

The GOLD COAST
AND THE SLUM

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY *of* CHICAGO'S
NEAR NORTH SIDE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO & LONDON

THE CHURCH, THE FAMILY, AND THE SCHOOL IN
THE CHANGING COMMUNITY

In the town or village the status of the church was defined in the mores of the community. Sects might compete with one another; but the church played a definite rôle in community life. Significant family events—christenings, marriages, burials—centered about the church. The church took a leading part in community celebrations, and was looked to in time of crisis. The church was intimately identified with the life of the locality, and was the visible symbol about which centered a great part of the community's ritual and tradition. The church plays a very different rôle in the life of the local areas of the Near North Side, the rôle varying with the degree of "community" remaining to those areas. Throughout the Near North Side the church finds the necessity of adjusting to a changing community. It is attempting this adjustment in various and interesting ways.

There are a few churches that are intimately related to local groups, express group life, and are mediums of group action. These churches are found among the Persian and Negro populations. The Persian, calling himself Assyrian, a sectarian name, and coming to America because of religious persecution, lives a great part of his life in the church. The Negro recently from the rural South, where the church played a large part in his life, continues, on the Near North Side, to organize much of his life about the church. What collective action takes place among the Persian and Negro populations takes place through the church. But the Negro and Persian populations are scattered among other groups, and have little influence upon the trend of "community" events.

The churches of the Gold Coast and of Little Sicily are

CHAPTER IX

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND
THE SOCIAL AGENCY

The most striking thing about the local life of the Near North Side, as we have seen it in the light and shadow of the foregoing pages, is the fact that, from the lake on the east to the river on the west, there is scarcely an area that may be called a community. From the mansions of the Gold Coast to the tenements of Little Hell there is startlingly little of local feeling, consciousness, or action. The local areas of the Near North Side represent communities in process of disintegration, or areas, like the "world of furnished rooms," from which all traces of community life have vanished. The comparative status of local institutions and social agencies on the Near North Side significantly reflects this aspect of life in its local areas, and the possibility of anything approximating community action in these areas.

In the village community the church, the school, and the "town meeting" or political organization exist as community institutions and function under community sanctions. But on the Near North Side the church has ceased to bear any vital relationship to local life; the school, while still in the "community," is part of a great system of schools, centrally directed, and little interested in local problems; and the "town meeting" has become a ward club, where "the boys" and political jobholders gather to take orders from the ward boss, and perhaps to "sit in" on a few hands of poker.

