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JANE ADDAMS AND THE CHICAGO SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

1889-1912

by

Rosemarie Redlich Scherman

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York**

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Abstract

JANE ADDAMS AND THE CHICAGO SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT
1889-1912

by

Rosemarie Redlich Scherman

Adviser: Prof. Carol Berkin

For my reinterpretation of the life and thought of Jane Addams I have chosen to reexamine her within the context of the social justice or left-wing of the rising Chicago Progressive movement. This approach allows these Progressives to be seen as a smaller but distinct and dynamic movement within the larger reform coalition. Accordingly, it is possible to see Addams not as the singular legendary “Saintly Lady,” or as self-serving “salon-keeper” or power monger, but as one among other outstanding women’s movement activists who helped to change the nature of Progressivism and the course of American history.

In contrast to the other mainstream Progressives, who were focused on modernization of political and administrative structures and processes, social justice Progressives were motivated primarily by concerns for the inclusive human social, cultural and economic welfare of the majority working-class population in the chaotic industrial metropolis.

The two leading perspectives that distinguished Addams and her coalition were first, the need to extend to social and economic life the democratic structures and practices that had been limited to the political sphere, as in Addams’ programmatic support of trade unions; and second, their call for a new social ethic to supplant the

individualist outlook as being no longer adequate in modern society. In this undertaking the new social and labor history together with the new feminist women's history have been indispensable tools to augment the useful but overly-schematic approaches of organization historians.

An introductory chapter sketches the tripartite social justice Progressives among the rising business-oriented mainstream movement, seen against Chicago's economic, social and political background. Chapter Two presents Addams' and co-founder Ellen Starr's commitment to revitalizing urban social and cultural life within the framework of the Anglo-American settlement movement.

The next three chapters deal with the most important aspects of Addams' and her co workers' concerns for a national social safety net consonant with a democratic society's beliefs in social equality. This demanded extensions, through governmental facilities, of political, social and economic rights, increasingly restricted under expanding corporate industrialism. Through these undertakings Addams emerged as a leading social thinker and interpreter of working people's interests.

PREFACE

My reassessment project of Jane Addams and of those "new" Chicago reformers I have called the social justice Progressives originated in the belief that neither the earlier conventional political histories nor the more recent and more analytical reassessments in terms of "modernization" or "organization" perspectives dealt adequately with how and why this left wing of the Chicago Progressives differed from the main body (or even that they differed).¹

The main arguments of the organization historians, like Robert H. Wiebe and Samuel P. Hays, Gabriel Kolko, James Weinstein and Michael P. McCarthy, rested on their thesis that Progressives (particularly in their leadership) were new elites, not middle class, as Hofstadter and others had theorized. Their reforms were focused on a corporate model of transformation achieved by "consolidation, centralization and systematization" of municipal electoral politics and administrative systems as well as the commercially important physical aspects of the modern city.

But, although modernization theses shed light on some attitudes social justice Progressives shared with mainstream Progressives (such as "efficiency," anti-corruption, optimism and "city beautiful" ideas,) the model could not give sufficient answers to explain why some of the elite Progressives, who included Addams, took distinctly different reform directions. Their difference lay in their primary concern for the human and social aspects

of the explosive growth and transformation of urban/industrial society under an increasingly dominant corporate capitalism.

I received my most valuable new contextual and specific insights with which to enrich the overly-abstract modernization perspective through the work of the new social and labor historians like Herbert Gutman and David Montgomery and others who followed them, whose central interests were issues of class, class-relations and working people's lives and cultures. Working-class historians' primary interest in class, with its related topic of human agency, served as my dual prism with which to reexamine the life, work and thought of Addams within the context of the social justice Progressives.²

In line with social history's analytical approach, I examined how and why the initially small group of bourgeois men and women reformer's unprecedented cooperation and support of working people and their representatives became the social justice Progressives' source of strength within the larger movement and how eventually their key programs for social and economic amelioration and legislation became the motor that drove the larger movement from local and state to national levels for the creation of new government structures to support the welfare of all citizens.

The new social history's "from the bottom up" class perspective that put working-class people squarely into the middle of the social/political arena also opened doors for historians' (re)discovery of other increasingly excluded and ignored groups, among whom women made the most prominent appearance on both sides of the class divide. New women's historians' enormous interest in studies of class/gender and intra-gender relations offered crucial new insights into aspects of male/female relations within

different Progressive middle-class reform groups. New studies also offered trail-blazing insights into relations between middle-class women's reform groups and other broad categories, such as race and ethnicity among women. They thereby contributed directly to emancipatory class/gender/ethnicity outlooks for all subordinated social groups, long subjected to historical anonymity.³

In Chapters One and Two, I discuss the background of the three major components that made up the future social justice Progressives who were able to coalesce through the establishment of Hull-House; its leadership of the Chicago settlement movement; and its position as coordinator for the social justice Progressives. Awareness of class dynamics helped to discern the gradual change from the settlement's concept of relatively limited reciprocal relations between individuals to an ever-widening perspective of active, many-sided social relations and reform policies within the city.

Emphasis on class-relations helped to sharpen my insights into Addams' and her fellow residents' growing awareness of the significance of class within settlement projects and to see leading urban problems in terms of its broader issues. In Chapter Three, I discuss how this led the social justice activists to develop a new social outlook on poor people and poverty that in turn led to entirely new and democratized efforts for reform and introduced ideas and practices for a flexible social support system for all.

Chapter Four deals with how the social justice activists' new egalitarian practices and insights for inclusion of the poor working-class majority into the industrial urban society served as their guidelines for creating people-focused social urban institutions in which the woman-led social settlements took the lead. The latter part of Chapter Four and the beginning of Chapter Five deal more specifically with the new social ethical

outlook that underlay the social Progressives' actions and that was most effectively expressed and promoted by Addams. Chapter Five focuses on how, by the early twentieth century, the Chicago social justice activists reform program had moved with many new allies beyond local and state to national levels of agitation for Congressional and Federal government action that signified the heyday of the Progressive Era and its climax in the Progressive Party's campaign.

If the new social history was vital for gaining a more complex understanding of the Chicago social justice Progressives, it was even more so for a more incisive and complex view of Addams. The new women's history offered the essential local and contextual perspectives and studies within which Addams could be seen as one among a number of outstanding women intent on establishing the beginnings of a universal human welfare safety net in the United States. The sharper historical focus helped to clarify Addams' place within the movement, first, as its most effective facilitator of reform initiatives and strategies and second, as its leading interpreter. She was the right person in the right place at the right time within the circumstances of the period. This is perhaps the best clue to her effectiveness and to the public's response to her.

As the head of Hull-House, she found herself unexpectedly at the cusp of a movement that offered women a way to join with men and take the lead in a new kind of politics, one which took workers and other subordinated groups into account as the embodiment of what large numbers of people thought American democratic society ought to be about. Addams' talent lay in her making the movement responsive to the emerging urban needs as they were discovered by settlements and the reform coalitions' outward-radiating networks.

The sharper women's history and "human agency" perspectives helped to bring into focus Addams' own carefully-tended capacities: a well-organized mind, initiative and perseverance coupled with flexibility and diplomacy; a personal modesty balanced by a cool forcefulness on behalf of humanitarian goals; a talent for lifelong friendships within and beyond an intimate circle of women friends. It answered her need for a sense of relatedness and contrasted with an astringent air of personal aloofness that dovetailed a modern woman's unsentimentality with some of the reticence of a late Victorian lady.

NOTES

¹Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967); Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism (Chicago, 1957); idem, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 55 (Oct. 1964):168-9; Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism; a Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916 (New York: Macmillan, 1963; repr. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperback, 1967); James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Michael P. McCarthy, "Businessmen and Professionals in Municipal Reform: The Chicago Experience 1887-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Chicago, 1970).

²Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America (New York, 1976); idem, Ira Berlin, ed., Power and Culture. Essays on the American Working Class (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987; David Montgomery, Beyond Equality. Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872 (New York, 1976); idem, "Labor and the Republic in Industrial America: 1860-1920, Le Mouvement Social 3 (Apr.-Jun. 1980): 202-215; Kenneth L. Kann, "Working-Class Culture and the Labor Movement in Nineteenth Century Chicago" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1977).

³Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood. "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," Signs 1 (Fall 1975):1-30; Ruth Bordin, Woman and Temperance. The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Ellen C. DuBois, Feminism and Suffrage. The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Ann D. Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Gender Politics and Class Conflict in the Gilded Age," paper presented at the Upstate New York Conference on Women's Politics and Culture (Binghamton, N.Y., 1981); Suzanne Lebsock, "Women and American Politics 1880-1920," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics and Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990), 35-59.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

JANE ADDAMS AND THE CHICAGO SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT 1889-1912

Chapter	Page
1. POST-HAYMARKET CHICAGO	1
The Conflicted Metropolis	1
Reviving Reform Efforts	11
Reform Women's Entry	14
The Arrival	25
Notes	49
2. SETTLING IN THE "JUNGLE"	54
How It All Began	54
The Hull-House Atmosphere	73
The Anglo-American Settlement Movement	85
Crisis Years	88
Jane Addams' Explanations of the "Settlement Impulse"	99
Notes	112
3. FROM "CHARITY FOR THE POOR" TO WORKING-PEOPLE'S WELFARE	118
Getting to Know the Neighbors	118
The 1893 Depression and Questions of Relief	122
New Approaches to Relief	133
The Chicago "World's Fair" Impact on Organized Middle-Class Women	141
Social Science Versus Charity	150
"The Subtle Problems of Charity"	159
Notes	168

4.	NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE WORKERS	172
	Acquaintance with the Neighbors as Working People	172
	Henry Demarest and Jessie Bross Lloyd as Hull-House	
	Labor Mentors	175
	Addams and the Social Justice Coalition: First Direct	
	Involvement in the Labor Struggle	183
	First Factory Law with Teeth and a General Demise	192
	The Social Justice Coalition's Active Involvement	
	in Chicago's Progressive Political Reform	209
	Relations with Organized Labor and Working Women	213
	Jane Addams' New View of Working People	
	and the Labor Movement	222
	Addams' Mature View of the Settlement's Role	232
	Notes	236
5.	ZENITH YEARS AND AFTERMATH	242
	A New Philosophy for the Industrial Age	242
	Progressive Reform Becomes a National Movement	250
	Hull-House in Its Second Decade of Social Justice Activism	257
	Women in Industrial Society	279
	Climax and Decline: A New Party	294
	Notes	304
	CONCLUSION	309
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	315

CHAPTER 1
POST-HAYMARKET CHICAGO

The Conflicted Metropolis

When Jane Addams and her friend Ellen Gates Starr came to Chicago in the winter of 1889, Addams already held a number of well-developed ideas and attitudes about her "scheme" to settle in a major American urban center, but little practical knowledge about Chicago. The most obvious reason for coming was its place as the leading urban center of Illinois, Addams' home state, that both she and Starr had visited many times during their college years at Rockford Seminary and where Starr had taught at a "finishing school" for some years after her graduation.

Contrary to the enduring myth about Addams' first acquaintance with urban problems through a little girl's glimpses of small-town poverty in Freeport, Illinois, it was her acquaintance with the London urban reform scene that had ultimately helped her to crystallize her plans. The opportunity to learn something about what was being done in England and to meet some of its reform initiators had finally convinced her that her idea, of settling down in her own state's greatest city, made sense. After London, the Chicago of 1889, a huge, amorphous, sometimes splendid, often hideous metropolis, clearly seemed to be the right place to confront America's own "two nations" reality. Even without much knowledge of Chicago's recent economic and social history and the bitter labor struggles that had taken place there a few years before her arrival, the Chicago of the

late 1880's was palpably an arena of intense social strife amidst tremendous development. The trips she had made to Chicago during the years of her growing up in Northern Illinois had been confined to cultural events or visits to relatives and college friends. More than any other American city, Chicago had come to epitomize to visitors and inhabitants alike, that newly-triumphant industrial capitalism that had so vastly expanded in the decades after the Civil War and propelled the United States by the late 1880's from fourth to first place among industrial nations. It thereby represented the most resplendent accomplishments of technological advance and accumulated wealth as well as the consequences of unregulated urban industrial and residential growth, municipal neglect and human exploitation.¹

Predicated largely on its geographic location, Chicago's contribution to the nation's development was perhaps most clearly reflected in the astounding demographic and economic growth that made it the capital of a vast new inland empire. Ideally situated at the lower end of Lake Michigan, a hub between the iron ore and lumber trade in the north and the coalfields in the south, with railroads fanning out in all directions of the surrounding agricultural plains like the spokes of a wheel, it had rapidly achieved second place only to New York in a number of industries, and first in some, such as agricultural implements, meat packing, iron and steel and machine tools, lumber and wood products, printing and publishing and certain kinds of garment and shoe manufacture in which large factories dominated.²

Fed primarily by European immigration after an earlier "internal migration", its rate of population increase accelerated phenomenally during the last decades of the 19th century. Within four decades it had grown from the bustling, close-to-frontier town of

1844, when John Addams, Jane Addams' father, stopped there on his way to settle in Northern Illinois, to the mammoth metropolis already celebrated as "Queen of the Heartland" when Addams herself arrived there in 1889. As America's fastest-growing city it had expanded from 4,470 in 1840 to 503,185 by 1880 and doubled that figure again to 1,099,850 by 1890. By then, its foreign-born population made up almost 80% of the total. Some of its leading immigrant colonies, such as those of the Irish, Czech and Slovak, Polish, Italian, Russo-Polish Jews, constituted the largest communities outside their home countries.

Two other economic phenomena characteristic of American development and more readily evident in Chicago than elsewhere at this time, were the modern, giant industrial corporation that controlled its own supply, production and distribution, such as McCormick Harvester or Armour Meat Packing; and second, the ease and rapidity with which mechanization and subdivision of factory processes could be undertaken in a congenial environment with few municipal government regulations.³

Chicago's city scape mirrored the growth and accompanying social contrasts graphically. Ribbons of costly, sometimes grotesquely-ornate, mansions lined the post-fire, well-swept boulevards, aping those of Paris, most of them in the vicinity of the lake, north and south of the business district, but some also further west. Among them were the homes of the two hundred Chicago-born millionaires Chicagoans liked to boast about, many of them of New England descent, who, despite lavish lifestyles, still equated wealth with virtue and poverty with sin. Towering office buildings, banks and glittering, block-long department stores, erected after the fire, crowded into the central Loop district. Factories, grain elevators, warehouses, lumber and railyards clustered along either side of

the waterways. Beneath them and reaching out westward and south into the accommodating flatness of the prairie, stretched the vast sea of haphazard wooden cottages, often mere shanties, interspersed by occasional brick tenements. Stables, sheds, neighborhood shops, below and above grade, occasional churches, countless saloons, desolate vacant lots and garbage dumps filled in the foreground--testimony to the real estate speculators' heedless exploitation of the land.

Rarely was there a building to be found denoting anything of municipal or communal purpose in this sprawling hinterland. If streets were paved at all, the slimy surfaces of their wooden cobblestones offered additional hazards to horse-drawn vehicles or pedestrians, though they were preferable to Chicago's notorious alleys, which had been rapidly buried under yards of mud and garbage.

Here the majority of the population lived, as best they could, crammed into the flimsy houses, small rooms with disproportionately high rents. Most of them were foreign-born Germans, Irish, Poles, Scandinavians, Bohemians, Italians, Jews, with a sprinkling, by 1889, of Greeks, French Canadians, African-Americans, Chinese and Middle Easterners who lived in shifting communities, but always with a degree of ethnic mixing that included percentages of native-born Americans. Their houses, for the most part, lacked the rudimentary amenities of light, heat, air, sanitation and sewer connections. Their relative proximity to the Chicago River in effect the area's main open sewer, heightened the level of hard to tolerate living conditions, with its sluggish burden of malodorous rotting garbage and excrement, animal carcasses and noxious industrial wastes. The contrasts in urban living were perhaps best illustrated, on the one hand, by the merchant Marshall Field, who prided himself on his reputation of never having made a dishonest dollar and

who walked to work to set a good example for his employees, but felt free to spend \$75,000 on his son's birthday party; and on the other, by a South Italian peasant woman, staggering home at dusk under a load of unfinished garments (destined for the great department stores) to be worked on by her and her children at night, to supplement the husband's "family wage."⁴

The atmosphere within which all this impressive growth, innovation and neglect had taken place during the two decades before 1890 was, however, one of increasingly violent antagonism between employers and workers. Successive waves of wage cuts, strikes and lockouts were punctuated by the growth of trade unions and new political parties of protest, while businessmen's associations increasingly called upon the police, the militia and the courts in defense of their own interests. Despite Chicago's civic boosters' proud recitals of the growing numbers of new factories, wharves and warehouses and of the expansion of its splendid commercial and residential districts, the city's population by the mid-1870's was noticeably dividing into distinctly separate classes. As the number of strikes and violent confrontations increased all over the country, during these decades, Chicago's prosperous citizens were dismayed to find that "their" city frequently became the scene of some of the biggest and fiercest instances of labor resistance to employers' unprecedentedly harsh assertions of power. Chicago workers' militant response to these actions, in turn, moved employers to some of the most ferocious "law and order" campaigns as yet encountered in a large American city.⁵

Among the many causes of unrest that underlay the rising atmosphere of conflict growing out of the century-long transformation of American life under industrial capitalism were three particularly crucial issues. These three were relevant in many

different parts of the country, but in Chicago they were particularly acute because of the city's phenomenally rapid growth, the multiplicity of its new industries and their pace of technological change. Besides an intensification of the perennial struggle over wages and hours, by the 1870's and 1880's the growing problem of the degradation of skills and of the loss of control over the work process threw both skilled and unskilled workers into turmoil. But for the workers the overarching issue of the era became that of the nature of the expanding industrial capitalist order itself. Under its impact they sensed the deterioration of their lives as workers, from roughly equal citizens of the republic to permanent "wage slaves," and resistance against unfair employers grew into a challenge of the system itself. In militant Chicago this growing sense of being strangled by "wage slavery," a term borrowed from their republican producer antecedents, resulted in unprecedented strike actions twice during the two decades. First in 1877 and then again in 1885/6, these took on the characteristics of working-class uprisings with revolutionary undertones.

In 1877, strikes were called in many parts of the nation against the railroads' announced wage cuts and for an 8-hour day. In Chicago, the action for the first time forged coalitions between workers of different nationalities, skills and gender, under the leadership of trade unionists, among whom the German socialists had a prominent place. These uncoordinated yet widespread actions betokened the first manifestations of a nationwide working-class consciousness and, according to Herbert Gutman, the first instance of a "national anti-capitalist rebellion."⁶ The strike, or rather, the series of strikes, laced with sporadic violence, prompted petrified employers to embark on their first concerted militaristic assault on the workers. Besides units of the regular army, they

deployed enlarged units of the state militia and the police, special deputies, organized veterans, Pinkertons and businessmen's vigilante groups. Invoking the specter of the Paris Commune, newspapers were quick to fan the already over-heated atmosphere with headlines advocating "dynamiting" the workers. After the strike had been crushed with the help of the newly formed Law and Order League that included George Pullman, Cyrus McCormick and Marshall Field among the business magnates, the league members worked hard to establish the diverse armed units permanently and to strengthen anti-strike conspiracy ordinances and vagrancy laws against the unemployed.⁷

Second, and even more crucial, was the cataclysmic series of nation-wide events called the "great upheaval" of 1885-1886. In Chicago the call for a general strike in support of the Eight-Hour movement by early May of 1886 took on the appearance of a concerted class-uprising against the wage labor system on behalf of both skilled and unskilled workers, supported by the diverse immigrant communities. Its momentum arose out of years of intensified union organizing during the earlier 1880's and massive demonstrations and strikes in the preceding months. Its roots lay in the events that followed the repression and collapse of the 1877 strikes.

After 1877, the defeated workers in Chicago had turned to political action to help redress their mounting distress. Under the leadership of the socialist Workingmen's Party that soon changed its name to Socialist Labor Party (SLP), the Chicago labor movement enjoyed its first short-lived political successes when it elected a number of its candidates to the State Assembly and City Council in the fall and spring elections of 1878 and 1879. But by the early 1880's, Chicago working-class people turned once again to trade unions after their fledgling political gains had been erased by the electoral strength of the two

traditional parties in which fraudulent interference with voting played a large part. Among the consequences of the closing off of electoral avenues, the most significant one was the growth of the "social revolutionaries," or anarchists, from among the most militant, union-based socialists. Many of them were skilled German workers who joined the International Working Peoples Association by 1884 and within the next two years, became the Chicago labor movement's "most compelling leaders."⁸

By 1884, "feverish" organizing characterized the Chicago labor movement scene that turned Chicago into the center of a growing national labor movement. From twelve trade unions in 1881 the number grew to over a hundred by 1886 with the older and generally more conservative craft unions outnumbered by the much more militant, even revolutionary young ones.⁹ This union activity was directly tied to the phenomenal growth of the Knights of Labor, as part of a revived 8-hour movement. The Knights' great appeal lay in their all-inclusiveness, that welcomed all productive workers, without regard to occupations, skills, nationality, gender, race, creed or age. Estimates put the number of new members who joined during the first five months of 1886 at 100,000. Inclusiveness answered the nearly palpable yearning for collectivity and class solidarity that grew as centralization of capital and of mechanization spread across most industries and rendered narrowly-organized craft unions powerless.

In this search for united strength to right the many wrongs that the workers experienced in their lives, the 8-hour movement became once again the instrument to tackle their most pressing problems and to "emancipate" them from industrial capitalism's wage labor system. In this intensified manifestation of class consciousness the Anarchists saw possibilities for the growth of a powerful anti-capitalist American labor movement

that suggested a transformation of society. With strong ties to the older Chicago unions that dated back to their Socialist years and their encouragement of the Knights' inclusive organizing tactics and their support of the eight-hour movement as the best means to raise class-consciousness, the Anarchists briefly became the effective leaders of the most confrontational labor movement in the nation.¹⁰

These trends emboldened Chicago unions, under their radical leadership, to focus on 1886 as the year to declare the first general strike on behalf of the 8-hour movement. It drew further encouragement from the phenomenal nationwide growth of the Knights of Labor, as well as growth among some of the future AFL locals, some successful boycotts and large strikes amidst continued hard times. May 1st of that year was proclaimed the target for the "New Day of Labor." In Chicago this led 40,000 people to go on strike May 1st. Their march in colorful broadly-spread-out groups through Chicago's streets resulted in 8-hour gains for some. But mostly the response to labor's unprecedented assertion of power was a surge of fear of revolution among the city's corporate elites that erupted in police attacks on strikers and ended in the violent Haymarket incident. The subsequent rounding-up, trial and execution of four of the Anarchists, who were blamed for the Haymarket explosion, served as the capstone to the employers' determination to halt labor's gains.¹¹

Led by Chicago's most aggressive businessmen, who by now had a firmer grip on both police and courts, and fanned to hysteria by most of the press and many pulpits, a ferocious "law and order" campaign erupted. An intensified wave of anti-labor, anti-radical, anti-immigrant hatred swept over the city and divided it even more visibly into two unequal, hostile camps. New anti-conspiracy laws against "revolutionary beliefs," police

invasions of homes, meeting places and offices, and arrests of hundreds crushed civil liberties. Open shop campaigns, lockouts, "yellow dog" contracts and black lists aimed to intimidate the unions and obliterate the Anarchists.¹²

The vaunted spirit of Chicago-style "frontier democracy" had given way to upper middle-class post-frontier vigilantism. "Fear of the rabble" that had first distinctly seized property-owning Chicagoans after the great fire, and had expanded under the pressure of large calamities, such as depressions and massive strikes, reached its apex with the events of 1886 and their aftermath. The city that had so quickly risen as the most enticing symbol of dynamic American growth and unlimited entrepreneurial opportunities now appeared to many who had profited from its "openness" as a place of unexpected danger and disorder, no different from the older industrialized cities. Rare voices of reason among the businessmen, such as that of banker Lyman Gage, who opposed the execution of the Haymarket prisoners as unjust and predicted its dire, long-term effect on the community, were shrugged off as the views of eccentrics.

One plausible explanation for the much greater hysteria of Chicago's business circles, compared with their London counterparts, who had experienced their own social upheavals that same year, may have been that the 8-hour day demand appeared as a more ominous threat to Chicago's only just-consolidating business community, than it did to a much older, well-established English ruling class. More than other elites, perhaps, Chicago's businessmen may have felt the need to confirm not only their belief that they were "self-made," but also that they had single-handedly "made" Chicago, along with their fortunes. Therefore, they more than others felt most keenly that an acceptance of labor's rights to limit its working day infringed their owners' rights of property and of contract

that rested on the constitutional rights of liberty. In effect, they seemed to have come to the conclusion that they were entitled to more rights than the workers since it was, in their eyes, their enterprise alone, that had made Chicago great.

Reviving Reform Efforts

Simultaneously, however, with the "law and order" campaigns the Chicago business community also resorted to intensified reform efforts directed at working-class people, as a less coercive and perhaps more convincing method of social persuasion and, perhaps, more effective method of stifling protest. This renewal of reform practices that stressed the traditional virtues of individual moral improvement, spearheaded by the Protestant churches and related institutions, entailed a broad extension of Sunday schools and home missions, the launching of temperance crusades and of evangelical revivals. Among the evangelizing and conversion efforts in Chicago the most prominent were those of Dwight Moody, whose Methodist Bible Institute trained "gapmen" to go out and fill the breach between the classes.¹³

These efforts on the part of the conservative property-owning groups, to "christianize" the unchurched and dangerous working-class communities was reminiscent of the post-Jacksonian 1840's when god-fearing New England migrants made it their mission to "christianize" the raw Mid West. Most of the money for these reform efforts came from the leading citizens through their prestigious clubs, such as the Union League, the Commercial, the Iroquois and Calumet Clubs that sprouted during the 1870's and 1880's. But now these men who had risen as entrepreneurs and become millionaires (and

often were the clubs' founders) increasingly mingled with those men who came out of the expanding corporate world and from the upper levels of the professions.¹⁴

Still another reform movement became visible by the late 1880's. While its adherents came from the same elite business and professional circles as the earlier ones, they differed from them in two important respects. In keeping with the changing outlook among professionals and the evolving world of finance and corporations, they displayed a more secular and social approach to urban problems and advanced the notion that dialogues with representatives of labor and their political spokespeople might be useful. This was the beginning of what would be called the "new reform" or later the Progressives. Led by such men as Lyman Gage, a respected banker and Franklin McVeagh, a large wholesale grocery merchant, the dialogues took place in a series of "economic conferences" from 1888 to 1891. (Thereafter they were succeeded by the larger and even more effective Sunset Club meetings that first gave Jane Addams and other women a city-wide platform.) Though their leading organizers, Gage and McVeagh, belonged to some of the same business circles and clubs as those who had initiated the "law and order" crackdowns and the intensified traditional reform strategies, these men were among those who took a more conciliatory, even searching, perspective regarding theoretical and practical solutions of social questions within the expanding corporate order.¹⁵

The conferences had grown directly out of the Economic Club, an informal organization of about two dozen men that included leading businessmen, lawyers, ministers, trade unionists and representatives of dissident and radical groups who had gathered for weekly meetings at Lyman Gage's house in the aftermath of the Haymarket

trial and verdict. At that point a shift in the public mood from vengeful hysteria was underway. Some members of the dominant circles, intent on "securing a safer and better state", were eager to join with other upper and middle-class men, already working with members of labor and the Left, to develop more probing inquiries into the causes and remedies that underlay the social conflagration of those months.¹⁶ Out of these informal meetings grew the belief in the usefulness of open public meetings.

A hall was found that could accommodate at least five hundred people. For three years, packed meetings were held in series of seven, eight and ten consecutive Sunday evenings. At each meeting a representative of a particular point of view, generally a radical or conservative, spoke for one hour, after which there was a question period with one question per questioner and no arguments or attacks. Five topics during the first year dealt with either the labor movement, socialism or trade unions and only two with topics such as the banking system and the Board of Trade. During the following years the spectrum broadened to include anarchism, speculation, affluence, the church and reform, economic distribution, free trade, the wage system, arbitration and the question of restraints on liberty. The appearance of one woman among twenty men, an organizer for the AFL who discussed the wage system, was an augury for the future. Gage noted in his memoirs that "few well-to-do" attended, with most of the audience from the "lower bourgeoisie" and that his own participation was regarded with "suspicion and contempt" by his peers.¹⁷

The willingness of men like Gage and McVeagh to adopt more conciliatory attitudes toward working-class people and their problems owed much to their acquaintance with men like William Salter of the Ethical Culture Society, a Bostonian

who, despite his recent arrival in Chicago, was already deeply involved in urban problems; Henry Demarest Lloyd, already honored as a friend of labor all over the Midwest; and Clarence Darrow, then at the beginning of his career as "people's tribune." All three had ties to the widening reform-related social science circles and the more social-minded among the reform groups and had established close relations with trade unionists and the political organizations of the Left. All three played an important role in making the conferences a reality by helping to provide speakers from the unions and the Left and as leading oratorical drawing-cards themselves. These three reformers/publicists represented the core around which the male-led, labor-related sector of social justice progressives was to grow.

Reform Women's Entry

Besides the male reform groups there were other ones that became even more important for the future social justice movement--the many groups of women organized into volunteer reform associations and clubs. For a number of reasons, Chicago women of all classes were by the late nineteenth century visibly engaged in many different activities beyond the home, more than women in other large cities. Visitors to the city remarked upon it and activist women in other cities noted it, with a touch of envy. One reason undoubtedly was the city's comparative youth, rapid growth and related social fluidity that had condoned a more lenient observation of customary restrictions placed upon women. For several decades already, upper and middle-class Chicago women had been vigorously engaged in a great variety of reforms and social services as well as in a growing number of professional and business occupations.¹⁸

For middle-class Chicago women's access to work in public, the Civil War had been a kind of watershed. It had done for them what the ante-bellum movements from moral reform to abolition had done for the growth of Eastern women's involvement in matters outside their homes and of their demand for equal rights. As in some of the other large cities, Chicago women's first extensive public involvement had been fostered by the Union Army's Sanitary Commission, whose Chicago headquarters and 3,000 subsidiaries throughout the Midwest concerned themselves, first, with soldiers' relief in the field, then with the mounting needs of their wives, widows and families back home. By choice and/or necessity, many middle-class women at that time stepped outside the home to replace the men in government and business offices, as Chicago, under the war's impact, vastly extended its industrial distributive-administrative capacities. Middle-class women's growing experience of self-support through their new public work thereby stimulated their urge for greater self-dependence and strengthened their growing consciousness of their continuing dependence and legal oppression within the prevailing patriarchal order.¹⁹

Their simultaneous experience of independence and continuing subordination to men in turn heightened their awareness of the chaotic postwar dislocations and growing plight of working-women and their children in the expanding industrial sector. This recognition of shared gender vulnerability, despite drastically different circumstances, became a leading motivation to work in the common interest of all women. "When the boys marched to war, women became conscious of the power of organization," one of the founders of the Chicago Woman's Club later recalled. After the need for soldiers' relief had passed, middle-class women aimed their new organizational skills at "the mutual

improvement of woman," which included both intellectual and practical work and a stance of outreach to other women in more precarious economic situations.²⁰

This acknowledgment of women's common vulnerability produced a broad array of social and political reform efforts in a quasi-extension of their domestic and personal service tradition into which unspoken assumptions of difference in class and ethnicity also entered. Toward the end of the nineteenth century American women in volunteer organizations, clubs and associations could look back on almost a century of collective, though nonelectoral, political action. It reached from sewing women's protective unions, working girls clubs and widows' relief groups to new institutions such as women's medical and nursing schools, to philanthropic facilities such as temperance clubs and prostitute shelters. In Chicago, as elsewhere, these widening circles of activity had also helped to rekindle an interest in suffrage which had been squelched after the Radical Republican's abandonment of the women's equal rights cause and other internal and external vicissitudes had splintered and weakened the women's movement by the early eighteenth-seventies.

By the later seventies, several new socially and intellectually oriented organizations were flourishing in the Chicago area next to the renewed but struggling suffrage movement. One was the Illinois branch of the National Social Science Association (ASSA), with a preponderance of women in membership and among its leaders. One of its prime objectives was the popularization of the new evolutionary interpretations of economic and social trends and events that reflected its education-eager members' efforts to jettison the dominance of Puritan orthodoxy in preference to the use of modern knowledge based on investigative inquiries in different social fields of interest. Stimulated

from abroad, the ASSA's secularized "ameliorative reformism" sought sociological and political answers to social problems as substitutes for religious/moralistic ones, together with an emphasis on the importance of women's active participation in public work.²¹

Another was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), with its national headquarters in nearby Evanston. It became the most important women's organization nationally and locally, after it had extended its slogan of "Home Protection" against the evils caused by drink, to function as an umbrella for a host of social and political reforms. With its broadly diversified "Do Everything" policy, adopted in the early eighties under the leadership of the dynamic Frances Willard, it operated as a training ground for activists from social services to suffrage, far beyond its original evangelical temperance mandate.²²

Many of the traditional, church-related women's philanthropic societies, women's clubs and self-educational cultural organizations and institutions had in the meantime also been affected by the ASSA's more systematic investigative approach to public and personal problems and converted themselves gradually into centers of expertise in urban women's social and personal conditions such as health, employment, education and treatment in public institutions. Among them the organization that topped them all and assumed a place of central importance to Chicago Progressives, was the Chicago Woman's Club.

From its start in 1876, the club's educated, leisured or professionally-engaged founders had seen it as an activist "working society" for important practical civic and political work, though they couched those aims in the lofty phrases of "improving the universe," and gave the more conventional women's club objectives--literary and artistic

self-improvement—a significant place. From the beginning, the club was grounded in a sense of gender solidarity. But its leaders, who felt themselves partly emancipated from home and family, nevertheless expressed their aspirations in the language of women's domesticity and special moral capacities, in deference to the majority who were still "family" or "home" women.²³

Already a few years after its founding, the club became the center and clearing house through which filtered much of the effort of many of the other Chicago women's organizations concerned with city affairs. Within its several departments it coordinated, stimulated and often, initially financed, the projects of smaller, specialized clubs. It saw itself in a dual role as a supporter of all groups that promised civic improvement and as stimulator to "give expression to all directions of women's energies." The women who became associated with the club quickly learned that, as citizens without a direct political voice, their first task was to educate themselves concerning the problems confronting them and other women in the industrial city, in order to gain the necessary information and power to act on their own and other women's behalf.

From its first years, the club's leading interests included the public schools and educational reform, such as coeducation and appointment of women to supervisory positions within the public schools. From these more traditional/conventional interests the women moved over a decade to related, newer ones such as truancy, vocational and teacher's training, health, nutrition, sanitation, housing, recreation and industrial working conditions. Their growing involvement in all kinds of social services led them over time not just to "visit," but to investigate the treatment of women and children in hospitals, asylums and prisons and sharpened their interest in women's physical and mental hygiene

and the legal aspects of working women's lives. Among other things, this meant working cooperatively with other women's groups interested in specific issues, such as making sex hygiene courses available for working women, and getting matrons into police stations, children out of jails, women doctors into county and state institutions and public health nurses into the slums.

By its second decade the club reached out increasingly to other large women's organizations, some of which extended it beyond the Chicago area and the state. It sent delegates to national and international women's conventions, such as that of the American Association of Women and the climactic International Congress of Women that met in Washington in 1888. By 1890, it played a leading role in coordinating women's clubs nationally into the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), an effort that was rewarded by making one of its top activists the federation's first president. On a more local level, in 1886 it involved itself with other Chicago women's groups to organize a Protective Agency for Women and Children. This cooperative, city-wide effort initiated a more realistic set of legal and social services, imbued with the spirit of social science. By 1888 it had stimulated the idea of a Woman's League that would permit closer coordination among all reform and social service-seeking women's groups within the Chicago metropolitan area. It led that same year to the creation of the Illinois Woman's Alliance (IWA).²⁴

The origins of this unique cross-class organization were rooted in quite a different women's movement on the opposite side of the basic class-divide that, nevertheless, had reached similar conclusions about the need to act in broad cooperation with other women regarding the dire situation of working women and children in the city. The initiative for

starting the Alliance sprang from the women of the Ladies Federal Labor Union # 2703 (LFLU) who had received their AFL charter in June, 1888. Their dual objective was to offer an umbrella for working-women scattered in different trades throughout the city and to lobby for protective legislation for working women and children. Immediately, after receiving their charter, they had been triggered into action by a Chicago Times series of investigative stories during July and August entitled "City Slave Girls." The work of a woman reporter, the series was the first in a leading metropolitan paper to publicize some of the effects of the mushrooming Chicago sweatshop industries. Though statistics were then hard to come by, it was evident that there was a direct correlation between the spread of the sweatshops in the 1880's and the growing number of working women and children within them. Garment manufacture, shoes, cigars and candy were some of the leading sweated industries.²⁵

At the time of its formation, none among its founders were themselves actual wage-workers, but either activist wives of radical political and union leaders with earlier work experience or independent agitators who enjoyed close ties to the relatively powerful Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly. Their almost instantly visible effectiveness was such that within a few years twenty-three new women's locals had affiliated with their union. Like their middle-class sisters, these Chicagoans could look back over a two-decade history of exceptional activities on behalf of women. Several had been members of the Chicago Working Women's Union established during the late 1870's union revival and the related remarkable Socialist Labor Party electoral successes. At their inception the Working Women's Union members had staked their claim, as members of the working-class, their right to work was the same as that of men, on the Socialists' formally-held

belief in the necessity of organizing women workers, equally with men. Carried with them in the early 1880's into the rising Knights of Labor, who welcomed women (and had chartered the Working Women's Union as Local Assembly # 1789), their claim of equal work rights became the foundation of Chicago's working-class women's organizing efforts and reform politics for years ahead.²⁶

The two women who became co-leaders of the organization were the English-born Elizabeth Morgan, a labor activist since the days of the Chicago Women's Union and the Knights of Labor and the wife of the leading Chicago political Socialist and trade union activist Thomas J. Morgan, who shared his wife's concerns for women and children. Both Morgans had been child laborers in England; the other was Corinne Stubbs Brown, a former Chicago school teacher and principal whom the Haymarket events had converted to socialism. She was married to a liberal banker and, remarkably, was a member of both the notoriously sectarian SLP and of the Chicago Woman's Club. Cognizant of the enormity of the problem the LFLU women took the first step and appealed directly to some of the many middle-class women's civic, religious and service organizations that clustered around the Woman's Club. The men of their own parent organization, Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, had passed a favorable resolution calling for a "united front against sweated labor" and made the LFLU #2703 its official representative to the Alliance. The plan for action they circulated among prospective member groups focused on three main objectives: enforcement of existing factory and shop regulations, enforcement of compulsory education and appointment of women factory inspectors.²⁷

The responses they received from the Woman's Club and other organizations were immediate, enthusiastic and organizationally creative. By November, 1888, representatives

of thirty civic, suffrage, labor, professional, philanthropic, social service and church-related women's groups had organized themselves into the Illinois Woman's Alliance, with an additional seventy, later 150 groups as part of the wider network. Under the motto of "Justice to Children, Loyalty to Women," this first time coalition of working-class and middle-class women represented a unique combination of cross-class social service reform objectives with feminist motivations and tactics that promised a public outlet for long-held political aspirations. Though their concern for women sprang from different sources that also marked their respective styles of action and their goals, the sense of urgency they shared as the "most socially-conscious and seasoned" activists from both sides helped them to transcend their differences at this time.

As the LFLU women had declared in their original statement, both groups shared the common conviction that something had to be done about the "moral, physical and mental degradation of women and children employed as workers." Both groups had separately concluded that the majority of men, with whom they were associated, would not take the initiative in these concerns, but that there were some men from whom they could expect to receive support. Union men's cooperation could be expected in relation to specific objectives such as working for higher wages and better working environments for young women and more effective measures against child labor. The fact that the union women could count on support from an important sector of Chicago's organized labor was probably the most crucial factor in getting the future organization off the ground. The importance of finding additional allies was equally clear to them.

Middle-class men's cooperation could be expected because, despite the immediate post-Civil War setbacks women's rights activists had experienced on the part of their

former male allies, some men of the male-led groups had, in the interim, renewed their support of women's rights and suffrage. They had also relinquished their prevailing view that the welfare of poor women and children was only women's "natural" traditional concern. As the two groups came together, the working-class women occupied the chief positions of leadership during the crucial periods of the Alliance's work, although middle and upper-class women outnumbered those Alliance members with working-class viewpoints and experience. Elizabeth Morgan was the chairman of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly delegation to the IWA and its leading gadfly on the executive board, and Corinne Brown, the influential corresponding secretary and chair of the education committee.

Despite the handicap of being voteless, the IWA became the means for Chicago's women to take a central place in urban politics. To date the organization remains the best historic example of women involved in the leadership of a political movement. For this study its central interest lies in the fact that the IWA laid the groundwork that made the settlement-led social justice movement distinct from other Progressive groups by its direct ties to labor and its primary concerns for the needs of working-people.

Its legacy of issues dear to labor can be said to have flowed through two specific channels that joined at Hull-House, the social justice movement's central clearing house, from where they spread out again to the appropriate individuals or groups. At Hull House the first direct transmitters of union-originated issues, were Mary Kenney and Alzina Stevens, two working class women who moved within the settlement's inner circles, where the radicalized, upper middle-class Florence Kelley acted as the leading catalyst for a new social politics. The second channel was that of the social service-

oriented middle-class women who radiated out from the many Chicago Women's Club subdivisions and became the troops for much of the social justice movement, after the IWA's demise.²⁸

In its six years of existence the Alliance successfully campaigned for a stronger compulsory education law, for new schools in working-class areas, for more women on the Board of Education and as superintendent, for female truant officers and equal pay for women teachers. Its campaign for enforcement and expansion of existing factory regulation, including the regulation of hours for women and the curtailment of child labor drew national attention to Chicago and resulted in the milestone Factory Inspection Act of 1893, whose chief inspector was a woman, as was most of her staff. Its work for improvement in administration and care, in public institutions, and for hiring of female supervisory personnel laid the groundwork for more modern administration of public institutions, such as hospitals, asylums and prisons, in Illinois. Women's concerns clearly informed the Alliance's work to end harassment of prostitutes by police, bail bondsmen and the courts during detention and such civic efforts as the advocacy of public baths.

The first of these issues successfully tackled by the Alliance was the campaign for a new compulsory education bill. Estimates of over 50,000 children who did not attend school and another 10,000 who attended only for half-days fueled the energies of an enlarged coalition in which the Alliance received the support of the labor movement and long-time educational reform specialists. The relative speed with which the new measure was enacted was attributable not only to middle-class women's traditional involvement with schools, but to the steady support they received in this cause from organized labor. This may have come as a surprise to many club women who knew little about working

people's views of universal public education as a means to "elevate the working class" and as bulwark against child labor, held ever since the early decades of the nineteenth century. They may have been equally unaware that the first Illinois Compulsory Education Act of 1883, which they were now aiming to replace with a stronger one, was based on a resolution drawn up by Socialist Thomas Morgan in 1879. The enactment of the new law in May 1889 resulted in an extended school year and in Chicago in the addition of 16,000 children to classrooms. It also gave the new coalition the valuable experience of keeping persistent pressure on the board of education and the city council and of lobbying the politicians in Springfield.²⁹

It was during this first winter of the new coalition's undertakings that Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr came to Chicago, two not very worldly-wise, but sufficiently self-possessed young college graduates, eager to embark on their "scheme."

The Arrival

They arrived in the city in late January, 1889 and settled themselves into two rooms of a boardinghouse at 4 Washington Place, a respectable address on the near Northside. They had a few introductory letters, but counted heavily on Ellen Gates Starr's connection with former pupils and parents of the Kirkland School, where Starr had taught, as well as on Rockford College friends in the city and suburbs who knew about their plan. Our knowledge of these months of meeting people and looking for a location for the settlement comes almost entirely from the letters Addams wrote to her sister Mary Linn in Iowa, who then circulated them among the Cedarville households of stepmother and brother. Some went to her sister Alice in Girard, Kansas. This small group of letters,

which turned up only in the late 1960's, is of unique interest in the vast Addams correspondence as one of the few of such collections in which Addams expressed herself more directly, both emotionally and intellectually, than was her custom in most of her correspondence. They record her moods, which varied from cautiously elated to wryly caustic. Starr's more occasional, but generally livelier, letters to her family help to round out the picture. The letters of both young women are furthermore of particular interest because they offer revealing contrasts between the neophyte reformers' early attitudes and their later outlook on such basic topics as class, gender, religion and immigrants, and they give us some beguiling insights into their personalities.³⁰

Armed with Addams' notes on the English reform scene and their few letters, they started on their rounds, with Addams doing most of the presentations. The response they received, right from the start, was uniformly friendly. Before long, they knew that their introductory letters gave them exactly the right entrée to the reform-minded groups that interested them and that all seemed to converge on the circles of the Chicago Woman's Club, the extent of whose work did not seem to have been known to Addams. An initial acquaintance with one or two club members turned out to be enough to meet others. Some of these women, themselves college-educated or professionally trained, were also mothers of college-educated daughters, the leading category of prospective co-workers. At the suggestion of one of these women, their first visit was to one of the new city "missions." In Chicago, these were recently started philanthropic institutions, such as the Armour Mission, founded by meat packing magnate Philip Armour, at the behest of his wife. Formally non-denominational, they nevertheless exuded a spirit of distinctly

Protestant Christianity and offered classes, reading rooms, kindergartens and other facilities deemed useful means to acculturate the poor and the foreign-born.³¹

By mid-January Addams reported to sister Mary Linn that "the ball is rolling at such a cheerful pace that it is hard to keep you all informed." Her first visit had been to the Clybourne Avenue Mission, on the recommendation of a Mrs. Beveridge, the one member of the Chicago Woman's Club she had corresponded with from Cedarville. At the mission she had been taken in tow by a Mrs. Sears, a Vassar graduate whose daughter currently attended there, and she had also observed an industrial class attended by a hundred boys. In the course of the tour Mrs. Sears had told her, after she had explained her project, that they ought not to be "an adjunct of any mission," but become "a child of the Woman's Club," of which she herself was an active member.

Mrs. Beveridge next arranged a meeting with the full board of the Armour Mission. Addams described the all-male board's reaction to her presentation as "mixed." She had the impression that some of the older members felt she was "vaporizing and talking nonsense," but that all the younger members had "waxed enthusiastic" and promised support. A young architect, Allen B. Pond, had felt strongly that she had "voiced something hundreds of young people in the city were trying to express and that he could, at once, send us three young ladies who possessed both money and a knowledge of Herbert Spencer's Sociology, but who were dying of inaction and restlessness." That same week, she and Starr also decided to enroll in a weekly lesson in industrial arts and to teach that subject to a class of boys at the Dwight L. Moody Church school; she attended a "brilliant" lecture by a woman on comparative religion at the Fourth Presbyterian Church and made more appointments for the following week. Despite the accelerating pace, she

assured her sister, their heads "were not in the least turned by the first flush of success" and they realized the "the slough of despond may be very near."³²

By mid-January, she reported that the ball was still rolling at a rapid pace, which certainly couldn't last, but meanwhile they wanted to make the most of it. She mentioned attending at least eleven different events, all, except one, related to the "scheme." Besides the classes they took or gave, they had appointments with potential supporters. One woman who aspired to cultivating a "salon" invited them to a concert, attended by many Rockford graduates. Some young men who were their fellow-boarders took them to an art exhibit. Addams and Starr gave a lunch for several young college women they hoped to interest in the plan. In addition, Addams was taken to lunch at the Palmer House by family friends and potential supporters, met one of the leading liberal ministers and made her first foray into one of the immigrant districts.^{32a}

But the most important event so far, was Addams' being called on by Mrs. Julia P. Harvey, who knew Ellen Starr from her Kirkland School teaching days and whom Starr had described as "a great philanthropist." She was also a leading power in the Woman's Club. Though Addams may not yet have had a clear picture of the Woman's Club's history or of the extent of its activities, she knew by now that the Club could be the most vital source of support for them. Mrs. Harvey, as she reported, "plunged at once into the midst of things in rather an alarming way" and assured her of her acceptance, if she applied, because Mrs. Harvey was "a pretty important member." Jane Addams by then was sufficiently aware that Mrs. Harvey had come to inspect her. To dispel any doubt as to Mrs. Harvey's influence, Addams and Starr received a note the next morning from the head of the Philanthropy Committee of the Club, asking them to tea that afternoon to meet

all the committee members and to explain their project. Addams' fifteen-minute presentation had the desired effect, with some of the older ladies moved to tears. After a full discussion about how the plan would work, the members gave their enthusiastic support and some made individual appointments for further discussions. This was the breakthrough.

From then on, they found themselves in a whirlwind of social engagements for concerts, art exhibits, receptions, lunches, dinners and cultural soirées, with invitations "coming from all sides." With the mounting number of social invitations came new requests for talks and lectures, which Addams and Starr attributed correctly to Mrs. Harvey and the spreading circles of the Woman's Club. Other reasons why their quest encountered such positive responses from the start (besides having reached the right people which under the circumstances of their background and preparation was not that difficult) probably had to do with, first, the soundness of Addams' presentation, and second, with their willingness to talk to everybody who expressed any kind of interest. It was Addams' firm belief, much more a hunch, really, than a reasoned strategy, that they should cast their net as wide as possible among the different reform circles before settling down. This allowed them to move deliberately, without undue pressure to limit themselves or become beholden to one or the other organization or institution and keep all avenues open for future growth. This spadework proved itself again and again in future years.

