

5-13-1981

Fruit and Flower: the History of Oregon's First Day Care Center

Danielle Louise Larson
Portland State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/open_access_etds



Part of the [Public History Commons](#), and the [Social Work Commons](#)

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Larson, Danielle Louise, "Fruit and Flower: the History of Oregon's First Day Care Center" (1981).
Dissertations and Theses. Paper 3074.
<https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.3065>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of PDXScholar. Please contact us if we can make this document more accessible: pdxscholar@pdx.edu.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Danielle Louise Larson for the Master of Arts in History presented May 13, 1981.

Title: Fruit and Flower, The History of Oregon's First Day Care Center.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


David Horowitz, Chairman


Michael Reardon


David Johnson

Fruit and Flower, The History of Oregon's First Day Care Center, is a history of philanthropy in the field of child care.

Using a topical approach rather than a strict chronological method, the text discusses the specific subjects of private philanthropy and public funding as applied to the Fruit and Flower institution. At the same time, it traces the exact growth of that institution through a one hundred year maturing process--from its beginning in 1885 as a girls' club of "friendly visitors" to a modern child care

center in 1978. This examination of the evolution of a specific social service institution also incorporates a review of the financial factors which initiated change in a day nursery program, and analyzes how federal funding has impacted the quality of that program.

The text of the history of Fruit and Flower represents an angle of perspective on an organization that found its identity in child care, and that endured because of its ability to adapt to the current environment of child care and to the idiosyncrasies of the funding procedures which supported it.

Although personalities of participants in Fruit and Flower's history could certainly be considered in a sequel text, this study remains an historical inquiry into the social circumstances whose chemistry created a charitable institution distinguished by its responsiveness to the needs of a growing Portland community.

FRUIT AND FLOWER, THE HISTORY OF OREGON'S
FIRST DAY CARE CENTER

by

DANIELLE LOUISE LARSON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

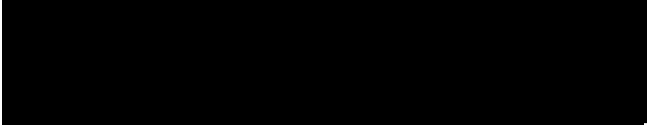
MASTER OF ARTS
in
HISTORY


Portland State University

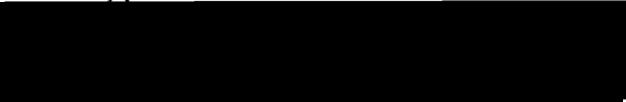
1981

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

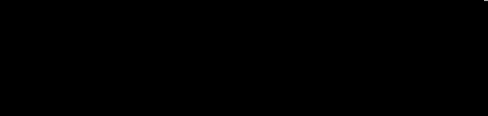
The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
Danielle Louise Larson presented May 13, 1981.


David Horowitz, Chairman/


Michael Reardon


David Johnson

APPROVED:


Frederick M. Nunn, Head, Department of History

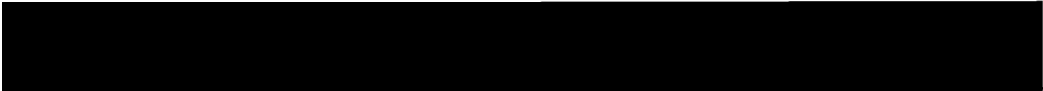

Stanley E. Rauch, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	PROTECTORS OF THE PUBLIC'S MORALS.	5
III	THE FLOWER MISSION FINDS AN IDENTITY	22
IV	FROM DAY NURSERY TO CHILD CARE CENTER	41
V	A CENTURY OF FUND RAISING	66
	SOURCES CONSULTED	96

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Fruit and Flower has withstood nearly one hundred years of economic swings and vast changes in social conventions. During that time a large amount of records accumulated, so that in 1972, when the nursery moved from its forty-four year old location near Portland State University to a new building in Northwest Portland, the cleaning of attic and closets revealed boxes of historical materials. Since then, various board members have suggested that the materials be compiled into a history of Fruit and Flower.

The material for this history could be approached in several ways, and of course, the object of history is not simply to recount every detail. I chose a topical, rather than chronological, approach, examining private philanthropy, public funding, and the nursery program itself. Until a few years ago, day nurseries were generally philanthropic undertakings, a system of support which has in the last one hundred years undergone significant changes. As the maintenance of the poor by private giving became increasingly difficult--particularly during the Depression--other forms of funding became necessary, accompanied by regulations

that in turn altered social services. Within the restrictions of private philanthropy and public funding, day nurseries gradually moved toward educational and developmental programs. In all of these areas, Fruit and Flower has continued to be an accurate indicator of the times.

Much has been written on American philanthropy, the works of Robert Bremner and Christopher Lasch being the most useful. There are also some good sources on public funding, particularly relating to Community Chests, federal funding, and the United Way. Historical works concerning day nurseries proved to be more difficult to locate. Writings on both philanthropy and public funding rarely mention day nurseries, and histories of education focus on nursery schools and kindergartens to the complete neglect of day nurseries. I found only one source, Margaret O. Steinfels' Who's Minding the Children, which provided an excellent, in-depth study of day nurseries.

The materials on which the Fruit and Flower history is based remain at the nursery. From the founding, board members faithfully clipped newspaper articles which they kept neatly pasted into scrapbooks--these proved invaluable. Although tending to be brief, all minutes of the meetings from 1885 have been preserved, as well as annual reports, nursery statistics, newsletters from national organizations, brochures, correspondence, and financial and attendance records. Interviews with two past directors revealed

valuable information. Finally, Fruit and Flower has maintained a rich photograph collection, the oldest and most fragile now stored at the Oregon Historical Society where they receive more appropriate care.

As we find ourselves increasingly bombarded with data and confronted by the media's penchant for personalities and national intrigue, we must presume that future generations will desire a more accurate picture of the twentieth century. On the other hand, local histories tend to string together personal reminiscences and anecdotes, and are often written by people interested in the material, but who, on the whole, have little training in history.

In examining the history of Fruit and Flower I specifically aimed at an analysis of its relationship to the community, its similarity to other nurseries, and its reflection of national issues and trends in social services, including individual people when their actions were clearly germane. I selected for consideration the times most influential to the nursery's program--the establishment of a strong foundation in the first fifty years, the Second World War, and the early 1970's. The years in between, although no less important, did not significantly alter the operation of the nursery or its public image. This particular approach does not center on the hundreds of women involved with the nursery. Rather, it examines the needs that initiate an individual institution, and the factors that alter it. The

women who devoted their energies to the nursery do not, however, go unrecognized. That the nursery stands as a tradition in Portland makes it a monument to those women--the society women who oversaw the organization, donated the needed articles, and provided the funds; the women who worked long, strenuous days to give the children of Portland's working women a safe and loving environment; and the mothers of those children who worked backbreaking jobs to be able to keep their children with them.

CHAPTER II

PROTECTORS OF THE PUBLIC'S MORALS

May 6.

Had an increased attendance by seven, making our total attendance fifteen. Decided to admit grown-up people, but only as honorary members. Minna Steel, Nellie Noyes, Nellie Buchanan, Carrie Ainsley, and Nettie Prescott were admitted into membership. Decided to admit no more small children. F.W. and A.F. had carried flowers to Mrs. Jenkins, on Clay and Fifth. Flowers were refused at Mrs. DeBruller's. H.B. and C.T. carried 24 bouquets to the two hospitals. New committees are as follows:--Lucy Schuyler and Dora Eliot, St. Vincent's; Ellen Eliot and Ida Farrell, Good Samaritan; Margaret Burrell and Grace Eliot, miscellaneous. Will meet at the Eliot's.¹

Thus ended the second meeting of the "Children's Flower Mission," a charitable society founded April 29, 1885 by eight schoolgirls in Portland, Oregon. Originally organized to deliver flowers to hospital patients and other people unable to get about,² for nearly a century the society has worked to meet the various needs of the community, whether visiting the shut-in, taking baskets of food to the poor, sewing clothes for the babies in foundling homes, or entertaining the inmates of the poor farm. Today, under the name Fruit and Flower, the same organization stands as

¹Fruit and Flower Private Historical Collection (hereafter FFHC), Minutes, May 5, 1885.

²FFHC, Minutes, April 29, 1885.

Oregon's leading child care center.

The inspiration for the Children's Flower Mission came in part from a verse, "Hymn to the Flowers," written by a rather obscure English poet, Horatio Smith. Two lines from that poem appear in the early Mission minutes:

Not useless are ye flowers!
 though made for pleasure;
 A delightful lesson thou impartest--
 of love to all!³

The girls who founded the Children's Flower Mission ranged in age from ten to fourteen. Well-educated and of upper-middle-class background, they shared the nineteenth century expectation that privileged women should provide moral and material assistance to the less fortunate. A charitable society provided them the opportunity to view at close hand a life style unlike their own, while offering assistance and an effective example. The Mission members continued this activity of delivering flowers to and visiting with people in need for three years.

Although the Children's Flower Mission disbanded in 1888, many of its original members reorganized the society in 1893⁴ as the Portland Flower Mission, their additional experiences, maturity, and knowledge of current philanthropic practices allowing them to develop activities corresponding to the community's needs. The Flower Mission maintain-

³FFHC, Minutes, July, 1885.

⁴FFHC, Minutes, January 30, 1893.

ed contact with similar organizations as far away as New York City, and closely followed national trends in charity.⁵ To place the innovative contributions of small organizations such as Portland's Flower Mission into perspective it is helpful to consider something of the nature of late-nineteenth century American society.

The late nineteenth century was a time of unprecedented economic growth in the United States. Unhindered by governmental controls, industry grew at an enormous speed with its need for cheap labor met by foreign and native workers who crowded into America's cities. These newly urbanized workers, offered no protection from an often voracious industrial system, encountered abominable working and living conditions. While the needs of poor families had once been met by the communities in which they lived, these armies of working poor rendered traditional methods of relief impossible. The depersonalized nature of large cities allowed for varying degrees of public disregard and private greed. But as poor relief became increasingly a matter of private charity and individual choice, disparate views arose concerning the treatment of poverty. While some Americans believed that poor people were evil and should be assisted in no way, others devoted their entire lives and fortunes to the eradi-

⁵FFHC, Minutes, passim.

cation of poverty.⁶

One of the influences shaping late-nineteenth-century attitudes towards poverty was Herbert Spencer's application of Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species to social theory. Darwin's principles created a revolution in scientific thought. Herbert Spencer, however, attempted to use Darwinian theory to explain social experience, providing in particular a rationale for neglecting the needy and exploiting the working poor. Rooted in Protestant ethics, American Spencerians envisioned a hard-working mankind struggling along the evolutionary path toward the promise of a perfect society.⁷ The application of natural selection to man in society appealed to many businessmen because of its "natural" and "gradual" aspects. As a natural process, it required no assistance--governmental intervention in business or participation in poor relief impeded natural progress. Poverty stemmed from individuals' "flawed characters." A good character resulted from hard work and brought a material reward; the sinner incurred poverty as his chastisement. Thus, refusal to assist the poor would ultimately bring about their disappearance through the natural process of social evolution. As to the gradual nature of the social

⁶Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist, The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. vii-viii.

⁷Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), pp. 4-7.

process, it fit conservative prejudices conveniently; reform, as public policy, was unnecessary because good gradually and inevitably replaced evil.⁸

More progressive thinkers agreed with Spencer that society contained elements of natural selection, but disagreed with his application. In their interpretation, rather than blindly following the path of evolution, man should use this new knowledge to plan social change more intelligently. Proponents of this view maintained that helping the needy harnessed evolution for society's good.⁹

But many people who witnessed the plight of industrial workers did not view social progress in terms of evolution at all. Appalled by the conditions under which so many people lived and worked, spokesmen for the working classes found no perplexity in the state of social progress.¹⁰ American urban workers, falling increasingly under the control of the large industrialists through a system of unrestricted capitalism, increasingly asked the more pertinent question, "What has happened to Christian morality?"

Spencer had made one concession concerning the poor-- he viewed private philanthropy as acceptable because it

⁸Hofstadter, pp. 40-41.

⁹Hofstadter, p. 84.

¹⁰Hofstadter, pp. 85-86.

actually did more for the donor than for the recipient.¹¹ During the nineteenth century, private charity had become an important activity for middle and upper-middle-class women. For some the impulse came from simple boredom with their home lives. Cheap labor in abundance provided affordable household help, thereby removing much of the drudgery from the lives of middle-class housewives and leaving them with varying amounts of leisure time.¹² Left with time to question their usefulness, many of these women longed for a worthwhile endeavor, but one that would not threaten their husbands' feelings of importance. Some women, envious of the professional lives of men, pursued similar experiences for themselves.¹³ But the avenues for self-expression for nineteenth century women were few.

Traditionally the protectors of the family, these women used their newfound leisure time to become the protectors of public morals.¹⁴ Believing poverty to be among the fruits of moral transgressions, they took upon themselves the task of encouraging, and providing a model for, proper behavior. A deterrent to self-sufficiency, monetary aid

¹¹Hofstadter, p. 41.

¹²Anthony M. Platt, The Child Savers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 76-78.

¹³Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 62.

¹⁴Lasch, p. 65.

reached only cases of dire need. This type of charity, referred to as "friendly visiting," entailed showing the poor that they had friends among the upper classes. Ideally, everyone involved benefited from this mingling of the classes; the visitor observed the fortitude of the struggling poor, who in their turn found an example for bettering themselves. These women, who devoted much of their time to visiting poor families, sincerely believed that poverty could be eliminated through a moral uplifting, if only they devoted enough energy to the cause.¹⁵ Regardless of the virtue of this endeavor, it was indeed a real broadening of the scope of women's lives.