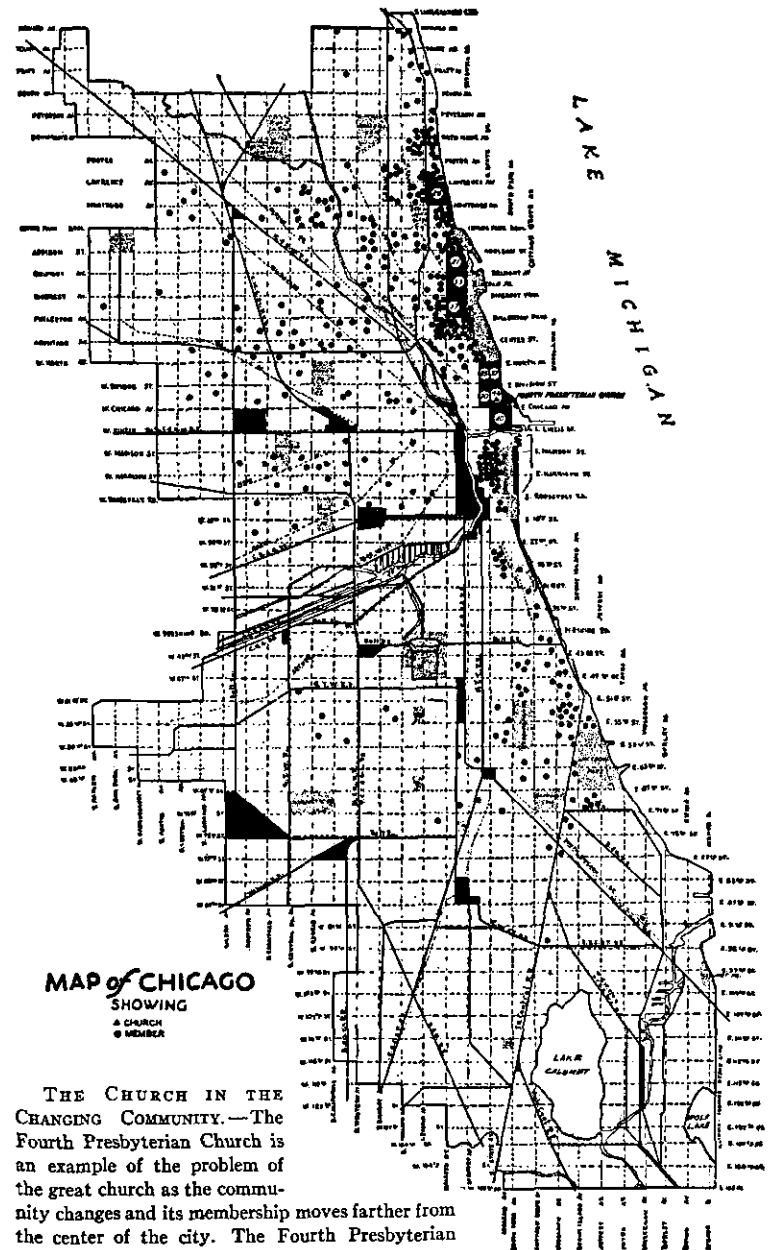
nominally community institutions. As we discovered in looking about the Gold Coast, however, most people in the neighborhood of the Lake Shore Drive "simply don't go." As the old contributors—whose relationship to the church is defined in terms of the day when the church was a community institution—leave the church, or die, it becomes increasingly difficult to finance these great churches.¹ An analysis of their membership reveals the fact that their members are scattered all over the city, and that a large number of them live far outside the "community," while of the members who live in the neighborhood of the church a large proportion belong to a totally different social world from that of the Gold Coast.²

These churches, realizing that the "community" is changing, and that they are losing touch with local life, are making various efforts to accommodate themselves. Their efforts but re-emphasize how far away from the community the church has grown. One of these churches split its con-

¹ The Fourth Presbyterian Church, for example, is feeling the necessity of endowing itself. The ultimate result of endowment is to give the church the same status in the community as has the social settlement.

² Of the membership of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, for example, a large proportion live without the boundaries of the Near North Side, and of those members living within the Near North Side, many are of the drifting rooming-house population, and are members only in name.

This church is a "community" institution only in its own eyes. The "community" feels keenly the barrier between itself and the world of fashion of which the church is a part; and the church is commonly referred to about the "community" as the "Millionaires' Club." The Gold Coast attends the morning service; the "world of furnished rooms," the evening service; the two rarely mingle. The "Life Story of a Charity Girl" (p. 80) and Document 56 show how little a part of the church these people from the world of furnished rooms feel themselves. They contribute little to the support of the church, and their memberships are brief in duration, and relatively inactive.



MAP of CHICAGO
SHOWING
▲ CHURCH
● MEMBER

THE CHURCH IN THE CHANGING COMMUNITY.—The Fourth Presbyterian Church is an example of the problem of the great church as the community changes and its membership moves farther from the center of the city. The Fourth Presbyterian Church is a "Gold Coast" church. But already so large a proportion of its membership has moved to outlying communities or to suburbs not shown on this map, that it is in no sense a community church identified with the life of the Near North Side. The concentration of spots back of the church represents the transient contact of its institutional activities with the lodging house area.

gregation over the question of giving dances for the girls working in nearby shops and offices; and recently the "radical" element, after establishing its own church and building a beautiful parish house, voted to discontinue "community center" work in the rooming-house district (on the border of which it is located) in favor of giving Christmas baskets and putting a few "old ladies" in homes.¹ The churches of the Gold Coast have little identity with local life.