Characteristically, while doors were opening for them in all directions, Addams felt the need to keep things in perspective by avowing soberly in her letters to the family that she and Ellen felt "rather humbled by the kindness of the people, than set up." But in a letter sent directly to her sister, Alice Haldeman, her tone of exuberance is unmistakable

and she even allowed the thrust of her ambition to emerge. After reiterating that the scheme was progressing "at an astonishing pace," she quoted a favorite line from Browning to characterize her current outlook that, perhaps, told more than she was aware of: "there's power in me and will to dominate which I must exercise, they hurt me else. In many ways I need mankind's respect...." Here was a new, or perhaps only "reborn," Jane Addams reminiscent of the earlier ambitious and energetic college woman. More likely, it was a glimpse of the maturer, "essential," Addams who, by now, had collected herself and had set out on her life's work: a courageous and eager woman, conscious of and in control of her strengths, who could therefore use them in an assertive but unpugnacious way, understood by her intimates, but easily misinterpreted by the public as "gentle Lady" or threatening "amazon," because the shrouds of ideology still clung so heavily to women.³³

While she was moving along in her new "social whirl" with obvious satisfaction, aware that she was confronting a great deal of family scepticism, Addams was careful in letters to her family to spell out clearly that she was doing things with all the expected proprieties. She invariably noted which "lady" had chaperoned her to her meetings and she presented precise credentials for the elderly or young men who escorted her in the evening. The times she did unexpectedly go out by herself (as when Ellen Starr was ailing) she was conscious of flouting the proprieties for young ladies, even though done in the most respectable manner. She was therefore careful to report that "though I went alone, I didn't feel uncomfortable," or "it went very well," or "I was not forlorn...." The times she went out with young men, always with one or two other young women, she invariably reported with a special note of animation. "I had a jolly time" became the phrase that identified these occasions. In other letters also during the exciting pioneering years of

the first decade, a new note of effervescence was often noticeable when Addams reported on doing things in the company of men. The feeling conveyed is not so much one of a pleasurable romantic undercurrent as of satisfaction with finding herself in the heightened intellectual-social atmosphere that the company of like-minded men offered.³⁴

This unspoken sense of appreciation of having entered a sphere she could share with men who were interested in the same things she valued was further underlined at this time by her efforts to avoid giving a female "separatist" tinge to her ideas of the settlement. In her talks and lectures to groups she invariably took pains to dispel the idea that the settlement was exclusively for women. At a large evening reception held especially for her and Ellen Starr in April, she was relieved to find that "half the guests were men, so that our fear of founding a home for single women and widows is being allayed." They were at pains to have it understood, she added, that, just because matrimony was not their personal goal, they did not plan to forego male participation and company. As Ellen put it, "we don't wish the girls who come to us to feel that they are doing anything queer and extraordinary: turning themselves into 'sisters,' giving up the world or society or cutting themselves off from the things of the flesh or any such sentimental nonsense."³⁵

Despite this aim for "heterosexual inclusiveness" as entry ticket into the real world that men dominated, Addams and Starr were by now quite aware that the strongest response concerning their project, and probably the biggest support, would, in this country, come from women and their organizations. Although in college Addams had been a leader of a feminist emancipatory push for higher education equal to that of men, during the next eight years of search she did not become involved in any aspect of the

women's movement. Whatever instances she evinced during these years of interests that could be regarded as feminist were usually related to educational aspects, such as her continuing active support of Rockford's development as a college and, in England, a special visit to Newnham, one of the pioneer women's colleges. Ill health, troubling family and farm business and her cultural and literary interests seemed to have filled up her life. But now that she found herself in a new situation in which she could use all the help she could get, she was careful to notice the women's groups with interests related to her own. These were, by then, hard to miss in Chicago. Besides the Woman's Club connection they nurtured constantly, she and Starr met with representatives of two other organizations during these preparatory months. One was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), by then the largest women's organization in Chicago and elsewhere. The other was the fledgling Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA).

They were asked to tea to meet Frances Willard and the Chicago board of the WCTU at the enormous new Woman's Building and were invited to try their hand at work with young girls in the Clark Street and South Third Avenue area, adjacent to the leading red light district. Addams actually helped organize a girl's social club there and made plans to interest "other young ladies," but felt that "the material is rather unpromising" and let it go at that. Though she often thereafter appeared on the same civic affairs platforms with the by then famous Frances Willard, and informal cooperation between their groups in various urban undertakings developed over the years as a matter of course, one is left with the impression that the two current and future leaders preferred to keep to their own agendas.³⁶

In contrast to the WCTU, the very new ACA (1882) was instantly supportive, an attitude that reflected the immediate sympathetic understanding of motivations and goals that arose out of shared experiences among college-educated women eager for meaningful, if not professional, work. As a concrete example of this meeting of minds, the ACA very soon instituted a scholarship fund for settlement workers in need of financial assistance during their residencies. By then, Addams must also have heard of the Illinois Woman's Alliance, but there was no more than a passing reference in one of her letters.

The second category of people who received Addams and Starr sympathetically and supported their idea, were some of the more social-minded Protestant churches that included the most prominent liberal preachers. Addams and Starr learned that their support would be important as they discovered that the work of some of these churches dovetailed with that of the women's reform groups. From her investigations in England Jane Addams had learned that the kind of reform activities that interested her came from certain parts of the Anglican Church working in tandem with young university men eager to spread a "socialized Christianity" in unconventional ways in the urban centers. Addams' efforts in relation to the churches during this early period are of special interest, in view of the changes her relations with them and her outlook on religion underwent. In the course of the first decade of Hull-House, she moved from a conviction of the need to work within a kind of universalized non-denominational Christian atmosphere to a more distinctly secular one. The ascendancy of the settlement women and their various groups of women supporters within the Chicago social justice movement strengthened the ongoing general trend toward secularization. These women's relatively greater closeness to the non-Protestant population of the immigrant districts, and the greater obstacles women often

encountered when attempting to work for urban reforms within the churches, were two factors that encouraged the trend.

Addams' own religious upbringing had been far from conventional, shaped to a considerable extent by her father, who came from a "Quaker background," but practiced a kind of enlightened abstract Christianity. The atmosphere in the Addams home during Jane Addams' childhood tended toward a non-denominational Christian spirituality and moral idealism that reflected the Enlightenment afterglow and more recent religious attitudes related to abolition. During her college years Addams' religious questing at first centered on her resistance to a still-commonly-expected conversion as part of her larger educational secularizing struggle. Her religious speculations therefore reflected an increasing preoccupation with ethics over doctrine, ritual and piety, as her correspondence with Starr, who had already left Rockford, and her own commonplace book notations attest. During her subsequent European travels, her visits to cathedrals and basilicas enriched her ethical and sociological speculations. Her acquaintance toward the latter part of her travels with the English reform scene, in which low-church Anglicans and university men tinged with Christian socialist notions spearheaded a new kind of reform Christianity, may have first suggested the idea to her of joining a church as a token of human relatedness. Back in America, while shaping her "scheme," her growing awareness of how much even the newer kind of reform activities were still associated with regular church channels may have convinced her further of the importance of joining a church as added assurance for the success of her plan. In Twenty Years at Hull-House she characterized her joining a church in Cedarville sometime during the summer of 1885 as a response to her agonized search for an "outward symbol of fellowship" that she felt had been eluding her since

leaving college. The record, however, shows that she was baptized in the Presbyterian Church of Cedarville on October 14, 1888, a few months before moving to Chicago.³⁷

The first minister she and Starr met in Chicago was a Mr. C.F. Goss, pastor of the leading fundamentalist evangelical Moody Institute, who appealed to her because he "dreamed of a 'workingmen's church.'" He was also the one who made the arrangement for them to teach their industrial arts class at the church's evening school. Through him they met his brother-in-law, Rev. Stryker, minister of the fashionable Fourth Presbyterian Church Addams had chosen to attend. Stryker approved of their idea and promised assistance, though he had doubts about getting cooperation from "the modern fashionable young lady" whom he saw as "the most hard-hearted creature in existence." The famous Dr. David Swing of the new Central Church, who had been the first target in the struggle of orthodox against liberal Protestants that had convulsed many of the churches some years earlier, rather volubly promised them "money and moral support as we need it ... whatever that means," Addams reported.³⁸

Through their friends at the Armour Mission they also received an appointment with Dr. Frank Gunsaulus of the Plymouth Presbyterian Church, the second Chicago minister to have been ousted by the orthodox elements of his church. Addams and Starr found him "extremely witty and quite the most enthusiastic convert we have made." He had been briefed regarding them by the Armour Mission people and had already "proclaimed them far and wide, with more zeal than ourselves," though Addams confessed that she was "never quite sure that he had the idea exactly, but we are grateful to him." He was "tickled to death" to hear that they actually planned to live among the poor and invite "friends of both classes" to visit them. He commended them for their "deal of solid

thinking" and assured them of his intent to help get additional financial support "once the thing is on its way." To prove it, he promised to send them a young woman, "heiress to a million," who was not a joiner of organizations, but would become one of their helpers the moment she was asked personally to do definite work. Not surprisingly, they received a promise of "unqualified support" when they met William Salter of the Ethical Culture Society, who was already working along lines they had yet to discover.³⁹

While she was seeking support and active collaborators from among the rich, the religious and the respectable, Addams was also busy acquainting herself with the immigrant communities. In her first venture she was taken to a Bohemian Sunday School by an elderly missionary who had spent ten years in Prague. It took an hour to reach his chapel in the heart of a ten-block district inhabited by about 40,000 Bohemians. To be surrounded by people who spoke only Czech gave Addams the feeling of being "in just as foreign an atmosphere as I ever felt in Europe." Up to then, Addams and Starr had been thinking that they might settle in a French or German-speaking neighborhood so they could utilize the languages that the educated young women they expected to join them were most likely to know. Lately, however, Addams, according to Starr, had been leaning toward the Italians, who, more than others, had "no nothin'." A friend had also advised that their investigations would be incomplete unless they got to know some socialists; and, Starr wrote her sister, "Jane also thirsts very much for the anarchists."⁴⁰

On a Sunday afternoon in early March, Addams' wish in that respect was fulfilled when a friendly reporter took her to a German Anarchist Sunday School in the northwest part of the city. She was received by a "gentlemanly-looking man... who looked as if he were bearing the burdens of all humanity" and who explained to her that "Americans rarely

come up here except for the reporters of the capitalist newspapers and they always exaggerated." In a room in back of a saloon, she observed about two hundred children "with some young men trying to teach them free thought, without religion or politics--the entire affair was very innocent." In Twenty Years at Hull-House she added that the children sang Theodor Körner's beautiful patriotic songs from the wars of resistance against Napoleon, which the newspaperman, in his ignorance of German, suspected to be "abominable stuff," full of dangerous meanings. Her efforts to explain the obvious cultural aims of the school gave her her first inkling of how treating anarchists as one would treat any other Chicagoans was "to lay yourself open to deep suspicion."

By March, she had stepped up her systematic canvassing of the city's working-class districts, accompanied by journalists, truant officers or charity agents. Her several visits to the Italian quarter in South Chicago were eye-openers. She felt as if she were back in a Roman or Neapolitan quarter, where everyone spoke and dressed like Italian peasants. Though they lived "more crowded than I imagined people ever lived in America, with families of six or eight in one room...and under constant fear of eviction...they were affectionate and gentle, the little babies rolled up in stiff bands and the women sitting about like mild-eyed madonnas. They never begged nor even complained and in all respects were immensely more attractive to me than the Irish neighborhood I went to last week," she reported to her sister, in a mixture of Yankee prejudice and another instance of a kind of "grand tour flair" for the exotic.⁴¹

What gave their lives during these months of searching a certain pattern of regularity was their diligent pursuit of their schedule of "practical philanthropy" that manifested one side of Addams' lifelong penchant to alternate between theoretical and

practical occupations. Their regular classes included the "arts and crafts" lesson they took at the Industrial Arts Society that centered on such skills as paper cutouts, which they then taught to their boys' classes at the Moody Institute evening school. Addams also conducted a regular Sunday School class at the Fourth Presbyterian Church for the offspring of McCormicks and Farwells, and visited an industrial school for newsboys, "a safe place where utterly homeless and forlorn boys can be retrained until other places are found for them." She was told that the boys arrived at the school "starved and beaten and ragged," but that they were never dull and often "almost preternaturally sharp." She herself came away from a talk with one boy, feeling that they were "brighter and more attractive than the wealthiest and most favored boys at the Fourth Presbyterian Church."

As part of her "bridge-building" effort between the benevolent and the poor, she arranged for exchange visits between her Fourth Presbyterian Church class and some Bohemian and Irish boys' groups. It went off well enough, she felt, but elicited the comment from one of the Sunday school boys that, while it had been "awfully interesting," it showed that "Miss Addams knew nothing of Chicago mickies." In another instance that proved to her "the curious...need of communication between the benevolent at the one end of the city and the poverty at the other," she arranged to take a blind Italian boy to a special rehabilitation hospital for children that always had vacant beds because the hospital was unknown to the people who needed its free services the most.

In between their appointments and practical activities Addams characteristically found time for "clarifying her own mind" concerning the scheme by reading every relevant-appearing book or article that came her way and by adding carefully-considered notes to her earlier ones. These notes became the foundation, a kind of permanent source

book, for future theoretical speculations and for the practical work ahead. The notes also served as basis for discussion between her and Starr. But it was mostly from Starr's letters to her family ("she always makes everything so graphic and dramatic," according to Addams) that some of the more explicit examples of their thinking and immediate planning can be gleaned.⁴²

They planned to live on \$100 a month in either a rented flat or a house, with Starr continuing to teach half-time at the Kirkland School. They would have extra bedrooms for the other "young ladies" who would come to stay, once they saw that "we don't catch diseases and weren't 'destroyed' by 'vicious people.'" Since they expected to live far from their friends, they anticipated the need to "spend a good deal for carriage hire" and expected their friends to visit them, if only for the novelty. The girls who came to visit would pay their own expenses for food and "service," which might entail getting another servant beyond the one they planned to hire. She and Jane felt there "will be many girls...glad to come...to know the people and...give them what they have to give, out of their culture and leisure and over-indulgence...and to receive the culture that comes of self-denial and poverty and failure...."⁴³

One thing they tried to make sure of from the beginning was that their ideas were correctly understood, particularly by the press that paid them immediate attention. This was gratifying, but also gave them cause for concern. The first account of their settlement plan appeared in the suffragist Woman's Journal and was, in part, based on an interview with Addams. In it the writer stressed that one of the settlement's chief aims was to offer "a retreat for other young women, who need rest and change, or who desire a safe refuge from the inordinate demands of society..." and who, after getting "a glimpse at the reverse

side of life...will beget a broader philanthropy and a tenderer sympathy, and leave less time and inclination for introspection, for selfish ambition, or for real or fancied invalidism."⁴⁴

Addams was partly responsible for this emphasis on the settlement as a cure for invalidism because she herself at that time stressed the therapeutic value of the settlement idea in her talks, though it was only one of several motivations. That this was not an ineffective approach could be gathered from a magazine article published years later that described an unnamed Woman's Club member's first encounter with Jane Addams. The woman recalled having paid little attention to what Addams had been saying to her as they hurried along a corridor between committee meetings, until she caught the words "a place for invalid girls to go and help the poor." The explanation of the "frail, sensitive girl," who did not look the reformer type, that she was looking for "a neighborhood where help was needed" in order to live there herself "and muster to her aid such girls as were without a vital interest..." so captured the woman that she promised immediate help, even before the conversation was over.⁴⁵

Ellen Starr's letters also throw light on their relationship to the plan and to each other. Though they themselves regarded their project very much as a joint venture, Starr was careful, when she wrote about it, to make it very clear that Addams was the author of the basic idea and the one who had done the "solid thinking." She explained to her sister that she didn't want anybody to think that she had worked it out, though she could now talk about it easily. For herself, she knew that her strong point was her contacts with young women whom she had met through her years of teaching in Chicago. Starr's personal importance to Addams went, of course, immeasurably beyond that. Without her, Addams would not have done it. It was essential for her to have another person and

specifically, another woman, with whom she had developed an abiding friendship. The bonds of love, cooperation and understanding, sustained over the years, constituted her base from which she could venture into unknown territory. Ever since college, Ellen Starr had been Jane Addams' "best friend." In the years since then, their friendship had grown under the impact of their respective alternating periods of depression and aspiration that helped to shape their future and their mutual emotional and intellectual ties. Their letters reflect how much their nascent plans pulled them even closer during this period. "Let's love each other through thick and thin and work out a salvation," Addams wrote to Starr in January 1889, when they were about to start out on their "scheme." In June, after they had found the house and the days were filled even more with activity, Jane Addams was moved to tell Ellen how much she needed her and how much more Ellen meant to her than she, Ellen, realized. Never a gusher, Jane Addams' letters to Ellen Starr, nonetheless, now generally started with the more intimate "Dearest," or "Dear One," instead of the earlier "Dear friend." When, during June, Addams was briefly absent from Chicago, she confessed to Starr that "a day without a letter from her "was blanc, as the French say of sleepless nights."⁴⁶

The more confidently Addams seemed to be finding her own intellectual and practical ground, the more she seemed also to count on Starr's emotional support. This reliance was not only grounded in the late nineteenth century tendency among women to seek much of their emotional support from among their own sex, but in Addams' case, there was an added reason: since her father's death, nobody in her own family was sufficiently available to her, either out of lack of sympathy with her aims (Anna Haldeman Addams, George and Harry Haldeman), or because of their own difficult circumstances

(brother Weber's mental instability and sister Mary Linn's uncertain health and family burdens). Sister Alice Haldeman, wife of Harry, in fact did become the most available and supportive family member after the opening of Hull-House, though her support was marred, at times, by a touchy and contentious personality.⁴⁷

"Jane's ideas," Ellen Starr stressed loyally, "which she puts very much to the front and on no account will give up is that it is more for the benefit of the people who do it, than for the other class" (my italics). What Starr had not expected in her "most sanguine moments," she explained to her sister, was "that people were going to take it up as they do. The truth is the thing is in the air. People are coming to the conclusion that if anything is to be done toward tearing down the walls--half imaginary between classes, that are making anarchists and strikers the order of the day, it must be done by actual contact and done voluntarily from the top."

How much it was now "in the air" in the United States was corroborated by Addams, who told her sister Mary that they were discovering "similar undertakings," already established, such as the Neighborhood Guild in New York, "but we still think we have a distinct idea of our own." In comparing their ideas with those of a second group, the College Settlement in New York, which was also in the process of starting, Addams felt that they were "modest enough to think that ours is better, is more distinctly Christian and less Social Science." In elaborating why their idea was better, Starr explained that Addams felt that "it was not the Christian spirit to go among these people as if you were bringing them a great boon and that one gets as much as one gives." In this, Starr explained, they were following the Toynbee Hall people in London, who quite repudiated the idea that they were making a sacrifice. Apart from their feeling that their approach was

"more Christian" than the "Smith College Settlement" in New York, Addams felt they differed further from the latter in that they were not going to limit themselves to only college women as residents. They were also going to avoid turning institutional by starting out as a formal organization.⁴⁸

Financially, Addams strove to know exactly what her costs would be, and moved with characteristic deliberateness toward that goal. The years after her father's death, the experience of having to run several farms, had given her an appreciation of the need for financial soundness in all undertakings. Toward this end she had earlier taught herself bookkeeping. Her letters to her sister Alice from this time on more often than not contained discussions of financial matters, and Alice, as a banker's wife with knowledge of the business, became Addams' chief financial agent and adviser. Addams calculated that she and Starr (some of whose expenses she would pay for during the first year) could not only live on her annual income of \$3,000, largely from farm rentals, but some of it would also pay for the start of the most necessary projects, including the one servant she planned on bringing with them. Additional residents would pay their own way without increasing running expenses of the house, Starr explained to her sister. In that way, Addams had optimistically calculated that they would remain financially free and not beholden to any person or organization. Whenever a need for a larger outlay would arise, such as "a lecture or a stereopticon or a piano," they were sure they could get the money from supporters.⁴⁹

Their experience during these preparatory months seemed to indicate that they were right to be guardedly optimistic about the availability of financial support after they had started. Almost everybody they had tried to interest had agreed to help them

financially. Dr. Gunsaulus, their most explicitly enthusiastic supporter, had told them at their first meeting that besides the heiress, two wealthy men had offered to become "associates" of their enterprise to assure it financially. Others, too, had given definite promises and at the same time urged them to form an "association." They therefore felt reasonably sure that, even if the promises made up to then were only "half-fulfilled," they would have "no trouble on the money side." At the same time, Addams was absolutely certain that, for the moment, she was not inclined to organize into any kind of association. "When we are once started and need money," she wrote, "I think there will be no difficulty; at present, of course, we have no use for it nor authority to collect it."

Their main task, for the moment, was to reach as many people as possible to commit themselves, not just financially, but to join them in the actual work. Addams was sanguine that the financial organizational structure would develop later, once they had an actual location and a group of people. She felt confirmed in this view by the contrasting experience of the College Settlement in New York, with whom she had started to correspond. They had just sent her a circular from which she gathered that their problem, after they had organized themselves, was not financial (they had easily raised the money to start with), but getting more committed volunteers, without whom the new undertaking was already "languishing." How right her intuition had been about this approach became evident during the first decade of the settlement's existence. The months she and Starr had spent getting commitments from people and groups with differing points of view became the big factor in giving Hull-House its many-sided foundation and resilience in the Chicago community. It assured its initiators that they would be able to draw on many different kinds of friends, but be institutionally beholden to none. Perhaps most significantly, it

preserved the idea that, no matter how it grew, the place would always remain Addams' and Starr's home.⁵⁰

According to one often-repeated account, during one of Addams' trips in the spring of 1889 into one of the working-class districts, she caught a glimpse through her carriage window of a "fine old house standing well back of the street, surrounded on three sides by a broad piazza which was supported by wooden pillars of exceptionably pure Corinthian design and proportion." She tried to find it again the next day, but it took her three weeks to locate it. It stood on Halsted, near Polk Street, in the heart of the "foreign colonies" of the near Westside. The house had been built in 1856 by millionaire real estate speculator Charles J. Hull in what then had been the suburbs. Hull's career had been one of those rare ones that had developed along actual "Horatio Alger" lines from "poor Yankee orphan to tycoon." In his case, the proverbial penchant for late-in-life philanthropy left a fairly unconventional Post-Civil War legacy of affordable housing for both black and white workers that may have inspired his heirs to emulate some of his outlook by being aware of unusual kinds of philanthropic opportunities. (In Chicago Hull is remembered as the first developer to sell houses on the installment plan, and for a land distribution scheme the urban poor could afford.) Owned by Hull's younger cousin and business partner, Helen Culver, the now shabby mansion had in the meanwhile been used for small shops, as a factory, and as an old age home run by the Little Sisters of the Poor. When Addams came upon it, its chief use was as storage place and office for an adjacent desk factory. After negotiating with the owner and the furniture company, Addams signed a nine-month lease, starting August 1st, for the entire second floor and the large downstairs room on the north side of the house, sharing the wide hallway with the factory.⁵¹

In the months between finding the house, signing the lease and preparing to move in, the two young women spent their time in drawing plans and supervising repairs and furnishings. Amidst an air of rising anticipation, they continued the "talking up" of their now tangible project at an accelerated pace. Already in May, Addams had mentioned in one of her rare letters to her stepmother that she had "indoctrinated thirty young ladies concerning the scheme at a recent reception" and that it was becoming "something of a fashionable fad." During a brief visit to Cedarville she had written mockingly to Starr that, after the recent Woman's Journal article had been reprinted in the local paper and read before the Freeport Woman's Club, "I positively feel my callers peering into my face to detect spirituality," a harbinger of things to come.⁵²

This same letter is interesting for another reason. It is the only one from this period in which Addams complained about being "nervous and tired," conditions she had reported frequently during the past eight years, but which seemed to have evaporated once she had embarked on her plan. In all the other letters of this period, Addams' outlook and activities conveyed an energetic, at times close to jubilant, young woman who savored her work--a significant contrast to the "dolorous" semi-invalid of a few years past. It raises the question whether her present malaise was related to pressures of preparations or to her, by now, strained relations with her stepmother. According to her niece, Marcet Haldeman-Julius' later account, two things had helped to estrange the two during this time: George Haldeman's deteriorating mental state, for which his mother partly blamed Addams, and Anna Addams' purported refusal to contribute some portion of John Addams' fortune (to which Jane Addams felt she had some claim) to his daughter's scheme.⁵³

By August, the repair work on their part of the Hull mansion was well along, under the supervision of Allen Pond, the young architect she had first met at the Armour Mission who had become one of her first active supporters, and Addams' spirits were buoyant. (The Pond Brothers, Allen and Irving, became the architects of all the future buildings of the Hull-House complex). She was "perfectly delighted" with the way the work was coming along and knew of "no prettier rooms anywhere." In her memoirs she recalled how relieved she had been to find that "the old house responded kindly to repairs" and how its wide hall and its marble fireplace lent it "a gracious air," further enhanced by the rope-moldings of the high-ceilinged rooms that had been especially carved for Charles Hull by prisoners of a nearby jail.⁵⁴

Friends contributed useful and lovely things, like an "elegant old sideboard" for the dining room and a set of Minton breakfast china. By September 13, the dining room was resplendent with "strong terra cotta walls and frieze" and the ceiling in a "soft terra cotta." There was a "handsome Wilton carpet" on the floor and heavy leather-covered chairs, a "great bargain" of an oak table, as well as an oak book case next to her desk. The other rooms were "all just as distinguished-looking and artistic." In her memoirs she recalled that their intention had been to furnish the house "as we would have furnished it were it in another part of the city, with the photographs and other impedimenta we had collected in Europe and with a few bits of family mahogany....Probably no young matron ever placed her own things in her own house with more pleasure than that with which we first furnished Hull-House."⁵⁵

Moving-in day, according to Addams, was September 18. In fact, they moved in over several days, with the help of Mary Keyser, a young woman who had done

housework for the Addams family in Cedarville and whose traditional status of "hired girl" was soon changed through the new kind of settlement living. The moving-in took place during a heat wave, which made Starr "feel like a dish cloth," but despite that, she assured her family, they "already felt at home on Halsted and perfectly natural."⁵⁶

NOTES

¹For my background discussion of Chicago I am indebted to Bessie L. Pierce, A History of Chicago, vol. 3, The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893 (New York: Knopf, 1957); more specifically, for population, occupations and residency, "The Fabric of Society," 20-63; for economic and financial development, 64-233; for government and politics, 300-380; Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898 (New York: Macmillan, 1933; repr. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971); Kann, "Working-Class Culture and the Labor Movement in Nineteenth Century Chicago;" David J. Hogan, Class and Reform. School and Society in Chicago 1880-1930 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), chap. 1: "Social Order and Progressive Reform in Chicago, 1877-1912," 1-50; Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, vol. 2 (New York: , 1955), chap. 1: "The Industrial Scene 1830-1890," 1-31; Edward Wagenknecht, Chicago (Norman, Okla., 1964); Horace M. Mayer and Richard Wade, Chicago. Growth of a Metropolis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Emmett Dedmon, Fabulous Chicago (New York, 1953).

²On industrial growth, see Hogan, 15-16; Kann, 15-16.

³For population growth figures and ethnic groups, see Pierce, census data 2:481-82, 3:515-20; for ethnic groups see also Residents of Hull-House, Hull-House Maps and Papers. A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing out of Social Conditions (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1895), chap. 1: Agnes S. Holbrook, "Map Notes and Comments," 3-19; for Chicago's leading place in industrial and corporate integration, see Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1977), especially Part IV, "The Integration of Mass Production with Mass Distribution," 285-344.

⁴Hull-House Maps and Papers, *ibid.*

⁵For my account of the labor struggles and political events of the 1870s and 1880s in this and the following paragraphs I am indebted to Pierce, vol. 3, chaps. 7 and 8, both entitled "Labor's Quest for Power," 234-268; 270-299; see also: Philip Foner, "Beginnings of the Modern Labor Movement," 1:497-524; "The Industrial Scene," 2:1-31, and the chapters on the socialist movement in the 1880s and on the rising Knights of Labor, 32-74; Kenneth Kann's excellent dissertation, *op cit.*, Richard Schneirov, "Class Conflict, Municipal Politics and Governmental Reform in Gilded Age Chicago, 1871-1875," in German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective, Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 183-205; for the change that the nature of work and the relationships of workers were undergoing

during these years see Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

⁶Herbert Gutman, Power and Culture; Interview with Herbert Gutman by Mike Merrill, in Visions of History, by MARHO--The Radical Historian's Organization, eds. Henry Abelove, et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 187-216.

⁷See Kann, 284-360; Hogan, 6-7.

⁸Kann, 361-454.

⁹Ibid., 398-400; Hogan, 7.

¹⁰Kann, 456-459; Paul Avrich, The Haymarket Tragedy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), is the most recent and comprehensive account to date. See also Foner 2:93-114.

¹¹On the Knights of Labor, see: Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement, vol. 2; Kann, 393-410; Hogan, 9-10; Norman Ware, The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1890 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1929), for an older interpretation of the movement.

¹²Pierce, pp. 278-79; Chester M. Destler, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 156; Hogan, 10.

¹³Hogan, 13.

¹⁴Kann, chap. 4: "Middle-Class Culture and Working People," offered the most nuanced discussion of class relations and efforts for new reform perspectives from a social history perspective.

¹⁵Economic Conferences between Businessmen and Working Men, The Sunset Club Papers (Chicago, Newberry Library).

¹⁶Memoirs of Lyman J. Gage, Sunset Club Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, n.d., 69 [New York: House of Field, Inc., 1937].

¹⁷Ibid., 71.

¹⁸"The Women of Chicago," Julian Ralph's impressions of Chicago women, excerpts from articles published for Harpers Magazine during 1891-1892 published in Bessie L. Pierce, ed. and comp., As Others See Chicago. Impressions of Visitors 1673-1933 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 305-323; Pierce, History of Chicago 3:464-66; Ann Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Gender Politics and Class Conflict: Chicago in the Gilded Age;" Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club for the First Forty Years of Its

Organization, 1976-1916, Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, comps. (Chicago: Chicago Woman's Club, 1916); Pierce, 3:485-89; Meredith Tax, The Rising of the Women. Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), includes the most detailed account of The Illinois Woman's Alliance's involvement in the Chicago reform struggles of the late nineteenth century years.

¹⁹Gordon and Buhle, 5-6.

²⁰Frank and Jerome, 57.

²¹Gordon and Buhle, 10-12; William Leach, True Love and Perfect Union. The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1980); see particularly "Feminism and Social Science," 292-322.

²²Ruth Bordin, Woman and Temperance, see 95-116; Leslie Barbara Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity. Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

²³Annals of the Chicago Women's Club, 1-22; Pierce, 3:486-7.

²⁴Pierce, *ibid.*

²⁵Tax, 66-89; Gordon and Buhle, 26-29; Pierce, *ibid.*

²⁶Ralph Scharnau, "Elizabeth Morgan, Crusader for Labor Reform," Labor History 14 #3 (Summer 1973):340-51; Ellen M. Ritter, "Elizabeth Morgan, Pioneer Female Labor Agitator," Central States Speech Journal 22 #4 (Winter 1971):242-251; Chicago Times clippings, Aug. 1888, courtesy Meredith Tax.

²⁷Tax, 67.

²⁸Ann D. Gordon, "Alzina Stevens' Long Road to Hull-House," paper delivered at the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Vassar College (June 18, 1981).

²⁹Gordon and Buhle, 22-23; Rush Welter, Popular Education and Democratic Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 182-90.

³⁰All of the following Addams correspondence originals are now in the Jane Addams Memorial Collection, University of Illinois-Chicago; Ellen Gates Starr's are copies; originals are in Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

³¹Bessie L. Pierce, vol. 3, see "Religion and Humanitarian Striving," 441-43, for Protestant missions and other religious organizations.

³²Jane Addams to sister Mary Linn Feb. 12, 1889.

³³Jane Addams to sister Mary, Feb. 19, 1889; Jane Addams to sister Alice, Feb. 19, 1889.

³⁴Jane Addams to sister Mary, Feb. 26, 1889; Ellen Gates Starr to sister Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid; see also Pierce, vol. 3, on W.C.T.U. in Chicago, 457-59.

³⁷Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 77-8, the first volume of her autobiography; Jane Addams Papers (JAP), Documents, microfilm reel #28.

³⁸Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Feb. 26, 1889; Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Apr. 1, 1889; Pierce, History of Chicago, vol. 3; for Chicago's religious institutions in general, see "Religious and Humanitarian Strivings," 423-456; more specifically, see 429-38, 450.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Feb. 19, 1889; Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889.

⁴¹For reference to Theodor Körner in Twenty Years at Hull House, see 91-92. Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Mar. 13, 1889; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 92.

⁴²To Mary, Feb. 26, 1889 and Apr. 1, 1889.

⁴³Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889, pp. 11-16.

⁴⁴Leila Bedell, "A Chicago Toynbee Hall," The Woman's Journal 20 (May 23, 1889): 162.

⁴⁵Anne Forsyth, "What Jane Addams Has Done for Chicago," Delineator 70 (Oct. 1907): 493-94.

⁴⁶Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, Jan. 24, 1889.

⁴⁷Jane Addams correspondence with family during the first decade of the settlement, JAP; Marcet Haldeman-Julius; "Jane Addams as I Knew Her," The Reviewer's Library, #7 (1936): 4-6. Marcet was probably the family member closest to Addams after the death of Alice Haldeman, Marcet's mother, in 1915.

⁴⁸Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889; Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Mar. 13, 1889.

⁴⁹Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889.

⁵⁰Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Apr. 1, 1889.

⁵¹Twenty Years at Hull-House, 92; rental agreement between Sherwood and Jane Addams, JAM; found by the writer in 1961 among the rubbish on the floor of the abandoned mansion.

⁵²Jane Addams to Anna Haldeman Addams, May 9, 1889.

⁵³Marcet Haldeman-Julius.

⁵⁴To Alice, Aug. 6, 1889; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 93-4.

⁵⁵To Alice, Sept. 13, 1889; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 94.

⁵⁶Ellen Gates Starr to cousin Mary Allen, Sept. 15, 1889.

CHAPTER 2
SETTLING IN THE "JUNGLE"

How It All Began

True to their idea of becoming real neighbors, Addams and Starr avoided all formal gestures for opening the settlement by simply moving in. They felt that just by setting up housekeeping, they and Mary Keyser, the former "hired girl" from the Addams Cedarville homestead later turned valued resident-activist, would get the word around the neighborhood that they were living in part of the old mansion on Halsted Street. As they went about on their daily errands they let it be known that they were newcomers who would like their neighbors to "call" on them and that they would in return call on their neighbors. This rather formal gesture contrasted with their general attitude toward settling and must have sounded a little bizarre to the neighbors who were in the habit of visiting anytime they felt like it and who, undoubtedly, already knew through the "grapevine" that two "swell" young ladies and their servant had settled among them. But their aim was, undoubtedly, to demonstrate that they intended to use the same standards of courtesy they were accustomed to within their circle of friends.

The actual first callers were some of the neighborhood children who, following their natural curiosity, were easily enticed indoors to hear about and see splendid new things, like beautiful pictures and objects, and to listen to a story. They were soon followed by some of their mothers from the immediate vicinity, with Mrs. Mary P. Murphy

from next door, as the legendary first adult visitor. Beyond that, Addams and Starr "held themselves in readiness" for whatever next steps would develop out of these visits. Insights and projects based on these would determine the shape and direction the settlement would take.¹

As their initial opening gambit Addams and Starr showed their Florentine and Roman photographs and objects. Out of that adult kind of "show and tell" they hoped they might develop more structured talks about anything that was seen as beautiful or stimulating and, perhaps, organize a future evening "reading party." This "art appreciation" approach did not grow out of an assumption of cultural superiority, as many students of the period have liked to believe. It actually arose out of their subtler and more socially-suggestive Ruskinian assumptions that what poor people lacked most in their lives, and therefore craved the most, were interesting and beautiful things in their surroundings. They had found confirmation of this perspective in Toynbee Hall's hugely successful "Art for the People" exhibitions and projects. Nevertheless, their outlook did rest partly on an assumption shared by a majority of native-born, middle-class Americans that immigrants abruptly discarded their culture on arrival, because the harsh circumstances of their new life obscured much of its broader content. They soon found out how much they had to learn about priorities in their neighbors' lives. One thing they learned pretty quickly was that a "hunger for beauty" indeed existed among the immigrants. But instead of growing out of a "culture of deprivation," they learned, it grew out of and was directed toward a resumption, continuation and adaptation of immigrants' own cultural traditions. They learned that, under the circumstances of their neighbors'

currently pinched lives, other essentials, such as a job, better living quarters or medical services took precedence over concentrating on the glories of Florence and Rome.²

As their first, more planned, affair they arranged an evening "reading party" of George Eliot's Romola. They showed their photographs to document the Florentine scenes of the novel, which the Italian women loved. They also felt that the Catholic locale and characters were helpful aids to allay suspicions of their Irish and Italian neighbors that they were Protestant missionaries out to convert them. They hoped that the narrative of Romola's emancipation from her privileged life and her dedication to serve others would help explain their own intentions. But what really put them in business as a local support facility was a daycare facility started through one mother's sudden need to leave her child to be "minded," quickly followed by a full-fledged Kindergarten. They were accommodated in the downstairs drawing room in the care of the beautiful and rich young Jenny Dow, their first "volunteer." Soon there were twenty-four, mostly Italian, children, with two more helpers and a waiting list of seventy.³

In the afternoon, school girls and boys began to arrive and were grouped into club-like classes, based on what the children seemed to want to do most, as well as what the adults thought would be good for them. The girls, who usually owned only the dress they had on, were eager to learn to sew. They were also taught to cook. The more restless neighborhood boys liked to do simple handicrafts, play table games, or were invited to listen to chivalric classics, such as the Tale of Roland, chosen as inspirational models. As the clubs for all ages developed, some were co-educational, some were organized along ethnic lines, or subject matter. The older working adolescent girls and boys came in the evening. Both Addams and Starr had their respective "older boys" groups that gave them

the most headaches. Jane Addams' group, consisting of twenty sixteen-year-olds, many of whom worked at Marshall Field's and Walker's, were respectful enough; but Starr's, according to Addams, were "little ragamuffins" with short attention spans, whose "annoying habits" of spitting and keeping their caps on indoors, were hard to change.⁴

These civilizing endeavors notwithstanding, the clubs and classes were extremely popular and by October, two new "overflow" clubs had to be started. A drawing class was begun for a dozen talented boys and the salary for the special art teacher was paid for by Mrs. Mary Wilmarth, one of the Chicago Woman's Club's wealthy and dedicated activists. Another leading Woman's Club member, Dr. Lelia Bedell, came in the afternoons to teach hygiene, physiology and home nursing to women. A mother's club was started as adjunct to the kindergarten.

Besides evening reading parties, certain nights were regularly set aside for social gatherings of the different ethnic groups. Among the French, Greek, German and Italian evenings the latter two turned out to be the most successful. The Germans particularly enjoyed getting together over coffee, often to sing their cherished Volklieder, or to listen to familiar, but forgotten works of the great poets--a particular boon for the older matrons, whose current work-life excluded many of their traditional pastimes. The most brilliant of these evenings and the one that received the biggest press coverage, was the regular Saturday evening of the Italians. Addams had the most ardent hopes to establish a successful social atmosphere for the large Italian colony, among whom the South Italian peasants made up the largest group of recent arrivals. At first, only the women came, diffidently and by themselves, since going out with "him" was not the custom. Gradually, and largely through the efforts of Alessandro Mastro-Valerio, editor of the local l'Italia,

and one of the few among the educated Italians who cared about his rural compatriots, Italian Night became the social highpoint of the early Hull-House week.⁵

Sicilian and Calabrian peasant women in their traditional Sunday best, with silver pins in their hair and red-frocked, big-eyed babies in their arms, arrived accompanied by their husbands, some sporting a gold ring in one ear—the fruit vendors, peddlers or sewer diggers of Chicago. They were entertained with music and informal talks by some compatriots and residents in the "white and gold" drawing room. Peasants in a parlor created a sensation in Chicago. More important to the residents, it made the basic point of social interchange in a direct, colorful and amiable way, better than a lecture could. As Italian Night became a fixture, various auxiliary features grew out of it, such as special English classes, joint celebrations of Garibaldi and Washington's birthdays, talks about hygiene, or about agricultural colonies in America. Discussions of Mazzini's The Duties of Men occupied a prominent niche.⁶

As the various social evenings fell into place, Addams' and Starr's original announcement to "receive" regularly, on one particular afternoon, quietly vanished. They had intended it to show the neighbors that they were valued by them as much as their middle-class friends, to whom the ritual of "calling" and "receiving" was the norm. But for their neighbors, who went to see each other when they felt like it, or had a need, the idea of a fixed day and hour for visiting was neither practical nor desirable. Addams and Starr's tacit dropping of their "calling day" was an early example of the settlement residents' awareness and adaptability. Eventually, as Addams' calendar became more crowded, she established the practice of being especially available to all neighborhood callers on Saturday evenings and on Sundays.⁷

By October, Addams was telling her sister Alice that they were "already undertaking more than they can do, but that's the idea." Miss Culver, their land-lady was becoming more cooperative and the house was "a charming old thing." A note she sent at this time to the briefly-absent Ellen Starr reflects Addams' high spirits and offers a glimpse of her event-studded calendar. She assured Ellen how much she missed her and how she had "never wanted her more" than during these last days when "everything seemed to be moving at once." Three volunteers had stayed over night, the clubs were going full tilt, one group had taken an excursion to Lake Geneva and a concert and reception had been held. The only problem at the moment was "what to do with the Bohemian boys?"⁸

By November, they were already running short of rooms and of people to take charge of new projects, but they were getting support and money from many sources. They were also receiving local invitations to attend Italian church weddings, christenings and other festa. Just before Christmas, Addams wrote her sister Alice that "everything is going so smoothly and well" and that she was "very busy and very happy," what with Christmas presents being assembled, trees decorated and parties being held. This first Christmas at Hull-House was the beginning of a tradition that became the highpoint of the winter season, with much weight given to the idea of peace and good will toward all people and to joyful celebrations, with parties and presents, particularly for the children. Over the years the tradition expanded to include a carefully-produced fairytale Christmas Play; later the much-acclaimed tableaux vivants were added that cemented the reputation of the Hull-House theater's skills. Hundreds of market baskets full of food, clothing, toys and small trees were prepared for the poorest; a large Christmas dinner, a special "Messiah

Chorus" and an afternoon of Christmas songs from all over the world, sung by the Hull-House music school children's choir, rounded out the day.⁹

The end of the holiday season was marked by the first Old Settlers party on New Years Day. A characteristic Addams invention, it was particularly dear to her, as a daughter of an "old settler" community in Northern Illinois, and continued to be celebrated at Hull-House for over forty years. The special guests were the older people who had been pioneer settlers in the neighborhood. Some still lived there, and others, who had prospered and moved further west or north, returned. Addams was eager to give these former, mostly Yankee, pioneers (who included the banker and later U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman Gage), a festive occasion to reminisce about early Chicago and to share recollections of their own early hardships with the present immigrant settlers in the area. In an era of rising nativism, Addams hoped that the friendly mingling of immigrants with native old timers would strengthen the latter's scant perceptions of "kinship between the pioneer and the immigrant."¹⁰

By spring, 1890, the most significant addition to the activities were the College Extension Classes, the first formal higher education project, taught by both women and men college graduates. They inaugurated what became a close-to-central feature of settlements. After a few years they were supplanted by the more rigorous University Extension classes of the University of Chicago through which the idea of adult and continuing education became a standard feature. College Extension classes were designed for people of all ages who were "great for books," and for people who had acquired a certain level of learning and an appetite for more, but whom economic or demographic circumstances had prevented from continuing. They offered the basic liberal arts subjects,

with literature and languages, art history, music, mathematics and drawing the most popular. Ellen Starr embarked on her perennially popular courses on Dante and Shakespeare; the young sculptor Lorado Taft taught French; Harriet Rice, a black doctor, taught physiology. Julia Lathrop taught Plato. By 1894, there were 250 students, most of them young women teachers, typists, factory workers or store clerks, who paid 30 cents per course.¹¹

There was also a "school extension" program for working adolescent boys, most of whom had not gotten beyond the 6th grade. They could get high school English, United States history, geology, elementary arithmetic, later also mechanical drawing and "shop." All of this was geared to achieve high school equivalency, without which there was no hope for advancement out of the unskilled, low-paid jobs the boys held, such as messenger or stock clerk.

At Hull-House, perhaps more than at other settlements, the main stream of settlement life flowed through the originally self-constituted clubs that had grown, more or less spontaneously, out of neighborhood factory friendships or through newly-discovered special interests, like dramatics or debating. All had social features, like a dance, but the resident or volunteer club director saw to it that none turned into purely social clubs. In the early years there were about two dozen clubs, besides those for children, including the popular Shakespeare Club, the remarkable Plato Club, the "Jolly Boys," the "Violet" and the "Pansy," the Mandolin Club, the Italo-American Fencing Club, the politically important Men's Club and the Hull-House Woman's Club, soon to be the most influential local reform group. The most famous and also one of the oldest, was the Working People's Social Science Club, whose function and fame took it way beyond the club

structure. Its purpose, within an emphatic free speech framework, was the discussion of economic, social and political topics, no matter how controversial—a rare opportunity in post-Haymarket Chicago. It also welcomed working women, another noteworthy innovation. Its "free forum" format, adopted by leading settlements nationally, became, perhaps, the settlement's most important early feature that revealed one of its leading objectives and gave it its first direct political role.¹²

Besides the continuously-expanding number of academic classes there were gym and dancing classes for young and old, female and male; painting, drawing and clay-modeling, as well as a variety of other crafts; plain sewing and fine embroidery; mechanical drawing and manual training, later also shop and metalwork; chemistry and architectural drafting. The acclaimed Working People's Chorus, the Kindergarten Teachers Training School, the Rockford College Summer School and the widely-attended Sunday evening concert and lecture series, with renown performers and speakers, signified substantial additions to the educational and cultural opportunities that enhanced Chicago's cultural reputation.

In the beginning, the civic and municipal facilities were housed in corners of the settlement or scattered around the immediate neighborhood in rented spaces. There was the Penny Provident Bank and the U.S. Post Office sub-station right in Hull-House. A branch of the Public Library had been established, as well as a picture loan service that circulated water colors and "good" reproductions to homes and public schools on a rental basis. Five bathtubs, available to the public, were installed in the basement next to a laundry area; a medical dispensary, staffed by Visiting Nurses, was housed across the street. For a while a cooperative coal yard was undertaken and office space found for the

researchers working on the U.S. Labor Bureau and Agriculture Department investigations. During the 1893 depression, a women's lodging house and adjoining sewing room, as well as relief and employment bureaus, came into existence as joint projects with the Chicago Woman's Club. Somehow or other, space for more bedrooms for the growing cadre of women and men residents was also found.¹³

Simultaneously with the increasingly busy life that developed within Hull-House through the neighbors' growing interests and needs, Addams, Starr and the other residents pursued the second of their two-pronged objective, that of going out into the neighborhood homes. While the cornerstone of Addams' settlement credo was to "retie the broken lines of communication" between the "culturally favored" and the "culturally deprived" through the settlement's social-educational medium, she and Starr also knew that personal visits to their new neighbors up the street or around the corner was the settlement's second and, perhaps, deepest anchor in the community. What else was neighborliness, if not a truly friendly visit and efforts to get to know people?

Thus, while the first semi-social, semi-educational clubs and classes were shaping themselves within Hull-House, the residents made it their business to call on their new neighbors in their homes and, whenever necessary, give whatever direct help was needed, to the newborn, the sick, the old, the dying or the neglected of all ages. Once during those early years, when Addams and Julia Lathrop were hurrying down the street to assist an unwed mother in childbirth, because none of the neighboring women would go near her, Addams recalled exclaiming "[t]his doing things that we don't know how to do is going too far," to which Lathrop responded that if they had to "begin to hew down to the line of our ignorance, for goodness sake don't let us begin at the humanitarian end. To refuse to

respond to a poor girl in the throes of childbirth would be a disgrace to us forevermore. If Hull-House does not have its roots in human kindness, it is no good at all." But there was a difference between their kind of philanthropic manner and aim and that of the so-called "friendly" charity visitor. Despite class differences, they came more genuinely as "the women next door" out of an actual physical proximity and for humanitarian, not primarily eleemosynary reasons. Addams hoped thereby to lay "the simple human foundation...essential for continuous living among the poor." To discover needs and give help within the context of already established social relations changed the nature of the relationship of helping. It reduced the commonly-felt "irksome sense of obligation" experienced by beneficiaries toward their benefactors and allowed for more evenhanded kinds of relations between giver and receiver. In these years before public health nurses were a going concern or any other kind of basic municipal services had been extended into the immigrant areas, these activities convinced the early residents of two things, the need for permanent direct aid of all kinds and for the extension of public services on a regular basis into the working-class communities.¹⁴

"Visiting" in that particular Chicago quarter, which included some of the most "disreputable" blocks, was then an almost unprecedented act of daring for the respectable. Much of it was done in the evening, when the entire family was likely to be home. The residents also became used to respond to a sudden call for help in the middle of the night. If it seemed that a male presence might be helpful, they took one of the young men residents along. Edward Burchard, Hull-House's first male resident, who often accompanied Addams and other women residents on such visits, recalled being told occasionally by his companion to go to sleep, stretched across three chairs, when his

masculine presence was less desirable. Addams felt that the most valuable insights she and her co-workers gained from these midnight missions were the revelations of their neighbors' almost invariably "uniform kindness and courtesy" that far outweighed the occasional encounter with "an ugly human trait" in the course of their ministrations.¹⁵

These nighttime forays, along with the experiences during the crowded days, became for Addams the rich terrain out of which grew the many "abiding friendships" with individual neighborhood people that lasted a lifetime, with the jilted young woman whom she helped start a new life; the young union tailor, studying law in the evening; the lively brood of kids from next door who took over the new Hull-House courtyard as their own "turf;" the single mothers on night shifts who had to leave their small children unattended at home; the remarkable old women who clung to their ancient customs and beliefs in an inhospitable world, for whom she developed a special affection. It was these ties of friendship that helped her sustain her deep sense of the universal precariousness and preciousness of life, even after fame and widening influence had propelled her onto the national stage and curtailed her daily neighborhood contacts. These friendships were also the source of her plain-spoken, often funny, sometimes heart-rending anecdotes that electrified her audiences and transformed the sociological nature of her speeches and writings into human documents throbbing with life.