In some cases, however, the woman of charity went about her work with such religious zeal that she tended to treat her recipients with little regard. Charles Dickens satirized such fanaticism in his novel Bleak House:

Among the ladies who were most distinguished for this rapacious benevolence (if I may use the expression) was a Mrs. Pardiggle...Leading the way with a great show or moral determination and talking with much volubility about the untidy habits of the people (though I doubted if the best of us could have been tidy in such a place), conducted us into a cottage at the farthest corner, the ground-floor room of which we nearly filled...

"Well, my friends," said Mrs. Pardiggle, but her voice had not a friendly sound, I thought; it was much too business-like and systematic. "How do you do, all of you? I am here again. I told you, you couldn't tire me, you know. I am fond of hard work, and am true to my word."

¹⁵Lubove, pp. 3-4, 14.

After being told by the residents of the uselessness of her visits, Mrs. Pardiggle,

pulled out a good book as if it were a constable's staff and took the whole family into custody. I mean into religious custody, of course; but she really did it as if she were an inexorable moral policeman carrying them all off to a station-house.

Upon finishing the lesson, Mrs. Pardiggle retreated with the promise of another regular visit.¹⁶

Of course, Mrs. Pardiggle seems a caricature, but her behavior characterizes one view point of the nineteenth century. The friendly visitor often barged into the homes of the poor unawares, her mission all-important, regardless of the immediate circumstances. Moreover, she frequently appeared oblivious to the social aspects of the poorer classes, acting as though a lack of money also meant a lack of friends and happiness--that visits from the wealthy would impart to poor people the only joy they would ever achieve in their meager lives.¹⁷ Shortsighted as it may seem, many people accepted this description of the poor without question. Of private giving Dickens wrote:

[T]here were two classes of charitable people; one, the people who did a little and made a great deal of noise; the other, the people who did a great deal and made no noise at all.¹⁸

¹⁶Charles Dickens, Bleak House (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1951), pp. 94, 100-101.

¹⁷Lubove, pp. 14-17.

¹⁸Dickens, pp. 94-95.

For some women charity work relieved the anxiety they felt about their wealth. As the squalor and abjection in which so many people lived grew increasingly visible, it became more difficult to espouse Christian ethics without providing poor relief. The great social reformer, Jane Addams, wrote about her own youthful questioning of personal wealth in an autobiographical work, Twenty-Years at Hull House.

I had not the courage to cry out what was in my heart: "I might believe I had unusual talent if I did not know what good music was; I might enjoy half an hour's practice a day if I were busy and happy the rest of the time. You do not know what life means when all the difficulties are removed! I am simply smothered and sickened with advantages. It is like eating a sweet dessert the first thing in the morning."

This, then was the difficulty, this sweet dessert in the morning and the assumption that the sheltered, educated girl has nothing to do with the bitter poverty and the social maladjustment which is all about her, and which, after all, cannot be concealed, for it breaks through poetry and literature in a burning tide which overwhelms her; it peers at her in the form of heavy-laden market women and underpaid street laborers, gibing her with a sense of her uselessness.¹⁹

The first people to pose questions about the ethics of the treatment of the poor were wealthy women of the late nineteenth century. Jane Addams, and others like her who chose to work untiringly among the poor, led a social reform movement that greatly reduced the numbers of families living in

¹⁹Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1960), p. 73.

glaring poverty.²⁰

When Oregon joined the Union in 1859 it had a population of merely 50,000. This figure did not change significantly until a transcontinental railway linked Portland to the rest of the nation in 1883. The railroad ushered in a new era for the Pacific Northwest. No longer isolated from the cultural progress of the nation, Portland changed from a frontier community to the commercial and cultural center of the Northwest. The railroad diminished the hazards of the journey to Oregon, creating the possibility of immigration by less adventuresome people. Immigration boomed and the state's population surpassed 410,000 by 1900.²¹

Portland's rapid growth in population was part of a nation-wide phenomenon of tremendous urbanization accompanied by, but not necessarily dependent upon, industrialization. Involved in the manufacturing necessary for a growing city, Portland's financial prosperity depended upon the state's natural resources. The railroad, coupled with navigation of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, facilitated national distribution of Oregon's raw materials, particularly lumber and agricultural products, through Portland.²²

²⁰Platt, p. 94.

²¹Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 378, et passim; The Oregon Voter, 15, No. 8 (1918), p. 230.

²²Johansen, pp. 383-384.

The nineteenth century brought wealth to those men fortunate enough to tap Oregon's natural resources. In addition, by the 1880's, most of the city's prime real estate had been divided among a small group of wealthy families.²³

Portland shared problems typical of late-nineteenth century American cities such as a "red light" district in the north end, and corrupt politicians and businessmen.²⁴ Portland also had its share of poor, sick, orphaned, and otherwise dependent people. Similar to large cities across the nation, Portland also boasted women and men bent on cleaning up the social landscape. They would continue the traditions of America's established cities, including traditional methods of philanthropy.

It was in this atmosphere of new statehood and rapid growth that the founders of the Children's Flower Mission grew up. Their parents had all been early immigrants to Oregon, and their mothers and grandmothers had probably been involved in some type of charity work in the cities they had left. Their fathers participated in the developing political and business community, an opportunity that had likely lured them to the west originally. These families did not represent the greatest wealth or influence in Portland, but still, they stood among the upper-middle class, and tended

²³E. Kimbark MacColl, The Shaping of a City (Portland: The Georgian Press, 1976), p. 36.

²⁴ MacColl, pp. 228, 236-237, 253, 258, et passim.

to be more liberal than the city's wealthier, established citizens. For example, four of the eight founders--Clara Teal, Helen Burrell, and Dora and Ellen Eliot--were members of the Unitarian Church.²⁵

Clara Teal's father had come to Oregon in 1853. He participated in the Rogue River Indian Wars, tried his hand in both business and ranching in Eugene and The Dalles, and finally settled in Portland in 1868 with interests in a livestock business and steamboating, involving himself in such enterprises as the Oregon City Canal.²⁶ Helen Burrell's father, Martin S. Burrell, had immigrated to Portland in 1855, entering into the successful farm implement and sawmill machinery business of Knapp, Burrell and Company.²⁷ The Farrells, Anna and Ida, were daughters of Sylvester Farrell. He had crossed the plains in the 1850's and settled in Portland in 1867, becoming a partner in Everding and Farrell, a feed, grain and produce business. This partnership later established one of the first commission businesses in Portland, as well as extending its interests to include timber, agriculture, and salmon canning. In addition to his many business pursuits, Sylvester Farrell

²⁵First Unitarian Church, Portland Oregon, Christening records.

²⁶Joseph Gaston, Portland, Oregon, Its History and Builders (Portland: S.J. Clarke, 1911), II, p. 623.

²⁷Gaston, pp. 278, 281.

was a founder and trustee of the Oregon chapter of the Boys and Girls Aid Society.²⁸ Frances Warren, also, came from a family whose wealth was based on the abundance of the region's products. Her father, Francis, held a partnership in the Warren Packing Company.²⁹

Of the founders of the Children's Flower Mission, Antoinette (Nettie) Montgomery came from the most prominent family. Her father, James B. Montgomery, excelled as a railroad contractor. He had immigrated to Oregon in 1871, receiving the contract for the first portion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the Northwest. He later handled other large contracts such as wharves and warehouses. Montgomery exemplified the nineteenth century definition of "citizen," as described by a contemporary local historian:

Although an active man of business, Mr. Montgomery did not follow the course of many successful business men of the present day, who feel that politics are something with which they have no concern. He recognized the obligations as well as the privileges of citizenship, and staunchly and loyally supported the principles in which he believed.³⁰

The parent with the most conspicuous social conscience was Thomas Lamb Eliot, father to Dortha (Dora) and Ellen. He founded the first Unitarian church in Portland, the Church of Our Father, serving the congregation as mini-

²⁸Gaston, pp. 132, 135-136.

²⁹Portland City Directory (Portland: R.L. Polk and Company, 1885), p. 401.

³⁰Gaston, pp. 329-331.

ster for twenty-five years. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, he was the son of the Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot, minister and chancellor of Washington University. Thomas Eliot was a well known social critic in favor of temperance, prison reform, educational improvements, and women's suffrage. He served on the boards of many philanthropic organizations such as the State Board of Charities and Corrections, the Children's Home, the Oregon Humane Society, the Boys and Girls Aid Society, the Portland Association of Charities, the Art Association, the Library Association, and the Parks Commission. Eliot also was a superintendent of schools for Multnomah County and a significant influence in the establishment of Reed College, where he also served as president of their Board of Trustees.³¹

All the young women associated with the Children's Flower Mission lived near each other. The Farrells, Warrens, and Eliots lived within a block of each other on West Park. The Teals lived nearby on Taylor, the Burrels on Madison, and the Montgomerys on Seventh. The Unitarian Church, where they held their meetings until 1906, was at Broadway and Yamhill.³²

Although information about the families is sparse and

³¹The Oregonian, April 27, 1936, p. 1; October 13, 1911, p. 4.

³²Portland City Directory, pp. 79, 137, 182, 187, 296, 384, 401.

the girls never mention their families in any of the Mission's records, certain implications may be drawn about the Children's Flower Mission and its founders. Except for James Montgomery, none of the fathers were particularly successful or well-to-do before they came to Oregon. Rather, they provide examples of the entrepreneurial opportunities of the late nineteenth century, evidence that the Protestant Work Ethic functioned successfully for some people. It is likely that such fathers emphasized to their children the importance of improving oneself and the possibilities of doing so if one tried. Such attitudes not only applied to their own lives, but could be extended to incorporate the common belief that the poor could improve themselves as well if they made the effort. Furthermore, the children of these pioneering parents might have found it difficult to live up to their parents' accomplishments and expectations, and may have tried harder than the children of the wealthy to do so. Charity clubs were not at all unusual in the late nineteenth century,³³ but those established by young girls were relatively rare.

Of the original founders of the Children's Flower Mission, six of the girls were fourteen, one was twelve and one was ten. The youthfulness of the Mission made it unique. From its inception the society was strictly organized with a constitution, officers, dues, fines, schedules,

³³Platt, p. 79.

and committees. The members kept faithful records of their work in which each member participated as expected; failure to do one's share in visiting the needy meant being dropped from the society. Activities also included some fun such as fairly elaborate entertainments presented by the girls as fund raising events. But more remarkably, the girls carried out their work each week without fail, and with an evident seriousness of purpose equal to adult charities. Besides coordinating the distribution of fruit, magazines, jams, and other miscellaneous items during the three years of the Mission's existence, the girls delivered 4,143 bouquets of flowers, averaging nearly four bouquets a day.³⁴

As their parents had hoped, the girls of the Children's Flower Mission were "morally instructed" by this experience. But for these young women, Christian humility would not be the final result. They would return to the Mission in 1893, after college, or ladies' seminary, with goals significantly different from their parents' goals. By the 1880's and 1890's many educated people were beginning to realize that moralizing to the poor was not particularly uplifting, and that the effects of poverty were getting worse.³⁵ Moreover, growing numbers of the middle-class began to recognize that minimizing the needs of the poor did

³⁴FFHC, Minutes, April 29, 1885-June 14, 1888, passim.

³⁵Lubove, p. 17.

not improve the social or economic position of the middle-class, but rather, led to economic gains for the wealthy. As an ambitious middle-class in the United States realized that, in fact, only the wealthy were growing wealthier, they saw their own futures suddenly dim in the shadow of industrial "bigness." This, then, led people who were concerned about the causes of poverty to examine the social environment rather than the individual.³⁶ Perhaps the laws that explained natural phenomenon differed from those that explained social phenomenon.

³⁶Lubove, p. 22.

CHAPTER III

THE FLOWER MISSION FINDS AN IDENTITY

When the Portland Flower Mission was organized in 1893, most of the members were married, in their early twenties, and able to devote a great deal of time to their cause. Well-educated for women of their time, and with the experience of the Children's Flower Mission to draw upon, they soon had an efficient organization--one through which they continued their original flower giving, an activity that failed to provide the satisfaction it had a few years earlier. Delivering flowers to hospital patients had offered its lesson in class responsibility for the young girls, but as adults they recognized an increasing rejection of traditional explanations for poverty, with the "moral model" giving way to material assistance. This suggested a move away from the individual toward a wider viewpoint that included social, cultural, and economic factors. This shift in focus required specialized organizations, professional workers, and progressive methods.¹

The missionary impulse--the conviction that a relationship existed between morality and station--was not

¹Lubove, pp. 18-22.

easily shed, however, and while there grew an understanding that past philanthropic methods required alteration, there remained nevertheless some difficulty in accepting the fact that poverty had not been eliminated through the friendly mingling of classes. For years the two interpretations would coexist,² and the needs of the poor would often be met with what appeared to be arbitrary decisions. The judgment of the Flower Mission was no exception.

In 1906, for example, a Mr. Mondy had been receiving bi-weekly assistance of one dollar from the Mission. In October of that year the Mission women discovered that he had sold his house, using the \$400 to pay his debts--leaving him penniless. Despite pleas from his friends on his behalf, his dollar was discontinued, the Mission having "discovered that Mr. Mondy had appealed to every charitable institution in the City for aid and had been refused because he was unworthy of any help."³

Yet, in another case the previous year, Flower Mission aid had included the purchase of a lot in Lower Albina for a Mrs. Hansen and her children, a "very deserving" family. They made a temporary home there in a tent while the Mission made plans to build the family a house by winter. That fall care of the Hansen family was undertaken

²Lubove, p. 219.