The church of Little Sicily is perhaps more intimately identified with local life. The membership of the Catholic church is limited to the local parish. The traditional relationship of Sicilian village life to the church still persists. Family celebrations and village festivals have at least a nominal relationship to the church. But we have seen that the church is losing its hold on the second generation. It is the church, rather, of the diminishing immigrant generation, and is participating less and less in the life of the colony.

Even less intimate in its relationship to local life than the church on the Gold Coast or the church in Little Sicily is the church in the world of furnished rooms. The rooming-house district is a district of many church spires, relics of the day when this was a fashionable residence community. But it is a district of dying and abandoned churches. Without exception, these churches are supported by members who now live far outside the community, but cling to the old church out of sentiment for the days that were. A few of these churches have withdrawn into themselves, content to let the life of the city rumble faintly by without their doors. But others are attempting to reach down into the life of the area.

One of the most interesting of these is the New England

¹ Document 57.

Congregational Church. It is one of the oldest churches in Chicago. Its traditions reach back through Plymouth to the England of the Restoration. Visible relics bind it to the past. Inlaid in the wall on the sides of its outer portals are two small original slabs, one from Scrooby Manor, dated 1606, and the other from Delft Haven, dated 1670. Within the church may be found a large fragment of the Plymouth Rock. The baptismal font was used three hundred years ago, in the Pilgrim colony in Massachusetts, by Elder Brewster, in the baptism of the sons of Governor Bradford. A generation ago the New England Church was a fashionable church, numbering among its members those whose blood was the bluest of the blue, and was famed for its orthodoxy. As the years have passed its membership has dwindled until today it is but two hundred, 70 per cent of which lives without the Near North Side. But it still numbers among its members some of the oldest, wealthiest, and most conservative families of Chicago.

The fashionable residence district that once surrounded the New England Church has been displaced by an area of cheap rooming-houses. And in Washington Square, directly opposite its door, where nursemaids once wheeled the children of the rich, the hobo now lounges while the agitator harangues from his soap box. The late pastor, a former army chaplain, with modern ideas on all subjects from the immaculate conception to the meaning of the brotherhood of man, attempted to compete with "Bughouse Square" by opening Sunday forums on such subjects as "War," "Narcotics and Drug Addicts," or "If I Were the Devil." Finally a Sunday school class for the hobo was organized, and Dr. Ben Reitman, that colorful adviser and friend of the migratory man, was invited in to lead it. This, however,

proved too much for the conservative element of the old congregation. Shades of Plymouth were conjured up; purse strings were drawn; the minister was asked to resign; and the pulpit gave up its competition with the soap box.

Another church in this district has inaugurated a "bread and coffee line" for drifting men. Others have become little more than missions, striving to awaken old memories by familiar hymns and an "old time religion." Many have given up the struggle altogether, have been abandoned to livery stables and auto-repair shops, or have been torn down, to be replaced by office buildings, industrial plants, and play parks for the children of the slum. The people on the streets hurry by their doors. They belong to another world. The church bell has been replaced by the newspaper advertisement.¹

Little need be said of the relationship of the school to the local life of the Near North Side; there is none. The schools, centrally directed and standardized, are interested in turning out "Americans" at so many per year, not in

¹ The situation cannot be laid wholly to the futility of the church, of course. The church meets in the rooming-house area with a total lack of response, if not with positive opposition. The social worker of one of these churches remarked, "We are desperate to know what to do. There is no response, no matter what we try. We have a large old plant, but our members nearly all now live far outside the community. Many of them have no automobiles, and they don't come. If we could make a congregation of our membership the church would be crowded. But we can't. We are going to try the experiment of sending out auto busses Sunday mornings to bring our members to the church. We cannot reach the neighborhood. We tried children's clubs, only to discover there are no children. We went around from rooming-house to rooming-house, inviting the people who lived in them to a social club. Without exception, the keepers of the houses refused to let us see the roomers. We were allowed to leave programs on hall tables. But there was no response. Not a person from these houses ever came" (see Documents 58).