* * *

At first, the neighborhood people's reaction to this strange, new activity in and around the old mansion had been one of puzzlement. First they watched the old house being renovated and fine furnishings being moved in, then they witnessed the growing number of activities unfold there. Why would anybody of obvious means freely choose to

live here, when everybody who had a chance, fled the area as soon as possible? Even after the invitations to visit had been sent around, the neighbors were shy or skeptical. But sheer curiosity, as well as reports of help received or their own experience of being helped in an emergency, drew them in. Before too long, original puzzlement changed to greater acceptance or even to enthusiasm for this curious house and its inmates. In the words of one of the old neighborhood men, after a while, it had become "not strange, but natural." Judging from the rapidity with which the house began to fill up with people, morning, noon and night, the 19th ward got the idea much faster than the rest of Chicago. For years, people from other parts of the city continued to arrive, asking in which of the rooms "the poor lived," or peered unabashedly into the faces of anybody they encountered to see whether they looked like they had been "saved."

As the number of people who became accustomed to turning to Hull-House grew, the helpful and interesting activities and facilities had to be expanded. Soon, the growing number of people who turned to Hull-House for help or pleasure was reflected in the settlement's physical growth. Within the first year one thousand people came each week, two thousand by the next. The best news for Addams and Starr in the spring of 1890 was Helen Culver's announcement that she would give them the entire house and its surrounding land rent-free for one year, a saving of \$2,880, Addams jubilantly noted. Impressed with Addams and associates' "large-minded-and-hearted attitude," Culver deliberated in the course of that year, whether to make Hull-House her major philanthropy. She had a mandate from Charles Hull, her late cousin, to carry on his philanthropic habits and ended up by giving the two women a five-year lease for the property. It hadn't hurt their cause that they had decided, from very early on, to name the

settlement after Charles Hull. As a practical businesswoman who studied her contracts carefully, Culver had become intrigued by Addams' carefully-kept accounts that revealed "a queer mingling of economy and lavish expenditure." Addams had apparently spent \$3,000 on repairs, but only \$1,800 on furnishings and the cost of running the already sizeable establishment was \$960 for the year, which seemed incredible to Helen Culver.¹⁶

The first five-year lease was followed in 1895 by a twenty-five year lease, which thereby assured the permanence of the enterprise. At this time Addams and Starr also decided to incorporate and invited Helen Culver to join the new board of trustees. Thereafter, Culver's role in relation to Hull-House grew into that of a leading benefactor. Besides the rent-free land on which the house stood, she gradually either sold, leased or gave outright, additional adjoining land for the other twelve structures that eventually comprised the settlement.

But even before they had received a more permanent guarantee from Culver, Addams had decided to erect the first additional building. It intrigued Chicagoans that it was to be an art gallery. That was, of course, quite in keeping with the Toynbee Hall legacy of "art in the slums." The necessary \$5,000 to build came from an art-loving Chicago merchant, Edward B. Butler. Its architect was Allen Pond, one of Addams' earliest supporters who, together with his brother Irving, became the architect for all the Hull-House buildings in the course of the next two decades. For economy reasons, Allen Pond decided to use ordinary brick, but, thanks to its carefully-laid buff-and-red pattern, the squat "Venetian-style" structure made a handsome addition to Halsted Street. It was separated from the old house by a courtyard, but related to it by a covered archway at the main entry that harmonized with the existing columned "piazza" to which it was

contiguous. With a library and reading room on the ground floor and exhibits space and studios upstairs, the Butler Art Gallery enjoyed immediate popularity in the neighborhood. Its festive official opening in June, 1891 by Samuel Barnett, the warden of Toynbee Hall in London and the doyen of settlement leaders, was prominently featured in the Chicago press. Attended by a crowd of neighborhood people, activists and affluent art lovers, Addams was described as "looking her best in violet crepe with velvet trimmings, and a hat with a "gracefully-poised bunch of wood violets." The initial exhibit consisted of a "carefully chosen" selection from some of Chicago's millionaire art collectors that included [works by] Corot and Inness. The Dutch landscapes and paintings of mothers and children were the most popular pictures with the neighbors.¹⁷

Thereafter, extensions, alterations and entirely new buildings were added over the next sixteen years, always after careful deliberations of priorities and costs, and with Addams hovering lovingly over the plans. At last she had found ample terrain to exercise her architectural predilections nurtured from early on! There are indications from early letters and writings that since adolescence she had developed a special feeling for architecture, especially for large public spaces. These suggest that Addams' legendary desire to live in a "big house among the horrid little ones" stemmed more out of her appreciation of vast, in-gathering, architecturally compelling public spaces that linked people to one another, such as domed state capitols, concert halls, outdoor arenas and Gothic cathedrals, than out of any premature sociological insights into the lives of the poor. This perspective thereby suggests that there was less of a contradiction between her genuine interests in in-gathering large structures and the family anecdote on which the myth was based. Her most explicit account of the meaning large architectural spaces held

for her occurred while she was wandering around in the grand nave of Ulm Cathedral in Southern Germany. There, the intermingling of pagan philosophers, Hebrew prophets, Greek sibyls, Old and New Testament women and Christian saints and apostles among the carved figures of the choir stalls, confirmed her idea of a "cathedral of humanity" that she later translated in a more secular manner into the settlement.¹⁸

In 1893, the gymnasium, started in a converted stable next door, got its own home, together with the Coffee House and scientifically-designed quarters for the "New England Kitchen." The latter, equipped to supply cheap, nutritious "take-out" food to surrounding factories and to hard-pressed "sweated mothers" who had no time to cook dinner at home, was never a success in a neighborhood where varieties of centuries-old culinary habits were deeply-ingrained. But the Coffee House (and restaurant) was a hit in a restaurant-less area and the gym became another focal point of the community. To accommodate the growing number of residents a third floor for bedrooms was added to the original Hull mansion. The same year also saw the opening of what was literally the first public playground in Chicago, diagonally across from Hull-House. Its origin was largely due to the persuasive powers of Florence Kelley, who convinced its wealthy young slum-lord donor, the later Progressive millionaire Congressman William Kent, to pay for the demolition of its rundown tenements. They were replaced by swings, slides, sand piles, winter skating pond, May pole and summer hurdy-gurdy man who played tarantellas and jigs. Its peace was kept by a genial Irish policeman, detailed especially for the job. In this early "slum clearance" project, the question of "people removal" had obviously not yet come up.

From then on, Hull-House was in a continuous state of change, adaptation and expansion until 1910. With the twenty-five year lease, construction started at the corner of Halsted and Polk of the large Children's Building, whose steeply-gabled roof thereafter gave visitors their first impression of the settlement. It housed not only the large kindergarten, but also the day care center as well as music and dance studios. A new third floor over the art gallery provided space for more art classes and clubs. The Jane Club, much touted as the first, ever, cooperatively-managed working women's residence in the United States, rented space nearby, until moving into its own building as part of the complex, a few years hence. The manner in which Addams was able to finance not only continuous construction of new additions, but the maintenance and running of the entire enterprise offers a crucial clue to understanding the nature and uniqueness of Hull-House.¹⁹

Despite the episodic manner in which the buildings went up and the heterogeneous shapes of the individual structures, the complex as a whole reflected a distinct and pleasing harmony. It reminded some of a medieval European manor that had evolved over generations. Irrespective of how close Hull-House came to expressing her vision of a "cathedral of humanity," the slowly-rising complex of buildings did function as an "extended home" island in the midst of a sea of flimsy or haphazard structures.²⁰

* * *

Growth meant hard work and long hours for all the residents and, as Addams later recalled, much of the memory of the activities was "more or less blurred with fatigue." In the earliest days, everybody pitched in with house cleaning, cooking and re-arranging rooms for the variety of successive uses. The original plan to have Mary Keyser, the

former "hired girl," do the housework, had soon proved too much for one person. Besides a professional cook, women from the neighborhood were hired as regular workers to do the food preparing, serving and house cleaning for the ever-growing needs. Equally important was the founders' changed perception that recognized the incongruity of employing a woman servant in an otherwise cooperative establishment of women. As an example of the creative potential inherent in settlement living, Mary Keyser went on to occupy a respected place as valued liaison person between the settlement and the neighborhood women .

To her co-workers' amusement, Addams acquired a lifelong habit during these early years, of rearranging the furniture of a particular room in preparation for a different use, while continuing her conversation without stopping. Besides reflecting her strong feeling for harmonious interior arrangements, this non-stop busyness also reflected a change in the partnership balance between her and Ellen Starr. As of these years, during which she had to do three things at once, Addams emerged clearly as the one who kept the many threads of the enterprise in her hands. She did most of the planning and conferring, with residents, volunteers, financial supporters and neighbors, concerning the myriad activities in which the settlement became enmeshed. As she had done from the start of their original search, it was she who, generally, went out to tell the immediate or wider public about current or future projects, thereby honing her speaking talents to the level of a fine art. In a letter Starr had written to her cousin during the moving-in days, she had been remarkably aware of the quality of Addams' dynamism at the heart of their enterprise. As part of that process, Starr attributed the demonstration of Addams' unbelligerent

assertiveness and strength to her "beautiful spiritual life" which a later age could also see as a manifestation of the purposeful release of tremendous, heretofore unfocused energies.

"She is a wonderful person (who) strengthens the weak knees and supports the feeble hands and has no sense of strength herself. It is a strange and beautiful thing for me to see. Everybody who comes near her is affected by her. It is as if she simply diffused something which comes from outside herself, of which she is the luminous medium."

From the beginning, Ellen Gates Starr had concentrated more on interior settlement matters, such as the development of art projects and the educational apparatus. Inspired by William Morris, she carved her own distinct niche as a fine book binder, a craft she learned at the Dove's Press in England. She also came to personify a special kind of thoughtful, warm and witty personal friendship with certain people in and around the settlement whom other residents had failed to befriend. As a militant friend of trade unions and a familiar figure on Chicago's picket lines, Starr came to express in yet another respect her personal allegiance to friends and causes.²¹

While Addams and Starr's partnership remained as close as it had been in college, during the earliest period, their differences in focus and scope of their lives and activities thereafter became increasingly distinct, although they remained lifelong friends. It was a matter of diverging personalities. Both women's actions originated in their deep need to create a different kind of life for themselves. But once they had embarked on the practical realization of their "scheme," Addams revealed that through her crisis years she had learned to deal with her feelings by buttressing and directing them through reading, writing and much reflection. Starr's motivations continued to rise more spontaneously out of her feelings. Her strong personal attitudes toward people and causes led Starr to occupy a more circumscribed position inside and outside the settlement. The reputation she

gradually acquired within Hull-House for being volatile and “difficult” may have covered the many larger and smaller unresolved conflicts in her relationships, including those with Addams. Her own feelings for the need of an outside authority to establish an inner discipline and to help find answers to unresolved questions, led her in stages through the Christian Socialism of the Episcopal Church to Roman Catholicism. Its ritual and thought seemed to supply her for the rest of her life with the sought-after sense of harmony and beauty that she had missed in Protestantism. It did not, however, prevent her from remaining ardently pro-labor, a member of the Socialist Party, as well as a critic of certain aesthetic and mundane practices of the Catholic Church.²²

The Hull-House Atmosphere

Understandably, there was not much privacy in such a house, in which all the rooms, including the kitchen and some of the bedrooms, served constantly-shifting multiple purposes. From early on, residents learned to take in their stride infestations of vermin (lice and bedbugs), against which nobody was immune in an overcrowded urban area lacking sanitary facilities. The accelerated tempo at which much of life proceeded within the settlement became one of its leading characteristics. Agnes Holbrook, a young Wellesley graduate who came to work on some of the first federally-sponsored urban population investigations carried out under Florence Kelley's direction, found that it took time to get used to "the turmoil of the very active life at Hull-House," which was both exhilarating and confusing. Whether one was a college-trained person, used to an orderly schedule, or a practiced "homebody" accustomed to quiet domestic usefulness, or a club

woman, more experienced in urban affairs, there was much that was "new and absorbing" and that demanded "the adequate development of new powers" in oneself.

"Teaching, conducting clubs, visiting, entertaining, managing picnics and country parties, connecting the diseased and needy with hospitals and charitable institutions, advising the perplexed and distressed on points of law, finding employment for out-of-works, informing the Board of Health where unsanitary houses and alleys needed attention, bringing the neighborhood into touch with the advanced and progressive side of city life, and endeavoring to promote the well-being of the neighborhood in such ways as suggest themselves..."

were just some of the activities undertaken by the residents and volunteers. That this produced fatigue in many of them, or even "burn out," was not surprising. Reports about residents taking time off, or a leave of absence, are sprinkled throughout settlement people's correspondence.²³

Another general characteristic of the settlement atmosphere in the very beginning was a certain non-denominational religious tone which Addams and Starr then felt vital to their work. Its original "Toynbee legacy" had more recently been reenforced by new ties the founders had established with different liberal, church-related, philanthropic and women's groups and Social Gospel activism. Most of the public press interpreted it eagerly as traditional Christian piety. When appropriate, Addams also liked to express her belief that the settlement stood for "the simple acceptance of Christ's message" and methods, or that the path to salvation could be discovered through "a handful of people in whom Christ had aroused a sense of humanity and of identification with the lowliest...." In letters to her family, particularly to her stepbrother George Haldeman (who was skeptical about her undertaking for intellectual and personal reasons), she wrote during this period how she had "been impressed...as never before" with "the comfort of Christ's mission to

the world...the need for the Messiah to the race." The press took its cues from her more public expressions of this kind of "socialized Christianity" and assured their readers that, despite Hull-House's somewhat unsettling non-denominationalism, the settlement was an "eminently Christian home."²⁴

The same tone was maintained in relation to the early resident community. Edward Burchard recalled how Addams led them in evening Bible reading and prayer, with everyone on their knees. According to the Hull-House Residents Minute Book, carefully kept during the first decade, regular Sunday evening devotions were still held in 1893. But by then, the winds of change that would sweep away most of the remaining tokens of a deliberately Christian message were already evident. A distancing from the distinctly Protestant Christianity occurred through the impact of new personalities among residents and volunteers, such as Florence Kelley and many others. Closer acquaintance with Catholic and Jewish neighbors and supporters, and with agnostic or atheistic ones, had a significant effect. But the biggest change that generated the strongest dose yet of skeptical secularism occurred by 1892 through the settlement's plunge into the thick of urban economic and political events. As a result, Hull-House's aim to offer hospitality to all belief systems was greatly strengthened and its reputation as a free thought and speech forum enhanced.²⁵

The tone that superseded the genial but vague social Christianity and distinguished Hull-House from all other settlements was its pervasive spirit of sociability. Doing things in a social way through social events and relations opened the settlement's physical, educational and psychological space for innumerable new and old pastimes, ideas, attitudes and experiments, for pleasures instead of solemnity. A welcoming social

atmosphere made it easier for friendships to grow and encouraged individual potential to blossom. Addams had from the start intended this to be the most potent expression of the settlement spirit, under which many other attitudes could thrive. But it had taken a while to work itself into people's awareness, accustomed as they were to the more impersonal, conventional layers of unspoken class differences in philanthropic institutional surroundings. The apparent ease with which the residents had succeeded in conveying the friendliness that distinguished Hull-House was deceptive. It was one of the results of the amount of thoughtful attention Addams and Starr had given the question. There were many diverse sources.

As she had grappled for the initial lines along which, she hoped, the settlement might take its shape, some of Addams' thinking and intuiting had grown almost "naturally" out of her recollections of earlier experiences. One deeply-rooted source were her memories of free-ranging, rural childhood pastimes of farm and mill activities, of village neighborliness and social obligations in a work-a-day world, punctuated by changing seasons and community celebrations, and her father's role in stimulating early intellectual activity. These were augmented in a different direction by the arrival of a stepmother, who brought with her a sparkling new world of social and cultural gregariousness in an enlarged family. Most immediately relevant and valuable for her project were her vivid recollections of the vitality, intellectual exhilaration and camaraderie of the informal dormitory gatherings and intimate friendships with students and some of the teachers at Rockford Seminary. Her recollections of her almost brash self-confidence and faith in her and her classmates' splendid futures, as members of the first generation of women college

graduates, rekindled some of the intensity of the intellectual and social bonds forged during those four years.

But much, perhaps even most, of the "hard thinking" about what kind of place she hoped to create originated quite differently, out of the despair and depression triggered ostensibly by her father's sudden death soon after graduation. It had given the coup-de-grace to her once clearly-formulated, long-held medical career plans and plunged her into eight years of semi-invalidism and uncertainty. The gain from this debilitating period of ill-health, self-doubt and search had been, however, an unexpected opportunity to scrutinize all she had come to value intellectually and to examine her basic motivations and relationships with others. As a result of her sometimes agonized self-questioning to which she later, in that period, occasionally returned, she had gained at least a degree of self-knowledge, an affirmation of a few basic convictions, and much greater openness toward unknown possibilities ahead, in preparation for the time when she might step again into the larger world. Once she had embarked on her settlement plan, her years of reexamination had the advantage of preparation to act upon some of her guiding concepts with greater clarity and directness than other settlement founders. Perhaps the most helpful thing to come out of all her agonized search was the insight that how you associated yourself with others was as vital as the purpose of your association.²⁶

The first and most fundamental of her settlement "building blocks," was to encourage all relations between people along the most mutual and reciprocal lines. This led to a second leading aim to initiate and steadily express the idea of democratic equality and of a fundamental sense of "acceptance of all" through every means available to the settlement. (This also contained the kernel of her motivation for non-violent relations,

which she began to express more publicly only by the turn of the century years.) As a third and corollary practical attitude, she made every effort to avoid institutionalization as a dominant approach to running the settlement. By innumerable explicit and implicit reminders she tried to stress that the entire enterprise was not for the implementation of an idea, but for the benefit of every person who chose to come there. The fact that the settlement was also her home had been a helpful and shrewd decision in regard to maintaining its non-institutional nature.

The biggest change in her outlook was that all three of her outreach efforts grew out of her central conviction of a "common humanity," the end product wrung out of her prolonged emotional-intellectual struggle. It replaced those earlier glittering nineteenth century abstractions of "beauty, genius and courage" she had flung so confidently at the world as valedictorian and spokeswoman for the new collegiate female world transformers in 1881. It was to be her touchstone for ever after, that allowed for the discovery and cultivation of "the small handful" of basic human traits all people shared in common, despite infinite differences; and as the ultimate test against which to judge social, cultural and political values that undergirded all of life. The fact that it also lent itself to a close affinity with concepts of social unity that led to mainstream Progressives' ideas of "social harmony" and "classlessness" is an example of the murkiness of many concepts shared by different categories of Progressives.²⁷

* * *

Evidence of how well she and Starr succeeded in running the settlement, from the start, on the basis of "a warm welcome to all" is reflected in many of the early residents' writings. The fact that when people came to Hull-House they were also coming to Jane

Addams' home clearly helped to establish the sense of social inclusion. When Julia Lathrop, in 1894, tried to explain to an audience of charity workers how Hull-House clubs worked, she underlined the fact that, while they differed in cultural and educational purposes, their objectives were invariably reached through "social intercourse and enjoyment." Noting the absence of many social facilities in the Hull-House environs that were evident in the more affluent parts of the city, she explained that the settlement's greatest usefulness was its offering of "social opportunities not otherwise attainable" to the thousands who, by then, came every week from the industrial neighborhoods. For these purposes, she explained, Hull-House concentrated on things like "picnics and outings and Sunday afternoon concerts and lectures and receptions and parties; and "dancing...in respectable surroundings," such as the new settlement gymnasium. Groups like the Social Science Club not only presented a platform for every kind of currently popular social theory, but helped to develop "a strong bond of human sympathy" through offering itself as "neutral ground" under a "friendly roof" for impassioned discussions.²⁸

Among other residents' accounts of the special social atmosphere of Hull-House, Agnes Holbrook's article offered some of the most revealing experiences and insights. After the newcomer had overcome her initial sense of turmoil in the face of the multiplicity of settlement activities, "one...begins to hear the harmonies..." and discovers that "[b]y far the greatest amount of time and energy goes into the social channel. Though the education-oriented clubs and classes were the most prominent feature, the newcomer quickly learned that "receiving and imparting information are not the only ends--study is almost an outgrowth of social life...." Upper and middle-class teachers and working-class pupils, drawn together by mutual interests, could meet in classroom, settlement drawing

room, or their own homes. Friendship was often the source of the educational relationship.²⁹

Before long, Holbrook understood that the settlement was a college "that has no desire to convert itself into anything of that sort." It "ruthlessly" appropriated "the collegial elements...valuable for its purpose" and ignored "the academic complications." This taught her that Hull-House's educational aim was to be "a less specialized, more comprehensive, more expansive expression of energy, where education forms one of the chief limbs of the body, but does not constitute the soul..." With this insight, Holbrook highlighted the core of Addams' settlement approach--to use the best of knowledge and the arts to improve and enrich all of urban social life. She was among those who recognized that it was through its atmosphere of sociability that Hull-House expected to fulfill its "most cherished hope... to amalgamate all that is best in university culture, in broad social life and in the work-a-day world..." and thereby "to inaugurate a higher and fuller civilization...."

More deliberately than other urban reformers, Addams wanted to do it with the broadest reach, within a working-class setting, on the most egalitarian plane obtainable. Holbrook understood that Addams' goal did not rise out of elitist motives, as she was then and later sometimes accused, but out of the democratic principle of inclusion and the need to heighten contemporaries' "sense of humanity."³⁰

* * *

Getting others to join them in their work, both as residents and as volunteers, was never a problem at Hull-House. The "thing" had indeed been "in the air," as Ellen Starr had written jubilantly to her relatives during the initial weeks of search for a location. By

1894, the number of residents had grown from the first six to around twenty-five, with a six-week probationary period and a minimum commitment of six months. Many of the later, well-known women residents, such as Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, the painter Enella Benedict, music teacher Eleanor Smith, labor leader Alzina Stevens, and the actress Laura D. Pelham, became associated with Hull-House during the very first years.

Among the first male residents who lived originally in a small rented house nearby there were, besides Edward Burchard, the genial and artistic Englishman George Mortimer Rendell Twose, George Hooker, municipal affairs expert, and Gerard Swope, later president of General Electric and the historian Charles Beard. The coffee house served breakfast and lunch to residents and became the mecca for some of the teachers, clerks and local businessmen working in the neighborhood. Dinner was the high point of the day, when residents and volunteers and their guests eagerly came together. It was served in the settlement dining room like a semi-formal family meal, with Addams and Starr sitting at either end of the long table. Jane Addams would announce big events or new projects and everybody discussed their work and the news of the day. Conversation flowed and sparkled, the animation heightened by frequent guests, who varied from the woman next door to American and foreign luminaries in the arts, politics, business, university, trade union, government and reform circles.³¹

Probably the most remarkable thing about the residents was that among this already highly idiosyncratic group of people (some veered distinctly toward the eccentric), there were so many outstanding women and able men whose varied talents found a wider means of expression and growth through Hull-House. Despite, or perhaps because of, profound differences, abiding friendships flourished and an atmosphere of camaraderie

permeated the group, then still small enough to savor its sense of shared social ideals and exciting new kinds of work.

As Addams and Starr had hoped, some of the most faithful and indispensable people were the volunteers, mostly affluent older women and young women who, for various reasons, could not leave their families, socially-conscious businessmen, professionals, publicists, artists and academics. Many of the socially and organizationally prominent members of the Chicago Woman's Club, like Ellen Henrotin, Mary Wilmarth or Anita McCormick Blaine, lived up to their earlier promises of cooperation by direct daily involvement in planning and organizing and/or by providing financially for the many new projects and needs, like salaries for special teachers. Younger members, like Jenny Dow, headed one or the other new facility on a daily basis, or like Mary Rozet Smith, came to "help out," but soon also supplied the necessary funds to run a project or build a new building. Those who had years of leadership experience in one or the other urban reform endeavor, like Lucy Flower, lent their expertise or found new applications and broader support for their undertaking. Others, like Louise deKoven Bowen, one of Chicago's richest young matrons, felt that through her growing association with Hull-House she had received something akin to an advanced course in social work that changed their life.³²

Still others, whose talents ran along more conventional middle-class lines of family manager or hostess, concentrated their social skills on those who came to the settlement for the first time. They filled important niches as welcomers who tried to put people at ease when they came with great human needs, or in guiding and entertaining visitors who had begun to pour into the settlement from far and wide. As the fame of this peculiar kind of house spread, it became a special chore to deal with the simply curious who invaded the

house, at all hours, with requests to be shown around. In order to avoid the constant swarming of people through all the rooms, the "toting" system was invented under which, one resident at a time was scheduled to be the official tour guide for a certain number of hours. If you were lucky, your "toter" might turn out to be the irrepressible Florence Kelley or even Jane Addams herself. Among the neighborhood kids "playing Hull-House" became a favorite game of which "doing door duty" and answering the telephone were important features.³³

* * *

In the eyes of the public, Hull-House was clearly a success from the start, though most people were actually not too clear about its more specific objectives and many thought of it as a kind of reformatory or new type of almshouse. Mainstream Chicago's predominant sense of approbation was, however, reflected in the growing number of newspaper and periodical articles that appeared. Though most of the stories took a patronizing, if not downright derogatory tone toward the people living in the Hull-House neighborhood, they were, in the early years, invariably laudatory, though equally patronizing, concerning the "young lady" activists. The press in general also quickly discovered Hull-House as a goldmine of human interest stories and began to cover its activities and personalities regularly, if not accurately.

In the beginning, the two leading themes were the traditional ones of the self-sacrificing "sweet Ladies Bountiful" and their "uplift" of the poor. Occasionally, the headlines displayed such crudities as "Chicago Belle's Scheme to Help the Poor ... gets her swell friends ... to elevate them." Dr. Lelia Bedell, who had written the first story for the suffragist Woman's Journal, attempted a more serious approach by stressing the

settlement's function as that of one's "brother's keeper," its aim seen as a vaguely-expressed "sort of union between two elements" or "as a retreat for other young women who need rest and change ... from inordinate demands of society." Several articles, written by women, reflected one or another aspect of the woman's movement, such as temperance, and stressed the "home" aspect of their undertakings, a term that carried many meanings. The Reverend David Swing conveyed Addams' idea somewhat better when he underlined "their astonishing proposition [that] many educated society girls and ladies need the tasks a great city offers, as much as the humble classes need the intervention of the higher circles." This suggested, at least, that there was to be some kind of exchange beneficial to both sides. But in all the articles, including Swing's, the enrichment of life was seen to originate entirely from those seen as the cultured and knowledgeable.³⁴

Along with their awareness of the publicity value, Addams and Starr had tried from the beginning to stave off some of the cruder sentimentalities, inaccuracies and insulting characterizations of their neighbors as "low-class foreigners" who were "a menace to the peace of the city," by offering their own accounts and by sticking close to reporters when they toured the settlement. The press was, however, not entirely to blame for invariably picking up those features that lent themselves to the more sentimentally-genteel interpretations. The press, always a mirror as well as mouthpiece of mundane views, had a hard time understanding the settlement idea in general. In the United States, where traditions of communality, as integral parts of the larger society, were much weaker than in England and other Western societies, people moving as a group into the heart of the industrial metropolis was a perennial puzzlement.

Addams' own explanations of the "settlement impulse" in which she stressed that she and her companions expected to receive as much, if not more, as they were able to give through their reciprocal associations with neighborhood people, usually went only to reenforce the "kind lady" cliché. What she hoped would be seen by the press as an effort for a more democratic approach to poverty and deprivation was generally interpreted as just another example of womanly self-effacement. It thereby only added to the already murky aura of saintliness with which the newspapers liked to surround this newly-found shrine. It made Addams realize that there would be a continuous need for explanations about what the people at Hull-House were trying to accomplish.³⁵

The Anglo-American Settlement Movement

Despite inherent, as well as contextual, historical differences, the motivations that led to the idea of settlements, were originally quite similar in England and the United States. In both countries, the origins of the settlement movement reflected attempts by well-educated upper and middle-class people eager to lessen the effects of an increasingly centralized, corporate capitalism, as it became apparent to them in the cities, particularly in terms of housing, education and cultural matters. At its core, the settlement movement in the United States is, perhaps, best understood as one kind of effort against accelerating urban impoverishment, depersonalization and subordination of vast numbers of people who performed industrialized forms of labor in the course of the unprecedented corporate expansion. As in England, interest in the settlement movement in the U.S. arose first among the more liberal Protestant denominations and the less traditional Social Gospel and Ethical Culture movements. First initiatives in the U.S. were taken by young men

affiliated with institutions like Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts. Some also made the pilgrimage to Toynbee Hall and other English urban reform centers, before settling down in a slum neighborhood in cities like Boston and New York.³⁶

But unlike England, in the United States young college women were even more rapidly and numerous attracted to the new movement than the young men, a trend that reflected the existence of the large and vigorous women's movement and of an equally vigorous expansion of higher education for women. The College Settlement Association that had been organized in 1887 by a group of Smith College graduates opened its first settlement in New York City about the same time that Hull-House was opened in Chicago. By that time, it had already attracted into its ranks graduates from Wellesley, Vassar, Bryn Mawr and Radcliffe, and soon opened other settlements in Boston and Philadelphia. Also unlike the young college men, young college women tended to approach settlement work from a more secular perspective and a greater consciousness of necessary links between urban conditions and the social service networks. Each of them had found, after leaving college, that the world was a lot less friendly than it had seemed from the inside, whether they were planning professional careers or other ways to build upon their educational foundations. Their struggles concerning their future lives had made them both more introspective and more aware of the grave social and economic predicaments in the lives of so many others. These diverse contextual factors help explain the emergence of settlements as spearheads for women's indirect entry into politics by the turn of the century.³⁷

Addams' own settlement motivations grew out of similar experiences as those of the College Association activists, but owing to the particular events in her life, she

experienced the personal and social struggles of young educated women in a particularly acute manner. The effects of her own crisis was to bring together both her personal (family) conflicts and her heightened awareness of the social-economic conflicts to an extraordinary degree. Her eight years of self-analysis and transcendence changed her from an over-intellectualizing enthusiast on behalf of "woman's cause" into an emotionally sensitized, open-minded late-Victorian realist, prepared to let theories and life modify each other. Evidence that this was already an ongoing process, before her second (and self-affirming) trip to Europe in 1887, is reflected in an unpublished, undated essay written sometime between her two trips during the period. In "Our Debts and How We Shall Pay Them," she had reached the conclusion that the young college women of her generation had moved too precipitously and over-confidently into a world that discouraged their entry and therefore they would have to proceed more circumspectly. Her "compassionate realist" outlook would, henceforth, govern, not only her feminist aspirations, but her approach to life in general.³⁸

So, although Addams had quite independently conceived her settlement scheme while still in Europe as a plan for well-educated young women living together in a run-down metropolitan district, she kept her "educated feminist" impulse deliberately muted in preference to the more conventional, church- and university-inspired social reform and service approach she had found already working well in London. When the time arrived to start on her own settlement, she was careful to appeal, in a more conventional manner, to both women and men to join her, even though it was clear to her and her closest associates that the core of the enterprise would always be women. Toynbee and the English reform movement served as model for the American movement, many of whose

roots lay in different, though compatible, terrain. Once that outer framework is understood, it is important to recognize that it was the sobering results of an individual personality re-structuring, within the more covert feminist aspirations, that made Hull-House different from the start. Hull-House's distinct flavor of "welcoming acceptance" owed more to an intellectually, socially and spiritually avid, but circumspect, young woman than to a zealous "movement activist" in pursuit of a career in private or public social and educational work.

Crisis Years

Her father's sudden death in August of 1881 brought these developments to a head, but did not initiate them. Some had been simmering for some time. John Addams had been a man with a wide reputation for probity and sagacity as part of his successful entrepreneurship whose rise from miller to banker and landowner reflected the arc of the relatively rapid American trend from artisan to businessman. As her only parent for a number of years before he remarried, he had not only occupied the central place in her life, but he had always been her intellectual and moral mentor on whose advice and suggestions she had relied. From early on he had encouraged her to think along anti-formalist, skeptical lines about theology and history and to develop a scientific perspective toward knowledge in general. He had also helped instill in her a feeling of connection between American and European liberal/democratic traditions that reached from the 1848 revolutionaries to Mazzini and Lincoln.³⁹

He had been a supporter of women's higher education, but there had been a catch to it that caused his youngest daughter's only overt disagreement with him. Jane Addams

had always wanted to go to Smith, the college then closest in educational rigor to the leading men's colleges. But her father, in true Victorian pater familias manner, had insisted that all of his daughters attend nearby Rockford Seminary, of which he was a trustee, to be followed by the grand tour of Europe. Though Addams submitted to going to "humdrum Rockford," she never gave up completely on Smith. At Rockford she quickly became a student leader, both in academic achievement and extracurricular activities. Throughout the four years, she planned to attend Smith College after Rockford for at least a year, before attending medical school.

Immediately after her "glorious" graduation and return home she, however, experienced a letdown that translated itself into a lingering, though vague, condition of ill health. By July she announced to some of her friends that she was giving up on her Smith plan. How much her father's continuing objection was an indirect factor in her declining health, as well as a direct one, in her change of plans remains unclear. There is no question, though, that his unexpected death at age fifty-nine plunged his youngest daughter and her long-held plans for the future into complete disarray. Not just Smith, but the prospect of a medical career in a location of great need, now appeared highly doubtful. Up to July, she had been the envy of her classmates for such clear career plans. Now she joined the rest who, immediately after their splendid graduation and return home, had found themselves enmeshed in a haze of uncertainty. The mental and psychological impact of her losses also aggravated a chronic back ailment. After weeks of lassitude during which she could not even bring herself to answer letters from her friends, she finally wrote Ellen Starr that "the greatest sorrow that can ever come to me has past" (sic) and that she had begun to try and get her "moral purposes straightened." Shortly thereafter, she

announced the resumption of at least part of her plan. She would give up her year at Smith, but enroll in medical school in Philadelphia, where her stepmother could enjoy the Eastern social season.⁴⁰

Things did not go well, though. Addams disliked her dry first year medical school classes. She also felt torn between her involvement in her stepmother's active social life and her need for concentrated study. By mid-winter, she experienced a breakdown diagnosed as "nervous exhaustion." A "rest cure" at Dr. Weir Mitchell's famous clinic did little to alleviate her sense of purposeless floundering. Her withdrawal from medical school and return to Cedarville with her step-mother marked the beginning of a two-year period of wistful efforts to regain both her health and ideas for a worthwhile occupation. Family obligations, illness and farm business took up much of her time. She made a considerable effort to attend her first reunion and, together with another classmate and two current graduates, received the first B.A. diplomas Rockford conferred under its new full-fledged college status. When her spinal condition deteriorated further, her brother-in-law Harry Haldeman, a surgeon, performed an operation, followed by a six-months bed rest that gradually improved her physical condition.⁴¹

Her outward doggedness to improve and to reshape her life during this period hid the inner qualms and miseries. The only inklings of her inner life (except for some ex-post-facto references in letters to Starr and sister Alice) were reflected in new entries into her remarkable old "commonplace book," started in college. Scattered among quotations from her current reading to which she had returned, such as Emerson, Carlyle, Goethe, Hawthorne and George Eliot, were cryptic jottings of some of her activities, but mostly, dolorous, self-critical exhortations about her behavior and state of mind. Though at first

their most evident function was to take herself severely to task, they gradually also served as an episodic, fragmented record of her efforts to transform herself. She was trying actively to mesh her learning with her life.

After avowals of her sense of "utter failure," she repeatedly took herself to task for "unpardonable behavior" while visiting on Martha's Vineyard, for her lack of generosity and sensitivity toward others and for her idleness while others labored. Amidst her repeated self-castigations that focused a great deal on her "selfishness," she took herself to task for her evident "smugness" in her thinking and for evidence of pride in her intellectual accomplishments, which she now denigrated as "efforts to shine" and to "get credit." From time to time during these years her melancholy sense of isolation and splinteredness dragged her into states of emotional and mental paralysis. Gradually, however, her notebook's ruminations reveal that she was searching for a new personal focus and a new sense of relatedness to others and to the entire natural and ideational universe.⁴²

On the emotional side, she began to counsel herself on ways in which to act as a person with a sympathizing outreach to others. Dissatisfied with what she now felt had been a too self-centered, overly-intellectual way of thinking, she was groping for a more open approach, to integrate her ideas about literature, nature, morality and knowledge in general, which she now ruefully sensed she had held too callously. Her repeated references to her desire for "a wide fellowship of all that is human," or to her sense of the "unity of mankind," reveal that her thoughts were coming to rest on the idea of "common humanity" as the essence of life itself. She aimed to make it her deepest concern for her life, in which her new goal was "to be for others," not just "to be," in a challenging new way. This process of self-restructuring was a very painful and sobering one. There now were no

references in her journal jottings about "glorious womanhood" and its promising future. All she could do, at the moment, was to try to get herself back into some kind of useful and satisfying situation. Though she gradually got in touch again with other classmates, besides Ellen Starr, and even participated in some alumnae activities, it was still as an ailing, uncertain individual. Only very gradually during the next six years was she able to think again in terms that allowed her to see her personal problems as those also, of her generation of college-trained women.

By the summer of 1883, Addams' physical recovery after her spinal surgery had progressed sufficiently for her to make plans (encouraged by her doctor) for an extended European tour with her stepmother and several other older and younger women friends. Though it would further delay her from concentrating on plans for the future, she welcomed the idea. As a device to help her regain her physical and mental vitality, the trip would also give her a welcome opportunity to focus on some of her own intellectual and cultural interests, at least part of the time. Even though traveling with her stepmother still kept her well within the realm of family obligations, it would remove her from the time-consuming demands of farm and mill business and the multiple obligations toward her brother and sisters and their families.

Her approach to the trip was to make it into a leisurely, but extended two-year sight-seeing-cum-study tour, with particular attention given to art, architecture and history of certain locations, and to the general literature related to them. Though she had no clue yet, as to what kind of channel she might find for the active use of her learning, she did make plans for writing a series of essays upon her return, a form with which she had been quite successful during her college years. She also intended to send "journalistic" letters to

members of her family, in which she would adopt a consciously up-beat tone. Though "doing" the European culture circuit, as an enhancement of prenuptial "advantages," was much in vogue at that time, Addams' serious-minded sightseeing/study slant set her apart from the more conventional approach and turned her, at times, into a sharp observer.

Two sub-themes emerge from her travel writings that were interwoven with the main theme of the questing educated young woman. The first had to do with her observations about the socio-economic scene in Europe as part of the total picture of the countries she visited. She was then as well or as badly informed about European social and economic conditions as most other young upper-middle-class Americans reared in the conventional political traditions of the affluent Midwestern entrepreneur. Yet her epistolary reporting on scenes of poverty and human destitution, from the moment she set foot on European soil, distinguished her traveling approach from those of other "accomplished young ladies." Her own miseries of the last two years, which she had by no means shaken off, not knowledge about social conditions, was the source that sensitized her to the miseries of other human beings. Her observations received additional flavor as descriptions seen through the eyes of a comfortably-reared young woman whose rural, republican sensibilities bridled at displays of social inequalities and monarchical splendors.

The sights she reported in her letters, from the sunless black valley of Dunloe's Gap in Ireland, to the hundreds of white outstretched hands grasping for rotten vegetables flung at them disdainfully in London's Mile End Road market, to the women of Coburg, Germany scalded by the hot liquid they carried in huge vats on their backs on the way to the brewery, to the dehumanizing conditions of Austrian and Greek peasants' lives and the hundreds of beggars crowding the streets of Naples, made indelible impressions on a mind

still riddled with grief and uncertainty. These reports were by no means the main theme of her letters, but interspersed her much more ample accounts of visits to museums, cathedrals and castles and attendance at lectures, concerts and operas, and other festive and fashionable occasions. She also reported visiting three hospitals, in London, Vienna and Florence.

These "topics of social misery" traditionally served Addams' earliest hagiographic biographers as clearly-marked stepping-stones on her way to the settlement, until the revisionists of the 1960's and 1970's (chiefly Allen F. Davis), challenged their significance, as evidence of Addams' evolution as social reformer. The latter suggested, instead, that it was entirely the London reform scene in 1887/8, led by Toynbee Hall, that suddenly offered itself to the American visitor as a useable model through which she could engage her otherwise fallow talents. What reinterpretations they offered rested largely on discrepancies discovered between her letters home and her accounts of the same events in Twenty Years at Hull-House, written twenty-five years later. They read the letters generally as rather ordinary reactions of an upper-middle-class young woman on the grand tour, intrinsically unconcerned with social conditions. According to that view, her discovery of the "social question" after she had established herself at Hull-House, gained only a very gradually-developing precedence over her role as dispenser of middle-class culture.

Today, the view of the London reform scene as the catalyst that led Addams to the opening of Hull-House is generally accepted as the most accurate interpretation. But the related revisionist tendency that dismissed her epistolary reports of instances of social need as being without much meaning denies the fact that these reports did possess significance

as far-from-conventional observations of a cultured young lady traveler with hidden griefs. It ignores what should have become apparent to anyone acquainted with the entire Addams oeuvre of that period, that the unemotional tone covered much deeper reactions underneath. It ignores, first of all, that, as part of her convalescence effort, she consciously kept a "stiff upper lip" in her letters to her family, to whom she felt indebted for past support and did not want to trouble further with disturbing and gloomy accounts. It also ignores the fact that, unlike the run-of-the mill "grand tourists," she reported her instances of squalid social conditions almost invariably in a vein of sympathy. Most important, the conventional interpretations ignore the context of her personal circumstances when she wrote her reports and thereby are unable to appreciate the significance of her insights into other people's troubles as stemming from an awareness of her own.⁴³

Her much sharper and more dramatic retelling of social miseries in her autobiography should not surprise anyone familiar with autobiographical writing. Quite apart from the well-known hindsight tendency to read things back into an event that were not really part of it, or to concoct a distorted version, it can also be part of a sharpened recall in which the later description of an earlier experience reveals a greater richness and clarity of insight than was evident in the original description. To see in discrepancies between original epistolary accounts and their later recalling nothing but a lack of veracity is to deny the presence and significance of the masses of deep, but only inchoately-formed, feelings and ideas that lie beneath the much sparser lines of deliberately matter-of-fact letters.

Indisputably, Jane Addams was a young woman who by the mid-1880's had not thought systematically, or particularly critically, about economic or social conditions in the

United States or elsewhere. Much of her critical reaction to the "lower depths" of European societies as well as to royal or lordly displays were those of a stout American democratic republican. But, simultaneously, beneath these unexplored reactions her recent personal experiences of misery had raised her sensibility way beyond the "manifest content" of her correspondence. She was absorbing these revelations of human want and deprivation, quite ignorant, as yet, as to their extent and larger meaning or what she or anyone else might do about them. But somewhere in the layers of her being there was a sense of connection between her own position of vulnerable, depressed young woman with a store of useless learning and unexpressed sympathies, and the stunted lives of so many others.

The second sub-theme that emerged in the course of her travels was her growing awareness of the generational differences that arose between American mothers and their adult daughters through the latter's acquisition of a more sophisticated formal education. First of all, she became conscious that her education had helped her to become a much more independent, though under-occupied, person whose subtler appreciation and critical eye affected her relations with her elders as they toured the sights together. Secondly, she grew increasingly concerned about how her ideas about women's higher education and the related concepts of knowledge and culture affected her own outlook and her reactions to life around her.

She had first become aware of the incompatibilities between the needs of daughters who had serious ambitions to continue their education and the demands of their families during that Philadelphia winter when she attended medical school and ended up feeling she had failed to meet the obligations she had assumed toward herself as well as toward her

stepmother. The push and pull between her studies and her stepmother's social life had plunged her, already in a despondent mood, further into a trough of self-critical despair that ended in a nervous breakdown. Since she had been in Europe her relations with her stepmother and the other older and younger companions had been much easier, but her awareness of the generational discrepancies had continued all through her travels, though she referred to them only rarely in her letters. In the course of criss-crossing England and the continent she was both envious and amused by Anna Addams' plunging into foreign life around her and making "real connections" while she herself was held back by a less spontaneous and more intellectually probing attitude.⁴⁴

Anna Addams was wont to strike up conversations in her scant "Pennsylvania Dutch" in shops and market places without worrying about her lack of language skills or knowledge about the places they visited, cheerfully sharing common interests with local women. Those situations only made Jane Addams, already self-conscious of her own imperfect French and German, reach silently for her dictionary and acknowledge to herself that she felt happiest while being "passively cultivated" in the appropriate cultural surroundings of lecture hall or art gallery. At times she found that whatever historical and literary knowledge she did possess tended to immobilize her to the point of complete mental numbness. This led her to the conclusion that her self-consciousness and inhibitions were directly related to the manner in which she had acquired her learning. In Twenty Years at Hull-House she recalled how during the first two years of her travels around Europe with her stepmother she

gradually reached the conviction that the first generation of college women had taken their learning too quickly, had departed too suddenly from the active, emotional life led by their grandmothers and great-grandmothers; that the

contemporary education of young women had developed too exclusively the power of acquiring knowledge and of merely receiving impressions; that somewhere in the process of "being educated" they had lost that simple and almost automatic response to the human appeal, that old healthful reaction resulting in activity from mere presence of suffering or of helplessness.

The conviction of a too rapid and self-centered accumulation of learning and culture without a corresponding opportunity for active and creative use of them in places where they might count, haunted her throughout the trip.⁴⁵

Back in the United States she spent the next two years immersed in family and farm affairs. Though she was regaining her health, she continued to feel "unsettled." Summers were spent at the Cedarville homestead. Her aim was to see if she could combine family and farm business with a certain amount of intellectual work--a specific reading program, as well as some writing based on her European experiences. But since she was determined to be helpful to her family, particularly to her overburdened sister Mary, it left very little time for her own interests. But she did find time to involve herself again in the affairs of her alma mater and she resumed her friendships with relatives, childhood friends and former classmates.⁴⁶

Winters were spent with her stepmother in Baltimore, where her stepbrother George attended Johns Hopkins and the city offered an animated intellectual and social life around the university. There Addams enrolled in lecture courses on Italian art and architecture and on the Risorgimento, as well as German and French. She also made small forays into the local social service scene that helped her reach "some very curious conclusions." Despite, or, partly because of, the stimulating life she once more experienced during that period, she suffered a recurrence of her "mental and moral paralysis," but this time she made light of it as she overcame it. Although on the surface

she seemed to have gained little and still didn't know how she could spend her life satisfactorily, she was making gains in small increments. One of her essays was published and she had done a stint of teaching at Rockford.⁴⁷

By 1887, she resumed plans for another, very different European trip that would take her and three of her college friends back to England and the continent. Her purpose was to return to some of the places of particular interest to her and to concentrate on aspects of Italian art and architecture. This time she noted with satisfaction that she was treated like an independent adult, addressed as "Mme," not "Mlle." or "Fräulein." In London, she became acquainted with Toynbee Hall and other reform facilities, such as the People's Palace, caught glimpses of the trade union movement and was deeply impressed by the Positivist Humanists. After a joyous Christmas with her companions in Paris, she once more toured cities, cathedrals and catacombs. Somewhere along the line during these months she resolved to find a house in a neglected Chicago neighborhood for herself and other interested college women, a resolution she reenforced with a second trip to Toynbee Hall and some of the other urban reform centers. This time, it seemed like she had found a way for herself and for other like-minded young women to "use their capabilities in direct labor."⁴⁸

Jane Addams' Explanations of the "Settlement Impulse"

Although she had tried all along to explain her motivations and basic concepts underlying the settlement, Addams realized, after the settlement had been operating for a while and many misleading news stories and features had appeared widely, that she would have to give fuller explanations of the ongoing work and its future aims if she wanted to

be better understood and supported. She therefore continued on her rounds of speaking engagements to tell Chicagoans about all the new undertakings. Small brochures and printed flyers announcing specific activities became a regular feature and were distributed in the neighborhood and citywide. But that was not enough. Her first, more formal, attempt at comprehensive explanation was a paper read before the Chicago Woman's Club, probably in December of 1890. It contained her long-pondered key notions, which she had clarified for herself more recently with new insights during the months of search for a site and with experiences of the first year.⁴⁹

With the rapid growth of Hull-House as evidence of a movement in the making, Addams presented a much-expanded version of this paper in two speeches delivered in the summer of 1892 at a meeting in Plymouth, Massachusetts that marked the arrival of the movement nationally. They were published that fall in two issues of the Forum and reissued as the leading essays in a collection entitled Philanthropy and Social Progress, published the next year. This first gathering around the topic of settlements took place under the auspices of the Plymouth School of Applied Ethics, one of many post-Civil War groups that reflected middle-class reform interests, concern or dismay regarding contemporary trends in "economics, jurisprudence, politics, pedagogy, religion, social science and ethics proper," according to the Springfield Republican's lengthy account.⁵⁰

As the most graphic, inclusive and thoughtful presentations of the meeting, Addams' two essays, "Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy" and "A New Impulse to an Old Gospel," became the primer for further discussion and development of the American settlement phenomenon. They also consolidated Addams' budding preeminence within the movement. For herself, they remained her Ur-text that

served as the central source for dozens of new lines of thought and action. Excerpts later also served as introductions to thematic chapters in her autobiography and for hundreds of future articles.⁵¹

In the first essay she outlined how Hull-House worked by 1892; in the second, she tried to explain the three fundamental and related motives that underlay her "subjective pressure" to start a social settlement. The first was the desire "to add the social function to democracy" beyond its political expression through the ballot. The absence of democratic equality in social matters was particularly visible in the new industrial metropolis, where "the social organism has broken down throughout large districts...." This left the majority of the people to subsist in the most overcrowded and deteriorating kinds of lodgings, without leisure or any kind of social organization, while the people who might have helped, who had the "social tact and training" and large, hospitable houses, lived in other parts of the city, close to the libraries, museums, clubs and other "semi-public conveniences for social life." A second set of motives arose out of the current renaissance of the humanitarian spirit of Early Christianity, which sought, through an appeal for social action and service, to bring the "good news" of Jesus' New Testament message of acceptance of all, resistance to none, to bear on all phases of daily life, not just upon liturgical practice and denominational religious consciousness. But the most crucial motive of all, in Addams' view, was what she called "the desire to share the race life," by which she meant the life all human beings shared in common.