³FFHC, Minutes, November 6, 1906.

by a local church, but until that time the Mission had been willing, in fact anxious, to give the Hansens an extraordinary amount of help.⁴

Perhaps Mrs. Hansen was a middle-class housewife who found herself suddenly widowed and without means of support. A respectable woman, she suffered the misfortune of an irresponsible husband. On the other hand, surely Mr. Mondy had the resources to improve his situation. These two cases show the disparate responses to people in need--the uncompromising treatment of Mr. Mondy and the impassioned generosity towards Mrs. Hansen--that characterized the transitional phase of philanthropy in the early twentieth century, where charitable organizations insisted that each case be carefully examined to provide for the most equitable treatment, but whose every decision was, nonetheless, based on a moral judgment of merit over need.⁵

The national trend toward more professionally managed charities was accompanied by an increasing impulse to categorize social ills and to confine socially unacceptable people in institutions created to handle their specific aberrations. Where the attempt at redemption had failed, there remained the possibility of certain external changes whereby the misguided person could be redirected, and the

⁴FFHC, Minutes, May 27, 1905.

⁵Lubove, pp. 4-7.

abnormal person, depending on the degree of his abnormality, could be rendered inoffensive or at least be removed from visibility.⁶ Various theories arose suggesting methods to be employed ranging from the preventative (education and training) to the curative (rest, diet, perhaps electric or hydro-therapy).⁷ Each malady had its particular corrective treatment precluding the indiscriminate mingling of disorders.

For those with means, individual treatment could readily be procured. The options for the poor, however, were grim. At one end of the spectrum, the county poor farm provided the last stop for penury--beyond lay starvation, jail, or the insane asylum. Since there was nowhere else to turn, for most paupers life on the farm meant resignation to immurement. Traditionally maintained by county revenues, poor houses and poor farms were set up across the west as growing towns demanded poor relief. During the early years of Oregon's statehood there was little aid available for indigent people. The county simply contracted for a system of care with two doctors, J. C. Hawthorne and A. M. Loryea, proprietors of the Lunatic Asylum on the sparsely populated east side. There, in a small structure

⁶Christopher Lasch, The World of Nations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 14.

⁷Portland City Directory, 1906, pp. 126, 127, 130, 130A, 130B, 130C.

separate from the Asylum, care was available only for the seriously ill or deranged among the poor,⁸ which the County secured for eight dollars per patient (probably per month).⁹ But the number of the poor grew as rapidly as the general population, and the cost of contracting care was soon prohibitive. As a means both of saving money and of accommodating a wider variety of poor people than merely those who were ill, Oregon established a poor farm in 1868 in the area of the present day Portland Zoo.¹⁰

The poor farm imitated an actual farm with all able inmates (as they were called) required to work to secure their support. No one received wages. In short, the poor farm maintained itself in such a way as to render it nearly self-sufficient. Resembling a Dickens' setting, the poor farm became a frequent object of bickering among politicians, officials, and reformers, particularly concerning the treatment of the inmates.¹¹ Poor farm superintendents constantly fought accusations of graft while officials and others lambasted reformers for wishing to coddle, as one

⁸Oregon Historical Society, Vertical File, personal reminiscence by Courtney M. Smith, 1933, p. 1.

⁹The Oregonian, June 27, 1869, p. 2.

¹⁰Oregon Historical Society, Smith, p. 1.

¹¹The Oregonian, June 30, 1868, p. 1; July 22, 1870, p. 1; July 21, 1873, p. 3; March 12, 1877, p. 2.

journalist wrote, "the human derelicts that are stranded on the shores or floating about on the sea of life..."¹² Life on the poor farm was in any case far from pleasant, making it a favorite institution on the visiting lists of charitable societies.

At the other end of the spectrum of the care for the socially maladjusted, one finds the private sanitariums (of which Portland had many), boasting cures for alcohol and drug addiction, chronic diseases (including tuberculosis) and nervous afflictions. On Northwest Twentieth Avenue, between Glisan and Hoyt, the North Pacific Sanatorium advertised grounds "beautifully adorned by more than a hundred varieties of ornamental trees and shrubs, gathered at great expense and care from every continent on the globe."¹³ Similarly, the Portland Sanitarium came recommended as a "delightful retreat...situated on the western slope of Mt. Tabor. A fully equipped, well regulated institution, conducted on physiological principles..."¹⁴ Another, Rose City Sanitarium, boasted "Conveniently Located, Large Airy Rooms."¹⁵

The most elaborate of Portland's sanitariums was

¹²The Oregonian, November 10, 1970, sec. 4, p. 6.

¹³Portland City Directory, 1906, p. 130B.

¹⁴Portland City Directory, 1906, p. 130.

¹⁵Portland City Directory, 1906, p. 130A.

Crystal Springs (Mindsease), located on twenty-five acres of Tabor Heights, "above ordinary fog level and out of the city's dust and noise." This advertisement went on to read:

This institution is not a hospital nor is it a general sanitarium. It has three departments: Nervous diseases, drug addition, mental disease.

Electricity in all its approved forms is administered; galvanic, faradic, sinusoidal, etc., according to the latest clinical and scientific knowledge on the subject.¹⁶

Crystal Springs set itself apart from other sanitariums in Portland by offering "separate cottages...new and specially constructed and equipped for individual care in all cases."¹⁷

The private sanitarium was typical of the trend toward categorization of disorders and their professional treatment. In any case, whether wealthy or penniless, proper diagnosis determined the patient's course of care, with both the private retreat and the charitable institution more clearly defining maladies and their correlative treatments than had been the case earlier. And as the twentieth century progressed, services rendered the poor became increasingly segmented, so that one institution rarely met all an

¹⁶Portland City Directory, 1906, no pagination, follows p. 130B.

¹⁷Portland City Directory, 1906, no pagination, follows p. 130B.

individual's needs.¹⁸

The institutions, charitable and private, serving Portland in 1905, as recorded in Polk's City Directory were: The Baby Home located on Ellsworth and 36th, today a private residence; the Boys and Girls Aid Society at E. 29th on the S.E. corner of E. Irving, now a section of Oregon Park; the Children's Home at 887 Corbett which still stands, divided into apartments; the Chinese Presbyterian Mission Home located at 350 14th, today part of the Foothills Freeway; the County Poor Farm on old Canyon Road where now stands the Western Forestry Center, Oregon Museum of Science and Industry, and Portland Zoo; the East India Sanitarium at 127 12th N., today a warehouse for used office furniture; the Florence Crittenton Refuge Home at E. 31st and Glisan, today the parking lot of Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church; Good Samaritan Hospital which is still in existence at 23rd and Lovejoy; the House of the Good Shepard at 20th on the S.E. corner of Irving, today an apartment building; the Hydro-pathic Institute which stood at 201 14th, now also an apartment building; the Keeley Institute located at 1st and Montgomery where today stands a modern, highrise apartment building; the Mercy Home at 31 16th now a furniture rental warehouse; Morningside Asylum in Tabor Heights; the Mt. St. Joseph Home for the Aged which still operates at S.E. 30th and Stark as the Mt. St. Joseph Residence; Crystal Springs

¹⁸Lubove, p. 221.

on the west slope of Mt. Tabor; the North Pacific Sanatorium at N.W. 20th and Glisan, now the Metropolitan Learning Center; the Odd Fellows Home still existing at 32nd and Holgate; the Osteopathic Sanitarium at 614 4th which would today be in the middle of the I-5 freeway interchange; the Patton Home for the Aged at 975 Michigan Avenue, which still operates; the Portland Maternity Hospital and Nursing Home at 742 Overton, today a private residence; the Portland Sanitarium on Mt. Tabor; St. Vincent Hospital on Cornell at the head of Hoyt, now a vacant lot; the Salvation Army Rescue Home at 392 E. 15th N., today a large house divided into apartments; and the U.S. Public Health Marine Hospital which was a ward of St. Vincent Hospital.¹⁹

By 1900 the Portland Flower Mission found itself increasingly called upon to answer the needs of the many local charitable institutions, even though its members preferred working directly with those in need. The Mission supplied these institutions with clothing, food, furniture, linen, and other items; for instance, baby clothes were a frequent request. The Mission women most enjoyed providing gifts and entertainments to the inmates of the hospitals, poor farm, and homes. Flower Mission contributions were thus extensive from 1893 well into the 1920's,²⁰ but the members felt

¹⁹ Portland City Directory, 1905, passim; Personal visual inspection, 1979.

²⁰ FFHC, Minutes, 1893-1924, passim.

anxious to play, as they viewed it, a more responsive community role--a charitable endeavor that would provide them with an identity. They found it in a day nursery.

With industrialization, the city's population of working women steadily grew, and by 1900 the care of their young children was an issue of some concern. Proponents of charitable day nurseries traveled the country encouraging well-to-do women to establish nurseries in their own cities.²¹ Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Federation of Day Nurseries and the New York Day Nursery Association, visited Portland in 1906 and stressed the need for nurseries, explaining that there were few options for working women with young children.²² The most fortunate had an older child who could be kept home from school to provide care, but more often small children were simply left at home alone. Two common alternatives were putting the dependent child in an institution which allowed the mother a Sunday visit, or allowing the child to be adopted. To these bleak options, day nurseries offered a sensible alternative. At five cents a day or less, they provided care that working mothers could afford; and if properly managed they gave a quality of care which relieved the mothers from worry.²³

²¹Margaret O'Brien Steinfelds, Who's Minding the Children? (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), p. 40.

²²FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, January 26, 1906.

²³FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, January 26, 1906.

Earlier, in 1905, sparked by the visit of Mrs. Dayton, a Chicago day nursery operator, the women of the Portland Flower Mission began to think seriously about opening a day nursery. The idea was not new, but, unsure of its financial soundness, local agencies hesitated to support an untried service. Mrs. Dayton and Mrs. Dodge, both significantly influential in the development of a nursery program for the Flower Mission, offered particular encouragement concerning the initial stages of the project, insisting that a great deal of money was not essential. "[Mrs. Dayton] said they started in a very small flat in the poor district of Chicago...furnished by donations."²⁴ The Flower Mission plans incorporated most of the advise these women offered, including such particulars as hours of operation, fees charged, meals, activities, and fund raising techniques.

Although practical advice necessarily played a part in the public lectures given by nursery school advocates, it is noteworthy that their talks centered on social and cultural instruction of the poor. An activity that had "proved a most interesting feature of the work" of Mrs. Dodge, was that of monthly mothers' meetings. "At these affairs the best lecturers and musical arists (sic) are procured."²⁵ Lecturers often focused on some aspect of hygiene, a theme

²⁴FFHC, Minutes, November 21, 1905.

²⁵FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, January 26, 1906.

of particular interest to society women in a time when there was a growing understanding of the link between sanitation and disease. The visible changes these lectures brought in the habits of the mothers gave society women occasion to feel real success in their work. But the same women who reacted to poverty with this clinical response, still reverted to the obsolescent idea that if the poor would embrace social characteristics of the upper classes they would be morally and socially uplifted. Thus, mothers' meetings included some cultural activity, as the wealthy (perhaps unconsciously), clung to the notion that cultural awareness and position were somehow related--but this view no longer played a major role in assistance.²⁶

Predictably, the most acclaimed value of day nurseries was the "character molding" of the children who, spending as much as seventy-two hours per week in a nursery during their most impressionable years, could be properly trained in the elements of middle-class propriety. Theoretically, preparing these children to be good citizens would save them from lives of poverty and crime, doing humanity a great good. Mrs. Dodge stressed training in her visit to Portland:

We claim to be an important element in civic life--taking the baby of ten days we prepare him through well-trained, carefully nurtured

²⁶FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, January 26, 1906.

infancy and through kindergarten age, to enter public school, better equipped to meet (sic) its requirements than most who enter the lowest grades.²⁷

Apart from attempts at changing the character of the poor, the suggestions offered by Mrs. Dayton and Mrs. Dodge, and illustrated by their experiences in nursery work, show the changes that were coming in philanthropy. Clearly, the trend in day nurseries, as in other services, was toward being a convenience for the people served rather than for the charity workers. Organizations located their facilities where the need existed, operated during the needed hours, and, on the whole, organized the services in a useful rather than burdensome manner. The fees charged were not essential to the nurseries' maintenance, but "mothers are glad to pay the small fee, and it saved them from seeming to accept charity."²⁸ At the same time, society members could declare that they provided a service that could not be attacked on any moral grounds, because their aid went to the working poor rather than to indolent people. Day nurseries, as opposed to other social services, were particularly attractive because they provided more than mere physical maintenance of needy people. Mrs. Dodge stressed this point in focusing on the

²⁷ FFHC, Scrapbook, Unidentified newspaper clipping, January 1906.

²⁸ FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregon Journal, December 26, 1906.

training of children. Her lectures, well attended by Portland's society women, engendered the enthusiasm, as well as the public sanction, needed to make the projected nursery a reality.