making adaptations to the problems and needs of a Little Sicily, a gang world, or a life in furnished rooms. The attitude of the Board of Education practically killed the school community center movement.¹ As we have seen in the case of Little Sicily, the school rather creates local problems than adjusts or controls them. Outside the Gold Coast, with its private schools, there is not a parent-teachers association within the entire Near North Side. The school is in this area no longer a community institution.²

Like the church and the school, the family, considered as an institution, functions far differently in an area like the Near North Side than in the town or village community. The maps showing the distribution of desertion and divorce over the Near North Side and the distribution of juvenile delinquency are indicative of the extent of family disorganization. Over large areas, like the rooming-house district, the family as an institution does not exist.³ In practically every immigrant group, as in Little Sicily, the family is going to pieces in the conflict with an alien culture. The fact that there is no occupational continuity and tradition within the family, that the child tends to follow a different trade from that of his father, and is taken into a world of different values, materially contributes to this conflict and dis-

¹ Document 59. The attitude of the Board of Education to the problems of the local community is illustrated by the reply of an assistant superintendent of schools to a Near North Side social worker who asked his help in studying a disorganizing gang situation: "My dear woman, why worry about such things? You have more important work to do in giving baskets and helping the poor."

² The private schools of the Gold Coast, of course, are exceptions. They arise out of a felt need of the Gold Coast, and are a conscious attempt on the local community to control the second generation in terms of its folkways and mores.

³ The family, that is, as a nucleus of ritual, tradition, and emotional definitions and attachments.

integration.¹ The map of United Charities cases indicates that the family is failing, also, in those areas of the Near North Side to function as an economic unit. The fact that it is only on the Gold Coast that the family functions as an institution, functions more or less as the family in the village community, would seem to indicate that the family institution is conditioned by the community, and that where the community sanctions disintegrate the family ceases effectively to function as an agency of social control. The community may persist without the family, as in the womanless colonies of the Persian and the Greek. But the family disintegrates without the community.

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION

The economic life of the Near North Side presents an equally significant contrast to the economic life of the town, even to the economic life of the outlying areas of the city. From the Gold Coast to Little Sicily the person's occupational activities take place outside the area in which he lives. There is no local organization of physicians, lawyers, or artisans. The guild of the medieval city has been replaced by the "local" of the trade union. There are locals on the Near North Side. But these locals are parts of city-wide organizations without local interests.²