Nothing so deadens the sympathies and shrivels the power of enjoyment as the persistent keeping away from the great opportunities for helpfulness and a continual ignoring of the starvation struggle which makes up the life of at least half the race. To shut oneself away from that half of the race life is to shut oneself away

from the most vital part of it; it is to live out but half the humanity which we have been born heir to and to use but half of our faculties.

From her observations made abroad and at home she was convinced that educated young women and men suffered particularly through this deprivation by being "cultivated into undernourished, over-sensitive lives...shut off from the common labor by which they live and which is a great source of moral and physical health." It had been this combined need for an "outlet" for their cultural attainments and for acknowledging the benefits gained for all by the common labor of the masses of people, that had moved the young university men of England to start Toynbee Hall. ⁵²

To be kept away from: helpful sharing, through both receiving and giving, had a deadening effect on all the young and eager, but it was especially debilitating for educated young women. Not to shut oneself away from the rest of the world had a very specific meaning for them. The lack of a "proper outlet for active faculties" became their most crucial obstacle to overcome. Her reflections on this topic, within the settlement context, prompted her to take up again, for the first time since her college days, her "educated feminist" theme that aimed to explain educated women's specific reasons for establishing a settlement. Others in the new women's settlement movement had also been discussing settlements from this perspective for some time.

Vida Scudder, a Smith graduate and a College Settlement pioneer from Boston who had been traveling around the country on behalf of her movement, declared in 1890 that college women "had a peculiar effectiveness for sociological work" and had explained that their need for sharing was the "dominant note" of their social efforts and "the keynote of our movement." She, like Addams, was a member of the first generation of college-

educated women, graduated during the 1880's, who had keenly felt the need to "prove themselves worthy," a politic way of announcing their aim for full participation in public life. With "the social question" even more deeply etched into many people's consciousness by 1890, Scudder felt free to assert that goal even more strongly than Addams had, ten years earlier at Rockford College.

In their junior year there, Addams and her classmates had organized a special public convocation on women's intellectual accomplishments. In this unprecedented "Junior Exhibit" she had proclaimed that the "change that had taken place in women's ambitions and influence" was prompting them to fulfill "women's noblest mission" by acting as contemporary intellectual and practical "bread-givers." In her own public appeals around the country, Vida Scudder by 1890 even chided her female college graduate audiences who "by nature and training" were especially well-prepared for settlement living, that they had let the young men of England inaugurate the first settlement. The degree to which the zeal, that energized so much of the American settlement impulse, grew out of feminist convictions of occupationally deprived educated women, has been ignored until the second feminist breakthrough of recent decades.⁵³

But despite gains since Addams' college days, proclaiming ideals of women's social and intellectual emancipation and being able to exercise them freely were still two very different things in 1890. What had happened to many of the first generation of college women in the years after their graduation is now better known: unless they were among the relatively few with exceptionally strong, artistic or vocational bents and the means to support them, they could not find the proper occupational channels through which to carry out their "highest principles" in "honest toil." Many, including Addams, soon after their

return home, had also felt discouraged and confused by the family attitude toward them, despite earlier parental encouragement and support of their education. Many of the letters Addams had received from college friends right after graduation talked about the letdown and aimlessness the writers experienced. Some were convinced that the best years of their lives already lay behind them and bemoaned their lack of worthwhile occupation and companionship. Those who were contemplating to continue their higher education, were nevertheless depressed by the meagerness of career choices open to them, even though they were convinced that work in a profession or in one of the "higher departments of teaching" was currently the best direction to take. Others resented both the unspoken assumption of their serving as their mothers' dutiful assistant at elaborate social events and the loss of control over their own time that that implied.⁵⁴

It remains difficult to estimate upon how many young women it had dawned that their problems were connected with the many conflicted feelings that had crept into relations between them and their parents after they had, more or less unwillingly, resumed their place in the family circle. The reasons for the difficulties are to be found in the well-established Victorian tradition of suppressing such feelings. The daughters' feelings of resentment over not being able to carve out a beginning of their own lives was compounded by the discovery of deeper feelings. The depth of college daughters' conflicts can be better understood if one hypothesizes the dismay aroused in the daughter by the discovery of her frustration, if not fury, followed by guilty repression of her angry feelings toward those who, up until then, had been the most beloved and respected people in their lives. Contextual confirmation that such feelings were widespread emerges, however, out of a retrospective awareness of the growing trend among young, well-educated middle-

class women to get into some kind of regular work outside of home, and to utilize what Addams, in her Junior Exhibit address, had referred to as women's "intellectual force and her capabilities for direct labor."⁵⁵

Jane Addams was one of those about whom we know that she had become preoccupied with the hidden conflicts circling around what she called the "family claim." She had first become conscious of it during that Philadelphia winter when she had tried simultaneously to pursue her medical studies and take part in her stepmother's social life. Thereafter she had struggled with its ramifications on and off in the course of her years of "search," during which she occasionally had discussed aspects of it in her correspondence and journals.⁵⁶

Much has been written since the earlier part of this century about the fin-de-siècle malaise that befell both men and, particularly, women, in Western societies, of which Jane Addams' experience was a good example (although in her case, it was somewhat masked by the aggravation of an already existing physical ailment). But it was only in more recent decades that some of the complex causes and symptoms that underlay the malaise so many young women then experienced began to be better understood. Much evidence has been presented in studies like Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's "Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th century America," that show how women's malaise differed considerably from that of men and was more widespread and often more acute. In particular, the studies showed that for women, the long depressions and related physical symptoms were invariably connected to, if not caused by, women's anomalous place in the family and by the lack of suitable occupations for educated women, who were stifled by family or spousal domination and domesticity. The most dramatic fictional account of this

trend is Charlotte Perkins Gilman's The Yellow Wallpaper. In her discussion of the problem in one of her Plymouth talks, in which she had focused more specifically on the educated daughter's dilemma, Addams connected the daughter's problem, for the first time, with the central effort of "sharing the race life." In a new version, called "Claims on the College Woman," she had tried it out in a public address at Rockford College in 1895. A few years later, she published a further elaboration of it in The Commons, as "The College Woman and the Family Claim." Though it appeared in print only in 1898, it clearly sprang from the thoughts and experiences that dated back to her most troubled post-graduate years and to more recent years during which she had learned about the many similar instances from young women who came to work with her at Hull-House.⁵⁷

For Addams, the problem of the educated daughter's malaise was a clash between two sets of social and ethical standards that split both intellect and feelings. Accordingly, the young woman back from college was full of expectations for an active life in which she could use her new knowledge in conjunction with her desire "to right wrong and alleviate suffering" traditionally instilled in girls since childhood. In college, for the first time, her individuality and her powers of independent thought and action had been developed and trained, just as those of young men had for generations, in order to be ready for "the larger life...of the race which surrounds and completes the individual and family life." Upon her return from college, she intended to fulfill her "family inheritance" of dutiful daughterhood with "loyalty and affection" to her parents and their social circle. But she also expected to "enter into her wider inheritance" and to play her independent and adult part of "citizen of the world," by participating in the work and life of the community on her own terms. Every time she tried to act according to the human or "social claim," the "family claim"

was exclusively and strenuously asserted" against any of her aspirations and projects and she was told she was ill-advised, unjustified.⁵⁸

The trouble was that when the family had sent their daughter off to college they had failed to take into account that it would develop in her a sense of "the entity of woman's life" beyond the family. Even after their daughter's return, the family still regarded her as a "family possession" that, through college attendance, had been polished and refined as the "outward symbol of her father's protection and prosperity." Conflict resulted when the daughter, armed with her college-bred sense of individuality and her new sense of social obligation, refused to submit to continued family authority and insisted that her own judgement had to determine her decisions. Resolution became impossible after both daughter and parents discovered that the misunderstandings and wounded feelings that arose out of outraged ideals on both sides were too inextricably entangled with their deepest and tenderest filial and parental affections to permit further discussion.

In most instances the daughter finally submitted, repressing her as yet untested social aspirations against the family's much more concrete claims. What compounded the daughter's dilemma, Addams believed, was that young women (like college men) had learned to perceive an ever-widening ethical range of obligations. But unlike young college men, they had, as yet, no similar access to public life through which to transform their expanded and intellectualized sense of obligation into social action. The resulting contradiction between her actual family-centered existence and her lofty, but unrealizable convictions divided her total personality: her mental powers became repressed, her sympathetic emotions turned inward. Her "springs of vitality" were dammed and she was turned into an "unhappy woman... consumed by vain regrets and desires."

When her health gave way the doctor usually prescribed rest, but what she actually needed (as Addams knew from personal experience) was "simple, health-giving activity" and a chance to use all her faculties outside her home and family. Marriage was not a solution either, for it still prevented her from responding to "the full human claim" of the world, beyond husband, children and household. ⁵⁹

The way out of this quite unnecessary family tragedy, according to Addams, was family recognition of changing times: the old, self-centered family ideal had to give way to the new ethical pressures that acknowledged human ties and obligations beyond consanguinity. "The family in its entirety must be carried out into the larger life," where, traditional family affections and services, broadened by the notion of human brotherhood, could be extended to society as a whole. Under its mandate the daughter would learn to reconnect herself with "the feebleness of childhood, the pathos of suffering, or the needs of old age," in order to overcome her one-sided, and over-intellectualized method of acquiring knowledge. For the daughter this meant, Addams concluded, that her effort for a life beyond the family that had appeared willful and selfish could, at last, be recognized as a "genuine and dignified claim." ⁶⁰

Here was where the settlement came in, offering a number of remedies to the emancipation-eager, yet "undernourished and over-sensitive" middle-class daughter. Through it, she could learn to apply her knowledge in helpful action and give vent to her "natural" impulses "to feed the hungry and care for the sick...and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse...." The convergence, through the settlement, of the subjective desires of the eager, intellectually-trained, but socially and emotionally uncertain young woman with the objective needs of urban society offered possibilities for the

satisfaction of both sets of needs. Through the settlement, the dutiful daughter could see a way to go public and thereby change her place in family and society.⁶¹

The settlement thus offered a particular solution to young emancipation-seeking middle-class women during the late Victorian era. In effect, this was the kind of solution under which the educated young woman could "have her cake and eat it," the cake being the flexibility the settlement allowed her to keep a place within the patriarchal family system while, simultaneously, being able to challenge that system and sometimes even to dismantle it. To the extent that the settlement offered work opportunities in the world outside the home that resonated with the proverbial "benevolent young lady" tradition, it appeared to keep the daughter safely within the bounds of the family system and made it easy to avoid a systematic challenge to the prevailing dictates of woman's subordinated place in family and society. But it also, thereby, allayed the fears aroused in dominant circles of the bourgeoisie regarding unconventional living arrangements and relationships and guaranteed the daughter a quasi-public place and a wide hearing.

Conversely, to the degree the settlement's innovative strength lay in its offering women actual possibilities for significant involvement in urban politics and public service and provided openings for continuing scholarly research, a professional career or proficiency in the arts, it offered them release from direct male tutelage and opportunities for creating new kinds of class and gender relations. How aware young women were of the changes they were experiencing through the settlement was made clear later in the decade, when Ramsay MacDonald, future prime minister of England, asked, during a visit to Hull-House, why so many young college women went into settlements. The succinct answer he got from an unnamed resident was: "The revolt of the daughters." Historically,

many of the "daughters" of the immediate post-Civil War period had been ready to revolt, or at least to rebel, but had been told that "their hour" had not yet come. When, after the Civil War, the activist women's bid for more rights and direct access to politics and public life had been rebuffed by their former male allies, the majority of these women had had no choice but to continue their quest by expanding their non-electoral kind of politics--reformatory and "charitable service" extensions of so-called home activities--outside the home. In this situation, settlements offered opportunities for a newer mix of their "proto-politics" by supplying knowledge and new avenues and structures for a more direct participation in the political process. Critical deterioration of urban living and working conditions expanded the field of middle-class women's traditional activities.⁶²

By the 1890's, the "daughters of the settlement" had become the spearhead of the best-educated and emotionally-prepared segment of the post-Civil War women's movement of mothers, aunts and cousins, who had plenty of experience in public life, but were not always free to live and work outside of their families. Because of, as well as despite, its intrinsically hybrid nature, the settlement offered itself as at once a family substitute and a new kind of community that allowed it to straddle and combine the worlds of the autonomy-seeking, self-activating woman and that of the traditional, filial server. Through it, emancipation-eager women found new ways to relate to others in terms of both gender and class, within and without the settlement. Like men, they learned to act more directly out of their own initiatives. Standing on their new self-awareness, women found that through the settlement they could develop more egalitarian social relations and less predictably "sphere-defined" gender relations.⁶³ Under its sheltering roof, the settlement as micro-community offered opportunities for more autonomous, personal

living within a framework of shared social living. Within a uniquely American context, settlements were catalysts that helped to make the first broad effort for American social politics possible.

NOTES

¹Descriptions of the early days at Hull-House are based on Jane Addams letters, JAP (microfilm), Twenty Years at Hull-House, and early publications (bulletins, flyers, programs), scrapbooks and clipping files in the Swarthmore College Library and the Jane Addams Papers microfilm (JAP) in the Jane Addams Memorial Collection, University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

²For Toynbee Hall's hugely successful "Art for the People" Whitechapel Exhibits and Art Gallery that was the model for Addams' and Starr's own successful gallery ventures, see Mrs. Samuel A. Barnett's Canon Barnett. His Life, Work and Friends, by His Wife 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1918), 422-23, 543-45. For one long-prevailing perspective on immigrants' attitudes, see Oskar Handlin, The Uprooted (New York, 1951).

³Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, Oct. 8, 1889, JAP; *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1889; Alice H. Putnam, "Evolution of the Kindergarten Idea in Chicago," Kindergarten Magazine 5 (Jun. 1893): 729-33; Amalie Hofer, "The Social Settlement and the Kindergarten," *ibid.*; Mary Jean Miller, "Account of the Chicago Kinder Garten Club," *ibid.* 10 (Nov. 1897): 203-7. The Hull-House Kindergarten became the leading model, not only for early childhood education, but for adult education and modern democratic education in particular.

⁴Jane Addams to Alice Haldeman, Oct. 8, 1889, JAP.

⁵Jane Addams to George Haldeman, Nov. 24, 1889, JAP; Jane Addams to Alice, Oct. 8, 1889, *ibid.*; Ellen Gates Starr to family, Starr papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library.

⁶Nora Marks, "Two Women's Work," Chicago Tribune, May 19, p. 1 in Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1; Eva Bright, "Work of Two Women," Chicago Times, Jul. 3, 1890, clipping in Ellen Gates Starr "Record Book," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library.

⁷Letter to Alice Haldeman, Oct. 5, 1889.

⁸Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, undated, but from the context of the letter, undoubtedly fall of 1889.

⁹Jane Addams to Alice Haldeman, Dec. 22, 1889; Jane Addams to Alice Haldeman, Dec. 18, 1885.

¹⁰Twenty Years at Hull-House, 108-9.

¹¹Hull-House Extension Classes Circular, 1895, JAP; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 101.

¹²Hull-House Bulletin 1 #1 (Jan. 1, 1896); Twenty Years at Hull-House, chap. 15: "The Value of Social Clubs;" An Outline Sketch: Chicago (Feb. 1, 1894); Hull-House, A Social Settlement, 1-31; Henry B. Learned, "Hull-House," Lend A Hand (May 1893), 319-331.

¹³Hull-House. An Outline Sketch; Dorothea Moore, "A Day at Hull House," The American Journal of Sociology 2, #5 (Mar. 1897): 629-42; Alzina Stevens, "Life in a Social Settlement--Hull-House, Chicago," Modern Culture (Mar. 1899): 42-51; Florence Kelley, "Hull House," New England Magazine 18 (Jan. 1898): 554 -66; Julia Lathrop, "Hull-House," Vassar Miscellany 25 (1896): 366-71; Mary B. Sayles, "Settlement Workers and Their Work," Outlook 78 (Oct. 1, 1904): 304-11; Allen B. Pond, "The Settlement House" III The Brickbuilder 11 (Boston, 1902): 178-85.

¹⁴Jane Addams, My Friend Julia Lathrop (New York, 1935), 53; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 109-12.

¹⁵Edward Burchard to Ellen Gates Starr, Jan. 16, 1938.

¹⁶Culver-Hostetter correspondence, JAP.

¹⁷Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1 clippings, May, June, 1891; Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1891; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 148-9; Canon Barnett, 422-23.

¹⁸Jane Addams to Flora Guiteau, Jan. 7, 1888; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 81-3, 149.

¹⁹For playground, see Twenty Years at Hull-House, 289-92; for Jane Club, see *ibid.*, 136-37; also see Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, autobiography.

²⁰Some of my information of earlier and later Hull-House is based on personal conversations with Wallace Kirkland, Jessie Binford and Ruth Austin, former residents. My own impressions were shaped in 1961 when the original complex, though empty, was still intact--a harmonious, though shabby, enclave, with occasional greenery in its courtyards and along its paths, surrounded by fields of rubble that were part of the ongoing "slum clearance" project of Mayor Richard Daley. Pond, "The Settlement House," *op. cit.*

²¹Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Allen, Sep. 15, 1889. Ellen Gates Starr to (cousin) Mary Allen, Sept. 15, 1889, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College; for biographical material, see James Weber Linn, Jane Addams: a Biography (New York: Appleton-

Century Co. Inc., 1936), 45-46, 129-32; Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams as I Knew Her," The Reviewer's Library #7 (1936): 3-4; Eleanor Grace Clark, "Ellen Gates Starr, O.S.B. (1859-1940). An Account of the Life of the Co-Foundress of Hull-House," The Commonwealth 31 (Mar. 15, 1940): 444-47.

²²My interpretation is based on Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr correspondence of over forty years, JAP and Ellen Gates Starr Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

²³Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, "Hull-House." Wellesley Magazine 2 (Jan. 20, 1894): 171-80.

²⁴Jane Addams, "The Object of Social Settlements," Union Signal 22 (Mar. 5, 1896): 148-49; Jane Addams to George Haldeman, Dec. 12, 1890; Mary H. Porter, "A Home on Halsted Street," Advance (Apr. 1, 1889): 500.

²⁵Edward Burchard to Ellen Gates Starr, Jan. 16, 1938; Hull-House Minute Book, JAP.

²⁶Jane Addams, "Common Place Book," Rockford College Library and Jane Addams Memorial Library.

²⁷See Merle Curti, "Jane Addams and Human Nature," Journal of the History of Ideas 22 (Apr.-June 1961): 240-53. Curti had a unique appreciation of Addams' view that a scientific understanding of human beings was the essential basis, but not the sum total of human nature. As he wrote in his commemorative essay in 1961, "For her, human nature encompassed the experiences and potentialities of the growing organism, in infancy, childhood, adolescence and old age. She appreciated the dynamic factors in motivation and saw in the universal desire of individuals to be recognized and appreciated as unique persons, and the consequences of society's failure to make such recognition, the key to much behavior."

²⁸Julia Lathrop, Proceedings, NCCC (1894): 315.

²⁹Holbrook, 175, 172, 173.

³⁰Ibid., 173, 174.

³¹References to residents and volunteers in Linn, Jane Addams, 209-214; Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams as I Knew Her," The Reviewer's Library #7 (1936): 3-30. Hackett, Francis. "Hull House—A Souvenir." The Survey 54 (Jun. 1, 1925): 275-80.

³²Ibid.; Allen F. Davis and Mary Lynn McCree, Eighty Years at Hull-House (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); see also 5-8 and 15-23.

³³Alzina Stevens, "'Life in a Social Settlement—Hull-House, Chicago,'" Modern Culture (Mar. 1899): 42-51.

³⁴Eva Bright, Chicago Times, Jul. 3, 1890; Scrapbook clipping, New York World, Jun. 16, 1889; David Swing clipping, Hull-House scrapbooks vol. 1, p. 11, n.d., n.s.; Porter, "A Home on Halsted Street;" Emily Herndon, "A Swept-Out Corner of Chicago," Christian Union, Feb. 20, 1892, 351; Eliza R. Sunderland, "Hull-House," The Unitarian (Sept. 1893): 400-402; M.B. Powell, "Hull House," Godey's Magazine 132 (May 1896):465-71.

³⁵Ellen Gates Starr to Mary Blaisdell, Feb. 23, 1889. From the start, Addams collected every published article, favorable or not, in a series of scrapbooks, later extended by her subscription to a national clipping service. The enormous collection survives today as a testimonial reflecting a mixed aim for archival impartiality and personal satisfaction over the widespread recognition her work was gaining.

³⁶Allen Davis's Spearheads of Reform (New York, 1967), particularly "The Settlement Idea" and "The Settlement Impulse," 3-39, were the most useful sources of information and suggestions for my own early reading of new and old sources; see also Robert Woods, "University Settlements," Andover Review: A Religious and Theological Monthly 18 #106 (Oct. 1892): 317-319; John Farrell's Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace (Baltimore, 1967), together with Merle Curti's essay "Jane Addams and Human Nature" (op. cit.) and Stoughton Lynd's "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," Commentary 32 (July 1960): 54-9, were my chief spurs for a reexamination of the subject; for contemporary overviews see also Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, The Settlement Horizon, a National Estimate (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922), and idem, Handbook of Settlements (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1911).

³⁷Spearheads of Reform, 3-39, Vida Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need." Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Oct. 1892): 1-16, and her autobiographical One Journey (New York, 1937); on women's push into higher education, see Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, 1985).

³⁸Rockford College Library. Jane Addams, "Our Debts and How We Shall Pay Them," undated manuscript essay, probably written in the years between 1885-1887 between the trips.

³⁹My discussion of the "crisis" years is based on my study of Addams' early journal entries and writings at and after her college years at Rockford, her earliest correspondence with Ellen Gates Starr and other college friends, Addams and her Addams-Haldeman family correspondence, all now in Jane Addams Memorial Library and JAP.

⁴⁰Correspondence with college friends 1880-1885; Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, Sep. 3, 1881.

⁴¹Jane Addams correspondence, JAP; John Farrell interview with Dr. Alice Hamilton, 1961, regarding back operation, Farrell, 40.

⁴²Commonplace Book, Rockford College Library, now at JAM.

⁴³Jane Addams correspondence 1883, JAP; Twenty Years at Hull-House, "The Snare of Preparation," 65-88.

⁴⁴Jane Addams to Mary Linn, Nov. 4, 1883, JAP.

⁴⁵Twenty Years at Hull-House, 71.

⁴⁶Most of the information about Addams during these years is based on her correspondence with Ellen Gates Starr, then teaching in Chicago. Ellen Gates Starr Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library.

⁴⁷Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, Feb. 7, 1886.

⁴⁸Twenty Years at Hull-House, "The Snare of Preparation," 65-88; Jane Addams correspondence with family, 1887, JAP.

⁴⁹Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," undated typescript, but probably read at meeting of the philanthropy committee of the Chicago Woman's Club in Dec. 1890.

⁵⁰Springfield Republican, Jul. 30, 1892, Hull-House Scrapbooks vol. 1, JAM and JAP.

⁵¹Jane Addams, "Hull House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy," Forum 14 (Oct. 1892): 226-41; "A New Impulse to an Old Gospel," Forum 14 (Nov. 1892), 345-58 (reprinted as: "Objective Value of a Social Settlement" and "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in Henry C. Adams, ed. Philanthropy and Social Progress: Seven Essays by Miss Jane Addams, Robert A. Woods, Father J.O.S. Huntington, Professor Franklin Giddings, and Barnard Bosanquet, Delivered before the School of Applied Ethics at Plymouth, Mass (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1893), 1-26 and 27-56; "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," also, "Social Settlements," Twenty Years at Hull-House, in somewhat edited form.

⁵²"A New Impulse to an Old Gospel," 346-53.

⁵³Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need;" Jane Addams, "Bread Givers," Junior Exhibit, Rockford Seminary Magazine 8 (Apr. 1880): 110, JAP, Rockford College Library; and Rockford Daily Register, Apr. 21, 1880.

⁵⁴Jane Addams correspondence with Rockford Seminary friends: Helen Harrington to Jane Addams, Jul. 14, 1880; Jul. 23, 1880; Aug. 17, 1881; Mar 9, 1882; Sarah Anderson, Jul. 14, 1880; Nov. 23, 1881; Mattie Thomas, Aug. 7, 1881, Jane Addams correspondence, SCPC and JAP.

⁵⁵Jane Addams, "Bread Givers," Rockland College Library and JAP.

⁵⁶Jane Addams correspondence with Alice Haldeman, 1885 and Ellen Gates Starr during 1886. There were only vague hints regarding her thinking about family relations and her future in her correspondence with sister Alice Haldeman during the years of travel and search. But there was much greater openness in her correspondence with Ellen Gates Starr, particularly during the two winters Addams spent in Baltimore with her stepmother and stepbrother, George Haldeman.

⁵⁷Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual" and "The Hysterical Woman: Some Reflections on Sex Roles and Role Conflict in Nineteenth Century America," Social Research, 39, #4 (Winter, 1972): 652-78; Rockford College Magazine 23, # 6 (Jun. 1895); "The College Woman and the Family Claim," The Commons, # 29 (Sep. 1898): 3-7.

⁵⁸ Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family Claim," 4; for the best fictional illustration, see Charlotte Perkins Gilman, The Yellow Wallpaper (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1899; repr. with afterword by Elaine Ritledges. Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist Press, 1973).

⁵⁹Ibid., 4-5.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Addams, "A New Impulse to an Old Gospel," 358.

⁶²J. Ramsay MacDonald in The Ethical World cited in The Commons (Feb. 1898): 4; Ellen C. Dubois, Feminism and Suffrage. The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Mari Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Lebsack, "Women in American Politics 1880-1920;" Anne F. Scott, Natural Allies. Women's Associations in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

⁶³Rosemarie Redlich Scherman, "Some Historians' Views of Women's Autonomy," unpublished paper, City University of New York Graduate Center, 1985.

CHAPTER 3

FROM "CHARITY FOR THE POOR" TO WORKING PEOPLE'S WELFARE

Getting to Know the Neighbors

In keeping with the conventional outlook of benevolently-disposed middle-class people, Addams and Starr thought of their new neighbors as "the poor," a categorization that traditionally carried with it explicitly or implicitly, assumptions of inferiority. But their decision to settle themselves among the poor to "share their lives" indicated something beyond the traditional implications: at the least, an unease concerning the categorical attitude toward the poor as inferiors; on a more conscious level, as a groping toward more egalitarian standards and relations prompted both by background and current personal motivations. Their manner of quietly moving in, without institutional trappings or customary flyers distributed in the neighborhood proclaiming their benevolent intentions, further confirmed this tendency. And there certainly was no dearth of instances of poverty to underline their perceptions of their neighbors as poor people. Once they had settled in, Addams and Starr quickly learned that, though it came in many guises, poverty lay almost invariably at the root of their neighbors' problems. The area's particular location within Chicago had a great deal to do with that.

Without any statistical knowledge of the area, they knew when they moved there that the 19th Ward was within the area of the greatest population density; that the housing conditions were probably the worst and population density and variety of ethnic groups

and transience one of the greatest. Before long, they understood that the ward's location along the river, the condition of its streets and housing stock, but most of all, the nature of the work available for most of the inhabitants, went far to explain the kinds of poverty they encountered. As noted earlier, Addams and Starr, and the additional residents who joined them at the settlement with remarkable alacrity, gave whatever direct help they could as they perceived the needs of people made them known.

One of the residents' first lessons regarding their poor neighbors had been their discovery of the "almost total inadequacy of private beneficence" in relation to the vast number of Chicago's poor. Included in that lesson was the knowledge that private charity refused to deal with certain cases it regarded as untouchable. As a consequence, these were left to the totally inadequate mercies of municipal or county facilities. As a first remedial step, Hull-House succeeded within the year to have one of its own new residents, Julia Lathrop, appointed as regular "county visitor" by the Cook County Commissioners to follow up on all cases within a ten-block radius. This gave the settlement a chance from early on to learn about its neediest neighbors and to study the county's "outdoor" relief methods of direct aid.¹

In Addams' view, the neighborhood poor fell into a number of categories. From the very first, it was the aged poor who came most distressingly to the residents' attention. The old women, especially, reflected the miseries of "neglected old age." Frequently evicted from their meager quarters when they could no longer pay the rent, they were seized by the "gripping fear of the poorhouse" as the ultimate specter of their decline. Finding new shelter became one of the settlement's most challenging tasks and, for

Addams, a leading source of life-long friendships that stimulated some of her subtlest sociological writing.²

From these old women Addams learned, in the course of her intercessions with various officials, about the immeasurable value their few possessions held for them, about the searing stigma of living at the country infirmary, ameliorated somewhat by the healing power of cherished memories of earlier days. Challenged by their predicaments, Addams created alleviating devices for those for whom the poorhouse had nevertheless become their permanent abode. One was a two-weeks vacation with old friends in the old neighborhood, with meals at Hull-House that constituted the adventurous highpoint of the old woman's year. Another creative alternative Addams hit upon was a "pension" system that permitted some of the women to remain rent-free in clean, warm, rooms near Hull-House.³

The high incidence of crippled children in the vicinity was another evident phenomenon attributable to poverty. Most of them were injured in the absence of their working mothers, either locked into their tenement flats or locked out and left to shift for themselves on the street. Injuries resulted from falling out of windows, from being burned by a stove, or from being tied for hours to a table leg. Children left on the street, who sometimes found their own way to the settlement day or night, were often starved, parched by the heat or frozen by the cold, or victims in traffic accidents. For the needs of these "wandering mites," the opening of the Hull-House kindergarten and day-nursery had been the almost spontaneous response.

Through the children the residents got to know the working mothers, the poorest and most exploited inhabitants of the neighborhood, often wives deserted by unemployed,

alcoholic or jailed husbands who valiantly tried to rear their children single-handedly. The contemplation of their predicament drove Addams to speculate on the stupidity of modern society that "permitted the mothers of young children to spend themselves in the coarser work of the world," her generation's emphatic veneration of motherhood notwithstanding.

Quite another group of poor people for whom Addams, characteristically, developed a special feeling, were "that gallant company" of educated, often talented women and men, "visionaries and enthusiasts, unsuccessful artists, writers, reformers...fairly indifferent to starvation itself because of their preoccupation with higher ends." For these "indomitable souls" lost in the nooks and crannies of the sprawling city the settlement was of particular value, not just for the occasional material support it offered, but because it valued their esthetic or intellectual strivings that helped them transcend their lack of worldly goods and success.

A catalytic fifth group were the unemployed, a permanent category of variable size in a neighborhood such as Hull-House's, whose numbers swelled into the thousands in times of depression. It was their plight that burst upon the urban scene during the fall and winter of 1893-1894 and continued from then on to claim a major share of both municipal and settlement attention. Witnessing their calamities led Addams to "her most serious economic reading" ever and to a number of new insights, attitudes and activities that permanently changed her and the settlement. The first of the two most fundamental new approaches that she developed through living in a slum was the question of charity and the settlement's relation to "the poor;" the second was the relation to the workers, to organized labor and to social and political dissidents of all kinds.⁴

The 1893 Depression and Questions of Relief

Although Americans had suffered serious depressions in the eighteen-seventies, and lesser downswings had occurred repeatedly since then, the great depression of 1893 was the biggest yet, with its calamitous stock market crash, bank runs, railroad receiverships and 16,000 business failures across the nation. Based on Bradstreet's unemployment estimates from 119 cities, at least three million out of a total labor force of five million, were unemployed or unable to find work by late 1893. In this catastrophic situation the burden of relief fell on the municipalities and private charities in the absence of state and federal provisions. Municipal and private relief proved to be totally inadequate. Congressional inaction spurred "Coxey's Army," but this transcontinental demonstration of popular grievances went unheeded by the authorities, except for jail sentences meted out to the Coxeyites upon their arrival in Washington. The unions, for the first time, entered the situation nationally on a large scale, providing relief for their members. For the first time also, all over the nation widespread union-inspired demands were voiced for both broad public relief and public works. Mass protests were held in major cities in support of immediate relief action and for more long-term support measures.⁵

In Chicago the impact of the depression made itself felt somewhat later than in other cities, because of the temporary, more favorable effect of the World's Columbian Exposition. Mass meetings, some held in conjunction with the Fair's Labor Congress or called by the unions, were held in August and later in the fall, with thousands listening to Sam Gompers, Henry George, Clarence Darrow and Thomas Morgan, who called for public work on the drainage canal and for major street repair programs. Many Chicago

businessmen undoubtedly agreed with businessmen's opinions voiced elsewhere that government relief was wasteful, demoralizing and "communistic in principle" and that all relief should be handled privately. Chicago's municipal and private systems were, in fact, notoriously more inadequate than those of the large Eastern cities, despite major relief efforts the city had been called upon to make in the face of catastrophes such as the great fire. Some of this inadequacy was based. Addams was led to conclude, on Chicagoans' "unfounded optimism that there was no real poverty among us."⁶

In the Hull-House area, the misery of the unemployed was pressing visibly upon its people already by July of that year. "It takes something of an effort--these hard times to keep up one's spirits," Addams wrote to a friend abroad, "our neighbors are so forlorn, and literally flock to the house for work. To keep them from going quite under takes a good deal of effort--and I have really been touched by the goodness of our neighbors to each other and their sweet attitude toward us. The effect is a little like 'trouble in the family' which draws members together." Though trouble in the family was something about which Addams knew plenty from personal experience, this was on a vastly larger scale and in a vastly different context.⁷

By the fall, the full inadequacy of the relief efforts became apparent. The problem was heightened in Chicago by the Fair's termination of its activities, which left many out-of-towners stranded and swelled the ranks of the local unemployed. With the arrival of the first cold weather, thousands of men were sleeping in the police stations and even in the corridors and stairways of City Hall. Their numbers by mid-winter were estimated at 100,000.⁸

But city-wide unemployment relief efforts didn't really get going until after a great mass meeting had been held at the Central Music Hall on November 12. It had been inspired by the crusading English Social Gospeler and journalist William T. Stead, whose Pall Mall Gazette had helped trigger the "new liberal" reform movement in London and who soon raised the hackles of Chicago business leaders with his blunt finger pointing at the city's civic negligence and corruption in his best-selling If Christ Came to Chicago. One immediate result of the meeting that, for once, pulled together a motley assembly of Chicagoans, including millionaire banker, socialist union leader, club woman, ward boss, university professor, bordello owner, minister and settlement worker, as well as Governor Altgeld and one of the three pardoned Haymarket anarchists, was the formation of the Chicago Civic Federation, designed to investigate, coordinate and lead the improvement efforts of all aspects of city life. An ad hoc steering committee of five that included Addams as the only woman, was appointed for this task.⁹

Better than any other event or group in the city, the creation of the Civic Federation marked the emergence of mainstream Progressivism in Chicago, where the recent Fair's tremendous diversity of exhibits and ideas had stirred old and new undertakings. Though in itself it proved to be an unwieldy and only partially-functioning body, its existence was enough to encourage the expression of a broad, new civic spirit throughout existing organizations that led to the creation of crucial new municipal and community facilities or greatly strengthened old ones. This new spirit was reflected in the three objectives of the Civic Federation's constitution: to become "a medium of acquaintance and sympathy between people from all parts of the city, in order to promote "municipal welfare;" to improve the "material, social and moral conditions" of municipal

life; and to plan a municipal administration on a "purely business basis." In all three goals the aim was to use methods of "modern investigation, publicity...and moral influence." The letter that went to prospective board members declared its organizational aim to give "effect to the public conscience of Chicago" by gathering "all forces that are now laboring to advance our municipal, philanthropic, industrial and moral interests," to make Chicago the "best governed, healthiest and cleanest city" in the country. Its authors also expressed the belief that now was the time to start, "while our people [are] yet filled with the new ideas, new ambitions and inspirations drawn from "the great exposition and its valuable adjunct, the World's Congresses." They thereby confirmed contemporary recognition of the Fair's broad impact beyond the manifest display of dazzling buildings and carnival atmosphere.

Studies done of the Civic Federation during recent decades have concentrated on its unwieldiness and valued it primarily for having spawned its politically-effective anti-boss off-shoot, the Municipal Voters League. They have ignored that, besides its liberal businessmen/reformers' touted modernizing and streamlining efforts of municipal government, the Federation encouraged the creation of the intellectual and organizational avenues with which to examine the social and political realities of Chicago life as never before--from trade unions to aldermanic politics, to its physical infra-structure, educational and cultural institutions. In this effort of making large sectors of metropolitan life visible for the first time, the active participation of large numbers of women was a new and crucial development. For this reason, the Civic Federation needs also to be seen as the converging of two distinct trends that signified an early manifestation of urban Progressivism, that of the male business and reform politician's efforts at "modernization"

of traditional city politics and government, and of their beginning concern with the physical urban environment, with upper and middle-class women's massive efforts to introduce previously-ignored social, educational and cultural aspects of urban life into city politics. In this respect, the Chicago Civic Federation distinguished itself clearly from the better-known later National Civic Federation that emerged by the turn of the century as a national mechanism to speed the integration of the work force into the expanding corporate system.¹⁰

Among the symptomatic new trends that characterized the Chicago Civic Federation the two most important were the initial inclusion of a number of trade union representatives and, even more significant for the growth of Progressive action in Chicago, the inclusion of a number of outstanding and able women into its leadership. Among the women who joined Addams after the first organizing meeting in November were some of the social, financial and professional crème de la crème, like Mrs. Bertha H. Palmer, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, Dr. Sarah H. Stevenson and Mrs. Lucy Flower. The active participation of the last two was probably of the greatest practical importance for immediate relief purposes since both women already had widely-extended organizational connections. Dr. Stevenson was a medical doctor with interests in other scientific disciplines and the current president of the Chicago Woman's Club. Mrs. Flower, a long-time upper-class volunteer-activist in a number of fields was regarded as the best-informed woman on the condition of children in the city. As the most qualified facilitator between the top echelons of the business community and the different relief and reform circles, Bertha Palmer and Ellen Henrotin, who had held the two top women's offices during the Fair, were indisputably the two most important women on the board. Jane Addams' place

in this stellar array however, had particular significance. Obviously, some of the other women, like Bertha Palmer and Ellen Henrotin, had much better connections to the city's power circles. Others, like Lucy Flower or Dr. Stevenson, had more experience and long-term relations with the philanthropic, educational and social service fields. But Addams was undoubtedly chosen from the start because, despite her relatively recent arrival in the city, she was already seen as the one personality clearly positioned at the intersection of all of the city's leading interest groups. This made her successful relations with members of both classes--business and professional men, club women, liberal churches, the universities, as well as trade unions, local immigrant civic groups and labor-related politicians and publicists--her most valuable asset.

After arrangements for a permanent organization had been made, the second task for the Civic Federation's five-member steering committee was to create one central relief agency to deal immediately with the unemployed. At its organizing meeting this new body, the Central Relief Association, attempted, for the first time, to coordinate all public and private relief groups in Chicago, in cooperation with the Cook County Commissioners, in order to cover every district in the city and to raise funds immediately for supplies of food, warm clothing, shelter and jobs. The trade unions had actually been the first to help those among the unemployed who were members. A second, more unlikely relief group that acted swiftly and spontaneously, were about half of the six to seven thousand Chicago saloons who continued to serve the customary and substantial "free lunch" which amounted to about 60,000 free meals per day during the crisis months.¹¹

The relief committee's first goal was to provide temporary employment for people and to coordinate it with ample meals, suitable clothing and shelter for the night. Existing

lodging houses for single men were enlarged and new ones opened. A few lodging houses for the smaller number of homeless women were started. All were coordinated with soup kitchens, the clothing and food depots and medical dispensaries. Two kinds of work, at wages the businessmen on the committee regarded as "fair," were made available: street cleaning for the men and sewing for the women. Payment was made in the form of tickets, redeemable only at the designated depots for goods and services, where costs were kept well below retail prices.¹²

The street cleaning brigades quickly grew to about 3,800. The majority were single men, mostly Chicago residents. The 700 to 1,000 women found work in sewing rooms organized for that purpose. A new temporary lodging house for women was added to the very few in existence. Both lodging houses and sewing rooms were under the overall direction of the Chicago Woman's Club, in cooperation with other women's organizations and churches, or institutions like the WCTU and Hull-House.

Differences between the two relief systems for men and women were evident in relation to size and style of operating. William Stead noted that the women's relief system was "more flexible than that of the men," with more varied relief methods, and that the women managers of the facilities were "not prejudiced...against giving relief in money and had quickly discontinued the deliberately-restrictive paper ticket system. Stead found the work the club women embarked on under Dr. Stevenson's direction "extremely interesting," because it dealt more with the "domestic life of the people" than did the male-directed relief efforts. Both he and Addams later recalled the many occasions in which both settlement and club women became involved in local crises that threatened the break-

up of families and destruction of homes by helping to prevent evictions, foreclosures and the removal of furniture.¹³

Under the new central relief agency Hull-House had been designated the local relief station for its own and two adjacent wards, in which capacity it quickly earned the reputation of running a "model" district. In Stead's view, Hull-House became the urban settlement support system par excellence, because it was the "most helpful" and he ruminated whether that was due to the fact that it was run by a woman. He was familiar with all the English settlements and had visited many of the American ones, but Hull-House struck him as unique because it was "enthusiastic without being intolerant, and broad without losing the fervor of its humanitarian zeal." It "avoided the Scylla of denominational narrowness" as well as the "Charybdis of lukewarmness and apathetic indifference which are the bane of much denominational effort." His familiarity with contemporary charity efforts on both sides of the Atlantic had led him to critical conclusions. He objected to the "essentially pessimistic do-nothing outlook" that accompanied so much of modern, carefully-orchestrated systems and noted that their efforts "to be scientific resulted in their ceasing to be charitable." It therefore touched him like a breath of fresh air to find a sympathetic spirit he had so rarely encountered explicitly present among the women activists of Hull-House.¹⁴

Addams, herself, discovered the presence within the Central Relief Association of what amounted to two fundamentally contradictory attitudes concerning relief and, before long, resigned from the street cleaning committee "in despair of making the rest of the committee understand that...our real object was not street cleaning but help for the unemployed." Her disagreement with the others centered on her conviction that it was

preferable to have the men work half a day for 75 cents than a whole day for a dollar, in order to prevent a permanent lowering of wage rates that the committee members seemed blithely to ignore. The discussion of this question that had obviously been reverberating through the rooms of Hull-House and the offices of the local relief agency plunged her, she later recalled, into that most serious economic reading mentioned earlier. It had become evident only very recently that Chicagoans had to face the entire question of charity administration and its necessary organizational forms more directly than ever before.¹⁵

Despite its repeated city-wide catastrophes during the preceding decades, the absence of one, effective coordinating relief organization for the entire city had become notorious by the early 1890's. What groups existed were agencies more or less run as offshoots of gentlemen's clubs that jealously guarded their separate existence. Longer than other American cities, 19th century Chicago clung to the 18th century individualist beliefs of society as an aggregate of free agents with equal opportunities for acquiring wealth and therefore little need for a support system for those who failed to achieve it. Americans' historic tendency to avoid the acknowledgment of the realities of class differences within their new society allowed them to ignore the growing evidence of poverty as a permanent phenomenon. It thereby served as rationale for only the skimpiest aid, doled out grudgingly, in their cities as well as in the countryside.¹⁶

But toward the end of the 19th century, under the impact of an accelerating industrialism linked to an exploding market economy, the inescapable evidence of permanent divisions into social classes of rich and poor moved Americans to adopt a new model of charity and relief disbursement. This new approach arose out of a perspective that no

longer saw society as a loose collection of independent individuals, but as a collective "social organism," now in crisis. Modern industrialism's dislocating impact had ruptured the social bonds that held the disparate classes together within the society. The solution to reknit the ties between rich and poor and regain society's organic entity was through the establishment of a comprehensive, centralized charity system.

Many of the philosophical underpinnings of this approach rose out of Herbert Spencer's writings, in which crudely-interpreted Darwinian biological concepts had been transposed into the sociological realm. These bio-sociological theories had enjoyed an immediate and enthusiastic reception in late 19th century America, where they were further adapted to the American scene by sociologists like William Graham Sumner, Spencer's most ardent American disciple. The core axiom of their bleak social vision was the survival of the fittest in a universal struggle. Those who achieved success in the struggle were the superior citizens. Their main duty to their inferior fellows, who had so far failed, was to supply them with only the most minimal aid given after stringent investigation of their worthiness. With it went moralistic exhortations to force them out of dependence and set them on the path of self-support.¹⁷

The methods of the new Charity Organization Society (COS), to establish one central body for each city or town as coordinator of every existing charitable organization, had originated in England in the late 1870's and was imported to the United States soon thereafter. Its heart was the unified card index that listed every individual and family recipient after careful investigation by a "friendly visitor" who was taught to separate the "deserving" poor from the "undeserving" paupers and "dependents." Its aim was a "scientific" charity system for more even-handed distribution of aid to each "case," after

verification and avoidance of the twin bugaboos of duplication and fraud. An equally important caveat was the avoidance of the old "outdoor" charity, based on what COS agents saw as "sentimental" or "impulsive meddling situations of unverified need." "Don't give!" was the organization's watchword.¹⁸

Like its English model, American COS focused on upholding standards of individual devotion to hard work, thrift and abstemiousness. Reform concentrated on the individual whose character weaknesses such as improvidence, drunkenness and sexual incontinence were identified as the basic causes of poverty. The cure was to be found through maximum "character-building" moral guidance, with minimal material aid. Mary Richmond, who became a driving force behind the modern charity movement in the United States, in the course of which she departed in certain important respects from the original discriminatory "COS" perspective, nevertheless still affirmed in 1895 that COS stood for "the development of character and against anything that could weaken it." What would weaken it most was too much relief. The movement's cardinal principle that the least relief was the best was most vividly expressed by Josephine Shaw Lowell, one of its New York luminaries, who stated unequivocally that "relief is an evil--always."¹⁹ In practice, although the ancient custom of "outdoor," that is, direct relief in money or kind, was strenuously frowned upon from the COS perspective, most organizations in the throes of depression ended up giving direct help of all kinds, anyway. Its "scientific" sociological outlook and methods notwithstanding, the new system revealed itself thereby only as a modernized version of the same old grudging individualist approach. Though aspects of its systematized methodology were potentially useful in the discovery of and response to

people's real needs, its main effect was to impose a more invasive and dehumanizing structure on top of the older, haphazard form of social disciplining.

New Approaches to Relief

But even as the COS system was being adopted in more and more cities and towns around the country, groups and individuals within and without charity and reform circles came to question and to resist the harsh, dogmatic and undemocratic approach, as they witnessed the effects of unfettered Social Darwinist practices on the lives of large numbers of people and the sporadic waves of protest they elicited. Many among the younger middle-class intelligentsia and professionals had welcomed trends that reflected the impact of Darwinian evolutionary thought on many disciplines as more meaningful to the modern world. They now discovered less grim versions, such as the evolutionist-humanist thought of Lester Ward, one of the earliest Americans to advocate the use of statistics and social legislation by democratic government; or the proliferations of social and socialist thinking, as reflected in that of the Social Gospellers and Christian Socialists like George Herron and W.D.P. Bliss, "Nationalist" Bellamyites and Henry George Single Taxers; or even varieties of continental socialists like the communitarian "utopian" or "Fourierist" socialists, whose concern with physical living and working space had captured the imagination of the women's domestic reform movement; or those who considered themselves "scientific" Marxist socialists who concentrated on the predominantly male labor movement and the urban political scene. The most common denominator among these groups and movements was the search for more egalitarian economic and social relations in consonance with the American democratic tradition that included less class-defined

methods of assistance to people in need. Another, not unrelated, common denominator was the prominence of women among them.²⁰

It was evident that, by the time Addams became directly involved in the contemporary relief and charity system, many new trends and ties to different groups had come to bear on her outlook. It was therefore not surprising that, like the English "new liberalism" reformers, slightly earlier, and like many among her new middle-class women and men co-workers, Addams had begun to have definite reservations about much of the "COS approach," even as she assisted in the creation of a comprehensive new relief system along its lines in Chicago. She agreed that a coordinated, city-wide information and relief system was a useful method to ascertain needs and to supply aid, but she had developed serious doubts that in times of crisis, such as this, the introduction of an impersonal rote method that claimed to be scientific, was the answer.