Not entirely convinced that it would succeed, the women of the Flower Mission quietly opened the day nursery "Easter Monday," April 16, 1906, with Mrs. Ella Hedrick as matron, and with one "charge", a four year old black child named Catherine. For forty dollars the women rented the small frame house at number Thirteen Fifth Street which included a reception room, kitchen, playroom, three bedrooms, and a large back yard. The Mission women spent many hours preparing the house, scrubbing and painting, sewing rugs, curtains, smocks, and bedding, and securing the necessary donations of furniture--iron beds, child-sized tables and chairs, and kitchen equipment. The utility companies donated telephone and electrical services. Everything finally arranged, they posted the sign in front, "Flower Mission Day Nursery."²⁹

The Flower Mission tried never to turn children away, but of course no woman able to stay at home or hire a nurse would have dreamed of using the nursery. The fees charged ranged from ten cents for a mother as sole wage earner, to

²⁹FFHC, Minutes, April 17, 1906; April 3, 1906.

twenty-five cents when the father also worked.³⁰ By the end of the first year the average daily attendance at the nursery reached twelve, and everyone seemed settled into a routine. It went something as follows: The children began arriving at 7:00 in the morning, shedding their street clothes for nursery smocks. At 9:00 either Dr. R. H. Ellis or Dr. Ray Matson visited the nursery examining each child and isolating any that might be contagiously ill. The children three years and older visited the People's Institute kindergarten at 9:30 while the babies and toddlers remained at the nursery. The older children returned by 11:30 for the mid-day meal, the main meal of the day for most of the children; the nursery therefore strived to serve a hearty, nourishing meal each day. After dinner the children went upstairs and undressed for their naps which lasted one or two hours. Upon rising, they ate a small snack, usually of crackers, followed by outdoor activities until the evening meal at 5:00--a light meal of bread and milk, sometimes accompanied by the added treat of jelly or fruit. Then the children dressed in their street clothes to await the arrival of their mothers, the nurse closing at 7:00.³¹

³⁰FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregon Journal, December 26, 1906.

³¹FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregon Journal, December 26, 1906.

It would be still a number of years before the Flower Mission felt comfortable in channeling all of its energy into the day nursery. Although eager to have an established identity, as other organizations had, the women felt unsure of the new venture, and continued to devote the majority of their time to visiting shut-ins and aiding other institutions. Meanwhile, they supported the nursery financially, but otherwise left it to its own designs. By 1911 the organization incorporated under the name Portland Fruit and Flower Mission, the nursery adopting the title as well, Portland Fruit and Flower Day Nursery.³² In 1912 the Mission opened a branch nursery on the East side, but two nurseries proved to be a financial burden.³³ The East-side nursery closed in 1915.³⁴

The original nursery continued to grow. The Mission minutes referred to it in early years as "prospering" (meaning steadily increasing attendance and problems no greater than childhood illnesses), but the society's ambiguous feelings about the nursery exacerbated more serious underlying problems. The first concerned a continuing difficulty in securing a reliable matron. For years the average stay of a matron was only a few months--the Mission let some go for incompetence, others found higher paying

³²FFHC, "Articles of Incorporation," May 10, 1911.

³³FFHC, Minutes, November 7, 1912.

³⁴FFHC, Minutes, May 6, 1915.

jobs. The second concern centered on the attendance growth which necessitated a move every two or three years.

The resolution of the first problem came in 1919 when the Mission hired Mrs. Elizabeth Jehu.³⁵ A social worker of sorts (she had received training from the Salvation Army), Mrs. Jehu brought needed administrative skills to the position of nursery matron, a title she immediately changed to superintendent.³⁶ Through her hard work and organizational abilities, the nursery became a smoother operation and the society began to take a more active interest in the program. Everyone involved clearly profited from the changes Mrs. Jehu brought about.

An ever increasing attendance created the second difficulty--continual overcrowding. The answer came in February of 1924 when the nursery was offered the land and buildings on the S.W. corner of 12th and Market Street for \$15,500 cash. The society had been saving funds for the purchase of a permanent building for years. Having \$11,626.64 immediately available, they negotiated the sale with the balance handled in payments.³⁷ The nursery moved into the existing structures, and after much planning and elaborate fund raising, the society constructed an \$85,000 building on the lot in 1928--a facility highly acclaimed

³⁵ FFHC, Minutes, September 4, 1919.

³⁶ FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1919.

³⁷ FFHC, Minutes, February 7, 1924.

for its design as a day nursery.³⁸ Over the years some of the adjacent property was purchased to enlarge the playground. Today the building still stands as one of Portland's historic landmarks.

The untiring devotion of Mrs. Jehu along with the permanence of the new building, gave the nursery the solid foundation needed to carry it through future difficulties. The Fruit and Flower Day Nursery was well on its way to becoming an enduring part of Portland's history.

³⁸FFHC, Minutes, December 6, 1928.

CHAPTER IV

FROM DAY NURSERY TO CHILD CARE CENTER

For those who draw comfort from formal beginnings, the date generally given for the genesis of day care is 1816, and the person given credit is Robert Owen. A mill owner and philanthropist in New Lanark, Scotland, Owen operated a nursery for the children of the working poor in the hopes of educating them in "right habits" while providing a safe environment.¹ Within about fifty years similar nurseries, called infant schools, served children age three to seven in most of England's urban areas.² In the late nineteenth century, American educators and social workers visited these infant schools, and the German kindergarten that was emerging at roughly the same time, introducing the knowledge they gained into educational programs for young children in the United States. Various attempts at pre-school education were made in such cities as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia which tended, at first, to be rather muddled, but during the first decade of the twentieth century, nursery school and kindergarten leaders in

¹Steinfels, pp. 35-36.

²Steinfels, p. 12.

the United States began to define more clearly their objectives, and thus systematize their programs.³ Education remained the focal point throughout the growth of the nursery school movement, a significant feature that distinguished it from the "day nursery."⁴

Modeled on the French creche,⁵ the day nursery placed emphasis on physical care of young children ranging from tiny infants to children as old as eight and nine. Whereas the nursery school and kindergarten prepared children for public school, the day nursery was a philanthropic undertaking specifically organized to care for children of single working mothers.⁶ Day nurseries attempted to provide a more reasonable alternative to these families whose children would otherwise have been left unattended all day or consigned to an institution. Regardless of the personal feelings day nursery proponents held regarding the care of children by surrogate mothers, these women recognized that the day nursery provided an environment superior to the squalor of a disease-ridden tenement, or an overcrowded

³Steinfels, pp. 49-52.

⁴"Preschool and Parental Education", The Twenty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Lois H. Meek, chairman (Bloomington: Public School Publishing Company, 1929), pp. 239-241.

⁵Steinfels, p. 37.

⁶Steinfels, p. 37.

foundling home or orphanage.⁷ Most importantly, the day nursery maintained the family's unity.⁸ In 1900, the National Federation of Day Nurseries made the expansion of day nurseries and the discouragement of institutionalization of children the first order of its national campaign.⁹ As we have seen, their president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, made a personal visit to Portland in 1906, further stimulating the Flower Mission's desire to open a day nursery.

In Portland, as in other urban centers, the people touched by a day nursery were poor working-class families in more or less desperate situations. Typically, the woman worked ten to twelve hours each day, six days a week, usually in a factory or laundry, or as a clerk or domestic. After a twelve hour shift she went home to what is mildly described as a "hovel" where she cooked, cleaned, raised her children, and perhaps did piece work for a little extra money. The average woman earned about \$1.50 a day, when she could find work.¹⁰ It is safe to assume that at the end of the day her exhaustion, coupled with her inadequate living conditions, made "proper" care of her children difficult. The children often arrived at the nursery unbathed

⁷FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, June 19, 1908.

⁸FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregon Journal, June 16, 1907.

⁹FFHC, Scrapbook, Unidentified newspaper clipping, 1906.

¹⁰FFHC, Scrapbook, The Portland Telegram, n.d.

and in the same clothing they had been wearing for days, with lice, scabies, ringworm, rickets, and other untold ailments frequent occurrences. Most children had inadequate clothing. The fear of smallpox, diphtheria and whooping cough was ever present.¹¹ Because desparate living conditions made cleanliness, nutrition, and other health habits difficult, day nurseries made health care a very important part of each day's care.

In 1900 Portland had a population of 90,426. By 1910 this had grown to 207,214.¹² This rapidly increasing population exacerbated already crowded conditions. The expansion of industry and the influx of immigrants had not been matched by construction of adequate housing. A problem faced by all American cities, Portland furnished the typical answer--single dwellings divided into small flats, tiny cottages built nearly on top of one another, ramshackle tenements, and flimsy tents. Each year the housing problem worsened until in 1881 the city agreed to investigate charges of inhuman living conditions endured by thousands of Portland's working class families. Some of these charges appeared in the Oregon Voter in March 1918:

¹¹FFHC, Miscellaneous Nursery Reports, 1920-1929, passim.

¹²The Oregon Voter, 15, No. 8, 1918, p. 230.

Whole families, with small children and babies, are living in rooms that have no windows. Doors open on hallways that are not ventilated. In spite of housewifely efforts to keep clean the premises are filled with unwholesome odor.

One sink provided all the water available for housekeeping purposes for from ten to twenty families on the same floor of a smelling tenement.

One toilet, and that practically without privacy, is all there is for from ten to twenty families.

Whole families, with several of each sex, all live without privacy in one room, and that room without ventilation or water.

Rickety wooden tenements are packed so tight with housekeeping humanity and are so poorly equipped with fire protection that the slightest accident might precipitate appalling loss of life.¹³

The City Commission's report on housing conditions proved the above complaints to be true. For instance, 162 tenement buildings were found to have 584 rooms without windows and 548 additional rooms with windows that let in almost no light. These rooms often had no fresh air. Toilets were found to be ventilated into living quarters, with only ten percent of all toilets judged to be clean. Diseases bred in epidemic proportions. Crowded conditions, lack of running water, and generally foul surroundings made healthy habits impossible.¹⁴ As the Oregon Voter emphasized, "One of the superficial criticisms of tenement dwellers is that they are dirty and choose to be dirty..."

¹³The Oregon Voter, 12, No. 12, 1918, p. 371.

¹⁴The Oregon Voter, 14, No. 3, 1918, p. 73.

However, a large share of the supposed liking for filth may properly be attributed to the fact that great numbers are without proper means to keep clean."¹⁵

All this is to suggest that the middle-class women who devoted themselves to nursery work provided a service which might seem below standards when viewed in the light of more recent standards but which nonetheless provided a real answer to a glaring need. The day nursery bathed its charges and dressed them in clean gingham smocks, provided them with hot nutritious meals, fresh air, and clean, warm beds. It provided medical and dental care, as well as hair cuts when needed.¹⁶ The sum of day nursery care was a physically safe and healthy environment, undoubtedly maintained with strict discipline.

In its early years the Fruit and Flower Day Nursery provided care best characterized as custodial; the program focused on health and clean habits, and the matron exhibited a rather dour manner--strict discipline and rigid routine made for a smoothly run day. The only exceptions to the daily schedule came on holidays when the children received special treats, perhaps sweets or a short visit to a board member's garden. In these first years the enrollment ran about fifteen children all supervised by the matron with

¹⁵The Oregon Voter, 14, No. 3, 1918, p. 82.

¹⁶FFHC, Miscellaneous Nursery Reports, 1920-1929, passim.

some assistance from the maid. These two women performed all the duties of the household, as well as watching the children, for salaries of fifteen and ten dollars a month, respectively.¹⁷

Admission to the Fruit and Flower nursery required that the parents be working or looking for work, and the children be vaccinated and be in relatively good health. Each child received an examination from a doctor who donated his services. The nursery would not admit children whose parents refused to have them vaccinated. The prevention of disease came before all else, with every precaution taken by the attendants, including fumigation of the premises after cases of severe illness such as measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, small pox, and scarlet fever.¹⁸ People viewed these diseases with such dread that an epidemic in the nursery might have permanently deterred the public from its use.

When the nursery first opened in 1906, children age three and older spent their mornings at the People's Institute kindergarten.¹⁹ By 1911, attendance at the nursery reached thirty-one, so that it seemed wise to have a kindergarten of their own. An interested board member organized a kindergarten program in 1913, and the board agreed to pay

¹⁷FFHC, Minutes, April 16, 1911.

¹⁸FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1908.

¹⁹FFHC, Scrapbook, The Portland Telegram, n.d.

for the necessary materials and the teacher's car fare.²⁰ Needless to say, the lack of a salary made it difficult to secure and retain a teacher. The program failed, but within a few years, the board consented to hire a part-time kindergarten teacher. Since that time kindergarten has been a permanent component in the Fruit and Flower program.²¹

In 1919 the Fruit and Flower Mission hired for the nursery its first really capable and committed matron. Elizabeth Jehu might, in fact, be described as zealous. A graduate of the Salvation Army College in New York City with years of experience in charitable institutions in east coast cities, she came well recommended; and the board, willing to pay seventy-five dollars a month for the benefit of her expertise,²² made a wise choice, for her abilities brought about significant changes in the nursery. First, Mrs. Jehu redefined the matron's role as one of administering the nursery program--working with, instead of for, the board. Within five months she had clearly taken charge. The monthly reports she sent to the board meetings provide the first informative data on the nursery operation. Mrs. Jehu's first report, in November 1919, read:

²⁰FFHC, Minutes, February 6, 1913.

²¹FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1925.

²²FFHC, Minutes, May 6, 1920.

47 children registered Nov. 1.
29 garmets were given--Work was found for 13--
1610 meals were served and 800 sandwiches were
given the children during October.²³

Mrs. Jehu felt her position was more than supervising the children and staff, that it also included a constant search for things to enrich the nursery. She worked to secure donations from many sources, for example, writing letters to Oregon fruit growers of the nursery's need for fresh fruit, and soliciting board members and nursery friends for items such as a drinking fountain, napkins for meal time, and additional playground space.²⁴

During the Twenties, Mrs. Jehu worked to make the nursery an efficient operation, constantly fighting to keep up with a steadily increasing enrollment. In 1922, the building seemed overflowing with children, the attendance reaching seventy-one in December. The board raised the nursery fee from ten to fifteen cents to help keep up with an increased need for supplies and employees, and saved additional expense by having the county health office and the Confidential Exchange screen applicants as to health and need.²⁵ The severe lack of space led to a restriction in enrollment to "children whose mothers need real help and to keep the nursery space for those who need it as a helpful

²³FFHC, Minutes, November 6, 1919.

²⁴FFHC, Minutes, June 1, 1922.