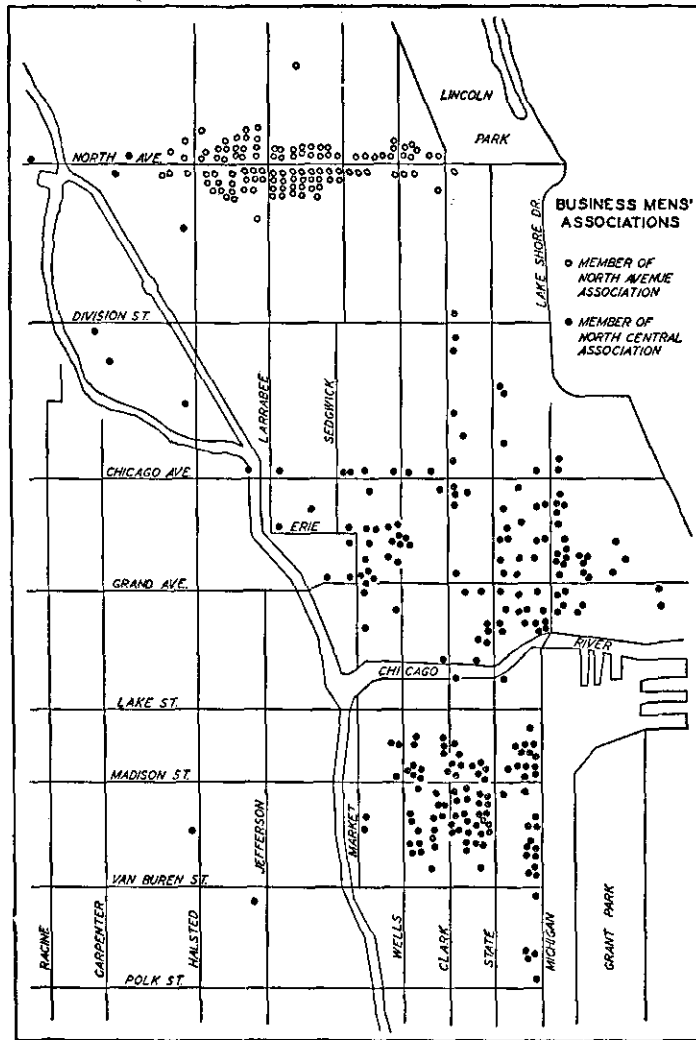
¹ Document 60, five hundred themes written by eighth-grade children in the schools of the Near North Side, throws interesting sidelights on this process. Children who state "My father does a kind of work called labor" are universally looking to stenographic and clerical "jobs" because "they are easy," "they pay good money," and "you can dress swell."

² The guild was a community organization. The members of the guild lived together in a local area of the city, and the guild organization bore an intimate relationship to the life of this area. But even a casual reading of the history of the American Labor Movement (Commons, Hoxie, and Williams), its attitudes, and its structure discloses how remarkably little relationship unionism bears to local life in the city.

As we have already noted, with the exception of the professions of the Gold Coast there is little continuity of occupation from generation to generation. Not only do occupational attitudes not become a part of family and community tradition, but the occupation of each generation takes it into a world of values that often conflict with those of its community. A tendency toward community disintegration is the inevitable result.

Outside the foreign colonies, the trade of this area tends increasingly to be drawn into the Loop or to go to stores that are managed by persons living outside the community. The only "neighborhood" stores are in Little Sicily or along North Avenue. The entire economic service of the Gold Coast is furnished from without, and much of that of the the world of furnished rooms. The majority of the stores of the Near North Side, with the exception of the smart shops on North Michigan Avenue or the corner stores of the foreign slum, depend largely upon a transient trade. The relationship of business to local life is reflected in the brief careers of two local newspapers, the *North Side Shoppers' News* ("From Goose Island to the Gold Coast") and the *Clark Street Booster*. Both of these papers, after existing a few months and with free distribution, passed out of existence because it did not pay to advertise in them. The majority of the owners of these stores live beyond the boundaries of the Near North Side.

Consequently the merchants' associations that exist in the Near North Side bear a very different relationship to local life than do those in outlying communities. There are four merchants' associations having members within the area. Of these, the largest and most influential, the North Central Association, is a Loop organization interested in



BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS IN THE NEAR NORTH SIDE.—Near North Side Merchants Associations are little identified with the social life of the area. The North Central Association is interested merely in pushing the Loop development in the North Michigan Avenue district. The North Avenue Merchants Association is identified with the local interests of the German and Hungarian colony about North Avenue.

pushing the North Michigan Avenue development, and taking no interest in the local life in that vicinity. The three others are associated with local business streets: Clark Street, Division Street, and North Avenue. Of these, only the North Avenue Merchants' Association has any stability, and it is identified with the German community to the north. The Division Street association is a by-play of a politician in Little Sicily, and is periodically having to be resuscitated. The North Central Clark Street association has but just come into existence, after years of futile attempts to organize the street. The association is a reaction to the Michigan Avenue development. Its president, asked to present its program at a meeting of Near North Side agencies, declined, on the ground that all they had in mind was a better street lighting system. The relationship of the Merchants' Association to the area is much like that of the social agency or the Bureau of Streets. Its function is one of physical reclamation.