She reached this conclusion after she had experienced "the most painful episode of the winter" while trying to follow the carefully established rules of the Central Relief Association. A shipping clerk she had known for a long time had lost his job and came to her for help for his family at the local relief bureau set up at Hull-House. After his fourth or fifth visit, she told him about current work opportunities on the drainage canal, with the implication that he should exhaust available possibilities before asking for help. She stuck to her instructions, even after the man's reply that as an indoor worker, he couldn't stand outdoor work in winter, but later gratefully recalled that she did not press him severely. The man took the job, caught cold after two days and died of pneumonia a week later. His two small children, with whom she continued to remain in touch, became bitter reminders

that "it was at their expense I learned that life cannot be administered by definite rules and regulations" and that wisdom came only through knowledge of a person's life as a whole.²¹

Episodes like the above, followed by other, similar, experiences, helped her to formulate a new outlook. Her first public expression of her disagreement with the COS perspective became evident in an address at the Sunset Club's symposium, What Shall We Do For Our Unemployed? in December, 1893. In her talk, Addams sounded the keynote for all those looking for better ways to help the needy when she announced that the question was not "what we shall do for them, but what they and the unemployed could do together.

They are men, they have practical ideas; they would be glad to do their share to remove this trouble, and we should consider not what we shall do with the unemployed, but what shall we and the unemployed do together, that we may all as brothers grow out into a wider and better citizenship than we have ever had."²²

"With, not for," became the new slogan for the gathering social justice wing of the Chicago progressives. A related major insight that assumed an equally fundamental place in Addams' understanding was the significance of "the kindness of the poor to each other." She grew conscious of it, she explained, after having witnessed "countless instances" when a neighbor's unforeseen predicament brought out the sharing and lending instinct in others--a breakfast shared between two different tenants in the same building, because one knew the other family was "hard up;" a former boarder who volunteered rent money to the family he had boarded with; a baker who sent yesterday's loaves to the family across the street because he had noticed their children peering longingly into his window.²³

Understandably, one of the first things that Hull-House had done when the depression engulfed the neighborhood was to increase its "direct relief" distributions to all

those who had become personal friends of the residents during the past four years. "I should feel very much ashamed if my neighbor next door did not come to me when she wants money for her taxes, and borrow it from me as she would from any other friend," Addams (later) told the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC) convention at her first official attendance in 1897. This was the first time she had been officially invited as depression conditions persisted among her neighbors. Settlement people, she bluntly told the social workers, did not have "that great fear of pauperizing people which many of you seem to have." What counted was "the feeling with which you give," and if "the medium of giving [was] friendly enough, it didn't make any difference whether you gave an old Latin grammar or a pair of shoes." In this manner, she and the other residents became accustomed to using their settlement's resources, even if it hurt, for whatever was most needed, be it shoes or coal, food, textbooks or money. After the first depression winter she had written her old friend Sarah Anderson, the current president of Rockford College, that "our leak this year has been the huge amount given in relief to our neighbors."

The suffering has been and is fearful--and it is absolutely impossible to live in the midst of it and not do something about it. The settlement will always have to face that individual distress among personal friends--it is a pull on one's personal loyalty and affections in addition to the cases.

As a result, she explained, a lot of contributions which otherwise would have gone to running or enlarging the settlement program went for immediate relief. Hull-House was feeling the pinch and she was coming to the conclusion that she "probably won't ever be flush again."²⁴

From these instances of witnessing her neighbors' hard times, Addams also gained a new conception of the value of the settlement to the poor as it revealed itself to her in the contrast between the relief station's relationship and the settlement's relations with its neighbors. In one of her early published articles she characterized the settlement's role as that of an "information and interpretation bureau" or as a "commission merchant." Itself "without capital," its mission was to act constantly "between the various institutions of the city and the people....[t]he hospitals, the county agencies, the state asylums, [that] are often but vague rumors to the people who need them most."²⁵

Conscious of their growing "go-between" role, Addams and the other residents and volunteers found themselves increasingly involved in trying to secure support for deserted wives, insurance payments for widows, damages for injured workers, or in trying to prevent instalment stores from repossessing furniture. She told her Sunset Club audience, in the critical days of December 1893, that it was the settlement's basic objective "to throw in their lot with a certain neighborhood for better or for worse" and go up or down with it in the course of time. In their four years of residence there, she reported, they "had never gone up very far," but "during the last three months we have gone pretty low." Living where they did, they had always known people who were ill-housed and ill-fed and generally harassed by the possibility of no work, but now she found it

a curious experience when the majority of your acquaintances are out of work; when people whom you have known only socially, whom you know because their children come to your clubs, or because they come to your house as guests, when these people come to you in tears, and woeful distress...that which sticks to you most closely, is the mental suffering that is entailed. The people are horribly harassed by the thought that their children may get the impression that their fathers and mothers are paupers. We can name people whom we have known for years, without any mental disturbance, who have gone insane during the last three months.

In a further elaboration of her original view of the settlement as information bureau and "go-between," she came to hold that all actions undertaken to relieve poverty must also come out of factual, continuous knowledge of the lives, social conditions and attitudes of working people themselves, based on the experience of neighborly living along them.²⁶

A few years later, at the annual meeting of the Illinois CCC, the state branch of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC), the leading body and policy maker for charity matters nationally, she strove to gain recognition for the settlement's unique qualification to establish continuity of relations with the poor as "fundamental to understanding them." It was imperative to maintain these neighborhood relations with all the different kinds of people, she asserted, to carry these new relations over into the administration of charity and to substitute them, whenever possible, for the "distinctly charitable relation." As, over time, you went up and down with the people, depending on the economic circumstances of the moment, "your estimate of them will be able to take account of that which is mere temporary misfortune...." It was precisely the point of the settlement that the residents "threw in their lot" with their neighbors, in good times or bad. With that insight she had arrived at a point that had been her potential goal from the start, a way of dealing with one aspect of her fundamental credo of living in mutuality with the people around her, to act as the energizer, supporter, investigator and publicizer of their lives, needs and desires. Through her own involvement in the effects of the depression she had gained a clearer vision of how to achieve her goal.²⁷

With this awareness, she and the other settlement activists consciously shifted the direction of their relationships with their working-class neighbors from vertical to more horizontal ones. The objects of their charitable efforts were thereby transformed from "the

poor" to "the working people" or "the labor movement" who needed, above all, to be more fully integrated into society. This entailed a switch from a downward focus on debilitated and impoverished people close to the bottom, to a perspective that saw them as active members of a vast working-class majority, spread out in many directions over the American social landscape. In that switched perspective lay the best clues to seeing the nascent social justice coalition as a distinct movement within the amorphous Progressive mainstream, with Addams emerging as its leading woman and thinker.

Besides its own relief-giving, Hull-House had gained some insight into the perennially under-financed public relief system even before the onset of the depression, when Julia Lathrop had been appointed the local county agent by the Cook County Commissioners soon after her arrival at Hull-House. Like Addams, Lathrop was a native of Northern Illinois and with a similar enlightened entrepreneurial/professional family background that included support of abolition and of women's higher education.

A Vassar graduate with some post-graduate legal training, she had come to Hull-House as a recipient of a Collegiate Alumnae Association scholarship (a good example of the middle-class women's network in operation), and quickly became one of the handful of outstanding women that formed the Hull-House inner circle. As the agent in charge of all public relief within a ten block area around Hull-House, she had had the opportunity to get to know some of the poorest people in the neighborhood and to learn something about how county institutions operated. In 1893, the newly-elected Governor Altgeld had appointed Lathrop as the first woman member of the State Board of Charities that administered all state health, custodial and correctional institutions. Through this position, anchored in Hull-House, she rose to become one of the state's leading institutional

reformers, an initiator of social research and of humane and modern welfare practices.

From there, she eventually moved to Washington to become the first woman appointed to head a federal office as chief of the new Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor in 1912.²⁸

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Under the impact of the depression its functions as district relief office for both private and public assistance, Hull-House embarked on a number of additional civic relief projects in collaboration with the Chicago Woman's Club that moved both groups, as part of the Chicago women's movement, to the forefront of Chicago reform politics. As a continuation of their official collaboration, started through their joint work on the Civic Federation's relief committee, club women and Hull-House residents opened up a large, airy sewing room in the vicinity of the settlement, to provide work for unemployed women. Hull-House's provision of an interpreter for the many foreign-born women and of hot, 10-cent lunches in its new restaurant, were concrete illustrations of the kind of realistic and humane approaches to urban problems that had become possible through the settlement. Both groups later jointly opened one of the first model lodging houses for women in Chicago. The urgency to find more permanent work for women, many of whom had been fired from local factories and downtown department stores, prompted the Woman's Club to support an employment bureau at Hull-House, directed initially by Florence Kelley.²⁹

These joint efforts of club movement and settlement leaders that grew out of the economic crisis greatly consolidated the cooperative trend that had started modestly in the days when the settlement was still "the scheme." Beneficial to the undertakings of both institutions, it helped to give unprecedented space and visibility to growing numbers of

women who entered public life in Chicago to work on the hundreds of issues in the new industrial city the men in business and politics had ignored.

The Chicago "World's Fair:" Impact on Organized Middle-Class Women

One of the events that distinctly aided the consolidation of relations between the Chicago Woman's Club and Hull-House was the "World's Fair" of 1893. The year 1893, with the World's Fair at one end and the great depression at the other, had been a watershed year for many individuals, groups and institutions in Chicago. For the business and professional men organizers, the Fair had been a commercial success and a cultural triumph. For some of the men, more aware of Chicago's multiplying unsolved urban problems, some of the Fair's "Auxiliary Congresses," devoted to single topics such as Religion or Labor, had offered new insights and reform suggestions, of which the Chicago Civic Federation was one realized example. For the middle-class women's movement, in which the Chicago Woman's Club and Hull-House, by now occupied prominent places, the Fair, followed by the depression, had been a turning point. As its official co-host organization, the Fair gave the Woman's Club its first recognition as a quasi-municipal Chicago institution with an important public role.³⁰

Although the Fair was remembered as the first large national and international occasion at which women enjoyed a distinct presence and exerted considerable influence, this participation had been achieved only after two years of intense lobbying by local Washington suffragists, at ease in the capitol's corridors of power. Led by Susan B. Anthony, who was determined not to allow a repetition of the shameful denial of women's official participation in the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, they had

successfully petitioned and lobbied Congress. The result was a separate Board of Lady Managers, in charge of women affairs and the attainment of an almost co-equal place for the Lady Managers from every state in each of the 210 Auxiliary Congresses held concurrently throughout the Fair's duration. Demonstrations of new devices geared to women's traditional domestic role; exhibits that reflected women's newer intellectual and professional interests and occupations; thoughtful services for the public, such as child care and medical facilities; and conferences and receptions in its own building, designed by a woman architect, carried out the theme of women's achievements and offered a cornucopia of information about women, disseminated nationally and internationally.³¹

The two women appointed by the male organizers were ideally suited to their task. Both Bertha Honoré Palmer and Ellen Martin Henrotin, as president and vice-president of the Ladies' Board, were well-educated, socially well-connected at home and abroad through their husbands, but also known for their own independent civic activities and as active members of the Woman's Club. Thanks to both women's combination of persistence and diplomacy when dealing with the male fair organizers and their awareness of women's interests, including those of working women, hundreds of club women became active participants in the congresses, panels and discussions, often as chairpersons and as speakers. Their widespread involvement acted like a magnet for women's attendance from all over the country as well as abroad and was a major source of public attendance and enthusiasm for the Fair.³²

In these multiple efforts to display hundreds of features that highlighted women's achievements as brilliantly as possible and to coordinate them with the other Fair activities, the Chicago Woman's Club proved to be the ideal organization. With 400 of its more than

500 members involved in some Fair-related task, the club acted in its accustomed role of clearing house, but on a larger scale and, among others, as official hostess to hundreds of national and international women's organizations.

Ever since the late 1880's, when the post-Haymarket crisis had moved the club into its first cross-class undertakings through the Illinois Woman's Alliance, the Chicago Woman's Club had multiplied its social services, its civic and cultural outreach activities and extended its network of cooperating clubs. By the early 1890's, it functioned as the nerve center for women's service and cultural activities in the metropolitan area, with established state and national affiliations. After two decades of experience it had adopted a sophisticated approach for discovering the "best method" in dealing with new urban problems and developed a technique for starting and financing new groups to deal with the issues in the field through its "department" system. Its years of growing participation in public issues had prepared it well to play a vital role at the Fair.³³

In keeping with the position women had won for themselves, their week-long World Congress of Representative Women had the honor to be the first of the 210 individual congresses scheduled during the summer months, with thirty-one panels and topics ranging from the traditional temperance, moral reform and education to women's medicine, suffrage, government, higher education, labor organizing, science and home economics. Equally unprecedented was the number of black, Jewish, Catholic, immigrant and trade union women speakers, though prevailing racist attitudes had prevented black women's clubs' official participation; and Jewish and Catholic women had had to contend with manifestations of hostility on the part of some of the Protestant majority.

Much of the credit for this incipiently multi-ethnic, inter-denominational character of the congress could be attributed to the efforts of the women connected with Hull-House, whose ties to the immigrant communities and to local religious and civic groups in working-class districts enabled the introduction of a host of topics rarely brought before such well-do-to audiences. As chairperson of the "Industry and Occupations" panel, Addams made one of the important speeches on behalf of working women's need to organize into trade unions and delivered another one on the not unrelated topic of domestic service. Other Hull-House related speakers included Kelley, Mary McDowell, Mary Kenney on workers, Alzina Stevens on different aspects of labor and trade unions, Ellen Gates Starr on Art in the public schools, Josefa Humpal-Zeman on the Bohemian community. Through their participation at the Fair, settlement women, like the club women, experienced the same kind of energizing exchanges that widened their horizons and strengthened their aims and their ties to women from settlements and reform groups in other cities, nationally and internationally. Through the opportunities it offered the settlement for residents' and volunteers' speeches and debates and more informal exchanges at social gatherings, the Fair helped put Hull-House "on the map" of Chicago as a new social and intellectual landmark that, henceforth, neither visitors nor potential collaborators felt they could afford to miss.³⁴

* * *

Through the Fair and the ensuing depression that engulfed the nation while the Fair was still in progress, the cooperation between Hull-House and the Chicago Woman's Club that had grown gradually ever since 1889 reached new levels of joint work. For the social service and civic activists of the Woman's Club, collaboration with the women of Hull-

House often helped to concretize, localize and personalize the social service experience they had previously gained largely through working on boards and committees. The continuation of this same work, but now, in part, at least, through Hull-House's facilities in its neighborhood, offered the women an infinitely more vivid, humanized and challenging atmosphere. Conscious of its advantage of location, Hull-House proved itself to them as a microcosm of urban conditions that highlighted some of the same urgent problems scattered throughout Chicago. The encounter with the problems within a smaller sphere, created deliberately to deal with them, dramatically heightened the emotional and intellectual challenge of their work, provided stronger causal insights into the roots of deprivation and dysfunction and suggested new remedies. Experience gained in working personally with needy people within a small community acted refractively in relation to the larger environment. The settlement approach offered a plethora of new opportunities and the promise of new answers.

Two features of the settlement were of particular importance to the club women and also helped shape the direction the settlement took. One was the outlet it offered to the professional woman as well as to the knowledgeable, experienced volunteer, eager to do a citizen's meaningful work and "advance humanitarian principles," according to its constitution's intent.

The urge for professional work and/or for the development of one or the other kind of career had grown directly out of the decades-old push for higher education for women. The post-Civil War social science associations, whose object was the scrutiny of social institutions through modern sociological and reform thought, had proved themselves as even more specific centers for stimulating women's advanced career

thinking. In states like Illinois, with an active women's movement and women's rights consciousness since the Civil War years, social science associations had become a particular province of women by the late 1870's. Their prominence within the groups had helped to strengthen the reviving suffrage movement. For the first generation of upper- and middle-class college women, still largely barred by men from freely entering professional and academic careers, let alone politics, the special appeal of applying social science thinking to urban industrial society lay in its promise of creating new careers in new fields, squarely in the public sphere that grew out of their traditionally under-valued volunteer social services. In Chicago both the professional and the experienced urban investigator/organizer found the new settlement facilities a welcome terrain on which to practice her skills.³⁵

The second opportunity, with, perhaps, even more far-reaching implications (to be dealt with in the next chapter) lay in the potential for social change the settlement offered those middle-class women, moved by degrees of gender sympathy and convinced of the necessity to help poor urban working-class women and their families. Gender-conscious women found that through the settlement, problems of poverty and aspirations of poor people could be dealt with in a freer, less class-defined way, thereby placing them within many more potentially innovative social and human contexts. Personal acquaintance with working-class women, over time, also operated as correctives to bourgeois assumptions and practices concerning working people's own perceptions. For many of these eager, striving upper and middle-class women, the ambivalence quotient in these cross-class efforts, no doubt, remained high, with the pendulum often swinging between their urge for the "best solution" from their own class perspective to their earnest desire to render

supportive services to others with different views. The remarkable thing was that as many women managed to rise as much as they did, beyond their privileged lives and deeply-ingrained assumptions about foreigners and poverty, to gain new insights into working-class people's lives; their involvement often affected their attitudes and some times helped to change them.

For Addams and the other women of Hull-House, the rising collaboration with the Woman's Club signified a profound change beyond their initial concept of neighborly "living side by side." The wholehearted support of a large number of financially potent, organizationally and socially experienced older and younger women, within a few years allowed a move beyond the relatively acquiescent, financially restricted, local educational/cultural undertakings toward promises of fulfillment of the many projects that now continuously suggested themselves. Its cumulative effect signified not only improvements in the neighborhood, but moves beyond it to tackle problems city-wide, at the forefront of Chicago's social and political reform events.

Though historians have customarily tended to see the women of the club world and those of the settlements as two distinct groups, a closer inspection suggests convergences that reveal them as not so different. In Chicago, where both groups gained prominence already in the 1890's, the overlapping of background and outlook was particularly evident. Both groups attracted the well-educated socially-aware volunteers and the professional women with hopes for a measure of independent personal work together with a group opportunity for participation in the development of what amounted to social policy for the city. Most of the women who joined the Club's urban activists undertakings, or became settlement residents, were conscious of, if not always actively

involved in, the women's rights and suffrage tradition. One common denominator that distinguished them from other feminist reform groups within the women's movement, such as the women concerned with reconstructing women's personal, physical and spacial domestic work and living spaces, was the club and settlement women's determination to play significant roles outside the home, within the public world of men. Addams herself offered a good example of this convergence.

A comparison of her intellectual and practical interests, as reflected in her early letters and writings, with the interests of some of the club women as recorded in their copious Annals, reveals a number of parallels: the same earnest devotion to self-education and ambitions for self-expression; the same broad and sympathetic interest in new social, cultural and political thought, the same disciplined practice in mastering a subject before venturing into public. The same determination to move beyond the home sphere. Seen in that light, Hull-House appeared as a logical, more pointed, expression of educated middle-class women's determination to participate in professional and in public affairs. The convergence of the two groups can be seen as a coming together of two segments of the bourgeois women's movement that needed each other in order to deal effectively with certain circumstances of their lives they wanted to change. This trend was also evident in other parts of the country wherever women had been able to act on behalf of their own personal, civic or professional interests and those of other women, but in Chicago, for contextual historic reasons, the convergence was more visible and effective.

What did make a difference between the two groups and added the spice of innovation, was the commitment the settlement women had made to "living on the spot" in the over-crowded immigrant working-class district and the changes that entailed in their

feelings and ideas about themselves and the larger world around them. The relative permanence of living in the area on the part of the women (and some men) residents was an important factor. It permeated the texture of their knowledge with an invigorated sympathetic familiarity of a problem-ridden environment, at least partially-shared with working-class people.

The heightened, inclusive awareness the residents gained of the life lived by the majority of Chicagoans was the most important factor in the "locality syndrome." By living, if not under the same circumstances (they could always get away), but physically still close enough to the many tribulations of urban slum life, like foul air, the residents gained a more intense understanding of modern life under industrial capitalist conditions that distinguished most of them from other middle-class people of good will who lived in the better-cared-for neighborhoods. The difference in the residents' and non-residents' outlook lay in the quantity of accumulated knowledge of and feelings for the local people they had befriended through their daily living. At some point, that quantity changed the quality of both their knowledge and feelings.

One important consequence of this kind of life was the greater emotional directness and factual accuracy with which Addams and the other residents could speak about the many problems of their neighborhood than was possible for the club women who had usually studied the problems from a greater distance. But the combination of the settlement's greater emotional and intellectual sensitivity, backed by the Woman's Club financial clout and capacity to supply service expertise and "ground troops" helps explain the relative swiftness with which Addams and her Hull-House co-workers were able to

provide the leadership for the growing coalition of women and men progressives in Chicago.

Jane Addams, on her part, was well aware of how important had been the help Hull-House received through the settlement's collaboration with the Chicago Woman's Club network during the first five years. Through its various departments' investigative and service projects, undertaken by such professionals as Dr. Stevenson, or expert volunteers like Mrs. Flower--to mention two remarkable, but also, in many ways, typical women among the club's more than 500 members-- Hull-House had become a center through which to strengthen their activities and to link them with the diverse sectors of Chicago devoted to modernization of municipal affairs, reform and the democratization of urban life as they understood it.

Social Science versus Charity

Though Addams herself had decided some years earlier to remain a "generalist," after she had discovered that specialization in terms of a medical career after college was not to her liking, she never gave up her conviction, formed in college, that only through scientific study would women be ready to affect the social ills and problems around her. She was as convinced now as she had been in her senior address at Rockford, when she declared that, besides the intuitive mode of perception they already possessed and exercised, women needed the factual knowledge of a "trained intelligence," acquired through the "hard labor" of scientific study, in order to affirm truth and gain the right "to make themselves heard."³⁶

Initially, during the months she and Ellen Starr had been searching for location and support of the settlement, she had stuck close to the more conventional facilities of social service as she discovered them through the Woman's Club and some of the churches and philanthropic institutions. But once she and the settlement felt well-enough rooted in Chicago, she knew that efforts to help develop and apply insights gained through the universities' new social science departments to contemporary urban institutions was the right direction to take for Hull-House.

In the course of the first four or five years of settlement living Addams had begun to realize that if she and her settlement collaborators could link the advantages of sympathetic insight, gained through living close to some of the most exploited people, with broader, more dispassionate generalizations developed through social science inquiries, a new mix of practical experience, profound social commitment and theoretical knowledge could function as a new center for the development of more realistic, humane and democratic social policies and the appropriate urban institutions to carry them out. Addams had learned by this time that many of the cadres for this approach were to be found among younger and older women in some of the civic and professional organizations and clubs and among the younger male (and a very few female) academics in some of the more up-to-date university departments. In Chicago, this specifically meant the new University of Chicago, whose efforts to develop first-rate graduate programs, attract women students, and to dedicate itself to "service to the city" dovetailed fortuitously with many of the Hull-House aims.³⁷

This growing, but scattered involvement of the settlement with women (and some men) who used their specific training in the broad spectrum of urban social reform was

distinctly strengthened by the arrival of Florence Kelley at Hull-House, in late December of 1891. Her reputation as a leading expert in child labor and industrial statistics, enhanced by the circulation of her writings through Socialist, labor and reform journals here and in Europe, had preceded her arrival from New York. There, she had published pamphlets and essays on these topics and lectured to groups of working-and-middle-class women on economics, trade unions, child labor and the need for a new kind of philanthropy. Both practically and symbolically, her joining Hull-House was an event that effectively helped the settlement turn itself from the relatively passive beneficiary of expert assistance into an activist initiator, publicizer and applier of the latest thinking in sociology, economics, political theory and industrial reform questions. The satisfaction Addams must have felt at being able to welcome this woman at Hull-House at this time was reflected in her later comment that it was Kelley who "galvanized us all into more intelligent interest in the industrial conditions about us."³⁸

The timing of Kelley's arrival in relation to the direction the settlement was beginning to take could not have been more propitious. Her almost immediate involvement in two separate state and federal government investigations of urban living conditions, together with the already ongoing ties to the universities, steered the settlement's neighborhood explorations of conditions into the first systematic fact-finding investigations of its own. The special wage and nationalities statistics and maps Kelley had developed, as part of her government work, became the heart of the settlement's first collaborative publication, modeled on Charles Booth's monumental sociological pioneer study, Life and Labor of the People of London.³⁹

Concentrating on one-third of a square mile of the neighborhood east of the settlement, Hull-House Maps and Papers included essays written by some of its leading residents, as well as some younger, college-trained, residents and by some of the immigrant communities' activists. Its focus on the sweating system, child labor, the garment industry, the Italian, Czech and Jewish communities, public charities and the labor movement underscored the nascent social science trend to look for the causes of urban poverty and related problems among social, environmental and physiological conditions instead of seeking answers in the realm of individual/moral character debilities of people. Despite Addams' prefatory disclaimer that the essays were not intended to be sociological investigations, but accounts of certain facets of neighborhood life with which its authors had become familiar over time, the book was seen as a definite stimulus to sociological inquiries inside and outside of academe. It was also seen as an initial guide for future settlement activities. The significance of the fact that this American pioneer study had been accomplished under the aegis of a women-directed institution was then only partially appreciated. Deeper implications concerning its impact on the nature of the gathering urban reform movement, as well as for the related issue of professional work for women, was left to future, more acutely gender-aware generations to assess.

The publication of Hull-House Maps and Papers in 1895 also marked the start of a vigorous collaborative effort between Hull-House and academic social scientists of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University and other forward-looking universities such as Wisconsin, that helped to make Chicago into the "cradle" of urban Progressivism and directly affected the growth of its municipal and social welfare institutions and agencies. Academic "regulars" in the Hull-House orbit included not only the sociologists

Albion Small, Charles Henderson and Charles Zueblin, initially moved more by Social Gospel convictions than rigorous "scientific" scholarship, but academic activist "stars," like Ernst Freud, John Dewey, George H. Mead and James H. Tufts of Chicago and Richard T. Ely and John R. Commons of Wisconsin. Their intimate interactions with Hull-House through a variety of contacts from settlement "club work" with neighbors to lecture series, joint investigations and lobbying expeditions that started in the 1890's and continued over several decades, helped lay much groundwork for future public welfare structures.⁴⁰

* * *

The best demonstration, perhaps, that a new outlook in charity and relief matters had made headway among the club women, actively involved in social service and charity agencies and in certain reform circles, became evident by the mid 1890's. It manifested itself unmistakably by 1896, when representatives of Hull-House and of other settlements that had by now followed in its wake in Chicago and other cities were for the first time officially invited to participate in the annual nationwide convention of charity organizations, the National Convention of Charities and Corrections (NCCC), meeting in Grand Rapids, Iowa.

As the annual forum for the exchange, formulation, and dissemination of social service philosophy and methods, it was also the leading pulpit for the now widely-accepted "COS" perspective. At that convention the need for a different kind of attitude and method of charitable assistance was for the first time succinctly stated by Mary McDowell, formerly of Hull-House, now head resident of the new "Back of the Yards" University of Chicago settlement, when she called for charity to be based on "science and

sympathy." Julia Lathrop had actually been the first, though unofficially-invited, settlement representative. In 1894 she had been asked to discuss "Hull-House as a sociological laboratory" and had, at that time, already tried to clarify some of the ways in which the settlement was taking a new approach to "charity," a word, she explained, settlements tried to avoid altogether.⁴¹

In 1896, settlement residents from cities across the country attended the convention, including representatives from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, Ky., in addition to those from Chicago and Grand Rapids. Besides Mary McDowell from the University of Chicago "Back of the Yards" settlement, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop and two others from Hull-House, Graham Taylor and John P. Gavit from the Chicago Commons and representatives from the Northwestern University settlement and the Jewish settlement on Maxwell Street, Chicago settlement spokespeople made an effort at the different sessions to speak explicitly about aspects that characterized settlement work. Jane Addams did not attend because she was on an extended European tour.

A particular reason why settlement representatives were taking pains not only to describe their ongoing work with needy people, but to explain their aims, was to counter criticism of settlements that had for some time been expressed in charity organization circles. Criticism within the NCCC had first surfaced officially at the previous year's convention in the course of a routine discussion on "neighborhood improvement." Since that criticism had been voiced by the redoubtable Mary Richmond in terms of "people moving down into the neighborhoods," it had received instant and widespread attention.

Characteristically, Richmond had focused on the faddishness of the new "college settlement" movement and their residents' lack of "special study in social sciences." She touched even deeper areas of commitment when she criticized their "flying off at a tangent," for getting "bowled over by the first labor leader, or anarchist, or socialist, or whatever...", and for expressing their sympathy with strikers at public meetings. Their "vague idea to do good" was not enough. Though she had conceded that her criticism was directed at only some settlements and that settlement leaders themselves had criticized faddish enthusiasm for "living the life," she felt it necessary to defend her work and that of other "advanced" charity workers engaged in moving away from the "old fogies" of charity work and towards systematized, professional standards. Apart from financial problems settlements were creating for the COS by siphoning off some of the well-to-dos' support, NCCC people needed to appreciate more that she and other workers with "trained minds" had a "better standpoint" from which to deal with the "important questions of the day" than the young college residents, and that therefore, they were not prepared to leave the field to college settlement people with a tendency "to lose their heads."⁴²

In 1896, therefore, settlement spokespeople like Kelley, Lathrop or McDowell made it their business to spell out some of the specific ways settlements differed in point of view and method. The first of three major themes struck was the need for seeing specific problems, both knowledgeably and sympathetically, within a larger social context as an indispensable part of a professional approach; the second was a related stress on the need for establishing long-term human bonds of interdependence between people to strengthen underlying democratic equalities and guard against COS intrusiveness; the

third, a supportive attitude toward working-class people through close attention to the industrial and economic situation. In her address on "Social Settlements and the Labor Question," Lathrop spoke about settlements' ideal of "zeal for humanity and scientific ardor for truth;" Florence Kelley, who had been the state factory inspector of Illinois for three years, received the most rousing before-and after acclaim for her speech on "the working child" in which, among others, she underscored the pressing need for the scientific study of working children's physical condition. McDowell's key phrase of "science and sympathy" gave the new direction for the settlement way of seeing, without directly criticizing that of COS and by diplomatically stressing that in the course of helping people "science [was] becoming more sympathetic and the sympathetic (i.e. settlement) side of charity [was] growing more scientific." Settlements' particular contribution, she said, was "to give the scientific charity worker inside knowledge and keep a fresh, vital flow of life into the veins of the organization...."⁴³

Although Addams herself was absent, she had published an article, "The Object of Social Settlements," in the WCTU's Union Signal of the previous March, in which she had explained her outlook on the settlement's relations to charity deliberately enough so it could be taken as her well-considered opinion. After having defined the settlement as "an expression of a certain mode of life" and dwelling on its civic and educational aspects, she had stated, concerning its charitable aspects, that, though the settlement was not itself a charity, if it lacked a charitable attitude "it had no excuse for being." Charity, in her view, was "life itself" and "pervade(d) all relations." Accordingly, charity was the particular relationship that gave the settlement the "opportunity for a wider and profounder knowledge of conditions. Its task was to "push forward the charitable feeling of its

contemporaries to include more and more of their brethren..." not just the obviously helpless and ill, but the meagerly-living "able-bodied" who were nonetheless, though differently, needy. She was aware, she concluded, that in this effort "to widen the charitable feeling of its city..." the settlement "runs the greatest chance of being misunderstood in its relations with organized labor. But since settlement residents were living in an industrial neighborhood, it was impossible not to get involved with working people and to try to "make life possible for them."

After 1896, Hull-House residents like Addams, Kelley, Lathrop, and growing numbers of settlement people in Chicago and elsewhere, joined by politically-articulate social activists like "Golden Rule" Jones, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, or Robert Hunter, became regular participants in many of the hundreds of panel meetings in local, state and national NCCC gatherings in which the difference between settlements and the charity organizations continued to be a catalytic topic. One immediately noticeable change, introduced by the participation of settlement and other kinds of social activists, was the expanded list of topics, which now included such concerns as municipal sanitation, child labor, unemployment, public institutions, immigration, industrial accidents and other environmental and secular causes of poverty. A second distinct innovation became evident in the course of the activists' discussions of these topics through their underlying general implications that they were dealing with problems of fellow citizens, not "dependents" or "defectives." A few years later, when Addams had already achieved a nationally-recognized position as a leading Progressive spokesperson, she published an essay in the Atlantic Monthly that spelled out much of the social justice Progressives' new human

welfare outlook, of which the activist settlements were becoming the real and symbolic spearheads.⁴⁴

"The Subtle Problems of Charity"

Addams' essay "The Subtle Problems of Charity" was one of several major articles published just before the turn of the century in which she critically examined the nature of charitable relations in modern industrial society. Her call for substituting prevailing undemocratic standards of charity administration with new methods that reflected the poor's own standards marked the distance she herself had traveled since the start of Hull-House. Her pivotal point of departure--the conviction of the need for more democratic standards--arose out of her observation of poor people's supportive behavior toward each other in time of need, as she had first encountered it during the depression years. It was an approach that, in her eyes, confirmed and helped to further expand her settlement practices. The knowledge that in some parts of Chicago charity practices were employed that were infinitely more democratic than the officially sanctioned ones led her to conclude that among current social relationships the "charitable relation" was the one undergoing the most direct challenge under the pressure for more egalitarian political, economic and social standards. In her experience, it was currently the social relation that showed the lack of equality in American life the most, and, from her vantage point in the settlement, the first among major social relationships she could observe first hand. She could now clearly see how philanthropy's not so tacit assumption of the division into benefactor and beneficiary classes had created a dilemma between old and new standards and practices for

well-intentioned members of the bourgeoisie, like "charity visitors" who tried conscientiously to carry out its mandates.⁴⁵

The conflict became most evident within the mind of the middle-class "charity visitor" as, in the course of her visit to her needy clients, she laid her stress solely on the "industrial virtues" and treated family members "exclusively as factors in the industrial system," as she had been taught to do (my italics). But the modern-minded, college-educated visitor, who was sensitive to the currents of her time, had also learned to attribute much of her recipients' poverty to the impact of physical environment and social conditions as causes of their need. Despite her charity organization's old belief still echoing in her ears that "poverty was synonymous with vice and laziness," that only "the prosperous man was the virtuous man" and that charity ought therefore to be "administered harshly, with a good conscience," she had learned to value and judge people by a range of personal, social and public virtues instead of only by their "industrial or money-earning capacity." As a result, the charity visitors's own conflicts between two sets of ethical standards produced a whole host of clashing attitudes that led to misunderstandings of her motives on the part of her clients and resulted in perplexities and anguish on both sides.

The most glaring conflict was immediately evident between the two different attitudes toward relief-giving itself. With their approach based on the willingness to lend or borrow anything, limited only by "the needs of the recipient and the resources of the giver," the poor couldn't understand the "guarded care with which relief is given by a charity visitor. "It outraged their basic sense of right and wrong, anchored in the "ancient impulse to pity and help" as their rule of thumb. The visitor's cautious and delayed giving

was seen by them as the "calculating action of the selfish, avaricious man on the make," whose motives were "alien and unreal." It puzzled them that someone whose "intellectual perceptions are stronger than his natural impulses should go into charity work at all."

The visitor's thoughtless, dogmatic application of her own middle-class standards constantly augmented the perplexities on both sides. When she inveighed against "the horrors of the saloon," the father of the family remembered rightly the friendly social atmosphere, the free lunch, the occasional loan of a small sum. The working girl who spent an amount of her salary totally out of proportion with her own needs knew that if she wanted to advance herself, spending on her clothes was "the most sensible thing," since her clothes were her background—much in contrast to the visitor's outlook and background, whose superior education, established family home and circle of friends gave her a clearly-delineated social standing so that she could wear "even the simplest, if not downright shabby clothes."

The visitor had been carefully schooled concerning the imprudence of early marriage. She knew that professionals and businessmen only began to reach their full capacities in their thirties. But the young worker knew that his wage-earning capacity was greatest between twenty and thirty and therefore the best time to start a family. Contrary to the middle-class person's maxim to save in youth, the workingman's incentive during his earlier years was to spend on his family, particularly his children, whom he regarded as his "savings bank," based on his expectation that they would take care of him once he was past his prime. Other seemingly contradictory attitudes were equally upsetting to her: she reproached her needy family for spending some of their relief money on toys and pleasures for the children, unaware that they were thereby satisfying the deeply-rooted human need

for play and pleasure and reflected a healthy impulse to counteract the deprivations of their environment.⁴⁶

The visitor who was committed to heed the demand for wider democratic relations experienced her most acute challenges in instances when the need arose to deal with the so-called 'unworthy' among the poor in the same manner as one would for ones relatives: with the woman who bought and sold goods clearly identified as stolen and who was deeply aggrieved that her old settlement friend would not "speak to the judge" to avoid a trial; or some neighbors' uncomprehending anger at the settlement resident's steady support of an old, crippled and alcoholic woman with a regulated opium habit, who was also a "voracious reader" and creative quilt-maker. The avowal of these particular perplexities over the need to cope realistically, and compassionately, with people's differing levels of ethical development marked Addams' furthest departure to date from the "COS" outlook. It also set her apart from her English mentors' (Barnett and Booth) "new liberalism" model, which stuck to the traditional distinction between "worthy" and "unworthy" poor, soon downgraded into the even harsher "derelict and defective classes."⁴⁷

Addams had already broached this topic of the "unworthy" when she talked about the unemployed in her first official NCCC address in 1897. She had reminded her audience then that, ever since she had observed the effects of the 1893 depression, she had come to conclude that the unemployed were not to blame for their decline, which was "not the fault of anyone." Perhaps the most pathetic thing in that situation, she suggested, was to watch the slow deterioration of "the man who is kept out of work through no fault of his own." When he couldn't find work after repeated, diligent searching, he got discouraged,

became less alert and self-confident after every failure, until he finally got "that devastating belief that there was no place in the world for him." Many men in that situation, she had noted, deserted their families and became paupers and tramps, because they felt no longer needed by them or their communities. Addams blamed "the community" for the deterioration of these men's personalities. This was a situation not confined to workers, she declared, but something that could happen to "almost anyone in this room...." But she also felt that being a witness to their slow decline could engender "a new tenderness for the unemployed--for the man who cannot fit himself into society" and yet has other intellectually and socially-valuable things to contribute.⁴⁸

Though she was, perhaps, deliberately vague about the economic causes of their demise, Addams' ability to include the social outcasts in her concept of what constituted a democratic society reflected, almost palpably, not just her experience of the depression, but her even more personal experience as a woman outsider in patriarchal society. In this respect, the past years in the midst of the Chicago women's movement had helped her to transcend not only the long-past experience of the lonely little girl, but of the more recent talented, depressed young woman searching for a place in the world into which she might fit.

What was wrong, Addams concluded in the final passages of her essay, was that the prevailing charity attitude, instead of being "too scientific," as some critics had come to feel, was more accurately seen "not scientific enough." One's feelings revolted against it because its data were coldly "alphabetically classified" with details that became meaningless in a rigid system that prevented seeing them within an "evolutionary process" of change. The problem was that "human motives have been so long a matter of

dogmatism that to act upon the assumption that they are the result of growth, and to study their status with an open mind and a scientific conscience, seems well-nigh impossible to us."

To be truly scientific, she suggested, the charity visitor had to re-learn to let her spontaneous impulse of sympathetic acceptance of a client, squelched in the course of her "don't give" training, once again become her basic motivation for administering charity. By taking her cue from her client's own standards of intuitive helpfulness to others, she could begin to reach for a more equitable understanding between herself and her recipients. Perhaps, Addams suggested in a flash of insight, the constant perplexity produced in the visitor's mind by the clashing standards encountered in the course of her painful efforts to administer charity, was itself a reflection of the "inevitable discomfort of transition into a more democratic relation."

It was, in fact, a valuable and necessary experience to undergo before the visitor could "feel within the grasp of a principle of growth from within" that allowed for the development of higher standards of conduct on both sides. Personal, emotional incentive was the essential trigger through which individuals could integrate themselves with the "forward intuitive movement of the mass." Intellect and sociological data alone seldom moved people. Only after one had grasped and adopted the poor's own inclusive standards and combined them with informed intelligence and justice, she concluded, could there be any prospect for a more democratic charitable system in urban America. The essay voiced comprehensively what the most socially-conscious among the social service workers and social justice activists had variously felt and were attempting to apply.⁴⁹

With this essay on the relationships with the poor, Addams embarked on a series of analytical discussions of social relations with certain categories of people whose particular circumstances under the pressures of economic and social change revealed more than others the need for new social attitudes and patterns of behavior in an expanding democratic industrial society. The portraits she drew and the relationships she discussed in the course of the next decades, such as the men and women workers organized against the employer, the educational challenge of immigrant children and adolescents in the public schools, the ward boss's democratic lesson for political reformers, the educated daughter's struggle with her family, the anomalous place of the domestic workers in the household—became the touchstone of her appeal, thrilling those who perceived in them the living substance of her democratic message, disquieting those who sensed, even in her theoretical egalitarianism, a profoundly radical threat.⁵⁰

That Addams' words had fallen on receptive ground is evident from a perusal of the annual Proceedings of the NCCC during the following years and into the two next decades of the new century. During that time, discussion of topics that reflected social, economic and cultural conditions as causes for specific medical, educational or psychological problems of individuals and families appeared with increasing regularity in the annual reports. Activist settlements' call for increased "social sympathy" had elicited an evident positive response from among the many layers and groupings of the progressive reform movement concerned with perennially chaotic Chicago life, as had an equally widespread recognition of the need for more "science" among a growing number of agencies who dealt with the condition of the poor.

The years of cooperation between Hull-House and many of the women social service activists, affiliated with the Chicago Woman's Club, had been instrumental in bringing about a convergence between settlements and social workers. It had produced a considerable degree of overlap between the increasingly professional domain of social work and the more consciously-focused work of social discovery and initiation of the settlement activists. Both settlement and social agency workers were increasingly seeing eye to eye on the need for more systematic approaches in their respective undertakings. Settlement residents took the lead in such innovative positions as teacher/social worker "visitor" to the public schools; in the new field of juvenile justice Hull-House residents and volunteers were largely responsible for the introduction of psychiatric social work into the court system.

From their particular vantage points, both groups subscribed to the need for increased training in what was becoming the new profession of social work in order to deal effectively and justly with the mix of socially-induced or more directly personal and familial problems of the people they tried to help. Workers at activist settlements like Hull-House agreed with leaders in the new field, like Mary Richmond, who despite adhering to certain arch-conservative COS principles, now rejected the "paternalistic moralism" stance of charity agencies. As a leading architect of the new empirical approach she was convinced of the need to develop broadly-conceived graduate-level training schools, designed to instill in their students the importance of the dynamic social context of their individual "casework" core.⁵¹

Just as Hull-House, as the leading pioneer social investigator, had been able to inspire many women in social service agencies to develop a broader and more sympathetic

outlook when dealing with immigrant working people, so it subsequently played a crucial role in encouraging and materially supporting young women scholars in the social sciences to devote their attention to the array of unexamined urban social problems festering all about them. Once both groups had developed a degree of respect for each other's particular practice and had found that there was something to be learned from the other's approach, fruitful cooperation was possible. Consequently, as of the second half of the 1890's and during the next decade-and-a-half of the new century, settlement activists and social workers worked increasingly and effectively together, on many levels, for new governmental legislation and the necessary public structures to improve conditions for the most exploited or oppressed.

NOTES

¹Residents of Hull-House, Hull-House Maps and Papers. Poverty was of course the most common denominator of the Hull-House area, reflected in all the individual essays of the volume, but not necessarily the first thing of interest to visiting outsiders. Twenty Years at Hull-House, "Civic Cooperation," 310.

²Twenty Years at Hull-House, 157.

³*Ibid.*, 154-57; Moore, 632.

⁴Twenty Years at Hull-House, "Problems of Poverty," 168, 174, 175-76, 161.

⁵Philip Foner, 2: The Economic Crisis of 1893, 235, quoting figures from Bradstreet's, and AFL Convention, Proceedings, 1893.

⁶Philip Foner, 2:238, 235, 243; Pierce, 3:509; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 158.

⁷Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, Aug. 21, 1893.

⁸William T. Stead, If Christ Came to Chicago (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894. Repr. with an introduction by Harvey Wish. New York: Living Books, 1964), 140-44.

⁹Harvey Wish, Introduction to W.T. Stead, 1964 ed., If Christ Came to Chicago; "A City Beautiful," 1-17; F. Herbert Stead, "The Civic Life of Chicago, Review of Reviews (Aug. 8, 1893):178-82; Central Relief Association, Report (Dec. 1893), Archives and Manuscripts, Chicago Historical Society; Civic Federation of Chicago Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Chicago Historical Society; Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 146-48.

¹⁰Henry B. Fuller, "The Upward Movement in Chicago," Atlantic Monthly 80 (Oct. 1897): 534-547, discusses the impact of "The Fair," Civic Federation and other new civic and cultural bodies; Weinstein, chap. 5; Donald D. Marks, "Polishing the Gem of the Prairie: The Evolution of Civic Reform Consciousness in Chicago 1874-1900 (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), chap. 4 on the origins of the Civic Federation, 89-144; Civic Federation, Minutes (Nov. 1893-1898); Archives and Manuscripts, Chicago Historical Society.

¹¹W.T. Stead, 139-40; Civic Federation Minutes.

¹²Central Relief Association, Report; W.T. Stead, 139-40.

¹³W.T. Stead, 114-115; Twenty Years at Hull-House, 160-61.

¹⁴W.T. Stead: on Hull-House, 401-2; his criticism of relief system, 140-42.

¹⁵Twenty Years at Hull-House: Jane Addams' criticism of Central Relief Association, 161.

¹⁶My reading on the topic of poverty included, among others, Amos Warner, American Charities (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1894); Frank D. Watson, The Charities Organization Movement in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922); Robert Bremner, From the Depths. The Discovery of Poverty in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 1956); Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, Regulating the Poor: the Functions of Public Welfare (New York: Pantheon, 1971); Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (New York: G. Braziller, 1969 [c. 1955]); Marvin Gettleman, "Charity and Social Classes in the United States, 1874-1900," I, American Journal of Economics and Sociology 22 (1963), 313-329.

¹⁷Hofstadter, Social Darwinism, 31-50.

¹⁸For the English origins of the COS system see especially Mrs. Samuel Barnett's, Canon Barnett, 27-33 that highlight the central role of Octavia Hill in the formation of the system and outlook; see also Warner, Bremner, Gettleman, op. cit.

¹⁹Gettleman, 321.

²⁰For new humanist evolutionist trends, see Hofstadter, Social Darwinism; for a new "materialist" trend among feminists, see Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981).

²¹Twenty Years at Hull-House, 161-63.

²²The Sunset Club, 65th meeting, Dec. 21, 1893, p. 82 (my italics).

²³Twenty Years at Hull-House, 163.

²⁴National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC) Proceedings (1897): 345; Jane Addams to Sarah Anderson, June 23, 1894.

²⁵Jane Addams, "Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy," Forum 14 (Oct. 1892): 226-41; see also Twenty Years at Hull-House, 164-165 for Addams' original concept of the settlement's role.

²⁶Twenty Years at Hull-House, 167; The Sunset Club (Dec. 21, 1893).

²⁷Illinois Conference of Charities and Corrections (Illinois CCC) Proceedings (1896): 57-8; also see Jane Addams, "Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," 23, in Henry C. Adams, ed., Philanthropy and Social Progress: Seven Essays by Miss Jane Addams, Robert A. Woods, Father J.O.S. Huntington, Professor Franklin Giddings, and Barnard Bosanquet, Delivered before the School of Applied Ethics at Plymouth, Mass (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1893).

²⁸Jane Addams, My Friend Julia Lathrop, 37-38; "Julia Clifford Lathrop," in Notable American Women, 1607-1950; a Biographical Dictionary, edited by Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, Paul S. Boyer, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 370-372.

²⁹W.T. Stead; Central Relief Agency (CRA) Report; Hull-House leaflets, Jane Addams Papers.

³⁰May Wright Sewall, ed., A Historical Resumé for Popular Circulation of the World's Congress of Representative Women Convened in Chicago May 15 and Adjourned May 22, 1893, under the Auspices of the Women's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1894); Pierce, re Fair, 3:502-507; on women at Fair, 508; Jeanne M. Weinman, The Fair Women. The Story of the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 (Chicago:Academy, 1981). See also Pierce, "The White City," 3:501-12.

³¹Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 128-34.

³²*Ibid.*

³³Annals of the Chicago Women's Club for the First Forty Years of Its Organization, 1976-1916, Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, comps. (Chicago: Chicago Woman's Club, 1916), 113.

³⁴Pierce, 3:502-505; Weinman, 525.

³⁵See William Leach on the particular significance of the social science associations for reform and change-minded women, 323-346; and Gordon and Buhle essay, p. 18, on the ties between the Illinois Social Science Association and the Chicago Women's Club.

³⁶Jane Addams, "Cassandra," Senior Essay, Rockford Seminary Magazine (1881): 36-39.