²⁵FFHC, Minutes, September 4, 1924.

charity, rather than a convenience...",²⁶ though it is doubtful anyone used the nursery for convenience. At the same time, plans began for the construction of a permanent building with a larger capacity. It was completed in 1928.²⁷

Although the most important goals of the Fruit and Flower Day Nursery continued to be, as in other cities, keeping the family intact while making children's lives more healthful, in the 1920's there emerged a growing understanding of the developmental needs of children between the ages of two and six. The 1925 annual report of the president of the board reported the activities at the Fruit and Flower nursery to include beads and blocks, singing and recitation, color recognition, and getting dressed by oneself. In addition, a trained kindergarten teacher had been added to the staff, teaching the children "all branches of kindergarten work, table manners and deportment receiving special attention." Thus, the nursery prepared the children well for the public school experience teaching them "to concentrate, to use their hands and minds, to sing and play happily together."²⁸

²⁶FFHC, Minutes, September 4, 1924.

²⁷FFHC, Minutes, December 6, 1928.

²⁸FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1925.

Mrs. Jehu, however, did not emphasize the educational work of the nursery when called upon to describe the program. Spending each day with the children and visiting their homes, she remained very much aware of the need the nursery serviced--poor working-class mothers with little time, inclination, or opportunity to make any improvements in their lives. Therefore, in addition to supervising the children's care, Mrs. Jehu made daily efforts to keep illness at a minimum, sought employment for mothers who needed work, collected items of need for her families, and offered suggestions for improved health in the home. In an interview with the Oregonian in 1923, Mrs. Jehu spoke of her desire to educate families in proper nutrition:

Often the newly arrived children tell of having coffee and doughnuts or flapjacks for breakfast, and we suggest to these mothers that they will keep their children in better health if they give them milk instead of coffee, and coarsely bolted cereal instead of fried dough in any form.²⁹

The nursery maintained a necessarily stern establishment with so many children under the care of a very few adults; at best, the ratio was one attendant to twenty children. However, during Mrs. Jehu's tenure, the strictness began to give way to a sensitivity to the developmental and emotional needs of young children--a recognition that harsh treatment was not an effective means for shaping

²⁹The Oregonian, July 15, 1923, sec. 5, p. 9.

desirable behavior, as she revealed further in the same interview:

In the five years I have spent in this nursery we have had to dismiss only two children because of misconduct, and seldom have to punish for naughtiness. We never allow any child to be called bad...We keep only children who are in reasonably good health and of fair disposition and training. Since none are degenerate or predisposed to wrong-doing, we have a right to expect them to be obedient to our few rules for their welfare and happiness. Our most effective means of discipline proves to be giving a little candy and withholding it from the occasional naughty ones.³⁰

Mrs. Jehu remained in charge of the nursery until 1929.³¹ During those ten years, and up through the Second World War, the Fruit and Flower Day Nursery's main emphasis continued to be the children's health. The educational program remained with the kindergarten; in fact, kindergarten activities dominate the records revealing almost nothing of the care of the younger children. This remained the case until World War II when significant changes, away from custodial care, occurred in day nursery standards.

The patriotism of the "war effort" spelled the end to totally private human services, including privately operated nurseries like Fruit and Flower. The 1942 annual report for the nursery showed the board members' reluctance to yield any decision making to the government.

³⁰The Oregonian, July 15, 1923, sec. 5, p. 9.

³¹FFHC, Minutes, April 1929, no day indicated.

As a result of our desire to further the war effort, the policy of admission of children has been enlarged to include the children of working mothers who are in defense industries and hence make more money than previously, and also children of working mothers whose husbands are in the Armed Forces....

In the past we have been fortunate in having been able to solve our own problems in our own way, but I want to remind you, as I have been reminded at the Day Care Committee meetings, that we may be asked to make further changes in our policies in order to meet future war problems.³²

The need for women workers in war industry meant government involvement in day care. A day nursery attractive in both physical and educational aspects could easily make the difference in whether or not a mother would join the work force. This also meant government standards to meet, and soon led to similar standards for Community Chest funds.³³

Although Fruit and Flower and the Volunteers of American, both operating large capacity day nurseries in Portland, were initially asked to provide care for the children of war industry workers,³⁴ it soon appeared to be a ridiculous request. The Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation brought thousands of families to Portland, putting a terrible strain on all areas of human services, from housing to medical services to child care. The inadequacy of the city's available services to handle such a large increase in population became immediately apparent. Edgar Kaiser, in charge of the Portland operation, showed great insight with the methods he chose for handling these problems. In Portland, he is remembered in particular for the

³²FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1942.

³³FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1942.

³⁴FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1942.

creation of the Kaiser Child Service Centers. A short description of those centers is important here for two reasons. First, these centers were the largest and most progressive to be built in the United States to this day; and second, when they closed at the end of the war, their administration placed the future development of day care standards in Portland into the hands of the board of Fruit and Flower,³⁵ suggesting that the respect with which the community held the nursery gave the board a great responsibility requiring careful planning.

The Kaiser Company had two ship yards in Portland, Swan Island and Oregon Ship. The decision to have child care centers for the workers at these plants initiated a search for the nation's most qualified early childhood educators which led to Lois Meek Stolz, who agreed to be the director, helping in the creation of the program and making periodical visits from her home in California. James Hymes, Jr., worked as the director at the site.

In developing the program, they decided to have two centers, one at the entrance to each yard for easy access, to be operated by a thoroughly trained staff from the teachers to the nutritionist and medical personnel. The centers operated twenty-four hours a day to cover all three shifts at the ship yards, making a total possible attendance of 1125 children in each center. Although attendance

³⁵FFHC, Minutes, October 11, 1945.

began low--the first day 135 children attended--it soon picked up reaching an average daily attendance of well over 700 during the summer of 1944. One week in September 1944, 1005 different children received care at the Child Service Centers. Even with these large numbers of children, the staff maintained an excellent program, aided by the design of the buildings which allowed for the children to be cared for in groups of twenty-five or less with three teachers in each group.³⁶

Besides excellent child care, the centers provided other services, thus the name Child Service Centers. Each center included an infirmary for the care of mildly ill children and for emergencies. In addition to the meals for the children, the nutrition center prepared hot meals which parents could purchase for the evening meal at home. A lending library made books available on many aspects of child care and home management. Clearly, the design of these centers worked to provide everything conceivable to make the lives of working mothers comfortable, thereby reducing absenteeism and increasing the quality of the women's work. Guaranteeing a mother quality care for her children and leisure time with them in the evening kept women on the

³⁶James Hymes, Jr., Living History Interviews, Book 2: Care of The Children of Working Mothers (Carmel: Hacienda Press, 1978), passim, in private collection of Dr. Mildred Kane.

job and working at an optimum capacity.³⁷

Of course, every new venture has room for improvement. In an interview with James Hymes, Lois Meek Stolz reflected on the one area in which the centers really fell short.

There was one group, however, with which we failed. We never did reach many of the black mothers--we had very few black children. Looking back, the fault was in large part ours. We had no black staff members. And we learned, near the end, that our buildings looked so grandiose to black mothers. At that time they couldn't quite believe the Centers were for their children too.³⁸

Although the company made a tremendous effort to publicize the program, the centers failed to reach many white families as well, who also felt the buildings look too good. While the federal government gave millions of dollars for child care during the war through the Lanham Act, most of it was distributed through the school districts.³⁹ Many people found a program such as Kaiser's difficult to understand or believe. A great number of people secured care in private homes simply because of its familiarity. As people became educated to the Kaiser program, the enrollment quickly rose, but the end of the war then left these children without a plan for care, putting a great strain on the

³⁷ Oregon Historical Society, Miscellaneous Scrapbook Collection, "An Experiment in Services for Employees," Kaiser Company, n.d.

³⁸ Hymes, p. 23.

³⁹ Steinfels, pp. 67-68.

private nurseries to take these children in as well as upgrade their own programs.

Superior programs, like the Kaiser Centers, were expensive, but the guarantee of a profit through cost-plus contracts made that expense insignificant.⁴⁰ In effect, the government subsidized industrial nurseries as well as Lanham Act nurseries. When the war ended and industrial production fell off, some women left the work force. Although many women continued to work, peace time found their existence and their needs to a great extent ignored--public opinion increasingly stressed that a mother's place was in the home with her children.⁴¹

Government and industry clearly intended to drop day care back into the laps of private nurseries. In 1944 James Hymes began having meetings with the board of Fruit and Flower to discuss changes in the program which would bring it up to government standards. This was accompanied by pressure from the Community Chest as recorded in the Fruit and Flower annual minutes for 1944:

The Community Chest through the Council of Social Agencies has been taking much more interest in how their agencies are run. They

⁴⁰Gwen Morgan, "The Kaiser Child Service Centers," reprinted in History and Theory of Early Childhood Education, Samuel J. Braun and Esther P. Edwards (Ohio: Jones Publishing Company, 1972), p. 371.

⁴¹Steinfels, p. 69.

have had many suggestions to make especially in the line of Nursery Schools. They want us to have trained teachers and a program of work like the Government Nurseries. We have not been able to comply with many of their suggestions so far, because it would mean almost a complete reorganization of our staff which seems almost impossible at the present time.⁴²

By February 1945, James Hymes had convinced the board of the necessity of a reorganized program led by people trained in education, not only for reasons related to funding, but because of Fruit and Flower's position in the community. As a final incentive, Hymes offered the services of Emma Harris for one year. Having been a supervisor at one of the Kaiser centers, Harris applied her knowledge and organizational skills in developing the new program, and by the end of the year the Fruit and Flower nursery had complied with government standards, which soon became the city's standards as well--all head teachers held degrees in education.⁴³

Some board members and staff balked when Miss Harris began to institute changes, insisting that so much emphasis on education would lead to physical neglect.⁴⁴ Change is extremely difficult for people caught up in the tradition of an organization as long standing at Fruit and Flower,

⁴²FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1946.

⁴³FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1946.

⁴⁴FFHC, Minutes September 12, 1945.

and inevitably those people who could not cope with the changes left the organization. But the old system had lost its viability, and rapid reorganization spared no ones' feelings, regardless of their sincerity.

In February 1946 the federal government withdrew the Lanham Act funds which had funded war-time nurseries. A certain number of these children would be cared for at home by their mothers, but others would not; their mothers would continue to work.⁴⁵ In Portland, the community requested local nurseries to provide care to children displaced by nursery closures. As well as taking on as many children as they could, closing down work rooms to provide the space, both Fruit and Flower and the Volunteers of America took on the management of a housing project nursery. They received additional funds from the Community Chest. Fruit and Flower took the nursery at Guilds Lake.⁴⁶

While managing the Guilds Lake nursery, Fruit and Flower also established a short hour program for the Guilds Lake trailer camp families in 1948. These families were living under very bad conditions with little opportunity for recreational or developmental activities for their children. They spent day and night in cramped quarters. The short hour program consisted of two half-day programs

⁴⁵Steinfels, p. 69.

⁴⁶FFHC, Minutes, February 5, 1945.

that gave the children a chance to play and learn. It also provided the mothers some training in child development as well as giving them some relief from their children. This program lasted seven months, by which time most of the families had been relocated. Of the program the board wrote:

A short hour nursery school is a practical and natural way to ready the parents of young children who have problems of poor housing and/or lack of knowledge of the child's physical, mental, social and emotional needs. The Board...would be willing to assume a similar service if an emergency arises.⁴⁷

In 1950, the full day program also closed.

Earlier, in 1946, Emma Harris had resigned as director, having given, as she had promised, one year to Fruit and Flower. Miss Harris helped firmly establish an educational program, and soon everyone forgot the misgivings and resistance they had felt at first. The new director, Miss Marie Brady Keenan, held a Masters degree from Teachers College, Columbia University, and had years of teaching experience in Portland and Seattle. She first saw the nursery through the housing project programs, at which time the operation of Fruit and Flower became a lot smoother. Slowly, Miss Keenan brought the program up to a standing of excellence through hiring well-educated people, encouraging her staff to attend workshops, and giving leaves of

⁴⁷FFHC, Minutes, April 14, 1949.

absence to teachers who wished to return to school. She began what she referred to as "in-service training," which included bringing professionals from many fields to the nursery to share their knowledge and skills, and holding frequent staff meetings.⁴⁸ In 1955 Miss Keenan began to look into the feasibility of having a social worker on staff, at least part-time, to help with in-take, but also to be available to the children and their families. The United Fund offered \$1000 toward the position,⁴⁹ but a social worker was not actually hired until 1960.

Miss Keenan did more than create an excellent educational program; she changed the nursery's community role. She began by helping other organizations, such as the Volunteers of America, start their own in-service training programs. She also participated in numerous associations and committees such as the Oregon Association for Nursery Education Standards Committee, the Child Welfare Services Committee of the Governor's State Committee on Children and Youth, and the Day Care Services Sub-Committee. Her opinions were widely respected in the field of early childhood education, and through her efforts Fruit and Flower clearly rose to a position of community leadership.⁵⁰

⁴⁸FFHC, Minutes, May 10, 1945.

⁴⁹FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1955.

⁵⁰FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1958.