LOCAL LIFE AND THE NEWS

As with the church, the school, and the Merchants' Association, so with the news. The newspaper, which in the town, and even in outlying communities of the city, is an institution of control and intimately identified with local life and local issues, has, on the Near North Side, little to do with the formulation of local issues and local opinion.

Beyond the stories of murders on "death corner" or tales of girls gone wrong in rooming-houses, the larger part of the life of this Near North Side rarely is reflected in the news. The modern metropolitan newspaper, with its emphasis on the romantic episodes of life that have a universal appeal, many of which come over the wires, bears little relationship

to the life of local areas of the city. Outlying communities, such as Englewood and South Chicago, have successful community newspapers. But within the non-family and slum areas of the inner city, where advertising does not pay, "news" and local life belong to different universes.

The Gold Coast, however, in this as in every other aspect of its life, presents a contrast to the rest of the Near North Side. The comings and goings of the world of fashion are "news" everywhere; they have a glamor and a romantic interest, and pages are devoted to them. The society pages of the daily papers are really local newspapers of the Gold Coast, resembling, in their get-up and in the intimate nature of the news which they print, the newspaper of the small town. Affording, as they do, a tally of tricks in the social game, these columns are a prominent factor in social control.

THE CLUB AND THE GANG

The church, the school, and the occupational group, then, as well as the newspaper, play no intimate rôle in the local life of the Near North Side. But the life of this area is far from unorganized. The Gold Coast has its clubs; intimate groups gather in "village" studios; the foreign areas have numerous lodges and mutual benefit societies; the slum has its "gangs." Even in the rooming-house area, where group life is at a minimum, occasional cults and sects spring up, and every pool hall and cigar store has about it a nebulous group. And these groups may play an enormously important rôle in the lives of their members.

But these groups, with the exception of the clubs of the Gold Coast, are interstitial groups, not only from the point of view of the larger society, but also from the standpoint of the local community. They represent communities in

process of disorganization. They are segmental rather than communal expressions of the life of the local area. The horizon of interest of the clubs of the Gold Coast, on the other hand, is city-wide and local issues rouse but faint echoes in the ballroom of the Casino or the lounges of the Racquet Club.

LOCAL POLITICS

The extent to which community life has broken down on the Near North Side, the extent to which local institutions and groups fail to function as agencies of social control, is reflected in the host of problems which the area presents from the point of view of organized society. With the physical inadequacy, poverty, ganging, delinquency, and crime of its slums, the clandestine vice of its rooming-house district, and the commercialized vice of its "little white way," with an almost total indifference to community issues and interests and an extreme individuation of personal behavior, with prejudice of group against group, with political corruption and graft, the Near North Side is not only an area of physical change and deterioration, but an area of extreme personal and social disorganization.

Yet these "problems" lie almost completely outside the realm of political action. In the slum area, from Wells Street west to the river, politics is a game, a mere struggle for office with its concessions and booty. These local "problems" are not election issues. The vote is organized from "higher up" outside the community. Elections are decided on party lines. Party lines are emphasized, if need be, by gangs of "strong-arm" men backed up by automatics.¹ The

¹ At the presidential election of November, 1924, the late Dean O'Bannon patrolled the polling places with his "lieutenants." During the recent aldermanic election (February 24, 1925), gangs of gunmen stole ballot