³⁷Steven J. Diner, A City and Its Universities. Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Ellen Fitzpatrick, Endless Crusade, Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform (New York: Oxford University

Press, 1990) have useful discussions of the growing interaction between universities, city politics and Progressive Reform.

³⁸My Friend Julia Lathrop, 116.

³⁹ See Hull-House Maps and Papers for Jane Addams' reference to Charles Booth's monumental work as the residents' model in her prefatory note, p. viii.

⁴⁰See especially Diner, "The Anatomy of a Reform Movement," 58-75, and "A Foundation for the Welfare State," 119-153, for an informative discussion from a modernization/bureaucratization perspective with scant attention to the cleavages of class and gender.

⁴¹Julia Lathrop, "Hull-House as a Sociological Laboratory," NCCC Proceedings (1894): 313-19.

⁴²Mary Richmond, The Charities Review 4 (Jun. 1895):462-3.

⁴³Julia Lathrop, NCCC Proceedings (1896): 107; Florence Kelley, "The Working Child," NCCC Proceedings, address reprint (Jun. 8, 1896); Mary McDowell, "The Settlement and Organized Charity," NCCC Proceedings (Jun. 1896): 123-4.

⁴⁴Jane Addams, "The Object of Social Settlements," Union Signal 22, #28 (Mar. 5, 1896): 148-8; Mary McDowell, "Friendly Visiting," NCCC Proceedings (1896): 253-56; Julia Lathrop, "What the Settlement Work Stands For," NCCC Proceedings (1894); Florence Kelley, "The Working Child," NCCC Proceedings (1896).

⁴⁵Jane Addams, "The Subtle Problems of Charity," Atlantic Monthly 83 (Feb. 1899): 163-73.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 167, 164, 165, 168, 170, 173.

⁴⁷Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), chap. 16: "The Threat of Outcast London," 303-308.

⁴⁸Jane Addams, "Social Settlements," NCCC Proceedings (1897): 338-346.

⁴⁹Jane Addams, "The Subtle Problems of Charity," 176-78.

⁵⁰I discuss these particular social relationships that were the topics of Addams' first book, Democracy and Social Ethics, more extensively at the beginning of Chapter 5.

⁵¹Muriel W. Pumphrey, "Mary E. Richmond," in Notable American Women, 1607-1950; a Biographical Dictionary, 152-54.

CHAPTER 4

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE WORKERS

Acquaintance with the Neighbors as Working People

After Jane Addams had become acquainted with her neighbors on Chicago's near Westside as "the poor," she got to know them as "the workers." This was a new way of seeing her neighbors, with whom she was only beginning to become familiar. The fact that most of them were also first and second generation immigrants was an additional and crucial, largely unknown quality that defined much of their lives.

Although Addams' and Starr's acquaintance with their neighbors as "the workers" began in the same social way it had with them as "the poor," it was not their customary way for getting to know them under this rubric, and therefore, slower and more difficult. It demanded some familiarity with the work-related circumstances and personal attributes that distinguished their neighbors as workers from the way they were traditionally characterized in the "charitable relation." Besides some understanding of how the fundamental distinctions of class, gender, age and ethnic provenance entered into the work picture, it required knowledge of types of skills and of workers' organizational and social affiliations, from trade unions to ethnic community groups. It also required some insight into how the often abrupt changes in industrial processes affected work and life. This made acquaintance with the neighborhood people as workers more complex and distinct from their acquaintance with the neighbors as "the poor." Therefore, despite the fact that

fact that getting to know them in their capacities as workers ran, chronologically, roughly parallel to getting to know them in their poverty, it took different kinds of approaches and a few more years for Hull-House to become widely known as a "good and regular " friend of labor.

In her autobiography, Jane Addams recalled that her first acquaintance with problems of working people, such as the sweating system and child labor--about which she then "as yet knew nothing"--occurred at their very first Hull-House Christmas. As in their initial contact with the poor, it was through children that they caught their first glimpses of the labor situation: some of the little neighborhood girls they had invited to their Christmas party refused the candy offered to them. They explained that they "could not bear the sight of it," after having worked in a candy factory from 7:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. during the previous six weeks. It had left them "exhausted as well as satiated." During their first winter, the residents also learned about some of the more tragic effects of sweated factory work on children, when three boys who were members of a Hull-House club were injured by machinery in a neighboring factory, one of them fatally. Required parental affidavits that agreed to "no claims due to carelessness" protected the factory owners from paying any damages.¹

As she and Starr extended their daily rounds of errands and visits in the neighborhood, she got to know many of the women who worked on stacks of garments given out by the sweatshops for home finishing. Next to them, they often found "little bunches of misery," children no more than three or four years old, pulling basting threads, hour after hour, seated at their mothers' knees. They also became acquainted with many families where the children were part of the family wage-earning system, because they

knew more English than their parents and willingly accepted the low wages. Sometimes, because the immigrant parents failed to see the difference between their traditional (healthier) rural outdoor work and the monotonous urban factory-related labor, they easily accustomed themselves to living off their children's earnings, oblivious to the often tragic results.

The motivation that impelled Addams to get to know the neighbors as workers stemmed out of the same triple-source that underlay the impulse for settlement, as she had so eloquently explained in her first published essays on the topic: to add the economic and social dimensions to the existing limited political democracy; to share, as an educated woman, as fully and personally as possible, in the joys, accomplishments and tribulations of the entire human race, not just in those of its upper layers; to work for these goals through the current "deep enthusiasm for humanity" that, in her initial experience, emerged most compellingly out of the revival of the early Christian spirit of social service and cooperative action.²

As Addams told her Chicago Woman's Club audience in 1890, her ideas of the settlement had originally developed along the lines of the Toynbee Hall perspective as "a university for working people." The first thing she had discovered, however, as she reached out to her neighbors as workers and members of organized labor, was the gap between the residents' supportive intentions and their practical ability to offer support. As she wrote in her first essay on the topic, the residents had come into the area (where many of the disorganized garment trades were located) "with the general belief that organization for working people was a necessity," a view that arose out of the residents' awareness that "the power to combine was the distinguishing discovery of our time." But it took five

years of cooperative work with their neighbors to transform this "accepted proposition" into a "working formula" armed with "the driving force of a conviction."

During that time, the residents learned firsthand that "lack of industrial organization in a trade tend[ed] to the industrial helplessness of the workers in that trade." Their newly-gathered evidence confirmed also that, if "isolation was a blunder" in social, political and commercial life, "in industrial affairs isolation [was] a social crime...that "tend[ed] to extermination." This conviction of the workers' crucial need to organize, gained through intimate observation, thus assumed a moral aspect that, in turn, entailed a social obligation. After the first five years during which they had established a web of relations with workers and unions in her neighborhood, Addams had learned that, while it took longer and was distinctly different from the charity path, this second one promised the growth of the most important relations, through which the settlement goals could best be reached.³

The second discovery she made was that, though it took longer to establish meaningful, supportive relations with workers, once new locals had been started with settlement support, their impact overshadowed all other settlement relations and activities. Conscious work with people as workers, instead of as "the poor" significantly affected much of the work within the settlement, and profoundly altered the way the settlement was seen on the outside, by Chicago and the world beyond.

Henry Demarest and Jessie Bross Lloyd
as Hull-House Labor Mentors

Historians of women's history who have examined Hull-House's relations with organized labor during recent decades, have stressed the singular influence of its labor-

related women in shaping Addams and Hull-House's relations with workers and the labor movement. It is, however, in my view, more accurate to see that influence coming first through a group of reformist men, participants in the Sunset Club meetings, and specifically, through one man, Henry Demarest Lloyd. A fellow upper-class reformer who had established his own connections with organized labor during the previous decade, it was Lloyd who exerted the first great influence on Addams' development of ideas about workers, unions, radicals and the labor movement in general. In the course of the dramatic events of the 1890's and into the new century, the two became and remained the closest of friends and collaborators in matters concerning labor and municipal affairs, until his early death in 1903.

Lloyd and his wife, Jessie Bross Lloyd, herself a catalytic personality in Chicago's cultural circles, were among Hull-House's supporters from the very beginning. Addams probably met them in the spring of 1889, at a reception of the socially-ubiquitous Mrs. Lydia Coonley, a leading member of the Chicago Woman's Club. According to his biographer, Lloyd recognized Jane Addams' settlement plans as the institutionalization of his own ethical, humanitarian and political ideas after he had heard one of her preparatory presentations. When they met, Lloyd was already Chicago's and the Midwest's leading radicalized liberal spokesman for organized labor and advocate of its social justice demands. His own radicalization had occurred in the course of his investigative journalism into the scandals of railroad and mining corporations, as financial editor of the Chicago Tribune. The fact that his father-in-law was William Bross, a quarter-owner of that newspaper, had given him the initial entrée into the field. His scholarly inquiries and world-wide correspondence had led to intimate acquaintance with the economic and social

facts of industries and work forces, here and abroad, and had turned him into the leading Midwestern anti-monopoly and labor publicist.

A native New Yorker with impeccable Calvinist and Jacksonian antecedents, his forays into the Gilded Age machinations and frauds of heartland railroads, mines and mills during the late 1870's and 1880's had rekindled in him the Yankee spirit of Puritan and Emersonian ethics and civic responsibility. A master of the felicitous phrase, he was moved to call, in trenchant epigrammatic speeches and articles, for a new morality of collective action by the workers against the robber barons' concerted despoiling of the republic. Organized labor's climactic upsurge in the mid-1880's against two decades of wage-cuts, lay-offs and lock-outs, followed by the most forceful instances of employers' repression to date, drew him even closer into labor circles. His advocacy and interpretations of unions, of labor movement issues and of the American democratic tradition, helped him to establish lasting friendships with militant political trade union activist Thomas Morgan and other long-time labor spokesmen, like Ethelbert Stewart and George Schilling. It brought him together with labor sympathizers William Salter of the Ethical Culture Society, the young Clarence Darrow and Judge John P. Altgeld, for whom he acted as chief "brain truster" during the latter's years as governor of Illinois.⁴

Lloyd's belief in labor's need to act collectively, as the only way to counter the collective impact of the corporations' "money power," grew out of humanist ethics, traditional American anti-monopolism and a Fabian kind of socialism. This called for government action on behalf of human welfare and social justice. Based on his critique of what he saw as Marx's narrowly-materialist socialism, he balked at the idea that class-struggle was essential for attainment of these goals. His address The New Conscience,

delivered less than three weeks after the execution of the Haymarket anarchists, set the tone for avant-garde, upper-and-middle-class labor-sympathizers anxious to stem the avalanche of corporate capitalist repression of the workers as the price for economic expansion. It signaled the very beginnings of Midwestern social justice Progressivism. Its major theme was a call for a new ethics that would return "liberty to the laborer" as brother, neighbor and citizen. It would break the ironclad "rule of force of the market" that had turned the worker into a commodity, and reestablish a moral economy over the "government of property."⁵

Widely read and applauded by labor leaders and reformers after it was published, The New Conscience became one of the most influential contemporary pronouncements. For searchers like Addams, eager for answers to "the social question," it became a rich source of insights into the new world of working-class people. Her subsequent writings, not just on labor, but on the entire course of American democracy, confirm how much his ideas acted as catalysts for her own thinking, from then on. Among the leading themes struck by Lloyd that resonated in her essays was that of the need to see relations between labor and employers as the crucial question of the day. His notions about labor's ethical role were even more significant for her growing conviction that the labor movement was essentially the most meaningful ethical movement of the era, to which the settlement could relate as practical supporter, adviser and interpreter.

As the most politically-astute and learned among the scattered radicalized liberals, Lloyd introduced Addams to the newer "bridge-building" elite reformers and reform-leaning businessmen like Franklin McVeagh and banker Lyman Gage. As discussed in the first chapter, they, together with William Salter of the Ethical Culture Society, had

organized the series of "economic conferences" between employers, union representatives and radical labor activists in the post-Haymarket years out of which the Sunset Club had grown. It was there, during a "Ladies Night" meeting on the topic of "How Do You Uplift the Masses?" that Addams first publicly explained the settlement point of view toward the working-class. Her assertion in this talk of the centrality of "the labor question" in settlement activities marked the beginning of Addams' turn into an explicit friend of labor, and that of the settlement into one of mainstream Chicago's few hospitable gathering places for old and new labor organizations and all kinds of dissenting groups and individuals.⁶

Hull-House thereafter became the "mother-house" among the small group of actively pro-labor settlements scattered around the country. This, in turn, helped to consolidate and broaden ties between middle-class reform and labor circles as never before. It was the main reason for allowing Chicago's emerging many-layered Progressivism to exhibit a new kind of profile of openness and social concern on its center-left flank that enhanced the appeal of the movement as a whole and distinguished it from previous elite reform movements. (I use Progressive with a capital "P" inclusively, for the wide variety of innovative, political perspectives, from technical/administrative to humanistic/cultural, without making distinctions between era, and later party. I use lower case "p" to denote the specific quality of an inclusive, forward-looking, socio/political approach.)

As part of the new labor-focused settlement outlook, Henry D. Lloyd became Addams' and Hull-House's chief labor adviser and publicist. As Hull-House extended its reach into the community over the next years, Lloyd's own growing world-wide

acquaintance with radicals and reformers turned him, among others, into a walking speakers' bureau that benefited his labor-oriented friends. Thanks largely to his extensive connections in labor and reform circles, the Hull-House Working People's Social Science Club got off on its brilliant tradition of free speech forum. It could boast featuring such representative and leading figures of the day as Henry George, Susan B. Anthony, Governor Altgeld, Sam Gompers, Clarence Darrow, Eugene Debs, Keir Hardie and John Burns of the new English trade union movement, Socialist trade union leader Thomas Morgan, the English Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the anarchists Abe Isaak and Prince Peter Kropotkin, on topics such as monopoly, the Homestead Strike, taxation, immigration policy, communes, women's suffrage, varieties of socialism, unemployment, property ownership and anarchism. Lloyd himself was a frequent speaker, and his renown as a witty and immensely learned talker added lustre to Hull-House's growing reputation as one of Chicago's most interesting places.⁷

As Hull-House's involvement with labor circles widened, Lloyd's adviser role extended to those residents directly concerned with organizing unions, supporting strikes, and fighting sweatshops and child labor, such as Mary Kenney, Florence Kelley, Alzina Stevens, Ellen G. Starr and Gertrude Barnum. When the settlement moved into the struggle for Illinois' first factory legislation, Lloyd was indispensable in planning and sometimes financing lobbying campaigns and mass rallies. He headed crucial delegations to Springfield and, after the law's successful passage, suggested Florence Kelley as first Chief Factory Inspector to Governor Altgeld instead of himself.

Once Kelley and Addams had decided to publish some of the statistical and sociological data of diverse investigations done by the residents, Lloyd helped them with

the arrangement of the essays for publication. Kelley, Addams and Lloyd collaborated in organizing the several World's Fair Auxiliary Congresses they were responsible for, such as the Labor, Industrial & Occupations Congresses, to insure a significant voice for insurgent reform voices.⁸

Besides Lloyd's efforts within Hull-House, he and his wife, Jessie Bross Lloyd, aimed at developing the same kind of friendly and supportive social relations in their suburban Winnetka home that Addams and Starr had initiated at Hull-House. A good deal of the credit for this remarkably stimulating atmosphere must be attributed to Jessie Bross Lloyd. Her transcendence of her "old money Chicago" background as a Tribune heiress, her own distinction as a "Chicago Renaissance" catalyst, and her efficient hostess capacities "helped make reform fashionable in Chicago and the North Shore." "The Wayside" became the "suburban salon for reform circles." Before Hull-House had its own country place, Addams brought "discouraged slum-dwellers," residents and friends for precious rest, stimulating conversation and entertainment to this weekend retreat. Taking his cue from Hull-House's aim to combine a warm social atmosphere with high thinking, The Wayside (as well as "The Watch House," the Lloyd's Rhode Island seaside "cottage") grew into a "clearinghouse for advanced thought" on world-wide labor and "transoceanic reform trends."⁹

With its ample grounds, The Wayside combined lovely surroundings with comfortable, unostentatious furnishings, a "bountiful table" and, above all, a cosmopolitan variety of interesting guests, ranging from philosophers to sweatshop workers, socialites to socialists. Trade unionists, businessmen, Bellamyites, social gospel ministers, overworked neighborhood mothers, Single Taxers, out-of-town settlement workers,

"embattled agrarians," factory "girls," university professors, Negro leaders, British MP's and American municipal reform politicians strolled across the lawns or joined in the games of the four Lloyd sons and their friends. Nicholas Kelley, Florence Kelley's oldest son, who spent much time with the Lloyd family, later recalled the Lloyds' "magic compound of informality, decorum, high thinking and interest in everything that was going on, including sports...."¹⁰

The profound impact this welcoming atmosphere had on the personalities of those who had experienced early deprivation and meager social and intellectual lives was trenchantly expressed by no less than Thomas Morgan, the dedicated, but embittered and contentious socialist militant. He told Jane Addams, after Lloyd's death, how being made to feel at ease by the Lloyd's unflagging hospitality had made him lose his usual feelings of personal and class antagonism and gain a new "perfect confidence." Morgan's unusually articulate avowal touched on the central significance the settlement held for the many, simultaneously eager and resentful, members of subordinated groups. Their experience of being received as interesting people in their own right, in an atmosphere of social acceptance, opened new horizons and exerted a lasting transformational impact on them. Other working-class militants, like Mary Kenney and Leonora O'Reilly, recalled similar experiences.¹¹

With friends like the Lloyds and her own settlement's widening circles, Addams was able, in a relatively short time, to increase her acquaintance with many kinds of people connected to the American or European labor reform and radical movements. The congenial atmosphere created by her hosts helped her, among other things, to solidify her friendships and her collaboration on local issues with near West Side labor people, who

became beneficiaries of Wayside weekend hospitality. Addams thereby became increasingly conversant with specific local and citywide labor issues. But knowledge of, or involvement with, some of the events and issues that convulsed the labor movement during the earlier 1890's--such as the series of large and bitter strikes in different parts of the country--or efforts for political coalition-building between Illinois agrarian and labor groups, so far had not yet had much impact on her and the settlement. This was, however, about to change.

Addams and the Social Justice Coalition:
First Direct Involvement in the Labor Struggle

Change came by the winter of 1892, thanks to the recent spadework done by the Illinois Woman's Alliance (IWA), the coalition of working-class and bourgeois women, that, ever since the late 1880's, had been concerned with the condition of working women and children in the Chicago area. After they had attained their first goal of strengthening the compulsory education law and other public school-related issues, backed by the men of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly (CTLA), the Alliance had tackled its second objective--a direct assault on the sweating system through a campaign for enforcement and expansion of the existing weak factory inspection ordinance. As a joint venture of the Ladies Federal Labor Union 2703 that included the initiators of the Alliance, the CTLA and some pro-union members of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), a small investigative committee, headed by Elizabeth Morgan, had made thirty shop-by-shop visits during August 1891. Trailed by reporters from the leading papers and by newspaper sketch artists, the undertaking had turned into a press sensation. It was through this broadly-based initial coalition effort, spearheaded by women on either side of the class-divide, who

also had direct ties to Hull-House, that the settlement could lay the foundation for its relations with workers, unions, and the labor movement.

The investigation report, written by Elizabeth Morgan, was snatched up by the press and made the centerpiece of sensational accounts concerning "slave dens" and "infant labor." It enjoyed an even wider distribution as a separate pamphlet, published by the unions. As a result of all the publicity, public concern, for the first time, reached a high pitch, in a mixture of genuine dismay over the inhuman working and living conditions and a fear of contagious diseases, now broadly acknowledged, as a threat to middle-class residential districts. This fear-induced mainstream motivation for fighting the sweatshops became the leading theme in the press and among many of the reform-minded. The unions were moved by different perspectives. Besides hoping that an anti-sweating law would lead toward the elimination of the physical evils of overcrowding, polluted air and specifics, such as lack of water pressure and broken toilets, they hoped that exposing living and working conditions would stimulate union organizing, which they saw as the most effective means against sweatshops.¹²

The report and all the publicity connected with it had the effect, among others, of galvanizing into further action those Hull-House activists already working on behalf of working women and children. These included the typesetter Mary Kenney, an LFLU leader who had already organized a number of union locals through Hull-House; Alzina Stevens, a child laborer at thirteen and a veteran Knights of Labor organizer of women's unions; or Abraham Bisno, a leading organizer of the garment workers union and a close associate of Hull-House. Under the stimulus of this and successive investigations, other residents, with little previous contact with labor, such as Ellen G. Starr, Gertrude Barnum

and others helped to build a permanent contingent of labor-supportive activists at Hull-House. By joining picket lines, organizing meetings and collecting relief funds, they educated themselves concerning workers' individual and collective needs and ideas. In this widening sphere for labor-supportive action, the presence of Florence Kelley was of great significance. Since her arrival, her reputation as an authority on labor had already led to her appointment as investigator of the sweating system by the Illinois Bureau of Labor.

The work done through this Hull-House group of mostly women, residents and volunteers, in cooperation with the more progressive unions, helped to recast and clarify the nature and purpose of many other "inside" Hull-House activities, from well-baby clinics to the Working People's Chorus, or the unique Labor Museum, in a manner more distinctly useful to neighborhood working-class people. The original Alliance-CTLA union initiative for exposing and publicizing labor conditions in Chicago further energized and inspired the labor-conscious Hull-House residents to reach beyond the settlement. It stimulated them to create broader projects that were directly or indirectly labor-supportive, such as a federation of women's unions, the 19th Ward Improvement Society, or the Immigrants Protective League, that provided wider connections with Chicago's working people. Much of the ease with which the women of Hull-House were able to cooperate with the male organized labor groups, and much of their effectiveness in the anti-sweating campaigns, must be credited to Alliance initiatives, and in the first instance, to its working-class initiators, like Morgan and Kenney, but equally to those who functioned as cross-class "bridges," like Corinne S. Brown, its forceful corresponding secretary and sometime president. Though she was clearly identified with labor, the former school principal's active membership in both the Chicago Woman's Club and in the

Socialist Labor Party enhanced her personal effectiveness in cross-class undertakings. Up to now, the impact of this useful, working-class initiated, cross-class collaboration of women, has not been sufficiently appreciated by many students of labor, Progressive reform or the settlement movement.¹³

Even after the Alliance's demise, the few years of cooperation across class lines nonetheless had given the labor-related women of Hull-House, those with working-class backgrounds and those middle-class women committed through political insights and education, a strong enough new base to continue their outreach to workers. As these women thereafter embarked on other labor-related investigations and into legislative initiatives, they found savvy allies of both classes among former Alliance activists, through whom they obtained access to politicians, labor leaders, city officials, manufacturers, sub-contractors and workers in particular industries. It was through the Alliance legacy that Hull-House's reputation of being "good and regular" in its support of labor interests was consolidated. By the time the young Dr. Alice Hamilton arrived in 1897, Hull-House's involvement with labor was so firmly established that, as she later recalled, at Hull-House "one got into the labor movement without even thinking about it."¹⁴

For Jane Addams, the Alliance-initiated connection signified several additional things, besides extending and strengthening her and the settlement's ties to labor. It accelerated her momentum for a more realistic and knowledgeable outlook concerning the lives of her working-class neighbors. It inspired her to search for more direct and original ways to spread her basic settlement objectives for mutuality in all settlement undertakings beyond the educational and cultural lines of work, as working-people's own aims became better understood and new cultural avenues opened. This, in turn, helped to strengthen

Addams' own personal emotional and intellectual mandate to change the settlement's approach, still carried out along conventionally philanthropic lines, to new ones that were more sociologically, innovatively-culturally or broadly politically framed.

Most significantly for Addams, it helped to anchor Florence Kelley firmly at Hull-House and thereby enabled Addams to develop a close, life-long friendship with her, within the small group of women that constituted the Hull-House leadership. Next to her most personal and intimate one with Mary Rozet Smith, it grew into Addams' closest relationship within that "inner circle." The impact of this friendship was, quite possibly, the most far-reaching one for Addams and Hull-House. It helped her to establish, once and for all, a foremost place for her and her settlement in the world of Progressive reform and politics that kept working-class people's lives firmly in view.¹⁵

That such close ties could develop between these two women was on the surface, perhaps, surprising, since Addams and Kelley were in many respects the most opposite kinds of personalities. But this oppositeness may, in fact, have been the actual foundation of a relationship that offered them a kind of "yin and yang" complementarity, in which the spark of each woman's distinct approach set off the other's creativity on its particular trajectory, directed, nonetheless, toward joint reform goals. Florence Kelley, with a better formal education in law and economics, was the impassioned, often brusque, direct fighter "for the good life of others." Jane Addams was less academically-trained, though more reflective and coolly deliberate, and yet emotionally well prepared to take pragmatic leaps. From earlier discussions of Kelley's work in this and the previous chapter, the question might well arise why this politically sophisticated, often irreverent Marxist socialist would seek affiliation with settlements, up to then regarded as more religiously inspired than

politically astute. The answer has to be sought both in the practical circumstances of Kelley's life as well as in the intellectual and social facets of her personality.

Florence Kelley's often-quoted funny and graphic account of her early-morning arrival at Hull-House, with three children and nursemaid in tow is of interest here chiefly for its first, indelible impressions of Jane Addams. In one of her autobiographical essays Kelley recalled that when the front door opened, it revealed Addams, with an "unattractive, pudgy baby" in her left arm, while restraining a "super-energetic kindergarten child" with her right, welcoming the new arrivals with complete serenity, "as if they had been invited." For ever after, Kelley wrote, that first glimpse came to symbolize for her that "steadfast will" that made Hull-House into "a center of hospitality for people and ideas."¹⁶

Actually, Kelley's arrival at Hull-House was somewhat less than the almost-coincidence she made it appear. Kelley was already recognized as the best informed woman in the field of factory legislation and child labor statistics in this country, and as the translator of Friedrich Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. After Addams had received an inquiry from Kelley regarding the possibility of her coming to Hull-House, she had gathered that she might be about to acquire an especially valuable resident.¹⁷

Besides Kelley's feeling that it might be a promising new field for her, the practical reasons for coming to Chicago included the fact that her marriage was unraveling and it was easier to get a divorce in Illinois than in New York. A second reason for leaving New York was both practical and political. She had returned from Europe, married, with a growing family and high hopes for a fruitful career within the Socialist Labor Party and as

a translator of Marxist classics. Instead, within a year, through a series of misunderstandings, jealousies and deep suspicions of an English-speaking, upper-class American woman among the Socialists, Kelley, along with her husband, found herself expelled from the party by the mostly German, Socialist "Impossibilists" of New York, her clear vision of usefulness shattered.¹⁸

With her husband's medical practice foundering along with her marriage, she turned increasingly to writing to support herself and her three children. She also turned to lecturing in middle-class women's club and reform circles, where she had found more concern with economic and social problems than among the politically-conscious, but dogmatic and anti-feminist, Socialists. Concomitantly, her thinking also underwent a change. Though a convinced-as-ever student of Marxism to whom corporate capitalism, not "human nature," was the root of industrial and human misery, she had nonetheless clearly seen that there was no immediate prospect for its demise. What seemed possible to her, however, was to mount a "series of assaults" on the system's evils and thus prepare for a future socialist society by way of reform, a prospect congenial to her temperament and talents. Within two years she had marked out a new path for herself within the "liberal-to-left" social justice movement then beginning to gather momentum. Illinois was to be Kelley's next destination, first, because of its better divorce climate and second, because the reports she had received about Hull-House suggested new opportunities for her talents. Hull-House, in fact, became the first milestone along the new path that the pressure of events had forced her to take.

It didn't take Kelley long, after her arrival, to find out about the first CTLA-Alliance investigation into sweatshops and to realize (while running a short-lived

employment bureau at Hull-House) that she had fallen into a situation tailor-made for her skills. Her satisfaction with the turn of events was clear from a letter to Friedrich Engels, whom she told that she was "in a colony of efficient and intelligent women, living in a workmen's quarter, in a house used for all sorts of purposes... conducting a bureau of women's labor and learning more in a week, of the actual conditions of proletarian life in America, than in any previous year." Besides helping to organize several new unions, the settlement women were presently embarking on a "systematic endeavor to clear out the sweating dens" in which there had developed "a fever heat of interest."¹⁹

At weekly CTLA-sponsored mass meetings that kept public interest high after the report had been published, Kelley quickly established herself as a star speaker. She created banner headlines in the press with her declarations that Chicago sweatshops were as bad as those of New York's lower East side and comparable to "the hideousness of the slums of London." In between her work at the settlement and the mass rallies Kelley, along with Hull-House and Alliance activists, fanned out nightly from the settlement to speak before smaller groups.²⁰

She had also lost no time in suggesting to the Illinois Bureau of Labor, where her work was known, that she be appointed to continue to investigate the garment industry. By May, 1892, she was hard at work as the bureau's special agent, climbing stairs to check each worker found in a sweatshop or in homework, as part of the job of filling out 10,000 bureau schedules, at 50 cents per schedule. She wrote Engels that, despite the miserly pay and exhausting stair climbing, she valued the fact of living in the midst of one of the worst sweating districts, first, for the factual knowledge gained in that constantly fluctuating

industry and second, for firsthand acquaintance with the people forced to live and work amidst stupefying overcrowding, stench and disease.²¹

By July, she was working on a second government project, an investigation which was part of the Congressional survey "The Slums of Great Cities." She had received this second appointment after having toured Congressman Sherman Hoar, together with Elizabeth Morgan, through the sweatshop districts. As "temporary expert" for the Department of Labor, with six "government schedule men" under her, she canvassed the area just east of Hull-House. The information she gathered for the federal government also became the raw material for her essays and carefully-drawn colored population maps and statistical charts that constitute the heart of Hull-House Maps and Papers, the settlement residents', milestone sociological publication.

By then, there were also signs that the anti-sweatshop campaign was having some effect: the city's health department's more aggressive reporting of violations forced some garment manufacturers to move operations from substandard premises to better quarters. But the biggest boost to the cause that kept the campaign at a "fever pitch" during summer and fall months occurred through the gubernatorial campaign. At the head of a broad coalition of Democrats, a growing number of Populists, liberal Republicans and a sizeable sector of organized labor, Judge John P. Altgeld was "flaying the trusts," calling for reforms from the viewpoint of human welfare and social justice, for the eight-hour day, labor's right to organize and to strike, and for an end to sweatshops and child labor. His November, 1892 victory helped the consolidation of the new anti-sweatshop, or social justice, coalition, spearheaded by the Alliance, the Chicago unions, individual members of the SLP, publicists like Henry D. Lloyd, and a number of professionals, such as doctors,

lawyers, journalists, university teachers and liberal ministers. Hull-House became the coalition's central headquarters.²²

First Factory Law with Teeth and a General Demise

After two official investigations, the activists had enough material to disseminate masses of facts statewide, through the unions; through the Hull-House network, extended through women's clubs; and, most effectively, through the press. Public concern among the middle-classes was now widely enough aroused to impress the legislature that it was time to join the fray. In January of 1893 it appointed its own joint committee to make its own investigation with a view toward writing new regulatory industrial legislation. Once again, Florence Kelley, Elizabeth Morgan, Mary Kenney, Abraham Bisno and Alzina Stevens served as guides through the sweatshop districts for the legislators. Suggestions for the new law were formulated by individual union members and the Hull-House-led reformers, headed by Kelley, while the trade unions, officially, kept aloof from participation in legislative action.

To Florence Kelley it was clear that the legislature's investigation was intended as a "sop to labor and a sinecure...to a number of rural legislators," since it was well-known that factory legislation had traditionally been looked upon as a political joke in Springfield. This time, however, Kelley felt that the "overwhelming hospitality" extended by the settlement guides, together with their thorough manner of investigating, paid off. (After the guides' personally-conducted visits to sweatshops, which the legislators had not been able to avoid, they were dined, if not wined, at Hull-House). Though, according to Kelley, the whole business was "irksome in the extreme" to the legislators, it resulted in a report

"so compendious, so readable, so surprising, that the joint committee presented it with pride to the legislature." Once more, published accounts created press sensations and were the fashionable topic of the day in Chicago.²³

A bill to regulate factory work was introduced into the legislature March 1, 1893 which, if passed, would be "the best law anywhere," according to Lloyd. It included unique and drastic health and sanitation requirements concerning goods and premises exposed to contagious diseases; lists of owners and workers had to be posted in each shop and the existing factory inspection department was to be greatly enlarged. It prohibited any work, day or night, by children under fourteen, and required affidavits for children between fourteen and sixteen, and, if necessary, additional health certificates for children of doubtful age and health. In its most unprecedented clause, the bill limited the work of all female workers, irrespective of age, to eight hours per day.²⁴

If the Hull-House activists and their allies had felt themselves caught up in the campaign before, they now became part of a veritable tornado of lobbying, meetings and speech-making, to ensure passage of the bill. For three months the coalition of unions, Alliance, residents from Hull-House and other settlements, university professors, ministers, doctors, civil servants and well-known individuals, such as Lloyd, Darrow or Judge Murray Tuley kept up the pressure. Governor Altgeld kept in close touch through his labor advisor George Schilling. The unions' role was central: through their state-wide network they provided a daily mailing of locals' endorsements to the legislators and doubled their open meeting schedules. Within the coalition, the nightly speaking forays reached a saturation level among groups of all sizes. "Literally every evening," Jane

Addams recalled, "a little group of us addressed the open meetings of trade unions and benefit societies, church organizations and social clubs."

During this period, the Hull-House women, including Addams and the activist women of the Chicago Woman's Club (whose accumulated lobbying skills dated back to the mid-1880's) repeatedly journeyed to the capitol in Springfield. For many of the Hull-House women it was a first experience. Addams later recalled how very much she personally disliked the lobbying. But, self-disciplined woman that she was, she overcame her distaste and instead used her political instinct by making sure that the groups of settlement and union people were accompanied on these trips by "well-known Chicago women." She referred to them in her autobiography as members of the new General Federation of Women's Clubs, but they were, of course, more specifically identified as members of the Chicago Woman's Club, as well as of the Alliance, and included some of the richest and most socially prominent Chicagoans.²⁵

Although Addams herself did a lot of speaking about the need to get rid of sweatshops and child labor at small gatherings at Hull-House and in the neighborhood, her name was not as prominent in the press reports as those of Kelley and Kenney and other Hull-House-related campaigners. During the period before the bill was passed, she seems to have spoken only once at a large meeting, a gathering of trade unionists at Harmony Hall, who gave her a warm reception. At that occasion, she urged her listeners to use the ballot, rather than strikes, to achieve reforms in the future, since working people were the majority in every state, and legislation was the way to social progress and to "wearing away differences between the classes." Settlements were another way toward that end, she told her audience, through their support of workers' aims for higher standards of living

that tended to underline workers' demands upon the social order. Stressing that it was largely due to workers' united action through their unions that the new anti-sweatshop law had been written, she especially urged women workers, as the most needy, to "stand together" through organizing into unions, in order to force their earnings up to "living wage" levels.²⁶

Another likely reason for her remaining more in the background during the campaign was her sense that there were others more expert than she in this field, in which she felt herself to be still very much in a learner's role. This was, after all, the first time that she found herself in the position of a defender of labor on a more than local basis, a role with which she was not yet entirely comfortable. There was much that she had to ponder; old attitudes to be examined and discarded, if they no longer seemed tenable in the light of new knowledge; new ones to be adopted, after animated discussions at the dinner table, or in a late-evening exchange in the "Octagon," the favorite room at Hull-House for "after-hours" conversation.

Except for the three months before passage of the bill, most of Addams' energies during this period went to initiate, expand and coordinate the numerous interior settlement activities in support of the coalition outside. This was also the period of the settlement's first "great leap forward" in terms of physical growth and financial consolidation. Despite the onset of the depression, 1893 saw the erection of the coffee house, the new gymnasium and the playground and a new seven-year lease of Hull-House. She also embarked that year on her first extended speaking tour to New England colleges and settlements during which, she recalled, she was received as the "grandmother" of the

American movement, an incongruity that amused her, since she was then thirty-two years old.²⁷

The bill passed both houses in June with little opposition, which Kelley later felt should have made them suspicious, and was signed into law by Governor Altgeld July 1st, 1893. After Lloyd turned down the governor's offer to become Chief Factory Inspector, Altgeld offered the job to Florence Kelley, and received an enthusiastic acceptance. In the enlarged department, in which at least five women were mandated to be deputy inspectors, Alizna Stevens became chief Assistant Deputy, and Mary Kenney and Abraham Bisno, two of the other deputies. The new department offices were on Polk Street, across the street from Hull-House--visible proof of the close ties that had grown between the settlement and government facilities. Altgeld's naming of Kelley, his second appointment of a Hull-House woman to a state office, confirmed three trends: it signaled Hull-House's achievement of direct connections to the state's political center of power; it reflected middle-class (and some working-class) women's access to public roles; and, thirdly, it revealed Governor Altgeld's determination to introduce new social legislation into Illinois--the first effort to introduce a democratic welfare approach into a leading industrial state.

With the skimpiest of budgets (\$12,000 to cover salaries, court costs, travel and other expenses) the new department tackled its first three tasks: to get a more accurate count of the number of women and children working in manufacturing in the entire state; to acquaint manufacturers in the state with the law; and to set up a free health clinic to, among other things, stem the tide of fraudulently issued certificates and to start collecting data on children's health.

In the beginning, there was a certain amount of voluntary compliance with the law, particularly on the part of larger employers, such as the stockyards, who complied with the 8-hour law. Many children were dismissed from the so-called "baby trades" (candy, paper box, snuff, garment, book-binding and wood-working). In the nineteenth ward, where Hull-House was located, about two hundred children were dismissed from the candy factory and older ones limited to eight hours of work. Large numbers of "self-employed" children in the street trades could, however, not be reached through the law. Thanks to the spadework done earlier by the women of the Alliance and the Chicago Woman's Club, the factory inspectors found the Board of Education willing enough to cooperate by stricter enforcement of the compulsory education laws and, through a checking system, to ensure the children's return to the classroom after dismissal from workshops.²⁸

Already after the first five months of data gathering, the inspectors found that the number of working children exceeded by far the latest census figures. Lack of labor organization and family poverty, rather than "special aptitudes," like smaller hands, appeared to be the chief causes of child labor in Illinois. When Kelley moved to enforce the law, she found that the Cook County District Attorney, who knew how the political winds were blowing in the business community, had no intention of enforcing it. That realization sent Kelley back to finish here interrupted law career. The degree she obtained within a year enabled her to prepare all documents for prosecution, though she deemed it more politic to have a male lawyer and Hull-House resident, appear in court for the department.²⁹

The ultimate challenge to the law grew out of the smallpox outbreak that centered on the garment home-finishing district, close to Hull-House, during the depression winter of 1893/4. Compliance with the law, previously grudgingly carried out by some of the contractors, ignored by others, became the central issue. In addition, the spread of the epidemic pushed the already over-worked and under-financed inspectors to extend their inspections to about a thousand more shops and to use their legal mandate for confiscation of infected garments. Under the health department's still inadequate reporting and quarantine procedures, children, who were the chief victims of the disease, were found ill or dying in flats where the manufacture of clothing continued. Not until Governor Altgeld's threat to embargo all interstate exports from Chicago could effective public controls, such as fumigation and destruction of garments, be applied systematically.³⁰

This threat to cut off traffic from tenement districts was the last straw. It aroused the long-hostile majority of manufacturers to rally around the recently-organized Illinois Manufacturers Association (the first "NAM" in the country) in a no-holds-barred opposition to the law. The association sued the state on the grounds that the 8-hour limit violated manufacturers' rights of contract and of property under the state constitution, as well as under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Through their new organization, Illinois manufacturers were showing the rest of the American business community an effective new way to resist the threat of industrial regulation. On March 15, 1895, in Ritchie vs. the People, the Illinois Supreme Court declared the 8-hour a day (48 hour week) limit for all female workers unconstitutional, while leaving all other regulations standing, including those restricting child labor.

Florence Kelley instantly saw the legal dilemma the decision posed. She understood that, despite sufficient precedent to assure the upholding of the hours limit, under the acknowledged state police power, the astute invoking of the Fourteenth Amendment made the outlook for reversal so much bleaker. It raised the need for a new constitutional amendment, a process understood to involve years, if not decades. One immediate result was instantly evident at Hull-House: its two best evening literature classes had to be disbanded, since both were made up of young women workers whose working day at a nearby electric plant reverted to its 9 p.m. limit. Jane Addams also recalled how the adverse decision that ended the "halcyon months of the law's existence...was a matter of great disappointment" to the women of the Hull-House 8-Hour Club, organized initially by neighborhood working women to study the subject and campaign for the bill's passage.³¹

In her later reflections on the events that had been a watershed experience for her and the settlement, Addams came to the conclusion that it might have been "a premature effort." Much of the commitment to work for the law's passage had been fed by the residents' awareness, during the previous years, of such things as "the large number of young girls who were constantly exhausted by night work." Unlike the men, they could never catch up on their sleep during the day, because of waiting household chores. The "social mother" in Addams had also worried over the "special danger" girls on night work were exposed to when returning home exhausted during the early morning hours, easily persuaded that a quick drink, or a spin on the dance floor, would refresh them.

Her sense of the possible "prematurity" of the law arose, she confessed in her autobiography, out of a reasonable feeling of "distrust" of all legislation...not preceded by

full discussion and understanding." Such legislation, she felt, failed to possess "vitality and a sense of maturity." On the other hand, she was also aware that such a law could be a kind of "referendum" that "the people" were free to challenge and change, after two years. These views certainly reflected a realistic and time-tested notion of the need for legislation to rest on a widespread and detailed examination of the issues and a careful evaluation of the potential impact of its remedial steps. But her further discussion of the manufacturers' campaign against the factory law raised the question whether she wasn't at once too cautious and too optimistic in her feeling about the law's "prematurity" and its viability as a "referendum."

In Addams' eyes, the manufacturers of the state were clearly "aggressive captains of industry" who rose to resist these first attempts to limit the "undisturbed control" of their property. But Addams also believed that it was important to see them in their historic context, which shed light on their unwillingness to change their long-held views. To be historically accurate, she felt, it was important to recall that in the 1890's, Illinois manufacturers' adherence to their "pioneer" beliefs in the value of an "early start" and in their individualist freedom to express "untrammelled energy" as guarantees for success, still amounted to a religion. The new factory legislation threatened this quasi-religious creed of the "self-made man."

If Addams' view of these men's assertion of their rights of freedom of contract under the state constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment was, indeed, the fundamental issue arising out of individualist custom, it seemed to contradict the relevance of her earlier argument about the law's possible "prematurity" and its usefulness as "referendum." If the central issue of the conflict was the manufacturers' creedal determination to fight

back, at all costs, to retain their position of "undisturbed control," the question of testing the law's "prematurity" becomes irrelevant, since no measure of regulation would be acceptable. The people's two year "referendum" option for judging the law's effectiveness (until the next general election) would be equally irrelevant, in view of the manufacturers' clear preponderance of economic, social and political clout, through which to prevent the growth of the necessary "full discussion and understanding" to allow the law to reach its "maturity."

My sense of Addams' attitude in this first big class confrontation in her experience is that, despite her realistic assessment of the parties involved, she took an overly cautious position of aloofness that allowed her to avoid some of her own conclusions. Given her awareness of the owners' overwhelming advantage, it would seem that, according to her initial thesis, even an only partially-supported regulatory law would, in itself, be a good thing, even if it got defeated the first time. Under those circumstances, the situation could appear as a clear example of direct conflict between business and government, with the latter as the representative of the coalition of working-and-middle-class groups who tried to restrain the manufacturers from using their "untrammelled right" to property to keep regulatory legislation forever "premature." One is left with the impression that Addams, at this point, hesitated to deal with the basic conflict in which, if the owners continued to have their way, the majority would continue to lack a full understanding and the exercise of their rights under factory regulation.

Despite Addams' caution, another clear consequence of the struggle over the Factory Law was that, for the first time, and repeatedly thereafter, Hull-House became associated with radicalism in the minds of members of the business community. (It also

marked the gradual extension of Addams' and Hull-House's ground-breaking commitment to free speech, civil liberties and the defense of radicals that gained it national fame during the second decade.) According to Addams, the settlement's radical reputation stemmed out of its close association with Governor Altgeld, who had become anathema to business ever since he had pardoned the remaining "Haymarket Anarchists" in 1893. This odium of association was intensified, after the law's enactment, by the physical proximity of the new factory inspector's offices to Hull-House and by the fact that several members of the department were residents of the settlement. In a final comment on the entire episode that spoke volumes concerning the special Chicago outlook, Addams noted drily that among Chicagoans at the time, "the enforcement of an unpopular measure was resented equally by the president of a large manufacturing concern or by a former sweatshop victim who had started a shop of his own."³²

In retrospect, it was soon evident that the demise of the eight-hour clause was an early warning signal for a renewed attack by the dominant manufacturers. The next indicator was the fragmentation of the Illinois Woman's Alliance, a coalition that had always rested, to a degree, on the good will of the two established groups of men on either side of the class divide, the CTLA on one side, and reform-friendly businessmen-husbands and -fathers, on the other. Although disagreements between the two groups within the Alliance had never been far beneath the surface, the jointly-held ideal of "loyalty to women, justice to children" had been able to bridge solidarity gaps. But as the campaign against the sweatshops had gathered momentum, the manufacturers' opposition became stronger and reached farther. By the time the manufacturers association had formulated its legal strategy in terms of freedom of contract, the more tangible class contradictions

impelled many of the middle-class women within the Alliance first to hesitate and then to turn against the distinct labor interests within their own organization.

During the campaigns for the Factory Law enactment, the leading activists, both working-class and upper- and middle-class activists, within the Alliance, had become increasingly absorbed in the struggle. But some of the more neutral middle-class elements within it, who had gone along with the activists, had begun to drag their feet in the prolonged struggle for reforms on behalf of women and children. They turned, instead, to topics such as divorce, modern kitchen equipment and off-hour schedules for downtown shopping.

An eleventh-hour Alliance effort in April, 1894 for a mass rally and debate with the manufacturers association on the 8-hour topic, chaired by Elizabeth Morgan, revealed how much times had changed. Despite the well-publicized inclusion of a number of Chicago elite respectables, such as Ellen Henrotin, Franklin McVeagh, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Henry D. Lloyd and Dr. Bayard Holmes (a staunch Hull-House ally then running for mayor on the Populist-Labor ticket that the coalition supported), and an attendance of a thousand people. The manufacturer's representative failed to appear. Thereafter, the formerly friendly press referred critically to the "radical speeches" in favor of hours' limits and women's unions. A circular sent out by Elizabeth Morgan in October confirmed the fragmentation of the Alliance. The circular called on all unions and labor-related groups with working women members to form a new organization from which middle-class women would be excluded. This, eventually, grew into the Dorcas Federation of women trade unionists, which met at Hull-House, under Alzina Steven's leadership.³³

The circular that dealt the coup de grâce to the Alliance reflected its union representatives' unwillingness to stay in the organization and fight it out in the face of the pronounced class hostility. But the fragmentation of the Alliance also mirrored, in a relatively limited, local manner, the rise and fall, in this mid-decade moment, of three much larger, inclusive regional and national movements with roots in the rural and urban working population. All of these movements reflected a fundamental process of change in the political climate that had, until then, favored a distinct kind of local and regional cross-class coalition politics of rural and urban workers and middling entrepreneurs. As an example of a corresponding broad change on the opposite side of the malleable borders between American classes, the Illinois manufacturer's association's onslaught on factory regulation could be seen as the unmistakable spearhead of a nationwide resumption of the trend toward economic and political realignment, to assure the expansion of the financial, industrial and commercial sectors.³⁴

The triple phenomenon of separate, but not unrelated, movements included first, the sudden surge of the new industrial American Railway Union (ARU), under the leadership of Eugene Debs during the years 1893 to 1894 and its abrupt defeat through the armed federal government suppression of the Pullman strike; the second was the slower ascent, during the early 1890's, of the farm-and-land-use-focused protest movement of the People's Party (that in Illinois aimed at a permanent farmer-labor coalition) and its almost equally-abrupt defeat in the 1896 national elections. In Chicago, the Populist movement produced a liberal/labor slate in the congressional and municipal elections between 1894 and 1896, precariously organized by that "odd couple" of Henry D. Lloyd and Thomas Morgan, with the cooperation of anti-machine trade unions. The

third, and most circumscribed, of the defeated grass roots movements was that of the reform-minded so-called "independent political" socialists within the increasingly conservative craft-dominated AFL at its annual 1894 convention in Denver. This defeat signified, among other things, a weakening of socialist influence in the politically progressive Chicago unions and was a major factor in the fragmentation of the Illinois Woman's Alliance.³⁵

Within each of their distinct worlds, all three movements had manifested the waves of protest of "worker-producer" majorities against the "excesses" of the industrial capitalist "wage slavery system" that threatened their livelihood and their sense of equal citizenship in the republic. In the course of their formation, all three had adopted differing, but complementary, political and social programs. Under a shared vision of a "democracy of general human welfare," all three had proposed active municipal, state and federal government roles that sought to prevent the unrestrained growth of technological, managerial and financial control of industries and land by increasingly powerful networks of corporations.³⁶

While still in their prime the cross-class movements had exerted, mainly, a peripheral impact on the settlement-led anti-sweatshop struggle through similarities of concern for work and living conditions of skilled and unskilled workers. That impact had made itself felt directly through connections to the male-led radicalized reformers and trade union activists of the social justice coalition and through ties to some of the settlement women. At Hull-House, it was highlighted, for instance, by Florence Kelley's and Alzina Stevens' organizational and personal efforts on behalf of Debs and his ARU

collaborators, before and after defeat, and in their support of the 1894-1986 Chicago Populist-Labor electoral campaigns of Henry D. Lloyd and others.³⁷

Nevertheless, these movements exerted an even greater impact after their abrupt declines by releasing quantities of energies, insights and experience into the social justice coalition's growing involvement in municipal reform politics in Chicago. This second, more amorphous, but ultimately more significant impact of these movements lay in their having given voice and vision to a now widespread sense of imminent social and political destruction of the American republican community through the relentless pressure of amoral, corporate power. Their populist call for a defense of democratic rights to preserve the collective community's "ethics of mutuality" (considered essential for the continuation of the sense of individual self-worth within work, family and community life) also resonated distinctly among the gender-conscious, bourgeois settlement women activists and their allies.