In the early Sixties, a different type of problem confronted Fruit and Flower. An impending freeway at the nursery's back door promised difficult access for many parents. In addition, the socioeconomic characteristics of the families using the nursery had slowly moved away from low income, as had the entire neighborhood. More and more of the families using the nursery were students at Portland State College, the medical school and the dental school--the temporarily poor. It became a concern to the board that the population the nursery served no longer met the criterion they wished it to meet, and that the nursery might serve a more useful purpose, closer to its original intentions, if it were in another neighborhood. In the meantime, Portland State was expanding and wished to purchase the nursery property. Some people felt the nursery should become part of the Portland State education department. It would be ten years before the issue of relocation would be resolved and a new building constructed in Northwest Portland.⁵¹

In 1962, as these rumblings began, Mrs. Keenan told the board that she wished to retire. She had been director for seventeen years, but the last few years had found less money available for training and salaries were becoming increasingly inadequate. Her final report to the board

⁵¹FFHC, Minutes, April 12, 1962.

included the following:

It is becoming increasingly difficult to secure trained teachers who have the beginnings of a background or experience in early childhood education. Therefore in-service training becomes more important. This concerns me greatly. The success of a preschool program is very dependent on its teachers. The teacher is the adult the child looks to each day for help and direction. (You can't have a confused, mixed-up person in charge of a group of little children and expect them to be happy and well adjusted. Some of these children come from pretty mixed-up homes.) My experience has convinced me that weekly staff meetings, individual help and an occasional workshop are not enough to prepare these girls effectively. Who will help us?⁵²

In January 1964, Lyndon Johnson addressed the nation with what he called a declaration of war on poverty, which received additional effectiveness later that year when Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). One portion of that Act gave money to programs for disadvantaged children--those physically or emotionally handicapped, living under poor housing conditions, or coming from non-white racial and ethnic groups--children from backgrounds traditionally barred from educational, social and economic advantages. Programs directed at these children were more likely to receive EOA funding. In a time of increasingly under-funded human services, many agencies reworked their programs in the hopes of qualifying for EOA money.⁵³ Fruit

⁵²FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1962.

⁵³FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1964.

and Flower was no exception.

Dr. Mildred Kane, hired as director in 1963 and well aware of the funding difficulties of Fruit and Flower, worked energetically to find new sources of income. Naturally, she and the board agreed when the Jewish Community Center suggested a joint EOA proposal to provide family services and training to ten disadvantaged Portland families. The program, approved and financed through the Community Action Program, took a great deal of planning and staff resources. It lasted one year.⁵⁴ The "War on Poverty" fostered many ambitious programs, like this one, the results of which are still argued. But it is agreed that some cases resulted in resentment and bitterness. In the instance of educational and developmental improvements through day care, it is clear that one year in a progressive center does not significantly alter a child's future outlook or possibilities; a great deal more is necessary. Such were the lessons of the Sixties.

In the end, Poverty Program funds did not improve the financial state of day care. Then, in 1970, the federal government seemed to change its course by creating the Community Coordinated Child Care Program through which Title IV-A money was distributed for the purchase of child care for low-income families while fostering "cooperation among

⁵⁴FFHC, Minutes, March 17, 1965.

public, voluntary and private day care sources."⁵⁵ This money came as a real boost to those agencies that went after it, with a particularly large response coming from day care proponents in Oregon, who hoped that the financial worries of day care had come to an end. But the fear that some people had concerning the stability of federal dollars proved, in this case, to be quite accurate, for in 1972 Richard Nixon vetoed the Comprehensive Child Development Act which proposed tremendous reforms in the area of the care and education of children. This also brought about a change in the distribution of Title IV-A funds which resulted in a huge loss for Oregon.⁵⁶

Since 1972 the funding of day care has steadily decreased while the need has steadily increased. Debate over the psychological effects of day care on children, as well as debate over regulations, standards and types of care, has become much more important than coming up with actual resolutions, leaving millions of children in mere custodial care. In addition, the time day care directors once spent enriching their programs, they now spend lobbying the legislature, accounting for every dollar to state agencies,

⁵⁵FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1970.

⁵⁶FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 1 (1972), p. 3.

scrambling for public and private funds, and, as much as they dislike it, they must continue to support a system that demands high accountability while paying the lowest wages--a system that clearly exploits both women and children.⁵⁷

It has been nearly twenty years since Marie Brady Keenan asked, "Who will help us?"

⁵⁷FFHC, Frances Ousley, 4-C Legislative Liason and former Director of Fruit and Flower, Personal interview, February 5, 1979.

CHAPTER V

A CENTURY OF FUND RAISING

A large number of the 800 people in attendance declared the Chinese tea...to be the very prettiest entertainment ever given in Portland. The Dekum residence...was turned into a very fairyland with twinkling Chinese lanterns, gorgeous gold-embroidered hangings that draped the walls of the hall and parlors, gay screens and panels and waving bamboo plants and massive, heavily carved ebony chairs and burning incense, that made the richest background for the 30 pretty young women who received their guests and served them with tea and sweetmeats. For they were pretty, extraordinarily pretty, as everyone agreed, in their loose-flowing, pale-tinted crepe kimonos, and splendid stiff embroideries, their hair coiled smoothly upon Chinese sticks...

About a dozen Chinese children, from four years old upward, in native dress, were in attendance. One of these--a girl of 7, with a bewitching pretty pearl bead head-dress and pink roses--opened the door and received the guests with a Chinese welcome. Conversation then mingled with queer strains of Chinese music that were wafted softly on the air. Refreshments comprised steaming tea served in the daintiest of chrysanthemum cups--the Canton ware, without handles or saucers of course--pressed Chinese nuts, preserved ginger, cakes, and sugared plums eaten with chopsticks.

The entire effect was so brilliantly Oriental in all its details that it brought forth more pretty compliments in an hour than are generally heard in a month.¹

¹FFHC, Scrapbook, Unidentified newspaper clipping, October 1900.

So went the Chinese tea, a benefit given by the Portland Flower Mission in 1900. It netted about \$100.

Today, no local organization would consider attempting such an elaborate fund-raising event for such a small return, nor would they risk affronting a public that is increasingly conscious of the disparity often found between money spent and money returned. But in 1900, those concerns would have been absurd, for fund-raising was more often an excuse for entertaining, whether a gala ball or an afternoon tea. Aside from being minimal, the funds netted were, for the most part, irrelevant; personal wealth filled the gap. In less than one hundred years, charity has come to mean payroll deductions, federal and state subsidies, and a public generally removed from decision making in the realm of poor people and their relief. This chapter examines the changes in financing charities and how Fruit and Flower has managed to work within those changes.

Prior to World War I, all the work of the Fruit and Flower Mission was accomplished by its "active members." For many years after the nursery opened, the matron and her assistant received the only pay. During this period, the Mission women maintained a visiting list of about twenty needy families, responded to emergency requests for aid, and continued their work for poor people in local institutions--a tremendous amount of work for volunteers. Financially, the Mission's work found its support in membership

dues, individual and business donations, and various types of fund raising activities.² In 1907 the Fruit and Flower Mission boasted 73 associate members (no participation required), and 53 active members.³

Although no systematic account of individual donations exists for the years before 1928, the minutes reflect a steady flow of necessities from the membership and the Mission "friends." For many years the nursery received its electricity, telephone, and fuel free of charge; medical care was donated; and at various times throughout the year--particularly on holidays--local companies gave the children treats such as toys, excursions, ice cream and sweets. An occasional fund raising event supplemented membership dues and donations which often fell short of the operating expenses. While raising the necessary dollars, these affairs promoted the work of the Mission and entertained the public.⁴

Often the most successful benefits were those that began inauspiciously. One of these in particular resulted from an invitation, in 1907, to the Bankers' Baseball League to play a benefit game for the Mission. The bankers, at once captivated by the idea, soon challenged prominent

²FFHC, Minutes, 1893-1915, passim.

³FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1907.

⁴FFHC, Minutes, 1906-1928, passim.

doctors and lawyers to form a league for the competition. The game took place on Multnomah Field (donated for the event) June 22, the last day of Rose Carnival. Of the five thousand tickets printed, the Fruit and Flower Mission members sold 3,146 in advance. Local advertising filled the pages of the printed programs which included the story of the Mission, ending with the following entreaty:

The noble work the Flower Mission girls are engaged in should appeal to all. The good the Mission is doing for humanity, especially the poor women and children, is most commendable, and those who assist in maintaining the Day Nursery would be more than repaid if they would only see the happiness that these mothers and children are afforded through the Day Nursery.⁵

The game opened with an exhibition of baseball prowess by Governor Chamberlain, Mayor Lane, Judge George Williams, and Auditor T. C. Devlin. The two teams, composed of the elite of Portland's business sector, included for the bankers: Packard, Bennett, Rhea, Stephens, Bishop, Powell, Young and Hartman; and for the doctors and lawyers: Dolph, Gearin, Murphy, Sinnott, Ainslie, Trimble, Fenton, Banks, Sanderson, Stott, Dammasch, Wight, Zan and Stearns.⁶ The sale of tickets, refreshments, programs, and advertising (which netted the Mission \$1,315.35),⁷ and the entertainment

⁵FFHC, Scrapbook, Program, "Baseball Benefit."

⁶FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregon Journal, July 6, 1907.

⁷FFHC, Minutes, June 18, 1907.

the game provided, made the benefit so successful that for years it was included as the closing event of the Rose Carnival to please a crowd sure to clamor to see Portland's notables fight it out.

One fund raising scheme very popular at the turn of the century was the card party. A typical card party featured the hostess' lawn arranged with tables at which a place was secured by purchase of an admission ticket. Society women gathered at these functions in their finest attire to enjoy refreshments, card playing, and conversation. The Fruit and Flower Mission women cognizant of the fashion at any particular time, held a very successful card party in April 1907. An attendance of 200 women brought the Mission \$175.⁸

In November 1907 the Mission women tried their first "pound party"--an open house for the Day Nursery where each guest was obliged to bring at least one pound of something (such as food, clothing, money) that might benefit the nursery operation. That year's party brought many supplies as well as \$46.75.⁹ This, too, became an annual event.

Newspaper coverage, of course, helped increase donations to the Mission and attendance at their fund raising affairs. Without exception the press viewed the Fruit and

⁸FFHC, Minutes, April 16, 1907.

⁹FFHC, Minutes, December 3, 1907.

Flower Mission as a model for charity organization--it did not "pauperize its recipients." And the Day Nursery, which aided helpless children, made good copy; the press unflinchingly endorsed its programs and fund raising activities. In addition, the newspapers periodically reminded the public of the services the Mission offered with a short story of a family in despair helped by Fruit and Flower:

Lying in his tent on the river bank at St. John, neglected by his friends and family, Earl Caples died of consumption yesterday at 1 o'clock. His only care was from his mother, who is supporting the family of three boys, all stricken with the malady. She is being assisted by the visiting nurses and weekly contributions are made by Portland Fruit and Flower Mission Girls, who have kept the family in fresh eggs, fruit, soup, and other necessities and dainties. Their efforts have also secured a bed in the Open Air Sanitarium for one of the boys, who, the doctors say, stands every chance of recovery. The other two, Earl and James, have lived in their tents through the Winter, waiting the inevitable end.¹⁰

Not an outright plea for money, this type of news effectively encouraged people to give a little more. Could there be a sadder story than that of the Caples?

The ladies of the Mission, always open to a new way to raise funds, still aimed at only one large solicitation each year, as pointed out by the Oregonian:

This is not a clamorous charity that begs its way from door to door or constantly vexes

¹⁰FFHC, Scrapbook, The Portland Telegram, December 18, 1908.

the ears of men in the business districts. Once a year it asks public patronage for an entertainment--or a game which bright and active members of the Fruit and Flower Mission, under the auspices of which the Day Nursery was established, work industriously and energetically.¹¹

For the Fruit and Flower Mission, 1907 marked the beginning of vigorous and healthy growth. More importantly, 1907 set the pace for future fund raising which would continue unaltered until the advent of cooperative soliciation and distribution in the 1920's.

Nationally, the idea of federated charities grew out of the United Hebrew Charities of Philadelphia and New York City, organized in the 1870's (specifically to aid the thousands of Jewish immigrants), and the London Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869. Financial federation aimed at uniting local charities for one major soliciation per year, the funds reverting back into the participating agencies. This system promised greater efficiency as well as a check on charitable activities.¹²

The first attempt to organize local charities in Portland came in 1888 with the City Board of Charities, established by the Society of Christian Endeavor of the First Congregational Church.¹³ Initially, it aimed to serve as a

¹¹FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, June 28, 1908.

¹²Robert H. Bremner, American Philanthropy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 98.

¹³The Oregon Journal, January 3, 1915, p. 5.

central information bureau, and not as a supervisory agency. As such, it had little impact, and in an attempt to change that, it reorganized in 1906 under the title Associated Charities.¹⁴ Still, it remained simply an association of agencies. There may have been hopes that as a voluntary organization of charities the mounting problems of poor relief would be solved cooperatively, but by 1911, members of the Associated Charities saw that the direction and methods of the organization needed to change. At their annual meeting, president I. N. Fleischner addressed that issue:

A strong sentiment has developed in Portland towards making the Associated Charities the central relief board...The modern tendency in organized charity is in the direction of increased relief, including the introduction of a pension system in family cases. Among the improvements contemplated are a study of the conditions which cause pauperism; investigation of means to control or remove poverty; cooperating with the several agencies to relief in the community in order to prevent unnecessary aid being given; and promote the general welfare of the deserving poor.¹⁵

The notion of federation, still under exploration in 1916, continued to seek answers to the original criticisms of the administration of aid to the poor. Duplication of effort, inequity in relief, extensive overhead expenses coupled with unnecessary administrative work, and a fear of creating a dependent poor were elements federation promised

¹⁴The Oregon Journal, January 3, 1915, p. 5.

¹⁵The Oregonian, November 28, 1911, p. 14.

to reduce. As the number of successfully federated charities increased nationally, federation grew more appealing locally.

In November 1916, the Public Welfare Bureau (a private family-relief agency serving Multnomah County) absorbed the Associated Charities, and initiated the first truly federated fund drive in Oregon. The goal, set at \$25,000, hoped to reduce charity appeals in Portland to one annual drive. As suggested in the Oregonian: "When the campaign has closed, the people, if they have responded to the need as they are expected to, will wait another year before they face the charitable drive again."¹⁶ Enough money is, of course, the eternal problem. The total amount of funds needed is never raised. But the single fund drive sold the federated charity idea, not only in Portland, but across the country.