vote of the northern part of the slum is a part of the larger "German" vote. The vote of the Negro, recently from the South, is traditionally Republican. The vote of Little Sicily is peddled by local bosses to ward politicians. The vote of the "flop" is a downright commodity. The local politician switches his loyalties to keep on the bandwagon.¹ An occasional alley is paved, as a sop to the popular vote. "Understandings" and "concessions" are granted to keep the more powerful kings of Little Hell in line. The Gold Coast, when at home, takes a dilettante interest in better-government campaigns and political reforms. But while it helps to elect a judge to the municipal bench, Little Hell elects the ward alderman. The large population living in furnished rooms to all intents and purposes does not vote at all. To the Gold Coast politics appear as an avenue of "uplift"; to Clark Street, as a means of "protection"; to the foreigner, as a source of income. Politics on the Near North-Side is nothing more than a game, a game played without well-defined rules, a game played only incidentally in the local community and bearing little or no relationship to the problems—they can scarcely be called issues—of local life.²

boxes, intimidated voters and candidates, kidnaped election judges. A North Side aldermanic candidate mounted a machine gun on his home after receiving threatening letters demanding his withdrawal. See *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Daily News*, and the *Herald* and *Examiner*, February, 1925.

¹ Document 61.

² Hyde Park becomes aroused over the delinquency which it discovers in the tenements along Fifty-fifth Street, and after numerous community meetings, at which precinct captains and aldermen are much in evidence, a community program for meeting the situation is adopted (Document 62); Woodlawn, with its *Woodlawn Gazette*, Woodlawn Business Men's Associa-

GOVERNMENT BY THE POLICE AND THE
SOCIAL AGENCY

As a result of the breakdown of community life and community institutions, the indifference of the local population to local "problems," and the failure of local "problems" to find their way into politics, the greater part of the Near North Side is incapable of political action and self-government. There is no common culture or common body of interest out of which political action can arise. And as a matter of fact, the greater part of this area does not govern itself, but is governed by the police and the social agency.

The relationship of the law to this area is largely one of repression. Municipal legislation, passed for the city as a whole, and embodying the values of the more homogeneous and stable outlying communities, attempts to fix certain limits to individuation of behavior and to compel compliance with certain standards. But the values of these outlying communities are not the values of the population of the greater part of the Near North Side. They have to be forced upon this population by the police. And the police are suc-

tion, Kiwanis Club of Woodlawn, etc., with great community spirit and enthusiasm, takes a high ranking in the Better City Campaign (*Chicago Daily News*, July 28, 1923); Rogers Park holds mass meetings and organizes a Citizens' Vigilante Committee for the suppression of "polite vice" (Document 63 and *Chicago American*, October 12, 1923). Delinquency, healthy children and clean streets, and vice are community issues in these outlying areas, and not only result in extra-political community action but get into politics. But on the Near North Side a criminal situation that completely overshadows that in Hyde Park, filthy streets and a high rate of infant mortality, and vice that is far from "polite" have existed for decades without arousing any great degree of local feeling, without giving rise to local action, without becoming issues in local politics.

cessful only in enforcing compliance with the negative values, the prohibitions, of the law.¹

The social agencies, for their part, are interested in setting standards in situations undefined by the law, or in situations where the law is not enforced. There are more than fifty social agencies on the Near North Side, ranging from gospel missions and settlements to children's clinics and charity organization societies, endeavoring to set standards of private life and public conduct; to persuade, cajole, or force the population of the district to conform to the values and mores of the larger society—values and mores derived from generations of village life, and often unadapted to the life of the city.

Much of this effort is directed at mere physical reclamation. A visitor from a community council endeavors to force the slum to keep its streets and alleys clean, its floors scrubbed, and its windows washed. A "Charities" family case worker tries to hold families together and to enforce a higher standard of living. The visiting nurse requires that the mother bring up her baby in what are to the mother

¹ As is inevitable in an area without a public opinion, there is a long history of graft in connection with law enforcement on the Near North Side. The police, the courts, and the city hall are parts of a larger political organization. Politics is constantly complicating the problems of law enforcement. Cabarets and "soft drink parlors" operate under court injunctions. Politicians "frame" police squads who raid places which these politicians have pledged to protect. The police themselves have not been guiltless. The report of the Senate Vice Committee in 1917 disclosed a network of police protection of disorderly houses. Police captains in this district have, in the past, been accused of understandings with its "kings." Under the present reform administration, the morale of the police department has been heightened, and the captains of the police precincts in the Near North Side seem to have made genuine efforts to curb graft. But individual policemen still "protect" moonshine parlors, gambling dens, and questionable resorts. See K. Young, *A Sociological Study of a Disintegrated Neighborhood*, and Document 64.

