demand but were due to the far-sighted activities of outsiders acting in behalf of the public and the underprivileged consumers of the service. The starting of such projects was in line with the basic consuming and public needs, unexpressed as they were. The overcrowded condition of most urban facilities today indicate that there is now a recognition of the need for this type of service.

One form of recreational organization discussed in this study does directly substantiate the working hypothesis of the investigation. Private recreation such as is found in clubs, lodges, luncheon organizations and sporting associations may be viewed as founded directly upon the demands of their members. These organizations are basically to be regarded as consumer's cooperative associations, with the group providing through its collective organization what its members recognize they need but are unable to provide individually.

Public and consumer recognition of need has been clearly expressed in those cities holding elections over proposed bond issues for park and recreation expansion. Evidence cited in the study indicate the favorable outcome for recreation of the great majority of such elections held in recent years. The fight in Chicago over the protection of the water front

for public purposes indicates the vigor of consumer and public interest in that city. The letters asking for help in organizing forum and adult education enterprises testifies to the growing demand in that field of leisure-time activity. The Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture reports widespread requests for assistance in organizing recreational projects in rural areas. Our National Forests and National Parks have had a steadily increasing number of visitors.

A great many recreation leaders attribute the phenomenal developments of recent years directly to a consumer and public demand. For example, Eduard C. Lindeman, former director of the Recreation Division of the W. P. A. says:

What has taken place has come from below. There is a noticeable request from the American people. They want to know the answer to this problem of leisure. I have seen it everywhere. I have met with committees and community councils on the coast and from Pennsylvania to the South. Everywhere the same general feeling--Parent-Teacher Associations, little church groups, others like them--American people, ordinary people, not the leaders, the kind that get elected to Boards, etc, but a much more wholesome kind of person down below.....These are ordinary folks I met with--they never come to other meetings. They had not been used before. They came up out of a sense of local community need. They are the ones creating the real push. We are helping, of course, but the integrity of the present movement is so thoroughly democratic and social that it constitutes for us a great change.<sup>6</sup>

Most significant of all is the fact that programs that have been established, often experimentally and without much consumer or public

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<sup>6</sup> Eduard C. Lindeman, "The Challenge of Democracy to Leisure-Time Leaders." Address delivered at Chicago, May 13, 1937.

demand have been heavily patronized. Such patronage is the most significant evidence produced by the study showing the presence of strong consumer need. The testimony of municipal recreation authorities, and state and national park officials all emphasize that no sooner are recreational facilities built than they are overcrowded with participants demanding still more facilities.

It must be recognized that leisure-time activity today is a hybrid field organized in a variety of ways. It is undergoing collectivization but the process is far from complete. It is still a social movement in its adolescence.

The evidence produced in this study is in harmony with the basic principles found inherent in other types of reform social movements, especially, the fact that the original agitation and the initial motivation comes from outside those directly oppressed or in need. However, as the movement matures and the promotive activity is successful, what was at first only a faint consumer force becomes through efficient leadership the most powerful motivating force in the later stages of development. Thus the evidence seems to disprove the hypothesis in the early stages of the growth of collective leisure-time programs, but substantiates it in the mature phases of the social movement.

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