In that same year, the City Council created more stringent rules for the solicitation of funds by limiting permits to "well known" charities. In 1919 the Council went one step further, amending the solicitation ordinance to require the submission and approval of a detailed budget before issuance of a permit,¹⁷ the last step needed before organizing a formal federation.

¹⁶The Oregonian, November 28, 1916, p. 8.

¹⁷FFHC, Minutes, Annual Report, 1919.

The first successful financial federation attempted in the United States on a city-wide, nonsectarian, nonpartisan basis had come six years earlier in Cleveland, Ohio.¹⁸ Labeled the Community Chest, it is today recognized as the precursor of the United Way. Initially sceptical about the possibilities, people soon changed their minds as the outbreak of the First World War necessitated raising large amounts of money quickly. "War Chests" sprang up in every community to fill the war need, convincing many people that power did indeed lie in the small contribution collected community by community.¹⁹ Portland held her own campaign, carried out by the Liberty Loan Committee.²⁰

The success of the war chests led to the proliferation of community chests after the war. During the spring and summer of 1920, by request of Mayor George L. Baker, Portland's leading businessmen held several meetings to establish a local chapter--Portland Community Chest, incorporated October 5, 1920, with Franklin T. Griffith as president, Julius L. Meier as vice president, and Edward Cookingham as treasurer. They immediately secured a loan for operating expenses until the first fund drive could be organized. In

¹⁸United Way of the Columbia-Willamette, Historical file, Community Chest Annual Report, 1939, p. 2.

¹⁹John R. Seeley, et al, Community Chest, A Case Study in Philanthropy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 20.

²⁰Community Chest Annual Report, p. 3.

January 1921 they made their first monetary award, funding the Confidential Exchange, a department of the Public Welfare Bureau.²¹

While these businessmen worked toward organizing a local chest, Fruit and Flower showed its support by voting in May 1920 to join the promising organization, thinking that they might request a \$500 allotment. Like all applicants to the Community Chest, Fruit and Flower submitted its budget to the Mayor for review, a requirement that preceded approval for funding. Although the Mission women felt their budget was perhaps too small "and lacking in room for expansion," they submitted it along with those of other agencies. The Fruit and Flower Mission budget received approval, and their invitation to join the Chest came in October of 1921, making them one of thirty-one agencies to join in that first year. Awarded \$500 for the remaining two months of 1921, Fruit and Flower reciprocated by sending seven volunteers to participate in the Chest's annual fund drive, setting an example of what the Chest considered desirable fund drive participation, a practice they continued each year. Late in 1921 the Mission made its request for the next year, asking the Chest to cover the nursery budget. The women also decided to approach the Chest for aid in the building of a "new home" for the badly overcrowded nursery.

²¹Community Chest Annual Report, p. 4

Fruit and Flower received \$2,136 for 1922, and permission to solicit for their building fund.²²

The idea of a central agency for dealing with charitable dollars was well received in Portland, but within a few years unforeseen difficulties arose. Local charities accustomed to managing their own affairs free from restrictions found some Community Chest regulations baffling, particularly budgeting for an entire year, preparing accurate financial statements, and participating in the annual fund drive. Most significantly, there arose a misconception that joining the Chest exempted an agency from the responsibility to interpret community need and to continue public relations. In an effort to correct these difficulties, the Chest established a joint planning agency in 1923 through the Social Workers Association of Oregon, to which each agency sent a representative. In this way, Chest agencies had a voice in policy formation, could receive advice for their own operation, and were held accountable for their services to the community. This planning group became a permanent part of the Community Chest in 1931.²³

For Fruit and Flower, the transition to Community Chest funding took place with relative ease. As the nursery program expanded, so did the amount of Chest funds received.

²²FFHC, Minutes, January 5, 1922.

²³Community Chest Annual Report, pp. 13-14.

Liberty bonds purchased during the war, continued investment of their money after the war, and membership in the Community Chest, reduced Fruit and Flower's fund raising efforts to an annual open house and tea at the nursery. Much of the Mission's needs--clothing, food, and other material items--continued to be donated in ample supply by various women's and children's clubs. Funding continued along these lines for many years.

The Community Chest, then, was one response to increased need in social welfare. Another was corporate giving. Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, neither believers in personal hoarding of wealth, originated large scale corporate giving. They distributed millions of dollars through the foundations they created to charities reflective of their personal views, generally activities that promoted a "better America," rather than those that provided direct relief.²⁴ Foundations continue to be a major source of philanthropic funding, often aiding agencies or projects ineligible for federal funds--religious organizations being the largest single recipient of foundation money.²⁵ But regardless of the many dollars distributed by foundations, their primary motive has evolved from Carnegie's and

²⁴Bremner, American Philanthropy, p. 121.

²⁵John H. Filer, et al, Giving in America; Toward a Stronger Voluntary Sector, Report of the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs, Washington, D.C., 1975.

Rockefeller's "doctrine of stewardship" into the present day concern to create and maintain a favorable corporate public image.²⁶

During the depression years, private philanthropy began faltering, no longer able to maintain the widely accepted belief that charity could care for all the necessities of the poor--a system that had seemed to work satisfactorily in the past--because, as the depression wore on, the numbers of people in desperate need became overwhelming.²⁷

Government assistance to the poor, inevitable under these circumstances, became a reality through Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Federal Relief Administration of 1933 gave \$500 million to states for direct relief, and the Social Security Act of 1935 created many services including an old age pension and aid to families with dependent children, permanently establishing the responsibility of the federal government for major social services.²⁸ Under this legislation came the regulation that government agencies distribute all federal dollars. Inevitably, some agencies found their services duplicated by government agencies, so

²⁶Robert H. Bremner, "Private Philanthropy and Public Needs: Historical Perspective," Research Papers, I, Department of the Treasury, 1977, pp. 102-103.

²⁷Bremner, Research Papers, p. 97.

²⁸Ron Ridenour, "Federal Funding: The First 200 Years," The Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 4 (1978), p. 34.

that in some instances, such as the Public Welfare Bureau in Portland, the entire program was turned over to the government. At the same time, the Community Chest asked that their member agencies drop any services duplicated by the government--presumably to maintain a distinction between charity and government subsidy, to prevent duplication of effort, and most importantly, to avoid governmental regulation of their programs.²⁹

With the Second World War came a proficiency in fund raising using the "whirlwind campaign" where emotions, raised high, increased donations to their maximum. This very successful technique built upon the Community Chest model, differed greatly from traditional, more personal forms of philanthropy.³⁰ As Roy Lubove described it in The Professional Altruist, the Community Chest was a system whereby "an anonymous public supported an anonymous machinery to serve anonymous clients."³¹

The Chests of World War II permanently altered fund raising in the United States, in effect eliminating any direct reference to poor people, so that government carried the responsibility of social welfare and private money went

²⁹Community Chest Annual Report, p. 3.

³⁰Scott M. Cutlip, Fund Raising in the United States (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965), p. 397.

³¹Lubove, p. 172.

into one pot for distribution by a central agency. This central agency was the United Fund, first organized in Detroit in 1949.³² Like the Community Chest, it represented a "national idea" duplicated on the community level, receiving no direct management from any national organization. Portland established its United Fund in 1952.³³ The United Fund differed from Community Chests and other federated charity organizations in that it was specifically designed as a "giver's organization."³⁴ In other words, the board members of the United Funds, almost exclusively male members of the business community, decided what policies would control their local chapters. This stronger role could not avoid causing friction with some member agencies. United Funds defended this reorganization by declaring that the United Fund answered "the developing and changing needs presented to the givers."³⁵ In other words, as the needs of the community became diversified, a central group would determine actual need, relieving givers of that time consuming task. But some agencies, the American Cancer Society for example, withdrew from the United Funds because this change

³²Seeley, p. 27.

³³United Way of the Columbia-Willamette, Information Sheet, "History and Background," 1975, p. 1.

³⁴Cutlip, p. 498.

³⁵"History and Background," p. 1.

in policy meant that "the programs of vital health and welfare services were being evaluated and directed by the givers and not by those most knowledgeable, experienced and concerned--the professional staffs and dedicated volunteer leaders of the agencies."³⁶ In removing the decision making from the professional and volunteer staffs, the governing of charity was removed from the women who had been largely responsible for its growth and professionalization, and effectively assumed by men who saw a need to make charity more "businesslike".

Portland's United Fund grew to encompass three counties--Washington, Clackamas, and Multnomah--in 1955, and in 1959 changed its name to Tri-County United Good Neighbors. In 1969 it merged with Clark County, simplifying the name to United Good Neighbors. Finally, in 1975, the agency joined the United Way of America which provides advertising and recommends policy to local United Ways.³⁷ Clearly, the financial federation of charties has grown to be a powerful element in private philanthropy. Although such a large organization could not hope to avoid criticism, the United Way has lately been under heavy attack.

Criticism of the United Way concentrates on two areas. The first concerns the make-up of the boards of directors.

³⁶Cutlip, p. 498.

³⁷"History and Background," p. 1.

Citing that most directors are white, male, and upper-class, critics charge that these men do not represent the ethnic, social or economic characteristics of the communities they serve. The directors' tendency it is said is to fund only non-controversial agencies--agencies that reflect the attitudes of the board members, agencies that are not, as a rule, run by minorities. Another version of the criticism is to say that it has never been the policy of the United Way to allow people in need to determine their own destinies.³⁸ The second criticism of the United Way concerns its method of fund raising. During World War II, United Funds formulated the charitable payroll deduction, which has become the mainstay of the United Way and is monopolized by it. The criticism of this fundraising device is two fold: First, many employees of companies that permit the payroll deduction plan view it as compulsory, a payroll tax; and second, because this method is the most inexpensive and painless method for raising funds yet devised, other organizations resent being excluded from its use. At this time, through whatever means, the United Way dominates the payroll deduction method.³⁹

³⁸Ed Arnone, "United Way: Looking Out for Number One?" Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 4 (1978), p. 20; "The Charities War," TS, MacNeil/Lehrer Report, WNET, January 17, 1979, p. 1-5.

³⁹"The Charities War," p. 5-8; Ron Chernow, "Cornering the Goodness Market: Uncharitable Doings at United Way," Saturday Review, October 28, 1978, p. 18.

The United Way answers these charges by saying that it is not a monopoly, but rather a "cooperative effort," and that it is willing to share the payroll deduction--with any agency that fits under its umbrella. The main emphasis of United Way proponents is still the "single fund drive," whose good is said to far outweigh its evil. As for the make up of the boards of directors, the United Way claims that minorities do sit on their boards, and that it is, after all, the responsibility of the government to take care of the poorest people. The United Way serves all people, rich or poor, who have a need.⁴⁰ However, the United Way, both nationally and locally, stated recently that there will be changes in their structure in the very near future, concrete changes addressed to these charges. In November 1978, a planning committee of the United Way of America concluded that "future United Ways will have to cope with a tremendous increase in the rate, volume, and type of change. The impact of this change will necessitate new ways of doing business."⁴¹ But many people believe the times call for an entirely different approach.

United Funds and corporate foundations make up a large portion of private giving, a phenomenon that many Americans

⁴⁰"The Charities War," p. 7-9.

⁴¹FFHC, "United Way of American Long Range Planning Report on Critical Issues Confronting Local United Ways," Summary, November 6, 1978, p. 5.

feel is vitally important to our way of life. They see it as a check on government, a way to support areas the government cannot or will not support, an encouragement to innovative ideas and local projects, and a means for funding projects of higher quality than government-funded projects. But increasingly, private philanthropy cannot keep up its pace. Its costs grow at a greater rate than the rest of the economy, not because of poor management or a higher rate of needy people, but because philanthropy buys a service rather than producing a product. Services require labor whose cost, ever rising, raises the cost of philanthropy. In addition, government funding is rarely in step with the cost of living. Although most experts agree that what the poor need most to pull themselves out of poverty permanently is money, money is not what they get--at least not in adequate amounts. As Robert Bremner wrote, perhaps quite accurately, "the nation's distrust of pauperism [is] still stronger than its determination to combat poverty."⁴²

So, where does child care lie in this morass of public and private funding? Like so many social services, it provides a service that cannot be supported by its recipients, and yet, someone must pay the costs, costs that are rising steeply. Financed totally by private funds in the early years, the need for child care gradually increased, programs

⁴²Bremner, Research Papers, p. 98.

expanded, costs rose. Initially, the Community Chest carried the extra cost. A tremendous expansion in child care came with the Second World War through the necessity to pull mothers into the work force, coupled with a far greater understanding of early childhood development that made the quality of child care important. War industry and government nurseries provided beautiful, but expedient, programs.

In February 1946, the war over, the government withdrew the Lanham Act funds which had provided a fifty percent match for war-time nurseries. The responsibility for those children at once fell to the private nurseries--agencies already filled to capacity--and any additional community chest funds they might be able to secure.⁴³ Concurrently, local standard setting agencies such as city councils and community chests began implementing new licensing requirements in order to upgrade nursery programs to the level of the war nurseries. Increasing enrollments and stiffer standards without the necessary funding became the post-war frustration of day-care advocates. By the late 1960's there had still been no financial relief, resulting in terribly low wages and making trained teachers impossible to secure.

Fruit and Flower exemplified the struggle. In 1968 the nursery faced a \$12,000 deficit which the United Good Neighbors (formerly the United Fund, and today the United

⁴³Steinfels, p. 68.