In Addams' case, as one among other upper-and-middle-class women whose families' affluence in Illinois reached back no further than a generation, this widespread apprehension of the republic's drastic transformation affected her thinking profoundly. It anchored her decisively, from then on, among those bourgeois activists who made relations with working people, unions and the labor movement the substance of their efforts to restructure, strengthen or invent new democratic institutions and practices. It reaffirmed efforts to adapt her own legacy of the indigenous Jeffersonian-Lincolnian artisan-entrepreneur ideals of the "common good" to a more integrated, streamlined version of the mutual community, projected onto the modern industrial metropolis.

For Jane Addams, these were the coming-of-age years that shaped her distinct stature among an array of incomparably able, ambitious and courageous women. Surprising as it may seem at first glance, the stature that she achieved during these years also invites a comparison between Addams and Debs. Although Eugene Debs is conventionally remembered as a "dangerous" labor agitator and socialist proselytizer, and Jane Addams as America's greatest "lady do-gooder," a comparison of some of their views of life, work, community and human rights allow these two so different people to appear as if they merely occupied different places in the same great circle that joined the overlapping worlds of workers, producers and entrepreneurs. Their individual responses to the changes experienced in newly-industrialized America reflected similarities of vision, despite their necessarily distinct lines of thought and action.

Though her roots went deeper into the founding years of the republic and his were those of a second generation child of Western European immigrants, their artisan/entrepreneur family backgrounds of Enlightenment inheritance and self-improvement within their communities underlined their similar recognition of the majority's practical needs, moral values and aspirations. His persistent faith in the ideal of "social harmony" between different classes as the ultimate safeguard of individual equality within the community was echoed in her concept of "common humanity" beneath their manifest differences of class, gender and ethnicity. Both felt that individual self-worth and achievement, through work, could prosper only within a new form of the mutual community--though she had to create one through her settlement to approximate her goal, and he had to adopt a philosophy that rested on consciousness of difference and conflict in order to maintain his goal of human equality in industrial society. His concept of

"manhood" as a confirmation of the meaning of citizenship can be seen as roughly equivalent to her use of "womanhood" within their own unequal, but sufficiently fluid, socio-economic and gender spheres.

Strikes for both were last resorts, with deep moral implications; arbitration was demonstrably preferable. Under industrial capitalism's consolidation during the final years of the nineteenth century, both concluded that a thoroughgoing reinterpretation and expansion of the indigenous American democratic tradition was the essential weapon in the worker/ citizens' defense. Both aimed to use their broad, inclusive vision in new ways, based on their rueful awareness of class conflict as a fundamental reality of modern industrial society, though they refused to make it the centerpiece of their thinking. Both recognized the need for individual achievement to develop within the sphere of the mutual community of newly empowered diverse groups as the way to implement a wider democracy.

The threatening downward pressures he experienced in his work and in participation in his community's life, as an upwardly mobile, skilled worker, taught him to identify fully with skilled and unskilled working people, and below that, with the even more profoundly exploited. His understanding of the economic and social changes was the source of his increasing militancy. It moved him to interpret socialism as the most practical means toward the kind of expanded democratic political structure that life in the industrial capitalist society demanded. Her partial transcendence of her more stable and financially substantial bourgeois background and of her gender strictures helped to shape her own experiences with, and belief in, working people as most representative of the ethical and social bedrock of democratic society. It also informed her critique of vengeful aspects of

workers' defensive actions. This, however, did not prevent her imaginative and acute psychological sensibilities from touching some of the deepest reaches of human existence, which she found most copiously revealed in the lives of working-class people. In its maturity, the thinking of both Addams and Debs expressed itself in comparable ethical and humane perspectives, as necessary pathways to an expanding democratic society.

The Social Justice Coalition's Active Involvement
in Chicago's Progressive Political Reform

For the settlement-led social justice coalition as a whole, the comprehensive democratic welfare platform, developed locally in the course of the two-year Chicago Populist-Labor electoral campaigns (in effect, liberal/independent, socialist/labor), acted primarily as political and intellectual leaven. It stimulated new ideas and encouraged the settlement-led activists to invent and support new urban programs directed at the material and cultural interests of the immigrant working-class communities. But the coalition's direct political involvement in Chicago's municipal reform politics took place concretely through the initiatives of narrower electoral and administrative reform campaigns of the male-led mainstream Progressives.

These men, a rather select group, represented, for the most part, the younger, well-educated members of the newer business and professional circles. Their goal was to reshape the city under the ethos of the modern corporation, whose watchwords of "order" and "efficiency" held promise for the creation of a modern and businesslike "city beautiful." Their immediate reforms were focused on centralizing and streamlining the scattered municipal electoral, administrative and judicial apparatus and to initiate urban planning for core commercial and prime residential districts, along with the surrounding

Chicago environment. In the course of these undertakings they developed only fleeting contact with the large ethnic communities or the trade unions, and avoided most direct concerns for the social and human aspects of city life. As part of their own successful anti-boss, "clean government" campaigns, they lent their support sometimes to parallel efforts of the settlement-led social justice Progressives against corrupt aldermen and to the reformers' broader social movements for small parks, housing and urban recreation and other measures that directly benefited immigrant districts.

Thanks to the highly successful and visible 1896 campaign of the new Municipal Voters League (an offshoot of the Civic Federation) against the "boodlers," Chicago mainstream Progressives gained a national visibility as a number-one reform city. Its success also helped to propel the social justice coalition's efforts into municipal reform politics. During the rest of the 1890's and throughout the next decade and a half, the social justice coalition both cooperated and disagreed with the men who constituted the mainstream among Chicago's Progressives. As involvement with their MVL-led reforms for cleaner politics and city environments continued, it also helped to expand the settlement-led group's activities in other city-wide reform efforts such as civil service, a new city charter, and the protracted campaign for municipal ownership that spawned new organizations like the City Club, with close ties to the settlements. In the course of the MVL's repeated electoral successes and expansion into other municipal issues, the settlement-led group emerged clearly as the left wing of the Chicago Progressives as a whole.³⁸

From their original neighborhood efforts, for school buildings, public baths, a library, a post office and playground, undertaken after close consultation with the local

people, the Hull-House-led social justice coalition moved on to city-wide efforts to improve housing, building codes, sanitation, street paving, food handling, public health, small parks and recreation areas. The activists soon discovered that most of these issues invariably involved them in the question of the ward's representation in the city council. This plunged settlements directly into their own aldermanic campaigns. It impelled Hull-House to take the lead in three of the 19th ward's campaigns against the notorious alderman Johnny Powers and was responsible for one of Addams' milestone essays.

Her "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption" reached the startling conclusion that, under the city's current political system, the corrupt boss was a better democrat than the reform candidate because he responded directly to the great human needs and aspirations that formed the baseline of modern democratic society. His constituents, who were mostly preindustrial ex-peasants of different ethnicities, with little experience of self-government, voted for him again and again, she explained, not because he was corrupt, but despite his corruptions.³⁹

Addams argued that as people without experience in representative government, his constituents' standards of ethics were shaped primarily through the impact of moral fact, dramatized by personal example, rather than through a generalized precept or moral idea. According to their own standards of doing good, the corrupt boss's practices were thus admired by his constituents as instances of a good man's traditional "village kindness," writ large. After observing the alderman's methods closely for eight years, it was evident to Addams that the boss' illegal handouts of city jobs, rent payments and railroad passes, flowers for christenings and weddings, turkeys for Christmas and carriages for funerals, were seen by the voters of the 19th ward as the kind of acts of "simple

goodness" and neighborly philanthropy they themselves practiced constantly on a smaller scale.

The reform candidate, on the other hand, confined his campaign almost entirely to invoking the abstract virtues of good government. When he addressed the people's urgent needs, it was only in terms of the corruptions perpetrated by the local boss. This attitude, Addams asserted, assured the continuation of the boss' rule until the reformer had, first of all, become aware of the immigrant working-class voters' specific human interests, and second, until he had learned to merge his awareness of his constituents' individual needs with the broader and more complex ones of the entire community, into a single code of ethics, cemented by a sense of "kinship of a common moral nature," among all citizens.⁴⁰

Published shortly after the final, unsuccessful Hull-House-led effort to unseat Powers, the essay received wide acclaim. Favorable reaction was reflected in comments such as economist Richard T. Ely's that she was "getting closer to the bottom of things, than anyone else." Mary Richmond, generally a Hull-House critic, wrote Addams that there was hardly anyone else "able to give us so just and human a view of the movements of the public mind and conscience...." It also confirmed that Addams, now equipped with a more substantial grasp of the precarious condition of workers in the city, had found her own voice in which to go uniquely to the heart of Chicago reform politics and its deplorable lack of democratic content and practice.⁴¹

Relations with Organized Labor and Working Women

Despite, as well as because of Addams' deepened understanding of workers and organized labor through the anti-sweatshop insurgencies and the spreading of the protest movements' democratic vistas, she remained convinced that the best means for achieving day-to-day gains for working people was through the slow and difficult work of the trade unions. Practical supportive relations between Hull-House and unions, actually, went back to sometime before the start of the anti-sweating campaigns. From 1891 on, several local unions had been organized at Hull-House; others had been using the settlement for their regular meetings or as temporary strike headquarters. The Bookbinders, Cloakmakers, Cab Drivers, Retail clerks and Cutters met regularly in the handsome first floor "reception room", under the auspices of Mary Kenney, president of the Bookbinders Union.⁴²

Under the circumstances of the settlement's female leadership it had not been surprising that the first union organizer, befriended by Addams, had been a woman, or that most of the early unions organized through Hull-House were women's unions. Addams recalled that, in the early days, when many married and unmarried women workers came regularly to the settlement, she had never come across any union women among them, a situation that soon changed. Historians until fairly recently held the view that Hull-House was only successful with women, not men workers. This was based on the "laborist" assumption that this kind of genteel institution had little to offer men--a view that was both deprecatory of the women-headed settlement and missed the point of the actual much more exploitative and complex conditions for women workers.⁴³

Hull-House developed closer relations first with women and women's unions because, next to child workers, this was the most vulnerable segment of the work force. Its numbers were rising at a much greater rate than that of men, who often enjoyed some protection through a union. Thanks to some of her co-workers' efforts, Addams now knew that their ward was the leading district of the sweating system, with one of the largest concentrations of women workers in the city. One of the biggest stumbling blocks in organizing women, she had found out, was the problem of a meeting place. Traditionally, unions met in the rear of, or above a saloon, a location favored by male unionists, but shunned by self-respecting working women. Addams' offer of Hull-House as a meeting place thus became a crucial factor in organizing some of the early women's locals. As she learned more about women workers' greater vulnerability, her declaration that they had an urgent need to "stand together" became a regular feature in her talks to labor audiences.⁴⁴

As Addams became more conversant with new statistics of work and employment, she learned that the long-established and recently-accelerated trend of women going into factories and shops was gaining on the traditionally largest female occupation of domestic work. During the years from 1880 to 1890 the figures jumped from two-and-a half million to four million in the labor force. Those in industry worked, for the most part, in occupations that came to be regarded as "women's trades": sewing, millinery, laundry, textiles, carpets; they had also entered into newer trades like printing, cigar and cigarette making, shoe and container manufacture. Under the factory system, most of these jobs had become subdivided down to the simplest, most unskilled task for which employers felt women and children were ideally suited. The pay was the lowest. Ever since the

unprecedented post-Civil War industrial expansion, employers looked for ever cheaper, docile labor. Women filled the bill admirably. Consequently, women entered into many of the newer industrialized jobs generally at half the pay of men for comparable work, as well as into the lowest-paying and least organized categories of industries.⁴⁵

Despite the fact that women were a permanent part of the labor force and, at that moment, also the fastest-growing segment, women held the conventional outlook of themselves as "temporary" labor and of their wages as "supplementary" together with their employers and male workers. Consequently, women workers tended to tolerate unsanitary and dangerous working conditions, regarded unions as "for men only" and were not well-prepared to make their own demands for higher pay and shorter hours. Age, ethnicity and family relations were additional crucial factors that tended to prevent unionization among women. Aware of these attitudes, employers discouraged women's unions even more strenuously than men's.

For a number of different reasons, such as patriarchal traditions, fear of competition and belief in the "family wage" system, trade unions, with some exceptions, generally opposed organizing women workers, skilled or unskilled. By the later 1890's, the relatively brief impact of the Knights of Labor's inclusive policy toward women was rapidly disappearing, along with its national organization. The early AFL's outlook was characterized by sporadically favorable resolutions and occasional gestures, amidst a predominantly stubborn opposition, emanating from its core of conservative craft union leadership. Nevertheless, here and there, and particularly in Chicago, where a tradition of female militancy dated back to the 1870's, working women took initiatives to organize,

sometimes with help from male unionists. Occasionally, individual working women made starts of their own. Mary Kenney was one of these.⁴⁶

Florence Kelley described Mary Kenney as "a superb embodiment of youth in the Mississippi Valley." A native of Hannibal, Missouri, the daughter of an Irish immigrant father who worked as a railroad mechanic and talked to her about the importance of unions, strikes and eight-hour laws, she grew up "tall, broad-shouldered, with ruddy face and shining eyes... [and] carried hope and confidence wither-soever she went." Forced to seek full time work at fourteen to support herself and her invalid mother after her father's death, she became a skilled bookbinder and eventually landed in Chicago in the late 1880's. Struck by the miserable pay and horrendous conditions of most Chicago shops, she became a self-appointed organizer of women printing and bindery workers, urging them to organize for better wages and sanitary working conditions. As soon as she had heard about the Ladies Federal Labor Union #2703, she joined it and embarked on her official organizing career, starting with Bindery Union Local #1. Through her organizing and speaking efforts on behalf of working women, and as a CTLA delegate, she came to the attention of women's club activists. Her organizing skills were also noted by the AFL and resulted, in 1892, in a short-lived appointment from Gompers as the first woman organizer of the AFL.⁴⁷

In the meantime, Kenney had become acquainted with Hull-House. During the winter of 1890-1891, she had received a letter from Jane Addams inviting her to dinner to meet some English trade union people. Kenney had never heard of Jane Addams, and her first defensive reaction, she recalled, was a disdainful "no club people for me." But upon her mother's rejoinder not to pre-judge, she changed her mind and accepted, although full

of suspicions. Upon finding herself in the settlement's spacious reception room, her first thought, she noted in her autobiography, was, "if only the union could meet here!" Addams, sensing her "recalcitrant mood," had welcomed her by instantly inquiring what she could do for her union, and this broke the ice. Surprised, but determined to be equally direct, Kenney told her that her greatest need was a good, clean meeting place. Addams assured her that they could meet right there. Besides that, she told Kenney that she would personally distribute the flyers announcing the meeting in the neighborhood. That did it. When Kenney discovered that "there was someone who cared enough to help and to help in our way, it was like having a new world open up" (my italics). At Addams' suggestion, Kenney also came to stay at Hull-House for several weeks, in order to test for herself the residents' sincerity and usefulness to working women. Thereafter, Kenney organized the "Jane Club," the first self-managed working women's residence in this country, with its own carefully planned building as part of the growing Hull-House complex.⁴⁸

The first union Mary Kenney organized at Hull-House were the shirtmakers, with Henry D. Lloyd as featured speaker. But it was the organizing of the Women's Cloakmakers that Jane Addams recalled as the most illuminating example of contemporary labor relations. In what she saw as a peculiarly American situation, she described how, for the first time, two very different groups of workers were brought together in a Hull-House parlor: on one side, the unskilled, but socially-superior-feeling, neatly dressed Irish-American "girls," who were as ignorant of the effects of their "home-sewing" on other workers as they were of the benefits of organizing; and on the other, the skilled, but poverty-stricken, ill-clad Russian-Jewish tailors, awkward and suspicious, but class-conscious and aware that they had been losing their jobs to these young women. Until

their mutual interdependence was made clear to both groups through the residents' and organizers' expositions and the women's decision to unionize, Addams noted that the gulf of ethnicity, language and religion between these two sets of people appeared wider between them than between the Irish-American working women and the two or three upper-middle-class "Yankee" women residents present. However, once those young women had decided to start a union in order to associate themselves democratically with the men in their trade, their leap of transcendence across the chasm of ethnicity and religion became a permanent feature in their outlook. More than with other unions, it found expression thereafter in their demonstrated sense of obligation and generosity toward other victims of the sweating system.⁴⁹

Another example of the importance that the women at Hull-House attached to the fate of women workers and women's unions was underlined by their efforts to start and to cooperate with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). Started in 1903 by women workers, reformers and trade unionists among male social justice activists and union leaders within the Hull-House orbit and from among some of the Eastern settlements, the League's objectives were to encourage union organizing among all women workers, to assist new women's unions and to support those women workers who were members of male-led unions. A cross-class organization that reflected some of the basic conflicts between middle-class proto-feminism, social justice and basic union objectives, the WTUL's efforts remained largely confined to major cities like New York, Boston and Chicago, with large numbers of industrial women workers and dedicated women reformers.

Among the three big cities where the WTUL had some impact during the Progressive Era, Chicago emerged as the most militant. This was partly due to the determined leadership of its local and national president, Margaret Dreier Robins, but even more because of its 30,000 women workers in thirty different women's unions, and about the same number of women in male-led unions.⁵⁰

Inevitably, as Addams and her co-workers helped organize unions, they became committed supporters of strikes. In fact, some of the unions, organized at the settlement, grew out of strikes in the course of which Hull-House became their strike headquarters. In the first such event, in 1892, young women workers struck the nearby Star Knitting Works over unjust fines (a favorite employers' control measure used against women workers), and they appealed to Addams to represent them. In what may have been Addams' first arbitration effort, she succeeded in persuading the employer to refer the dispute to a judicial arbitrator who decided in favor of the strikers. Thereafter, Hull-House became involved in many other small, local strikes, in most of the large ones in Chicago, and sometimes in those in other parts of the country.⁵¹

Inevitably also, the settlement became a relief and support center in several bitter Chicago garment strikes during the 1890's and in the great 1910 "uprising," initiated by young immigrant working women. Although its outcome, like those of the earlier great "uprisings" of women workers in New York and Philadelphia, was inconclusive, it strengthened the position of union women within the labor movement and confirmed the WTUL's place as an activist organization in Chicago. The single limited agreement the workers were able to obtain from Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the industry leader, through the activities of a small group of militants, led by Sidney Hillman, nevertheless laid the

groundwork for future industry-wide bargaining and its related vision of modern "industrial democracy." In these developments the support of the strikers by the entire Progressive community and, in particular, through the ties developed between Sidney Hillman, Addams, Darrow and other social justice supporters, were crucial to the later growth of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and of industrial unionism.⁵²

Although over the years Addams had come to recognize the inevitability of many strikes, she maintained her ambivalence about them as well as her great hopes for an increasing effectiveness of arbitration. She remained convinced that most strikes were caused by lack of proper mechanisms for negotiations, backed by legislative provisions. Her experience of large strikes, such as Pullman, the stock yards and the violent teamster strikes, impressed her, above all, with "the cruelty and waste of the strike as an implement for securing the most reasonable demands." Strikes like Pullman and many of the larger strikes, after 1900, convinced her that in such mass manifestations the labor movement revealed itself as "a general social movement concerning all members of society and not merely as a class struggle." True to her vision of a republic of relatively equal citizens, she maintained her dread of sharp manifestations of class cleavage and of the ill will that large strikes brought to the surface on either side.

Her first major arbitration effort occurred in the Pullman strike where, as secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation's conciliation committee, she, along with Bertha Palmer and Lyman Gage, tried unsuccessfully to intercede with George Pullman. She had great hopes for the new Illinois State Board of Arbitration created by Governor Altgeld, but quickly found that neither side was eager to avail itself of the machinery. Though not as intimately involved as Mary McDowell was in the great stockyards strike of 1904,

Addams played a vital role at several critical junctures, such as helping to prevent the lynching of imported black scabs and by supporting a women's caucus within the meat cutters union. Her joint intercession effort together with McDowell and Dr. Cornelia De Bey, with J. Ogden Armour, the leading packer, resulted in an initial recognition of the union, if not in much else. The effective settlement-led effort to publicize the conclusions drawn by a Congressional investigation into workers' conditions in the packing industry resulted, ironically, only in President Theodore Roosevelt's signing of the federal Food and Drug Act of 1906.⁵³

Many of the Hull-House residents had become active supporters of strikes after Mary Kenney's involvement with Hull-House. Under Kenney's direction, residents and volunteers had first organized groups to take food and other relief essentials directly to strikers' homes. Residents made personal choices regarding their modes of support. Some became regulars on the picket lines and occasionally were arrested. Alice Hamilton recalled that she preferred to go on the line very early in the morning "because the police were much less in evidence then." Ellen Gates Starr became one of the most dedicated pickets, for which she was later much honored by several unions and the AFL.

Addams did not picket. Her fundamental sense of human relatedness fed her endeavors to maintain a practical impartiality, whenever possible, despite her appreciation of the importance of labor's aims. She also felt (not unrealistically, given the ruthlessness of much of contemporary owners' assertions of their property rights) that as the head of the settlement, she needed to remain, to a degree, "above the fray" and that her particular usefulness to labor was expressed in other ways. Over the years it made her an easy target for some of the militants, among them Ellen Starr, who once compared the importance

that Addams gave to conciliation in the heat of a strike to a "Christian Science" denial of a toothache, while throbbing with pain. So clear, however, was the public perception of Hull-House residents' allegiance to workers' causes, that already by the mid-1890's, the press had become used to coming straight to Hull-House for accurate strike news, even if the ultimate articles didn't end up that way in print.⁵⁴

Jane Addams' New View of Working People and the Labor Movement

After Addams had become well acquainted with many of her neighbors as workers and members of organized labor, they assumed a steadily larger place in her thinking and writing. In her first published essay on workers and the labor movement, Addams sounded like the supportive and kindly, but severe older sister who felt it was her duty to admonish the undisciplined younger siblings. Addams' initial views of workers' circumstances was defined by the immediate aspects of worker-employer relations. Based on her observations made in her neighborhood after she had started Hull-House, she noted that industrial relations were clearly the most violent of all social relations in modern industrial society. Industrial relations were volatile and disruptive, she felt, because modern industrialism was so new and no adequate mechanisms and structures had been devised through which orderly relations between the two sides could be conducted.⁵⁵

As the creator of an institution designed to foster non-violent solutions in all relationships, from the most personal ones between individuals to the broadest relations between social groups and classes, strikes appeared as the most injurious events and late nineteenth century unions' strike-proneness was a severe test of her advocacy of workers' causes. Nevertheless, as of the mid-eighteen-nineties, after she had been intimately

involved in the waves of local and national strikes and protests, she grew from an admonitory defender of labor into one of its steadiest advocates. Ultimately, as one of labor's most sympathetic interpreters to the bourgeoisie, she saw workers and the labor movement as that part of society that incorporated humanity's richest and most diversified variety of traits, both good and bad, its hopes, capacities and needs under the largest possible number of life's circumstances. In her expanded perspective, workers and the labor movement had become the most authentic source for voicing and reflecting basic human life and work. At the same time as she acknowledged labor's important place in industrial society, she did not hesitate to speak out as labor's cool critic, concerning its proneness to violence, its brutality towards scabs, its contempt for certain ethnic groups, its racism, its reluctance to avail itself of arbitration machinery, or to embrace legislative routes to reform more eagerly. (Sometimes her eagerness to help secure better working conditions led her to endorse "cosmetic" management welfare gestures with unwarranted optimism.)⁵⁶

In her first essay on labor, she had stated that Hull-House's self-imposed mandate to support workers' organizing efforts was a dual pledge: first, to help workers obtain the immediate material benefits for a "more equitable distribution of the product;" second, to help them "secure a more orderly existence" through which to reach for the "higher aims of living." This endeavor, in turn, entailed two caveats. Directed at both sides in the industrial arena, it was, nevertheless, addressed more explicitly to labor, which, in her eyes, was still in a relatively undeveloped state of "youth and immaturity."

The settlement's first "big sister" objective had been to keep unions from their preponderant warlike "negative action." It grew out of their justifiable sense of injury,

which was expressed reactively, through short-term tactics aimed to frustrate the designs of the capitalist employer. Instead, a more "positive force" and "self-sustaining motive-power" were essential, she suggested, to move working people beyond the defensive objectives of getting even with the boss, or of achieving some material gains through corrupt means, toward the broad goal of promoting "peaceful industrial progress."⁵⁷

Turning to the employer, she warned that he, too, had to learn to desist from negative attitudes and actions, such as invariably trying to "quiet down" his workers, insisting on his "inalienable right to his invested capital," or to denying the workers right to representation by their "walking delegate." To Addams, this denial of their representatives' historic role of organizer, as the agent of the "interpretation of democracy into industrial affairs," was comparable to the people's earlier historic struggle, in which the universal franchise became the "means of entrance into the sunshine of liberty and equality."

The second caveat that the settlement needed to point out to the "immature" labor movement, according to Addams, was its tendency to see too sharp a "division on class lines." This resulted in "the organization of society into huge battalions, with syndicates and corporations on the side of capital, and trades unions and federations on the side of labor....to divide the world into two hostile camps...." It led, among other things, to an oversimplified view of the real world in which wrong and right were, in fact, "most confusedly mixed." Her hopes here lay with the "older and better-organized" unions that had already recognized the solidarity of labor and acted out of their experience of brotherhood. They could thereby raise the hope that through a growing understanding of

the idea of "universal kinship" the workers would eventually be able to "perceive the larger solidarity that included both labor and capital in its "larger vision of life."

Seen from this perspective, the kind of solidarity some unions displayed in their "sympathetic strike" support of, for example, the Pullman strike could on the one hand be criticized as a "wasteful and negative demonstration of ethical fellowship" because it was too narrow in a one-sided support of the American Railroad Workers' principles. But on the other hand, she suggested, this negative solidarity might also be seen differently as a clumsy prefiguring of all good citizens' common protest against such prevalent conditions as child labor that rested on an ethical feeling strong enough to overcome both "business interests and class prejudices."⁵⁸

The settlement's job in a strike was, therefore, to separate the transient from the permanent aspects. Uniting, first in association and brotherhood and then reaching out for more democratic relations with the employer, were part of her large, inclusive and permanent picture. For this to occur, the present situation was uniquely opportune, she felt, given "the immense fund of altruistic feeling with which society had become equipped" through the miseries and suffering laid bare in the course of the recent upheavals. They were the source from which a new "motive power" had arisen (discernable even among segments of the "power-holding classes") that was "slowly enfranchising all classes and gradually insisting on equality of condition and opportunity." In its expression by the labor movement it confirmed the latter's "ethical nature."⁵⁹

A year or so after her first labor essay had been published, Addams took the opportunity for a stronger restatement of her belief in the ethical superiority of the labor movement, after she had had more time to ponder the cataclysmic events of the Pullman

Strike. She wrote the second essay after the events, during which her involvement as an arbitrator and her visits to the town of Pullman had added to her already deepened understanding. She had read it before the Chicago Woman's Club and at The Commons settlement where it had "excited great interest." Henry D. Lloyd commended her for the essay's "surpassing literary quality." John Dewey, who had become a close, personal friend and collaborator, wrote her that it was "one of the greatest things" he had ever read, both as to its form and its ethical philosophy." However, when she sent it to different magazines where her earlier writings had been well received, it was roundly rejected.⁶⁰

She discovered that her championing of the unions in "A Modern Lear," as she called her Pullman discussion, was considered so radical by the leading magazine editors, and her indictment of the capitalist employer at his most philanthropic, seen as so outspokenly on the side of labor, that it went unpublished for seventeen years. The Atlantic, the Forum, the Review of Reviews, the North American Review, and The Century had turned it down. Most of the editors had taken refuge behind the excuse that it was dated by the time they received it, in which there was some, but not much truth. The generally negative reaction of the mainstream periodicals reflected some of the sentiments aroused in elite opinion circles who saw the rise of a nationwide industrial union movement as a potential revolutionary threat.

Several factors gave the essay a unique clarity and depth. The burden of the piece--her emphatic restatement of her conviction of the ethically and socially vital roles unions played in modern life--took on even greater significance on two separate levels, if one realized that her personal experiences were themselves directly involved. Some of the intellectual and emotional complexity of her subject matter may only have become

apparent to her in the course of writing the essay. This made her discussion of the strike both sharp and poignant.⁶¹

She recalled, in Twenty Years at Hull-House, how her first direct involvement in a major strike that created a "distinct cleavage of society," evoked in her an acute sensitivity to "the bitterness and division," heightened further by the settlement's maintaining "avenues of intercourse with both sides." She was personally acquainted with George Pullman and his family and had witnessed the "general pride and pleasure he had taken in his model town." Conversely, as one of the official arbitrators, who talked with many of the Pullman employees at their strike meetings in Kensington and at their "modest supper tables," she had also witnessed their initial belief that there would be a quick settlement. This was based on their faith that "the benevolence that had built the town would not fail them," once the problem of the misrepresentation by the "straw bosses" had been cleared up.

Even more unforgettable were her experiences of the strike around Hull-House. Most of the neighbors wore the white ribbon emblem of the strikers, while the residents were split as to the justice of the strike. For Addams, the ultimate painful experience of the atmosphere of social cleavage arose from the fact that her beloved oldest sister Mary Linn, was at that moment dying in a hospital north of the city. Though the strike did not prevent Addams from reaching her, by a circuitous route, it drastically delayed the arrival of her sister's family. It had also troubled Addams that her sister's last days would be darkened by bitterness against the strikers, for keeping her loved ones from her--a fear proved needless by Mary Linn's unasked assurances that she judged no one. The tensions Addams felt nonetheless, on her sister's behalf, symbolized to her the increased feelings of

lasting bitterness and the many "moments of sorrow and death...made difficult and lonely throughout the land..." because of the strike.⁶²

Her aim in writing "A Modern Lear," she later explained, was to analyze the "inevitable revolt of human nature against the plans Mr. Pullman had made for his employees," and to bring out "the social implications of the failure of this benevolent employer and its relation to the demand for a more democratic administration of industry." Shakespeare's King Lear served her purposes admirably, because she found in Lear's relations with his youngest daughter, Cordelia, an embodiment of the tragic conflict between individual paternal benevolence and broader social standards that reflected the diverse standards among individuals. It was also through her discussion of the analogous, outmoded paternalistic relations between a father and daughter that the strike's special meaning for her became evident on a second and personal level. According to biographer Lucy Knight's persuasive thesis, "Lear" here served Addams as the means to the final resolution in her own up-to-then still unresolved conflict with her "benevolent dominator" father.⁶³

As Addams saw it, the workshops and town of Pullman were organized as a "vast social operation," but managed in the interest of their private owner. The factories and particularly the town's services and rent schedules, which were fully integrated into the enterprise's profit system, were not run with an eye to the workers' needs, that is, from a social perspective. They were run, instead, on the basis of what one individual--George Pullman--thought was best for the workers. In this case, that meant running them commercially, at four percent profit. When, as a result of the depression, there were fewer sleeping car orders, wages were cut by as much as thirty-five percent, but rents and all

municipal charges in the town stayed the same. This drove the workers to form a union, to go on strike and to appeal to the labor movement for support. Like Lear, who could not acknowledge his daughter's newly-independent thinking when he encountered it and meet her as adult to adult, Pullman refused to meet with the unionized workers even for ten minutes.⁶⁴

Pullman's ultimate tragedy, according to Addams, was that he failed to "catch the great moral lesson" of his time, to recognize the groundswell of the "world-wide moral impulse" inherent in the labor movement, whose "watchwords were brotherhood, sacrifice, the subordination of individual to trade interests for the good of the working-class." As an illustration of what she now emphatically identified as organized labor's most significant role, she extolled the American Railway Union's coming to the aid of the weak Pullman unit as a "manifestation of moral power" in the face of almost certain disastrous consequences. Pullman's failure, on the other hand, to "cherish...the workers social virtues as an appropriate expression of the age" and his insistence that the workers recognize his benefactions solely in terms of traditional "individual family virtues," demonstrated to her the tragedy of the modern, self-congratulatory philanthropic capitalist.

By ignoring the manifestations of the workers' own social virtues, he eliminated any potential ground for mutual recognition of each others' distinct kinds of virtues. By insisting, instead, on his own individualist and commercial standards as sole measures of virtue, he eliminated any opportunities for the workers to express their appreciation of his efforts in terms of their own social sense of responsibility to their community. He thereby reaped only the bitterest disappointment and ultimate failure of his dream town creation.

Addams' lesson for the philanthropist was that what counted was not "excessive virtue," but "the possession of the largest share of the common human qualities and experiences." The philanthropist was bound to fail as long as he cut himself off from "the great moral life springing from the common experiences," by doing good to people instead of with them.

Finally, in her role of social critic, as well as interpreter, she warned the unions that a concomitant "fatal lack of generosity" toward the employer on their part could be fatal to their own reach for solidarity and their goal of "complete participation...in the spiritual, intellectual and material inheritance of the human race." A narrow view of their own emancipation would spell failures, cruelties and reactions for working people. With Lear, Addams confirmed that her perspective of labor's place in society had shifted. No longer was labor's struggle with employers seen as conflict exclusively within a clearly-defined labor-management sphere. Instead, all of organized and unorganized workers' problems appeared, from now on, as the basic issue of social relations that spread from one end to the other of the entire society, affecting the lives of all.⁶⁵

By the end of the decade, it was evident that Jane Addams' continuing appeal to the "cultivated mind" on behalf of trade unions was no longer equivocal. She had earlier emerged as labor's defender and as the bourgeoisie's plain-spoken, but persuasive labor educator. From now on, her defense of unions' needs and practices became more explicit, always through the emphasis she placed on the "moral striving" in their efforts, despite the violence and disorder that frequently accompanied them. In an essay published in 1899 in the Machinists' Monthly Journal, she exhorted the organized club women, as the most receptive sector of the middle-classes, to recognize the essential "spiritual significance" of the "new trades unionism." She commended it for its insistence on modifying the current

industrial system "until it cease[d] to sacrifice the producer to the product," and until industrial life was organized in such a manner "that it shall issue in a higher type of character to the producer and a higher standard of living."⁶⁶

In the American Journal of Sociology she asserted that, although trade unions had taken on "certain obligations...which belong to all of us," their taking on those common responsibilities was "persistently misunderstood." Despite their efforts, such as measures taken against child labor, and despite their almost single-handed initiatives for legislation against the "harshest conditions," they were only "harshly criticized" by reformers working for the same end and by the public that "laid undue stress" on the accompanying violence. The reasons for this lack of appreciation were that unions were able to accomplish those reforms that should have been done by the whole community, only in a partisan and clumsy way. Because of these only partly-successful efforts, union attitudes, such as their behavior toward scabs, the role of the "walking delegate," the uses and purpose of boycotts, hours limits, apprenticeship restrictions and sympathetic strikes needed to be reinterpreted.⁶⁷

The rest of society needed to know that scabs were seen by trade unionists as traitors to a national cause; that the walking delegate (the organizer), was a professional spokesperson, not unlike a political or diplomatic representative; that the boycott was not so different from the Consumers Leagues' label efforts; that shorter hours were necessary, universal obligations governments had already secured on the municipal and federal levels; that the restrictions of apprenticeships within a trade guaranteed maintenance of high wage levels and protection of skills, not unlike copyrights; and that the sympathetic strike's aim to emancipate the wage workers needed to be seen as an effort comparable to

other moments of "great social passion" in which people expressed their yearning for human freedom.

From all these efforts it was evident that trade unions were coming "nearer to expressing moral striving in political action than any other portion of the community." Unions were the only ones still attempting to encode socially-righteous measures into law and to "secure some degree of improvement in the material conditions of working people," despite the strong, current judicial trend to interpret industrial affairs strictly in terms of commercial, contractual standards. Unions, therefore, ought to be commended as the leading group that appealed to the state to regulate industrial conditions on behalf of all of its citizens. As in regard to the poor earlier, Addams now advocated that industrial reform had to be based on the workers' own standards, in order to develop just and lasting relations. This deepened perspective reflected not only her altered vision in which the working-class undergirded the rest of modern democratic society, but a more structured view of society that gave the settlement a more specific and complex role.⁶⁸

Addams' Mature View of the Settlement's Role

This more sophisticated perspective had replaced Addams' original settlement impulse of "compassionate neighborly living" with a more dynamic concept that gave the settlement an almost "organic" position as social activator in the urban community. It had been shaped in part through her collaboration with independent social scientists like Florence Kelley and academics from the new research universities. An additional source of theoretical stimulation for her practical settlement work derived from Addams' increased

aquaintance with the philosophic pragmatism of William James and, even more directly, through John Dewey's instrumentalism.

Ever since his appointment to the University of Chicago, Dewey had become a frequent discussion leader at Hull-House and one of Addams' close friends and collaborators. A self-declared "premature pragmatist" since her college days who had chafed under class and gender-imposed restrictions of access to knowledge, Addams welcomed Dewey's view of philosophic theory as an instrument for the discovery and application of empirical knowledge to modern life, instead of as an acquisitive intellectual end in itself. Through the application of intelligence or scientific, historical or artistic theory individual conduct, social relations and institutions could be freshly examined, tested and altered in the interests of both better social organization and individual growth. In 1899, she expounded her own views along this line of thinking in her seminal essay "A Function of the Social Settlement" in which she identified "the most pressing problem of modern life" as the need for "a reconstruction and reorganization, of the knowledge which we possess...to make it over into healthy and direct expressions of free living." Under this new perspective, the settlement's function was to help equalize and democratize every kind of knowledge by bringing it directly to those sectors of society that were currently deprived of sharing in it under the widening gulf between classes. In her new definition, she saw the augmented active role of the settlement "as an attempt to express the meaning of life in terms of life itself...."⁶⁹

Unlike the two earlier historic institutions concerned with the spread of knowledge, the early medieval colleges, created for its accumulation and dissemination, followed by the universities, whose task was to search for new knowledge and widen its

boundaries, the settlement's aim was to make all knowledge (including all arts and cultural devices) directly applicable to modern life. A major settlement task under that complex new perspective was, thereby, to make knowledge concretely part of "the common life." Practically, this meant the use of the many new short-term goals within the context of the settlement's central goal of helping individual workers to overcome their feelings of isolation and, thereby, to enlarge their daily lives and their sense of its enjoyment, once their subsistence needs had been met. One example of this approach was, according to Addams, a successful Hull-House project of "gay little Sunday morning breakfasts" for Italian mothers and their often under-developed babies. In a warm, undidactic, social atmosphere, mothers could learn directly about nutritious food, hygiene and disease prevention, instead of being handed dry, incomprehensible statistical information or sternly exhorted concerning correct diet and sanitation. With Addams' inspiration and her co-workers' talents, Hull-House aimed at and often succeeded, to implement James and Dewey's pragmatic mandate to stimulate the expression of new perspectives through a versatile range of intellectual, artistic and practical activities.⁷⁰

In starting her examination of the capacities, needs and hopes of working people as part of her humanist premise, Addams was able to utilize pragmatic thought as a challenge to traditional, formal and static thinking about people and society. It lent her own thought a quality of realism that distinguished her from other Progressive social critics. Her "humanizing pragmatism" greatly reenforced her social evolutionary thinking and accustomed her to the idea of social change, as a fundamental and continuous process. It encouraged her to try any theory that promised to throw some light on the confused urban scene, with its simultaneously exploited and ignored people. Pragmatism, in her hands,

strengthened her search for social fact and for the details of actual existence, in a way that a later social commentator identified as her unique "fidelity to the particular." At the same time, it supported her aim for drawing illuminating generalizations, free from dogmatic finality. It was her pragmatic-humanist sensitivity to life that made her such an acute observer, that infused her writing with the throb of life and with an evocative compassion that continued to stir the imagination across the decades.⁷¹

A few years after the publication of her new concept of the settlement's place in urban society, she published her first book, Democracy and Social Ethics. It represented the distillation of her and others' experience and thoughts, accumulated during their first decade of settlement living. It was also Addams' blueprint for a new code of ethics, her guide for a new social practice that she and others used in order to bring a new era into being.

NOTES

¹Twenty Years at Hull-House, 198-200.

²"Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," 9.

³Jane Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," in Residents of Hull-House, Hull-House Maps and Papers, 183-85.

⁴Destler, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform, 198. Destler's sprawling book is the most detailed source of material on Lloyd and the socio-political complexities of his era.

⁵Henry Demarest Lloyd, "The New Conscience," North American Review 147 (Sep. 1888): 325-39.

⁶Proceedings, The Sunset Club, Feb. 4, 1892; Schneirov, "Class Conflict, Municipal Politics and Government Reform."

⁷Hull-House publications; Addams correspondence, JAP, and Lloyd correspondence, Wisconsin State Historical Society, in early 1890s; Destler, Lloyd, 252-56.

⁸Destler, Lloyd, 256, regarding Florence Kelley.

⁹Ibid., 221.

¹⁰Ibid., 220-21; Nicholas Kelley, "Early Days at Hull-House," Social Service Review (Dec. 1954): 424-29.

¹¹Thomas Morgan to Henry Demarest Lloyd Feb. 24, 1896; Henry Demarest Lloyd correspondence, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, autobiography fragment, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge Mass.; Leonora O'Reilly Papers, Schlesinger Library; Elizabeth and Thomas Morgan Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois Historical Survey.

¹²Ralph Scharnau, "Mrs. Morgan's Crusade," in his dissertation (Northern Illinois University, 1970) "Thomas Morgan and the Chicago Socialist Movement, 1876-1901," 174-192, and his "Elizabeth Morgan," 340-351; Ellen M. Ritter, "Elizabeth Morgan: Pioneer Female Labor Agitator," 242-251; Tax, 66-89; Abraham Bisno, Abraham Bisno, Union Pioneer (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967); Gordon and Buhle, 20-25.

¹³Tax, 54, 72-73.

¹⁴Florence Kelley, autobiographical essays publ. in The Survey, "My Philadelphia," 57 (Oct. 1, 1926); "When Co-education was Young," 57 (Feb. 1, 1927): 557-602; "My Novitiate," 58 (Apr. 1, 1927): 31-35; "I Go to Work," 58 (June 1, 1927): 271-301; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, autobiography; Alice Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1943), 80.

¹⁵Even only a brief perusal of the Addams and Kelley correspondence during the eighteen-nineties and early years of the new century conveys the flavor of their friendship. See also Linn, Jane Addams, 137-140.

¹⁶Florence Kelley; "I Go To Work," 271.

¹⁷Kelley's English translation of Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 was published in New York in 1887, in London, 1892.

¹⁸Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Florence Kelley: The Making of a Social Pioneer (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1966), was the first recent and detailed account of Kelley's earlier years in Chicago. My discussion regarding her New York "Impossibilists," is based on pp. 60-65.

¹⁹Florence Kelley to Friedrich Engels Apr. 7, 1892, Marx-Lenin Institute, Moskow, courtesy Dorothy R. Blumberg, now in Marx-Engels Collection, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.

²⁰Chicago newspaper clippings, Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1.

²¹Kelley to Engels, May 27, 1892.

²²Destler, Lloyd, 54-56.

²³Florence Kelley, "I Go to Work;" Hull-House scrapbooks, vol.1, news clipping of Music Hall meeting Feb. 20, 1893; Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1.

²⁴F. Kelley, First Factory Inspectors Annual Report, Dec. 15, 1893, published 1894, Illinois Bureau of Labor.

²⁵Twenty Years at Hull-House, 201-2.

²⁶Jane Addams, Unidentified labor publication clipping Feb. 12, 1893, Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1.

²⁷Jane Addams to Alice Haldeman, Feb. 23, 1893.

²⁸Florence Kelley, First Factory Inspectors Annual Report; idem, "The Sweating System," Hull-House Maps and Papers, 27-45; Florence Kelley and Alzina P. Stevens, "Wage-Earning Children," *ibid.*, 49-76.

²⁹Blumberg, Florence Kelley, 146.

³⁰Florence Kelley, Second Factory Inspectors Report, Dec. 15, 1884 (1895), small pox outbreak, 28-34.

³¹Blumberg, Florence Kelley, 147-159; Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, 204.

³²Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, "Labor, Legislation in Illinois," for her discussion of the first factory law in Illinois, 201-208.

³³Tax, fragmentation of the Illinois Woman's Alliance, 87-89.

³⁴Destler, Lloyd, 426-428.

³⁵For background and events of the 1893-1896 years that indicated major changes in the local, regional and national political climate, see Chester McArthur Destler, American Radicalism, 1865-1901 (New London: Connecticut College, 1946), 162-254; Scharnau, 193-269; Howard M. Quint, The Forging of American Socialism. Origins of the Modern Movement (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 281-318; Destler, Lloyd, 263-89.

³⁶Destler, Lloyd, 263-89; Nick Salvatore, Eugene V. Debs, Socialist and Citizen. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 115-40, 146-82; Quint, *ibid.*; P. Foner, 2:300-326; 327-337.

³⁷Destler, Lloyd, 272-288.

³⁸McCarthy, "Businessmen and Professionals in Municipal Reform;" Anthony Travis, "The Impulse Toward the Welfare State" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1971), 1-39; Hogan, 46-50; Sidney T. Roberts, "The Municipal Voters League and Chicago Boodlers." Illinois State Historical Society 53 (Summer, 1960):117-148; Lincoln Steffens, "Chicago Half-Free and Fighting On," McClure's 21 (Oct. 1903): 563-77; also chap. 6 of The Shame of the Cities (1904; repr. New York: Hill & Wang, 1957), 162-94.

³⁹Jane Addams, "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption." International Journal of Ethics 8 #3 (Apr. 1898):273-91; Ray S. Baker, "Hull-House and the Ward Boss," Outlook 58 (9 May 1893): 769-71; Ann F. Scott, "Saint Jane and the Ward Boss," American Heritage 12 #1 (Dec. 1910: 12-17; 94-98; Allen F. Davis, "Jane Addams vs. The Ward Boss," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 53 (Autumn 1960):247-65.

⁴⁰Jane Addams, "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption," 290.

⁴¹Mary Richmond to Jane Addams, May 11, 1898, Jane Addams correspondence, JAP.

⁴²Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, "Labor Legislation," 211-12.

⁴³Allen F. Davis falls into that category in his chapters dealing with Hull-House's relations with male trade unions and with working women and children in his Spearheads of Reform, although he does acknowledge the social settlements' genuine support of trade unions, 103-106.

⁴⁴Kelley, Factory Inspectors Reports 1893 to 1896 reveal some of the earliest reliable figures on the proportions of women and child workers employed in Chicago sweatshops.

⁴⁵Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1959), 193-205; 240-47.

⁴⁶Ibid; P. Foner, 2:365-68 on the AFL's relations with women workers; Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labor, 2 vols. (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1925); Eva McDonald Valesh, "Women and Labor," American Federationist 2 (Feb. 1896), 221-23; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, "Organization of Women," (Jan. 1893), unidentified clipping in Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1; Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work. A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 109-41.

⁴⁷Florence Kelley, "I Go To Work," 271-2; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, manuscript autobiography fragment, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe, ca. 1930. For O'Sullivan, see also Eleanor Flexner and Janet Wilson James, Notable American Women, 2:655-56

⁴⁸O'Sullivan, autobiography, 65.

⁴⁹Hull-House Maps and Papers, 190-91.

⁵⁰Elizabeth Anne Payne, Reform, Labor and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Nancy Schrom Dye, As Equals and as Sisters. Feminism, Unionism and the Women's Trade Union League of New York. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980); Anna E. Nichols, "Woman and Trade Unions," The Commons (Jan. 1904): 268-73; Gladys Boone, The Women's Trade Union League in Great Britain and the United States of America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

⁵¹Hull-House scrapbooks, vol. 1, Chicago Herald clipping, Apr. 27, 1892.

⁵²For accounts of the 1910 Chicago "uprising" of the garment workers, see: Steven Fraser, Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor (New York:

Maxwell Macmillan International, 1991), 40-81; Matthew Josephson, Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1952).

⁵³Twenty Years at Hull-House, 218; Davis, Spearheads of Reform, 112-22.

⁵⁴Kenney, autobiography manuscript; Hamilton, 82; Ellen Gates Starr to Robert Woods, Mar. 28, no year, but undoubtedly 1896, based on content of letter.

⁵⁵Addams, Hull-House Maps and Papers, "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," 87.

⁵⁶See footnote in Hogan, Class and Reform, 258, # 147, regarding the International Harvester Company's placing mirrors in women workers' restrooms.

⁵⁷Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," 184, 185, 187, 203, 194.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 199-200.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 200-203.

⁶⁰John Dewey to Jane Addams, Jan. 19, 1896, Jane Addams correspondence, JAP; Henry D. Lloyd to Jane Addams, Feb. 23, 1896, *ibid.*

⁶¹Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, Jan. 9, 1896; The Survey 29 (Nov. 2, 1912): 131-37.