strange and inconvenient ways. Clinics and societies exist for the reclamation of the maimed, the blind, the deaf, the tubercular, or the socially diseased. Other social agencies are more interested in redefining the population's wishes and values. Of this kind are the settlement and the mission. But beyond the sphere of physical reclamation the social agency is hardly more successful than the police.²

The police and the social agency alike meet with little co-operation or response on the part of the population. Those who see an opportunity for profit give a nominal or calculating co-operation. Others are indifferent, suspicious, resentful, or in open opposition. For the police there is no respect, but rather a complete indifference. Those who run rooming-houses or soft-drink parlors make it a point to stand in with them. There is a universal belief that no policeman is "on the square." The sanitary squad is taken as a matter of course; promises are made that are never fulfilled. Investigators and detectives are everywhere, and consequently the attitude toward the stranger is one of active suspicion. The population takes no interest in the social uplifter. When parks, playgrounds, social centers, and public baths are established, there is merely resignation to what is believed to be an inevitable increase in taxation. The crusading reformer meets everywhere with opposition. In the rooming-house district the church visitor is refused admittance. In Little Hell the proselyting mission merely

² A Near North Side social worker pointed to the improvement resulting from the replacement of a filthy tenement block by a new building of the National Tea Company as the outstanding improvement in the two years her agency had been working to clean up Little Hell! The agency was little more than a spectator as, in the inevitable succession of the city's growth, the business and manufacturing district pushed relentlessly outward, wiping out old slums and creating new ones.

stirs up street fighting. On the "Rialto" the street meeting is met with indifference, amusement, or contempt.

A group of Moody students were holding a street meeting near "Bughouse Square." The preacher was constantly heckled. "I'll give God five dollars to strike me dead this minute." "If you believe in your God so much, let's see you drink a bottle of carbolic." "You're wasting your breath—go preach to the wall." When the preacher asked how many were ready to come to Jesus, several laughed or jeered, and others turned with groans and walked away.¹

Throughout the Near North Side, then, community life, where it has not already disintegrated, is in process of disintegration. Community institutions are ceasing to function. The church, the school, the family, the occupational group, government, and the news have ceased to bear any direct relationship to local life. Behavior is individualized in the extreme. There is little or no public opinion. There is no common interest or cultural background. The greater part of the area is incapable of political action. What government

¹ K. Young, *A Sociological Study of a Disintegrated Neighborhood*, p. 84. The writer "staged" a series of street meetings with the help of a group of Moody students. The first meeting was held in Washington Square. John Lochman was haranguing from a soap box on the "petty cash register philosophy" of Henry Ford. He had a large crowd about him. When the Moody group sounded their cornet curious eyes were turned, but only a few men drifted over—"Let's go down here, you get some music." One man listened a moment, then turned away with a disgruntled "It's all the bunk." Another called to the leader, who was giving testimony, "You're nuts!" A third leered at the girls, and remarked in an aside, "I'd like to be janitor in the woman's building at Moody Institute." Soon the few who had been attracted drifted back to the crowds about the agitators.

The Moodyites were refused entrance to the Coal Scuttle, a bohemian hangout on Rush Street. A meeting was held in Tooker Alley, outside the Dill Pickle Club. The only response was the throwing of pennies from the windows. A fourth meeting, at the corner of the Erie Café, was ignored by the Clark Street crowds.

there is on the Near North Side is in the hands of the social agency and the police. But neither the social agency nor the police meet with any degree of success. Life is highly disorganized—lived without the law, and without the mores of the larger society. The Near North Side is a section of the old frontier transplanted to the heart of a modern city.