Way) could not meet. The nursery had to decrease its paid staff. In an attempt to meet those staffing and funding needs, the board of directors initiated a volunteer auxiliary, but this could only operate as a stop-gap measure.⁴⁴ Another bit of aid came in 1969 in the form of a USDA program to reimburse money spent on food.⁴⁵

Then, in that same year, President Nixon received resounding praise from day-care proponents when he announced approval of an increase in and improvement of day care centers for poverty-level families, day care centers that would meet the developmental needs of young children:

There is no single idea to which this administration is more firmly committed than to the enriching of a child's first five years of life, and thus helping lift the poor out of misery at a time when a lift can help the most. Therefore these day care centers would offer more than custodial care; they would also be devoted to the development of vigorous minds and bodies.⁴⁶

Earlier, in 1967, the Title IV-A amendment to the Social Security Act had made funds available for day care. These were unrestricted funds except for the requirement of a twenty-five percent match. In 1970 the Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) program was initiated as a community based council for distributing those funds. United

⁴⁴FFHC, Minutes, April 11, 1968.

⁴⁵FFHC, Minutes, May 31, 1969.

⁴⁶FFHC, "Nixon Puts Emphasis on Early Childhood," A Voice for Children, 2, No. 7 (1969), p. 1.

Good Neighbors, unable to meet the increasing need of post-war social services, urged nursery programs to take advantage of the federal program. In Portland, where such advocates as Helen Gordon had long worked for an improved day care system, the United Good Neighbors was adamant, and Portland became a 4-C pilot project. In September 1970, the Fruit and Flower board voted, with two members opposed, to release some of their United Good Neighbors allocation for a 4-C match. Under this system United Good Neighbors provided one dollar for every three federal dollars, thereby greatly reducing the amount it gave the nursery, while the nursery, with the government dollars, actually received more funding than it had in the past. This enabled Fruit and Flower to raise salaries and improve the program. At the same time, as well as having additional funds available for other agencies, United Good Neighbors could upgrade its own program. Clearly everyone benefited. Would United Good Neighbors replace the federal dollars if they should be withdrawn? The question was evaded, rightfully worrying some people. Oregon took full advantage of the 4-C program, indicating, by the many new day care centers that opened, the area's need for child care services.⁴⁷

At the federal level, Senator Walter Mondale and Representative John Brademas were drafting a bill for the implementation of the children's services Nixon had request-

⁴⁷Frances Ousley, Personal Interview.

ed. A hotly debated issue, the Comprehensive Child Development Act passed congress in 1972.⁴⁸ Nixon vetoed the measure, reversing his original assertions by stating that the need had not been established. An unbelievable move, progress in child care services halted, but this did not seem to satisfy the administration. The new plan for social services focused on the complete removal of the federal government from both funding and policy making for those services, effected by the impounding of monies allocated by Congress, development of restrictive regulations which caused underexpenditures, and, in some cases, simply a failure to spend. Restrictions on day care dollars came through the Revenue Sharing Act passed October 1972, whereby funds would be allocated on the basis of population with the final distribution being left to local governments which could fund social services if they chose. The ceiling was \$5.4 billion, which meant a \$4.6 million loss for Oregon.⁴⁹

This new plan for funding hit Oregon's day care programs particularly hard, having greatly expanded under the 4-C program. In addition, the city of Portland made it very clear from the start that revenue sharing funds would not go for day care or any other social services, as the Oregonian reported in November 1972:

⁴⁸Frances Ousley, Personal Interview.

⁴⁹FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 1 (1972), p. 3.

[Mayor] Goldschmidt indicated the first priority of the city will be to do things that will reduce future operating costs; and there is not much prospect of additional money for use in services to people.⁵⁰

The Mayor continued, saying that for at least six months there would be no "people-oriented programs," though such funding might be available in the future. One year later, the Federal Office for Revenue Sharing reported that nationwide only 3.7 percent of the revenue sharing funds were proposed for social services that year, most states preferring to spend their money on things such as street lights rather than on what they termed "recurrent" needs, i.e., people. Local governments plainly refused to take responsibility for social services, and in fact, they attempted to pass those needs on to the private sector that had already demonstrated its inability to carry the entire burden.

As soon as the Revenue Sharing Act passed Congress, Fruit and Flower and other agencies had to cut back their programs drastically, eliminating extra community services and staff. Fruit and Flower immediately asked United Good Neighbors to restore some of the funding they had compelled the nursery to release for the 4-C program, asking for an eleven percent increase. United Good Neighbors refused, stating that Fruit and Flower could find the money elsewhere because it "had greater resources and experience"⁵¹ in fund

⁵⁰ FFHC, Scrapbook, The Oregonian, November 10, 1972.

⁵¹ FFHC, Minutes, January 18, 1973.

raising than some other United Good Neighbor agencies. In 1970 United Good Neighbors provided 43 percent of the Fruit and Flower budget; in 1973 they gave only 21 percent.⁵²

The Mondale-Brademas bill again faced Congress in 1974, but within hours of its introduction Nixon resigned the presidency, and the attention given to Watergate brought the bill little enthusiasm.⁵³

In September of 1974, as some order had been restored, President Gerald Ford called a summit on the economy to search for a solution to inflation. One day-care journal summed up the results:

Although the consensus of the conference was that the disadvantaged were the victims of inflation, not its cause, programs to help the poor, sick, and elderly were the target of Ford's proposals in October to aid the economy.⁵⁴

In 1975 the day care issue again seemed to have promise. Although there had grown a great deal of disagreement as to types of programs, many influential groups pushed for an improved system such as the American Federation of Teachers which wanted the public schools to provide day care, and the AFL-CIO which wanted universally available

⁵²FFHC, Minutes, January 15, 1970; January 18, 1973.

⁵³FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 1 (1975), p. 3-4.

⁵⁴FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 1 (1975), p. 4.

care.⁵⁵ Other groups hoped for a more diverse program suited to a variety of needs. 1975 appeared to give the Mondale-Brademas bill another chance.

Then, later that year, an unsigned mimeographed flyer condemning the bill made nation-wide distribution and was freely published by conservative presses. The allegations, that the Mondale bill would allow children to sue their parents and join in unions, could not be substantiated; nevertheless, it was a highly successful smear campaign. The Mondale bill died and has had no serious revival since.⁵⁶

In the meantime, the struggle continued in Portland to get local government to fund day care. The following example typifies the method Oregon has used to answer the day care funding issue. In February 1975, the Children's Services Division (CSD) of the Department of Human Resources, which became the agent for purchasing day care for low income families, stated that it faced a \$1.6 million deficit for the biennium. The reason given for the deficit was "overspending in recent months and federal cut backs in the work incentive program." An immediate cut in day care funding resulted in approximately 350 cases dropped and

⁵⁵FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 5 (1975), p. 4.

⁵⁶FFHC, Day Care and Child Development Reports, 4, No. 23 (1975), p. 1.

1600 cases shifted to Welfare, thus forcing many of these people into cheaper and often inadequate care, or out of the labor force entirely.⁵⁷

In November 1976 the State Emergency Board asked CSD's director J. N. Peet if his office would need the \$2,051,000 being held in case the federal government disapproved of the shift of some day-care cases to Welfare. Peet replied that when he had taken the position as director in August of that year CSD had apparently been facing a \$2 million deficit, but now he found that there was, in fact, a surplus of nearly \$4 million. This, added to the \$2 million being held by the Emergency Board, meant that CSD potentially had \$6 million available for programs for children. (Fiscal records certainly can be a problem.)⁵⁸

Critics blame the present situation on the decision to accept federal money in the first place, which not only created a financial dependency on a sometimes unreliable source, but also brought federal restrictions ultimately creating more expensive programs. In addition, some critics blame United Good Neighbors for encouraging involvement in federal programs and then not replacing the federal money

⁵⁷The Oregonian, February 19, 1975, p. A28; The Oregon Journal, February 18, 1975, p. 1-2.

⁵⁸FFHC, Personal notes by Joan Dunn, Director, Fruit and Flower, Testimony before the Oregon State Emergency Board, November 17, 1976.

when it was withdrawn. But child-care advocates see the problem as one of educating the public, the business community, and the government in the hope that federal money will be restored or that state money will be allocated in adequate amounts. This education focuses on what quality child care means, why its costs are high, and what its benefits are.⁵⁹

Child care centers are only one type of service increasingly dependent upon many funding sources. Fruit and Flower, as one example, has maintained the ability to alter its program and services in order to benefit from the available dollars. It has grown from a civic club for high school girls, to a center active in setting community child care standards, using many sources of income through the years.

The 1978 budget for Fruit and Flower offers an example of how various sources today distribute their funds to social service agencies, and how that money is then utilized. The 1978 operating budget was \$349,577 for the care of 95 children aged six weeks to six years. Over fifty percent came from parent fees and reimbursement from the Children's Services Division which included state and some federal money. Thirty-seven percent was from fees and twenty-nine percent from CSD. The next largest amount came

⁵⁹Frances Ousley, Personal Interview.

from the United Way, eighteen percent. USDA made up five percent in reimbursement for food. The rest, eleven percent, came from investment interest, membership, contributions, and other private sources. Out of this, eighty-one percent (\$282,216) was paid in wages and salaries. Seventy-three percent of that paid to a teaching staff of about twenty, the remaining paid to administrative, household, maintenance, and other support services. Nine percent of the total budget went to building occupancy, while five percent was paid for food, four percent for office supplies and miscellaneous, and finally, one percent for educational supplies.⁶⁰

But each year is different. Allocation of money depends on many variables including restrictions on the use of particular funds, the availability of an agency to attract funds, the federal and state governments' attitude toward a certain service, and the willingness of business and the public to carry some of the weight. Fruit and Flower has offered nearly one hundred years of service to Portland under changing financial conditions; it may or may not be able to do so in the future as funding continues to fluctuate.

⁶⁰FFHC, Financial Statement, 1978.

SOURCES CONSULTED

BOOKS

- Addams, Jane, Twenty Years at Hull House. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.
- Bremner, Robert H., From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States. New York: New York University Press, 1956.
- , American Philanthropy. Chicago: University of Chicago, Press, 1960.
- Cutlip, Scott M., Fund Raising in the United States. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965.
- Dickens, Charles, Bleak House. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1951.
- Filer, John H., et al, Giving in America. Report of the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs, Washington, D.C.: 1975.
- Gaston, Joseph, Portland, Oregon, Its History and Builders. Portland: S. J. Clarke, 1911.
- Hofstadter, Richard, Social Darwinism in American Thought. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959.
- Hymes, James, Jr., Living History Interviews, Book 2: Care of the Children of Working Mothers. Carmel: Hacienda Press, 1978.
- Johansen, Dorothy O. and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- Lasch, Christopher, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- , The World of Nations. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

- Lubove, Roy, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- MacColl, E. Kimbark, The Shaping of a City. Portland: The Georgian Press, 1976.
- Meek, Lois H., Chairman, The Twenty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Bloomington: Public School Publishing Company, 1929.
- Platt, Anthony, The Child Savers. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Seeley, John R., et al, Community Chest, A Case Study in Philanthropy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.
- Steinfels, Margaret O'Brien, Who's Minding the Children? New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.

ARTICLES

- Arnone, Ed, "United Way: Looking Out For Number One?" The Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 4 (1978), pp. 14-23.
- Bothwell, Robert, "Further Explorations of the Elusive World of Corporate Philanthropy," The Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 2 (1978), pp. 57-61.
- Bremner, Robert, "Private Philanthropy and Public Needs: Historical Perspective." Research Papers, I, Department of the Treasury: 1977, pp. 89-114.
- Chernow, Ron, "Cornering the Goodness Market: Uncharitable Doings at United Way." Saturday Review, October 28, 1978, pp. 15-18.
- Conway, Jill, "Women Reformers and American Culture, 1870-1930." Journal of Social History, 5, No. 2 (1972), pp. 164-177.
- Morgan, Gwen, "The Kaiser Child Service Centers." History and Theory of Early Childhood Education, by Samuel J. Braun and Esther P. Edwards, Ohio: Jones Publishing Company, 1972, pp. 370-372.
- The Oregon Voter, 12, No. 12 (1918), pp. 371-372.

-----, 14, No. 3 (1918), pp. 73-83.

-----, 15, No. 8, (1918), p. 230.

Ridenour, Ron, "Federal Funding: The First 200 Years." The Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 4 (1978), pp. 31-41.

Wencocur, Stanley, "The Structure and Politics of Local United Way Organizations." The Grantsmanship Center News, 4, No. 4 (1978), pp. 24-25, 43-44.

TELEVISION PROGRAMS

"The Charities War." The MacNeil/Lehrer Report, TS, WNET, January 17, 1979.

INTERVIEWS

Kane, Dr. Mildred. Personal interview, April 26, 1979.

Ousley, Frances. Personal interview, February 5, 1979.

MANUSCRIPTS

First Unitarian Church, Portland. Christening records.

Fruit and Flower, Private Historical Collection. Twenty-three boxes, 1885-1979, including, but not limited to the following:

Minutes, 1885-1978.

Scapbooks, newspaper clippings and memorabilia, 1885-1978.

"Articles of Incorporation," 1911.

Day Care and Child Development Reports, 1972-1975.

"Nixon Puts Emphasis on Early Childhood," A Voice For Children, 2, No. 7 (1969).

"United Way of America Long Range Planning Report on Critical Issues Confronting Local United Ways," Summary, 1978.

Testimony before the Oregon State Emergency Board, Personal notes by Joan Dunn, November 17, 1976.

Oregon Historical Society, Vertical File. Personal reminiscence by Courtney M. Smith, 1933.

Miscellaneous Scrapbook Collection. "An Experiment in Services for Employees," Kaiser Company, n.d.

United Way of the Columbia-Willamette, Historical file.
"History and Background," information sheet, 1975.
"Annual Report," 1939.