⁶²Twenty Years at Hull-House, 214-15; 217.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 217-18; Louise W. Knight, "Benevolence or Justice: Class, Gender and Power in Jane Addams' 'A Modern Lear'," unpublished paper, 1993.

⁶⁴Jane Addams, "A Modern Lear." The Survey 29 (Nov. 2, 1912): 131-7; Christopher Lasch, ed., The Social Thought of Jane Addams (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 105-123.

⁶⁵My quotations from "Lear" are from the Lasch reprint, 113-15, 118, 119-220.

⁶⁶Jane Addams, "The Significance of Organized Labor," Machinists Monthly Journal 10 (Sept. 1898): 551-2.

⁶⁷Jane Addams, "Trade Unions and Public Duty," American Journal of Sociology 4 (Jan. 1899): 448-62.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 448, 462.

⁶⁹Lewis S. Feuer, "John Dewey and the 'Back to the People' Movement in American Thought." Journal of the History of Ideas 20 (Oct.-Dec. 1959): 545-68; see also Jane Dewey, ed., "Biography of John Dewey," in Paul Arthur Schilpp, ed., The Philosophy of John Dewey (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1939), 29-30, for Hull-House's and especially Addams' influence on Dewey. According to his daughter Jane, "Dewey's faith in democracy as a guiding force in education took on both a sharper and a deeper meaning because of Hull-House and Jane Addams.." Jane Addams, "A Function of the Social Settlement," Annals of the American Academy of Politics and Social Science 13 (May 1899): 326.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 324-26, 340.

⁷¹Staughton Lynd, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," Commentary 32 #1 (July 1961): 55-59.

CHAPTER 5

ZENITH YEARS AND AFTERMATH

A New Philosophy for the Industrial Age

By the late eighteen-nineties, evidence of a widespread belief in the need for more vigorous expression of democratic thought and its practical applications in the innumerable daily relations between individual people, groups and classes in the city, had encouraged Addams to restate the settlement's role as a conscious social and intellectual facilitator. By the start of the new century, she had grown sufficiently confident of her vision of a vastly enriched and expanded American democracy, grounded in the lives of the majority, to gather her views in her first book, Democracy and Social Ethics. Although she wrote nine more books, this was the one that contained as much of her credo for social practices and the generalizations that arose from them, as she cared to put under one thesis. However far, thereafter, her thinking might move in pursuit of one or the other topic, it invariably returned to her conviction that all social change had to start with a response to the needs and aspirations of working people, who were the best guarantors of democratic equality. She herself regarded this first volume as a sociological textbook. It was both less and more than that.¹

She had originally gathered the bulk of the book's contents from both published and manuscript versions of speeches and essays, for a series of twelve lectures she gave during the summer of 1899 at the University of Chicago. In each of her six chapters following her introduction, she discussed the conflicts individual social types or typical

groups had experienced while caught in the middle between old individualist attitudes and "new lines of conduct" that emerged under the pressure of a "newer social concept of democracy." Her first chapter served as introduction to her analytical discussions in which she presented the experiences, relationships and insights of a decade in terms of a new societal critique and vision, cast in a more explicit, experimental humanism than her earlier writings.²

Addams meant Democracy and Social Ethics to be a blueprint for a new code of ethics, to develop a social practice suited to the new industrial society. It was addressed, in first instance, to those of her own class who had become "most unhappy in regard to their attitude toward the social order itself," through their growing awareness of the dreary work routines and stunted lives of so many of their fellow-citizens. These were the people who felt the clashing discrepancies most keenly, between their old individualist code that stopped at family boundaries and the new code of social outreach that emerged from the imperatives of the new industrial society. It spoke to those who "desire[d] both a clearer definition of the moral code, adapted to present-day demands and a part in its fulfillment, in terms of both " a creed and a practice."

Based on her own experience, her observations and her reading, the practical aim of her analysis was to help reform-hungry members of the bourgeoisie to see their own and others' dimly-understood maladjustments more clearly; and, by acquainting them with models that revealed some of the currently clashing ethical codes more distinctly, to suggest more appropriate attitudes. This she did in accordance with her growing experimentalist conviction that the first thing needed by those yearning for an "adequate social motive" was to be brought into contact with "the moral experiences of the many."

Experience was the prerequisite for developing broader social impulses leading to a social outlook and conduct. But experience had to be continuous. Just as the old "family ethic"--in effect, the extension of the individualist ethic to the basic family unit--had grown out of the "common fund of memories and affections" accumulated through continuity of daily family living, so the new, wider, social ethic had to come out of prolonged experience with the wider community.

In this undertaking it was not enough to "mechanically hold a moral standard, then jump at it in rare moments of exhilaration." Process was as important as result; inadequate methods led as much to failure as "ignoble aims." Experience in the social realm inevitably meant an enlarged, more dynamic concept of democracy, through which one learned that democracy was not to be conceived "merely as a sentiment" for general well-being, nor just as a creed of equality and dignity for all, but also as "a rule for living." Only prolonged experience could guarantee social sympathy, aroused in the process of "mixing on the thronged and common road where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another's burdens."

For Addams, the evidence that this new "experiential" democracy was indeed visible already in many aspects of contemporary life manifested itself, in first instance, in the growth of "an enormous interest in human life as such." The avidity with which newspapers were read, as the most obvious manifestation of a "first dawn" of social consciousness, the popularity and profusion of the novels of the "new realism," attested to an "omnivorous curiosity" regarding life that indicated "a new affinity for all men."

From this new affinity arose a new sense of moral obligation to widen the sphere of one's "realization of the experience of other people," since they, ultimately, determined

one's understanding of life. Limited "refined" intercourse within a restricted social circle led to limited ethics and a narrow life and mind. Social truth could only be discovered "by rational and democratic interest in life." By making its fullest expression the invariable goal-- "identification with the common lot"--which to Addams was the "essential idea of Democracy," became "the source and expression of social ethics." The best evidence that "the cure for the ills of Democracy [was] more Democracy" was instanced not by those among the educated, who felt the social perplexities most keenly, but by "those who [were] simpler and less analytical."³

Social awareness of our common humanity, the first step toward building structures of democratic cohesion, could develop only, she believed, through a dialectical process of exchange. Social insights could only be gained through a common understanding of emotional (empirical) experiences and intellectual (theoretical) efforts, that linked middle-class people with those groups and individuals who were involved in conflicted social situations, such as factory workers, educated middle-class daughters, charity recipients, immigrant school children, domestic workers and urban reformers.

Without aiming for a more systematic theoretical framework for her analysis of the different social types, her new code offered, nevertheless, a sufficient challenge to the validity of current Social Darwinist and individualist ethics to inspire thousands of readers and listeners. By suggesting that a modern, industrial society that considered itself rooted in democracy needed a broad, people-oriented network of social and economic legislation and institutions that fostered already existing social relations, she challenged the individualist definition of "man in terms of acquisitive property" that was becoming the measure of personal and national success under maturing corporate capitalism.

As a substitute, she called for the broadest socialization of both the declared political rights, as well as of the traditionally undefined, but implied, economic and personal rights to "life, liberty and happiness" on the basis of inclusive human equality. What this amounted to in the United States was a reaffirmation of the idea of social cohesion, of community, of republican commonwealth over the idea of the "free" (isolated) individual as basic unit of society.

Ever the willing acknowledger of others' different perspectives, Addams conceded that individualist standards might have been suitable spurs for self-betterment, to move beyond the social and economic boundaries of the family in the earlier, agriculturally-based commercial North American society. But in the contemporary industrial world of large aggregations of capital, factories and workers, it had become clear to her that human beings could only survive and thrive as social beings as part of and within a community. To be human was to be social. True individuality developed amidst myriad material, emotional, intellectual and spiritual, social and individual experiences, through cooperative relations between people, not just through competitive conflict and extension of inherited material acquisitions. Individuality developed through interaction of the whole person with others. Her thinking here reflected some of Henry Demarest Lloyd's speculative thought in Wealth Against Commonwealth, which she had read when it first appeared in 1894. "We can become individual only by submitting to be bound to others...[t]he more relations, ties, duties..." the more would the individual be enriched, Lloyd had written in his last chapter, reflecting an outlook that resonated profoundly in Addams' own thought. Absence of community-wide, ethical social goals and failure to articulate them as standards against which to measure existing social institutions resulted in the chaotic repression and

exploitation of the diverse urban and semi-rural groups that made up the majority and in the evident malaise of certain strata of the dominant class.⁴

What Addams sought, therefore, as underpinning for future social structures, was what she called (somewhat confusingly, but perhaps, deliberately) "corporate consciousness." This was the final stage of social awareness in which our imagination had reached a point beyond mere reform efforts. This new consciousness made it impossible for us to condone certain social ills any longer. It forced the community as a whole to recognize its responsibility, at last, for the continuation of these conditions and to make a concerted effort to remove them. Schools for newsboys were no longer a sufficient remedy while these children continued to sell papers during the night; institutions for the blind or the deaf were inadequate until they provided, simultaneously with their special training, a broad education for the other, normally-functioning faculties of handicapped people. While a beginning was being made in the eradication of contagious childhood epidemics, the conditions of "crime and pauperism" under which too many children were still born had to be tackled. Setting general standards of education for children or for political equality for adults were only a means to an end. The "ultimate end" that always remained was "the development of human nature in scope and power and happiness...including the powers of life and enjoyment."⁵

It was here, in her "going to the roots" vision of a society structured to free itself from the grip of exploitative relations, that her thought became radical. Her radicalism lay in her conviction that all economic and social institutions ultimately existed solely for the evolution of a society in which, after the material necessities of life had been met, the useful and creative human faculties of individuals could unfold in ways as yet unimagined.

It was this vision of a humane and just society, no longer riven by deep antagonisms, that provided her readers with startling flashes of insight, illuminating the constraints of the present and highlighting the great possibilities that lay ahead. As Charles and Mary Beard suggested some years later, it was through the speeches and writings of Jane Addams that Hull-House, more than any other institution of the period, "did as much to counteract the dogma of individualism and restore the social principle to thought about civilization."⁶

When Democracy and Social Ethics appeared, it filled a special place. By that time, criticism of American urban society had swelled to a loud cross-class chorus. If Henry D. Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth was the book whose panoramic analysis of contemporary corporate economics and its ethical implications was the major source that fueled the anti-monopoly drive of the turn-of-the-century years, Jane Addams' Democracy and Social Ethics was its more pointedly human and potentially broader corollary. It cast a glow of hope and expectancy over the multiplying progressive reform projects. Its great appeal lay in the directness of her sensitive portrayals of various people's dilemmas and their efforts for solution, presented in a way that stimulated her readers' sympathy. What was freshest about it was her presentation of the different social types without condescension, scorn or sentimentality--a new tone when it came to discussing people like domestic servants, immigrants, school children, union members or even grafting political bosses. Its focus was on real life in a real world with which it was possible to identify.

The book enjoyed immediate acclaim when it appeared in April 1902. Reviewers and readers agreed on its refreshing absence of "fanaticism and dogmatism" for its "reasonableness and breadth of tone." Most of Addams' settlement friends agreed with Dr. Jane Robbins, one of the movement's pioneers, that in it Addams said what many of

them felt but had failed to express; it was a "book of leadership," particularly for those "to whom ideals of a larger democracy have become almost a religion...." Vida Scudder, next to Addams, the most intellectually astute among the pioneers, wrote that she found Democracy and Social Ethics "the most valuable book" she ever read, because it came "out of the experience of democracy, as opposed to theory." It proved Addams' contention that "wisdom c[ame] only from wide contact with popular life" and that social morality was impossible, without it. Helena Dudley, another pioneer, commended Addams for her "judicial, non-partisan tone" that permitted Addams to say "shocking things without frightening people"--the latter, perhaps the most illuminating comment concerning the book's appeal among the educated and affluent.⁷

Millionaire Stanley McCormick wrote Addams that the book inspired him to start a property-sharing scheme on his Montana ranch and to reflect on the practical and ethical problems of inherited wealth within the context of her ideas of industrial democracy and governmental "industrial amelioration." Millionaire-reform politician William Kent felt that the book made up for what was lacking in the philosophies of the Spencer-Sumner school. Unlike these abstract thinkers who contradicted themselves in their discussions of ethics due to their lack of personal acquaintance with "the submerged," he saw her book as "a beginning of a philosophy based on human affairs as they are..." (my italics). The novelist Robert Herrick told her he "devoured" her book, praising it both for her critique of the "glorification of the bourgeois virtues posing as democratic virtues and for her chapter on "filial relations" in which she highlighted the fate of the unmarried daughter as "a slave of the family." Edwin Seligman of Columbia University wrote, with not atypical male academic arrogance, that "no other book by a woman shows such virility..., such

masculinity of mental grasp." William James, who was becoming a regular reader of Addams' writings, regarded it as "one of the great books of our times" for her discussion of democracy.⁸

Addams herself referred to it as "the awful book" and wished she had taken more time to revise it, a sentiment she invariably repeated when faced with deadlines of succeeding books. "It seems horribly detached and patched," she confessed to Mary R. Smith, and she "could hardly bear to look at the outside of it, much less open it." But by the following month she was feeling a little better about it and announced that her publishers were going into a "rush" second printing. A new edition was to appear during the coming year, and from her comments about the good time she was having in New York and Philadelphia when she wrote this, one could guess that she, too, had come to regard it as a success. The book's enthusiastic reception confirmed and strengthened Addams' belief that the time had arrived for the establishment of democratic reforms on as broad a front as possible. It consolidated her conviction that as many new and experimental facilities as possible needed to be installed now, even if they bore the marks of struggle and compromise.⁹

Progressive Reform Becomes a National Movement

By the early years of the twentieth century, it was becoming evident that "new" reform movements to "clean up," streamline and centralize municipal government and enhance civic life through public projects favorable to commercial life were being duplicated in all the leading metropolitan areas across the country and many of the larger cities. In post-Haymarket Chicago a decade earlier, when the above-mentioned trend first

became noticeable, some of the business and professional men from among those "new reform" circles, who were particularly eager for less-conflicted class relations, had embarked on joint reform undertakings with labor-friendly male reformers and women from among the social service organizations and the new settlements to concern themselves more pointedly with human and cultural needs. Similar "Progressive" coalitions of corporate/ professional men and social service and social justice activists of both sexes had begun to appear within many of the nation's other urban centers.

As reform efforts spread among the cities, they moved simultaneously into the countryside. Progressivism had originated as a series of bourgeois urban movements concerned primarily with local political corruption and administrative innovations, and only secondarily had displayed a degree of interest in social issues as auxiliary remedies. Now its rising spirit of political insurgency spread from the cities to predominantly rural regions, where it demonstrated broader social and economic objectives. This was true especially in areas where Populist sentiment against railroads and extractive corporations had been strong. Becoming visible in the course of the first decade of the new century, Progressivism mounted the regional and national stages as a series of shifting congeries of diverse, sometimes cooperating, sometimes conflicting, political, economic and social movements under the reform banner.¹⁰

As it continued to accelerate its pace and elaborate the configurations of its diverse trends during the next dozen or so years, middle-and-cross-class interest groups, singly or in combinations, manifested their growing impact on state legislatures and Congress. Anti-corruption reformers from both traditional parties as well as independents, joined by specific groups of organized labor, made inroads into state governments and among

Congressional officeholders. Through the introduction of long-sought democratizing reforms such as direct Senatorial primaries and legislative devices like the "initiative" and "referendum," the reformers widened the political arena before turning toward more specifically socio-economic remedies.¹¹

Not so paradoxically, Progressivism's rising inclination for a more inclusive democracy and the anti-monopolists' clamor of "the people against the interests" occurred in the period that saw the creation of U.S. Steel, the first billion dollar corporation, and symbolically confirmed the enormously invigorated and expanding corporate capitalist economy. Much of the reform fervor and its widespread expressions of confidence in a bright future was counter-weighted by a return, in different parts of the country, at different moments, of bitter conflicts between employers and workers caused by open shop drives and violent strike breaking efforts not seen since the earlier eighteen-nineties. Deepening divisions between categories of workers based on skill, ethnicity, race and gender, heightened the turmoil between them and within their communities. Giant new factory complexes and organizationally streamlined enterprises dramatized new methods of work from the shop floors to the new skyscraper offices of old owners and new managers.

Transcending class conflict and technological expansion, these altered structures and work relations engendered an unprecedented sense of social dislocation and economic uncertainty that spread beyond working-class and occupational boundaries into the middle-classes. The arrival of new immigrants at the rate of over a million a year during much of the decade added to the spreading middle-class sense of crisis. It challenged some to defend aggressively their concept of native Yankee "village democracy" and inspired

others to work harder toward the realization of the earlier republic's ideals of citizen egalitarianism. It began to appear to millions of Americans that only multiple reforms could serve for the preservation and necessary extension of American democracy under the profound changes the society was undergoing.¹²

As the conviction of accumulated and unsolved industrial and social problems spread from its working-class origins to the middle-classes, a noticeable shift occurred among the multiple reform groups away from issues of electoral mechanics, municipal administrations and infra-structures and toward a greater concern with basic social and economic problems. In its wake, the groups with long-term commitments to the improvement of urban working-people's living and working conditions moved closer to the political centers, where they and the issues they had long raised began to gain national attention and support. These groups, almost invariably, were headed or closely associated with the coalitions that clustered around the vanguard settlements for whom labor's clamor for social justice and governmental support of the "general welfare" had become the cardinal motivation during the 1890's. Now that the national spotlight focused increasingly on the kind of problems social justice activists had dealt with locally for many years, labor-friendly settlements in metropolitan areas like Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Jersey City, achieved national recognition as expert social and economic resource centers. Settlement activists, on their part, welcomed the wider recognition of their work and rejoiced at the prospects for stronger support of their existing projects and legislative programs.

* * *

Simultaneously, a second shift occurred that characterized the era as much as the first and served to reinforce its direction. It could be characterized as a "shift in personnel." As national attention moved beyond the narrower male-controlled goals of electoral politics toward a new emphasis on broader social and economic objectives, middle-class women activists, with a smaller group of working-class women, emerged as the most dynamic new force in support of the new social politics. As in earlier periods, when issues outside of conventional electoral politics moved to center stage through the massive involvement of women--as in the case of abolition--Progressive Era women began to dominate the cross-class and cross-gender reform coalitions. Although the bulk of the 19th century women's movement's non-electoral social politics had been forged within the growing philanthropic and social service reform movements that ante-dated the settlements by more than fifty years, in this era of nationally-expanding social reforms, "woman movement" activities and outlook were increasingly shaped by women-led settlement coalition politics.¹³

There was nothing new about the fact that within the social justice-oriented settlements middle-class women had generally assumed leadership. What was new was that in the course of the century's first decade hundreds more well-educated, politically-conscious, predominantly white upper-and-middle-class women settlement residents and women's clubs' volunteers, a number of them social science professionals with advanced degrees and trained social workers, moved into the public limelight as social reform and social justice activists. Hundreds of social reform volunteer organizations from coast to coast were made up of and staffed by these recent recruits. Over the decade a handful of women from among the spreading network rose to assume positions of leadership in state

and federal government offices with national visibility. Their first-time prominent participation significantly affected the direction and nature of reform politics. Although their degree of commitment to working-class interests varied with women's individual and group agendas, their sense of common womanhood directed many to join the growing women's majority now proceeding under the banner of social and social justice reform.¹⁴

Explanations for this surge of women into reform are not hard to come by. The most readily-documented source can be found in middle-class American women's century-old practical and prescribed preoccupation with philanthropic and social services that by the century's turn reflected the staggering dimensions of socio-economic human needs in the cities. A more recent, second, explanatory source can be found in the narrowed-down but reviving women's suffrage movement whose roots lay in the heterogeneous ante-bellum struggle for woman's rights that had run the gamut from sex radicals, to "material feminists" focused on women's physical living and work space, to those among more conservative social service groups who were nevertheless allied with the politically-conscious women's rights activist leadership. By the early twentieth century, the reviving women's suffrage movement drew its strength from the indirect path to political power the movement had largely been forced to take after the post-Civil War defeat of its equal rights suffrage campaign. That defeat nevertheless gradually led the majority of variously-questing women to transform their imposed/assumed relegation to traditional domestic/maternal service interests into the more modern, politically explicit ones of "municipal housekeeping" and "social motherhood," buttressed by fifty years of rising political consciousness. A third, more oblique but equally relevant, source was the growing recognition by many middle-class women of their shared subordination based on

gender that strengthened their links to other, cross-class groups at the peripheries of life subordinated on the basis of race, ethnicity, age or physical condition.

This sense of a cross-class womanhood goes far to explain why, in this period, these mostly middle-class women with their recently acquired gains first appeared en masse on the public scene, more explicitly aware than other categories of women of the issues that could be tackled through reform. Within the insurgent Progressive reform coalitions the growing presence of largely voteless, but change-hungry, organized women became the biggest factor in reformers' efforts to push state and federal government toward new forms of greater socio-economic inclusiveness. After years of frustrating defeats inflicted by state legislatures and courts upon their initial local victories, the nationwide convergence of reform movements and women's organizations convinced the female leadership of social justice reform that the time was ripe to coordinate their own coalitions' intensified local, state efforts regionally and nationally in a move designed to attain lasting results through federal legislation and permanent structures. Driven by their accelerated reform energies, reenforced by money from diverse elements ranging from "magnates" such as Julius Rosenwald and new philanthropic foundations, the focal settlements of social justice reform, whether Hull-House or the "Back of the Yards" in Chicago or Henry Street in New York, found themselves, on a growing number of occasions, at the head of ground-breaking statewide, regional and national investigations, campaigns and legislative efforts.

Hull-House in Its Second Decade of Social Justice Activism

If Hull-House's multiplicity of practical and creative reforms had already assured its preeminence among Chicago settlements during the 1890's, by the start of the century the enthusiastic reception and wide distribution of Addams' first book reenforced the settlement's reputation as the most influential Progressive reform center nationally. It also confirmed Addams as the most compelling voice of Progressive social justice reform. She, in turn, welcomed the era in which accumulated knowledge and locally-tested reforms could at last be attempted on a larger scale. In her memoirs, she characterized the settlement's second decade as the main period of "constructive social effort," in which they had "uncover[ed] the situation and provid[ed] the legal measures and the civic organization through which new social hopes might make themselves felt." Despite her and her associates' awareness of their settlement's current local and national recognition in this period, she and the other activist leaders also knew that their spreading fame rested, first of all on their demonstrated commitment to the issues of working people and to those of all other subordinated sectors of the population; and second, on their lateral cooperation with the large number of socially-concerned groups with whom they now shared wider or narrower goals.¹⁵

As reform projects with similar intents as those undertaken by Hull-House and other Chicago settlements cropped up in cities across the country, Hull-House emerged as the most colorful and challenging proving-ground for a second generation of women and men residents who had benefitted from the increased accessibility of advanced higher education. They eagerly joined the settlement's current undertakings or started new ones, only to spread out again after longer or shorter stays among other reform centers across

the country, where they helped to start, revamp or continue, new social organizations and cultural support projects or join innovative local, state and national government investigations and commissions. In this expansion of reform ideas and practical facilities with multiple private and public connections, the many ties forged earlier by the Hull-House coalitions with both organized labor and academic educational and political circles burnished Chicago's distinct reform reputation.¹⁶

Those who followed the reform scene in the daily newspapers and periodical press across the country were, by now, aware how many of those who gained national attention for the effectiveness or boldness of their reform activities or public service were people who had lived or worked within the Hull-House orbit for longer or shorter periods. Later close Hull-House contemporaries attributed some of the settlement's uniqueness to an elusive, but special "Hull-House spirit" that imbued the outlook and actions of many of its activists. Some noted that what frequently distinguished them was a knack for linking their particular volunteer or professional undertaking to the broader issues of social and political justice. This ability to relate the plain details of one's daily activities to the larger trends of contemporary American life reflected the kind of fusion of intellect and feeling that lay at the center of much of Addams' own thought and actions.

Despite the settlement's much more complex daily round of activities in its second decade and Addams' increased national stature and more frequent absences, many residents experienced the catalytic impact of her presence even more than before, whether through personal daytime appointments, or in the course of the effervescent dinner exchanges, or in incidental late evening encounters. Its strongest message, which not everybody was always able to heed, was its mandate to deal with people and problems in

the most mutually respectful and compassionate way possible, despite differences in class, education and personal style. Practically speaking, this meant taking working-class people into account in ways heretofore not widely evident in the relations between middle-class and working-class people. But now, under a sense of crisis that had widened since the eighteen-nineties and spread from below into the other classes, activists' responses often reflected the challenge of the democratic appeal, with its electrifying and threatening sense of accelerated social and economic change.¹⁷

* * *

Another noticeable feature of settlements' greater involvement in public life in this era was the more prominent participation of men in their activities. Social justice Progressivism in its twentieth century version attracted a new kind of male activist. Unlike the male pioneer residents of the earlier decade who were most often motivated by conventional theological training before responding to a social gospel outlook geared to reform, young men activists of the second generation came more directly after college graduation, or after a taste of a distinctly secular professional occupations. They were generally more worldly and frequently more affluent. With a wider range of career options and a less devotional attitude toward reform, they nevertheless opted to join one or the other reform activity after having witnessed some of the tumultuous urban events and the resulting reform fervor while in college.

With the tremendous expansion of newspaper, magazine and book publishing, geared to the new urban culture, many among the younger crop of male residents had embarked on journalistic, legal or literary careers. Some had found jobs in the new occupation of union or reform organization publicist, as social workers or as government

factory inspectors. Immersed in the pervasive reform atmosphere, many found the socially committed settlements the most exciting places, in which they could associate with labor leaders, new and old kinds of urban politicians, foreign or domestic social science academics, artists and spirited union women. Part of the attraction of experiencing the metropolis through settlement work was its broad involvement in the kaleidoscope of the "urban frontier," with its colorful mix of high-minded avant-garde reform and the alluring, semi-bohemian, if not "low" life of the immigrant communities, before "settling down."

Many of the young men residents quickly gravitated toward reform politics, starting at the municipal level, through which they were able to bring issues vital to unions and other under-represented groups to greater prominence before the public; others became sociological experts and were instrumental in helping to rewrite the laws after publication of their new findings through their involvement in one particular issue, such as municipal recreation or housing; still others made the central settlement concern of social justice the driving motive of their work and devoted themselves to bringing one or another "outsider" group closer to the center of the democratic arena. Among the many in this category of those whose reform convictions were prominently shaped by Hull-House, three stand out in particular.

Robert Hunter was one second generation settlement activist who attained national stature through his efforts to help reform specific aspects of working-class life. As a well-to-do young college man from Indiana, his social conscience had been aroused by the catastrophic impact of the 1893 depression that he had witnessed in Chicago. Choosing the kind of "social work" that would identify him as a quintessential Progressive in the next decade, he went directly to Chicago after graduation, where he became a resident of

Northwestern University Settlement. He experienced his most lasting, many-sided reform involvement after he moved to Hull-House, then immersed in the initial stages of formulating the cities' first comprehensive housing policies. As secretary of the new City Homes Association, his work connected him, through the settlement's characteristic inclusive urban perspective, with a host of related issues, from small parks to children's free dental clinics to lodging houses. His systematic tenement investigation report became the basis for a new Chicago housing code in 1902. Offered the job of head resident of University Settlement in New York, Hunter there continued his broad involvement in reform issues, among which child labor legislation had gained a prominent place, thanks, among others, to the unremitting work of Florence Kelley and Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement. As chairman of the first New York anti-child labor committee, he plunged into a high-powered campaign that resulted in a model New York State Child Labor Act in 1903 and led to the formation of the National Child Labor Association.¹⁸

His lasting fame as a nationally-recognized Progressive was established with the publication of his book Poverty through which, for the first time, its title's widespread subject and permanent presence in modern America, was irrefutably revealed. Though deeply flawed by anti-immigrant and "anti-pauper" prejudices, his bold analytical and systematic attestation of the economic and social causation of poverty shocked middle-class Americans into recognizing the need for broad legislative remedies.¹⁹

The second activist, Raymond Robins, arrived in Chicago in 1901 after an adventurous and restless earlier life. Forced to fend for himself as a high school dropout from a broken middle-class home, his work as a miner in Florida, Tennessee and Colorado turned him into a convinced trade unionist, UMW organizer, and labor lawyer. Legal

practice in California involved him in a number of Progressive causes, including women's suffrage. A successful venture into the chaotic "last frontier" world of the gold fields around Nome, Alaska, netted him a small fortune and induced a religious conversion experience that led him to a dual career of ordained minister and municipal reformer. Attracted to Chicago's turn-of-the century reputation as the country's leading Progressive reform center, he became a resident first of The Commons, then of Northwestern University settlement.

He entered the Hull-House orbit the year of his arrival when he joined Jane Addams in the public defense of local anarchists harassed by the police after President McKinley's assassination. His marriage in 1905 to the wealthy Brooklyn-born Margaret Dreier, national and local president of the Women's Trade Union League, consolidated his ties to settlements and organized labor. His political work with settlement neighborhood groups propelled him into a number of mainstream and Progressive municipal campaigns. His prominence in the fight against corrupt aldermen, for a new city charter, municipal ownership of utilities, transportation and reform mayors, established his reputation as a consummate political organizer. His past and present union ties, along with his wife's far-flung union connections, gained both of them lasting friendships and respect among local and national unions that formed the base of their leadership roles in social justice Progressivism. By 1912 it landed him among the Progressive Party leadership in Illinois and at the national level.²⁰

Like the other two men, William English Walling, Kentucky-born scion of a wealthy family, found his opportunities to express the promptings of his social conscience within the labor-friendly sphere created by Hull-House and the other supportive Chicago

settlements. Among the three men, he was the one whose espousal of social justice reform evoked the deepest commitment to social equality and propelled him from ivied halls to Chicago tenement districts.

After graduating from the University of Chicago and a year at Harvard Law School, he returned to a reform activist's life in Chicago. There he worked as factory inspector, while continuing graduate studies in economics and sociology and living in a mixed black and white working-class area. Experiences at work and in his neighborhood aroused his indignation and drew him closer into the Hull-House orbit, through which he broadened his friendships with neighbors, trade unionists and radicals. They confirmed his growing conviction to devote the rest of his life to the support of labor and the needs of working-class people. His firsthand knowledge of racially mixed communities and his observations of the plight of working women and children solidified his determination for decisive action concerning unions, women and child workers and the black community.

Feeling thoroughly at home in the world of settlement-led social justice reform which had instilled in him a permanent sense of wrath against injustice and sympathy for its victims, he became a resident of University Settlement after he moved to New York in 1901. It plunged him into the center of New York's reform ferment along with fellow residents J.G. Phelps Stokes, Robert Hunter, Walter Weyl, Ernest E. Poole that launched him on a career of incisive reform journalism and a chance to exercise his "genius" for organizing. Through his attendance of the weekly city-wide AFL council meetings at the settlement, his post-meeting socializing in neighborhood bars and his intensive study of economics, trade unionism and socialism, he acquired an intimate knowledge of New York urban life and the predicaments of its living and working conditions. He first

demonstrated his organizing talents when he assisted Robert Hunter in the creation of an effective New York State Child Labor Committee. The next year he embarked on the first of his two leading organizing projects that put him forever on the national social justice reform map.

Walling's mix of intellectual, sympathetic and financial capabilities, combined with a familiarity with working conditions of industrial working women, moved him to develop a practical plan for the nationwide unionization of women workers. Encouraged by Florence Kelley and Lillian Wald, he went to England during the summer of 1903 to learn more about the long-established English women's trade union league. At the annual AFL convention held in Boston that November, he met with Mary Kenney O'Sullivan who, like him, had benefitted from the creative activism of Hull-House. Over lunch at the Revere House the two laid out the basic structure for the National Women's Trade Union League and had further meetings with trade union women and men delegates, urban women reformers and leading settlement workers friendly to the cause. The resulting cross-class organization of women workers and their middle-class "allies" thereafter played a vital role during the reform decades' massive women-led strikes in the garment trades. Effective mostly in major cities like New York, Chicago and Boston and others with concentrations of skilled and unskilled women workers, it helped to educate and organize thousands of women workers into dozens of new and existing unions.

Walling's second large initiative occurred after his return from czarist Russia where he had gone to witness the abortive 1905 revolution and met his future wife, the Russian socialist activist Anna Strunsky. Back in the United States, their witnessing of the Springfield, Illinois race riot of 1908 in the course of their joint nationwide lecture tour

redirected his concern from czarist oppression of the Russian peasantry to that of black people in America. It prompted him to write two articles about race relations in the North, calling for a "new abolition movement." Encouraged by the New York settlement worker Mary White Ovington, then completing a four-year study of the city's black communities, and by Henry Moskowitz, another politically-experienced New York settlement organizer, Walling drew up the initial plan for what would become the National Association of Colored People. After a year of meetings among reformers and black middle-class friends and activists that included W.E.B. DuBois and his militant Niagara Movement, the organization was launched in 1910.²¹

* * *

Despite the increased prominence of men working within settlement-inspired social justice projects, the women activists, more than the men, supplied the bulk of Progressive leadership and the cadres identified with social justice and the less class-aware social reform outlook.

By the early years of the new century, women clearly made up the activist majority in Progressive reform organizations at the local, state, regional or national level, as well as in some of the new public or quasi-public facilities. Within the greatly expanded reform world, a remarkable number of former or current Hull-House women residents and volunteers could be found at the center of the nationwide women's social reform network. Their work was crucial to establishing the era's dominant reform character through full-time settlement leadership, as seasoned professionals or experts in public and quasi-public reform-driven investigations and as public officials in newly-created state or federal commissions and bureaus.²²

The national women's reform network itself was made up roughly of three different pillars. Leadership arose, in first instance, from those settlements distinctly committed to social justice, scattered throughout the country, but most prominent in its eastern half. They had woven their own communications web from city-wide to national federations over the previous years, which they constantly enriched through cooperative exchanges of information concerning specific projects and methods and, most vitally, through the bonds of personal friendships. From its start, Hull-House had served as the model for establishing close ties with other leading labor-supportive Chicago settlements, such as McDowell's "Back of the Yards" and Graham Taylor's Chicago Commons, among others, and for the many smaller "satellite" settlements that grew in the periphery of the path-breakers. It had extended equally close ties to leading East Coast settlements such as Lillian Wald's Henry Street in New York, where Florence Kelley had permanent quarters; Helena Dudley's labor-friendly Denison House in Boston, with which the scholars Vida Scudder and Emily G. Balch were closely associated and where Mary Kenney O'Sullivan had found a home.²³

At its opposite end, the third pillar was formed by the more reform-conscious members of hundreds of women's clubs, associations and leagues that, in the new century, radiated largely from the metropolitan units of the General Federation of Women's Clubs across the country. They literally connected individual activist women in the smaller cities, towns and rural areas with each other through their vertical and horizontal ties to regionally and nationally-organized social service organizations such as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, the Consumers League, the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the National American Suffrage Association,

Kindergarten Association, the National Women's Trade Union League, the Immigrants Protective League, the National Child Labor Association, the National Playground Association and regional municipal reform leagues.

In many respects, however, it was the smaller but strategic middle pillar of women activists, the growing number of academically-trained women with advanced university degrees, that constituted the most important group for settlement-led social justice initiators in this period. Its women university graduates flocked to leading urban settlements like Hull-House where they became the "second generation" of residents and activists. From among the variety of women students in diverse graduate school disciplines, it was the social scientists who often developed the most innovative reform roles that forged new kinds of ties between urban academic or philanthropic research institutions and settlement-initiated social action programs.

In this process, the leading Chicago settlements themselves had, for some years, played vital parts as catalysts between the universities' brand-new social science departments and specific reform activities. Thanks largely to President Harper's policy of the University of Chicago's commitment to public service, Hull-House and the other activist Chicago settlements had benefitted directly from their location in the city, now seen as the leading center for applied social research. Among the dozens of young University of Chicago advanced degree graduates, the settlement was fortunate in permanently attracting three who ever since then were counted among the country's most creative women scholars, teachers and activists. Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott arrived at Hull-House during the turn-of-the century years, where they, as newly-minted academics, learned to combine scholarship and reform activism in un-anticipated

ways. Since Breckinridge and Edith Abbott's careers offer the most trenchant examples of my discussion of similarities and contrasts between the two generations, the focus will be primarily on the first two. Edith Abbott's younger sister Grace, who arrived a little later, with a different balance between social science scholarship and activism, will be more briefly discussed.²⁴

In their long-term and intimate association with Hull-House as professionally-trained social scientists, Breckinridge and the Abbotts gave the kind of boost to the entire settlement-inspired Chicago reform community that Jane Addams had yearned for since the mid-eighteen-nineties. To her, the three personified the change between the settlement's first decade, which she had characterized as one of "stating general principles and making a demonstration," and the second decade, which she saw as a period for "constructive social effort...a time for uncovering the situation and for providing the legal measures and the civic organizations through which new social hopes might make themselves felt." Looking back over the twenty years, it was clear to Addams that the work of the three during the first decade of the new century had helped Hull-House achieve its best results. Their broad empirical knowledge in political science, constitutional law and economic history, coupled with modern statistical and methodological social research training, helped to consolidate, sharpen and multiply the social justice coalitions, investigations and reform facilities far beyond those of the previous decade. It also helped to lay the scholarly foundations for professional social work. More important historically, their scholarly political and socio-economic knowledge of urban industrial conditions significantly helped to formulate the first broad-

based social welfare policies in the United States in which their gender consciousness and knowledge of working women's economic circumstances played an important part.

With an illustrious Kentucky family background in law and public service and paternal educational guidance, Breckinridge, as a graduate student, concentrated on economics and political science, law and constitutional history. This interest led her, under the guidance of reform-minded professors like Ernst Freund, to concentrate on the new legal activist and historicist approach to constitutional development of state power in relation to questions of public welfare and modern governmental regulatory legislation under expanding industrialism.²⁵

Edith Abbott arrived a few years after Breckinridge, who became her teacher and close friend from the start. Reared in a politically-active Nebraska family with strong traditions of anti-slavery, women's suffrage and higher education, Edith Abbott's personal intellectual capacities and ambitions led her to concentrate on modern economics and quantitative techniques, at which she excelled. Encouraged by Breckinridge and her professors, including Thorstein Veblen, Abbott's early statistical analyses of 19th century unskilled industrial workers' wages made her a trail-blazer in the historical interpretation of American working-class economics. Startling insights gained from her rigorous statistical and census wage studies led her gradually to deeper social conclusions concerning the cumulative effects of industrialization and poverty on working people's lives, despite her devotion to "scientific detachment" and an obvious lack of familiarity with workers' actual living conditions. Among her most significant findings was the statistical evidence of working women and working children as the most vulnerable groups.²⁶

Although for Addams and the other settlement reform "pioneers" Breckinridge's and Edith Abbott's intellectual and practical contributions signified the welcome and infinitely more sophisticated amplification of their eighteen-nineties' reform hopes, the younger women had come to Chicago and the university with a different set of priorities. A backward glance at the motivations that brought the first generation of educated women to Chicago will recall that for Addams, Lathrop, Kelley or Hamilton, their reasons had grown out of a primary sense of social concern mixed with a growing sense of compassion for urban working-class people's lives. The evident usefulness of many of their social and cultural innovations had fortified their social sensibilities and, over time, changed them into political commitments to improve the unbearable conditions under which most urban people lived. Educated daughters of an earlier age that rarely offered women direct access to universities, their vaguer, or thwarted, academic career ambitions had been subsumed under their accumulating inner and outer reform compunctions. Despite the two generations' similarities of social and political backgrounds, Breckinridge and the Abbotts' primary motivation, unlike that of the pioneers, arose directly out of their personal expectations for gender-equal educational, academic and career opportunities, on a par with those of men.

For these aspiring future women scholars, the University of Chicago's (still unusual) formal commitment to coeducation raised women students' high hopes for receiving the same rigorous academic graduate training as men students, to be followed by full-fledged university-supported careers as scholarly research professors and teachers. In this era of academic professionalization, research university administrations and graduate school faculties also took the lead to enhance the ideal of scholarly objectivity as a central

goal. Its much-touted coeducational admissions, coupled with its explicit policy of scholarly social inquiry as public service, were the chief components through which President Harper aimed to stress the scientific excellence of the graduate school as the heart of his modern university. But the fact that formal acceptance of women into advanced degree courses was intended to remain just that, and that nobody within the almost entirely male professoriate and administration was prepared to work actively for the realization of the women students' equal career goals, was not yet apparent. Their vigorous pursuit on behalf of the small, but proportionately significant community of university women, was left almost entirely to its redoubtable Dean of Women, Marion Talbot.

Thanks to the dean's ubiquitous and assertive shepherding the women graduate students drew their support, from academic to financial and personal matters through a variety of formal associations of the dean's invention that integrated their community fully into the prized environment of the graduate school. Once accepted within their programs of choice, these well-qualified, high-spirited students were free to pursue their advanced training in the challenging and lively atmosphere, supported in their course work by the individual mentoring of their professors. Besides acquiring knowledge in their professors' fields of expertise, they adopted their professors' (and the university's) central intellectual perspective, which saw the acquisition, elaboration and transmission of modern scientific knowledge through social investigation as the central task of the objective social science academic. A measure of involvement into current public issues reflected the best scientific approach of the modern scholar/expert as well as the responsible citizen. But the line was

drawn at involvement that veered into advocacy, which was seen as a threat to scholarly detachment and as a diminution of scientific truth.

Under these circumstances of both real and apparent educational equality, the second generation's reform motivations, as highlighted by Breckinridge and Abbott's careers, understandably developed differently. Their reform commitment took shape more gradually and only as a secondary goal in relation to their primary dedication to a narrower and more abstract ideal of the modern university-based social science scholar. New insights gained through economic and historical studies that confirmed the vulnerability of all working people under industrialism and underlined the particular problems of all women had, however, begun to rekindle their dormant inheritance of mid-nineteenth century reform traditions. These now resonated with their own accumulating experience of gender-based slights within the university and increased their consciousness as academic women. But the full impact of their academic marginalization only hit them after graduation, when university appointments commensurate with their high academic achievements failed to materialize, despite brilliant course work, warmly acknowledged by their professors, and doctorates with highest honors.²⁷

Fortunately for Breckinridge and Abbott's futures, the budding scholars had, in the course of their graduate careers, discovered a second community of women in Chicago. These were the middle- and upper-class activists who were by then the dominant group in settlement-led social justice reform. At its core the university women found Hull-House, whose alluring pioneer women reformers extended a warm welcome to them and acted as the younger women's guides to the vibrant world of Chicago reform circles. Frustrated by the university's practical lack of support in their quest for post-doctoral teaching and

research appointments on a par with those of their male fellow-graduates, the two academics benefitted directly from the older women's well-established ties to the city's public, political and social institutions, its immigrant communities and trade unions. Easy access to this "fascinating mix of working people, immigrants and socially conscious reformers" offered Breckinridge and Abbott the solution to their dilemma. Their entry into the Chicago reform community allowed them to create a new dual perspective. As scholars/activists, they could thereby maintain their primary commitment to the advance of modern social knowledge by wholeheartedly making the entire social reform terrain into a vast new field of modern social research for the development of social thought and unprecedented American social policy. The only irony was that, to maintain their dual position as academic women scholars/activists at the university, they had to do so as long-term assistant professors of social work in the less-than-academic new Department of Household Administration, a catch-all designed for the university's women students.

As stellar residents of Hull-House, all three in successive years became social justice reform activists whose social science expertise helped intellectually and practically to boost the emerging modern welfare state. Breckinridge, in particular, assumed a position of leadership in the Chicago reform community through her active participation in a number of organizations, from the Women's Trade Union League to the NAACP. Thanks to Breckinridge, Grace Abbott, then completing her Master's degree in political science, became director of the Immigrant Protective League. She thereby became not only a Hull-House regular, but raised the organization into an important Chicago mainstay for arriving immigrants. Although her new job spelled the end of her scholarly career, her two decades spent as the settlement's leading organizer on behalf of immigrants, and

particularly the young women workers among them, prepared her well to become the first university-trained woman social scientist to occupy the highest federal office as head of the United States Children's Bureau, after Julia Lathrop's resignation a decade later. Both Abbotts were among the leading Hull-House speakers on behalf of suffrage and the Progressive Party. Sophonisba Breckinridge's and Edith Abbott's collaborative writing careers concerning the new topic of women's economic circumstances that dated back to their joint first years of the university led to Edith's brilliant book, Women in Industry, that remains a milestone in the study of American class and gender issues.²⁸

Despite their significant reform activism and important legal and economic contributions to new legislation concerning working women, Breckinridge and Edith Abbott's primary personal and professional commitment as social scientists remained to the academic and educational standards and objectives of the University of Chicago. Working together cooperatively since the first decade of the century, with only minor university appointments in social work (not within the more prestigious departments of their expertise) they endeavored nonetheless to develop the institutional and intellectual research approaches of modern social science education. Through these efforts they raised the incipient profession of social work in Chicago from its haphazard institutional beginnings within an ongoing underfinanced settlement-supported training school to the levels of a first-rate academic graduate school of social work that eventually became the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Social Service Administration.²⁹

Although they remained closely connected to Hull-House and the Chicago reform community from the beginning of the century until the nineteen-forties and fifties, the evidence was clear that their long dedication to socio-political issues had not arisen

primarily out of a deeply-felt personal commitment to the precarious lives of individuals and groups leading to efforts for social change. As academic social scientists their primary commitment had started and remained to rigorous scholarly teaching and research in their own disciplines as the foundation of their students' social work careers. Though Addams and the others of the "pioneer" generation shared their faith in progress by knowledge and dissemination of scientific knowledge, they never relied on it as the main tool. Based on their deep personal commitments, they believed instead in the primacy of making the direct emotional appeal, followed by the application of a broad array of scientifically-informed reforms, among which education held a prominent, but not the dominant place.

Breckinridge and Edith Abbott brilliantly represented the most up-to-date-model the academic professionals as social activists among the women who radiated out from settlements like Hull-House into leading positions in Progressive reform. Nevertheless, it was Alice Hamilton, a member of the first generation of Hull-House women, who most characteristically personified social justice Progressives' blending of personal and intellectual commitment with a trail-blazing career as a professional scientist.³⁰

As the "foremost practitioner of industrial toxicology" in the United States, she discovered how to use her skills as medical researcher to reduce or eliminate the deadly impact of industrial substances and processes on the lives of vast numbers of working people. She thereby reflected, better than anyone else among highly-educated women activists, the combination of advanced modern scientific knowledge and class-transcending personal acquaintance and commitment to working-class needs and hopes that constituted the innermost wellsprings of Progressive social justice reform.

Born into a leading Ft. Wayne, Indiana settler's family, both parents' interests in their five children's education had created a remarkable, intellectually-alert and socially-sensitive cultural atmosphere. Declining family fortunes during Hamilton's young adulthood helped to shape her decision for a medical career that guaranteed a woman's self-support through meaningful work and helped to sensitize her early to visibly deteriorating social conditions in her home town. Her undergraduate medical and scientific studies at the University of Michigan's new medical school, modeled along German universities' rigorous lines that linked laboratory and clinical work to research, gave Hamilton a thorough introduction into modern bacteriology and pathology. Her post-doctoral decision to concentrate on scientific medical research sent her for further studies to German universities and Johns Hopkins. Her first job as professor of bacteriology and pathology at Northwestern University's Women's Medical School in Chicago gave her the opportunity to realize her long-held plan to become a Hull-House resident after having met Addams earlier in Ft. Wayne.³¹

Hamilton had come to the settlement with the expectation that it would readily show her the way to integrate her private medical teaching and research with the settlement's exhilarating reform projects. But it took over five years of uncertainty and dissatisfaction with her "restlessly active" life before she discovered how to integrate her professional work with the settlement's social and political outreach in a manner that satisfied the demands she had set herself personally and professionally. During this period Hamilton worked as instructor at the medical school and as a private research specialist in infectious diseases, while running a well-baby clinic and teaching physiology at Hull-House. Through daily involvement in the hopes, habits and overwhelming debilities of

the local Chicago working-class population she gained insights into the totally unexplored connections between the city's industrial environment and diseases that kindled her interest in the scarcely-existing field of industrial medicine. But it took the catastrophic impact of a typhoid epidemic in the Hull-House neighborhood to reveal to her the specific reform avenue she needed to take in order to link her professional life with the ongoing settlement-led campaigns against corruption and neglect within municipal departments. Although she had mis-diagnosed the exact source of the epidemic in her otherwise masterful official medical report, its widespread press dissemination, pinpointing evident municipal laxity was an important factor in mobilizing massive support for major shakeups in the city's Health department and other municipal departments. Through this event she had at last found the way to her new role as professional scientist/reformer that had eluded her for so long.³²

Her reputation established, she worked thereafter as the medical investigator in a series of other health-related Chicago campaigns coordinated by the settlement coalitions, such as the cocaine traffic among school children, midwives training, infant mortality and the multiple, poverty-related manifestations of tuberculosis. Her role as public health investigator, her widely-published reports on these topics and the distinction of her accumulating knowledge of toxicology in industrialized countries, brought her to the attention of her profession and secured her place within the reform community. Simultaneously with her medical reform activities, Hamilton's involvement in other, more overtly political Hull-House campaigns opened her eyes to the pervasive social inequalities, police brutalities and wide-spread contempt among members of her own class for the predominantly immigrant population of Chicago. This cumulative awareness led to

the gradual, but eventually whole-hearted engagement of her latent social sympathies in support of the physically and politically oppressed. It constituted the foundation for a radicalized liberal perspective of the urban-industrial scene that, from then on, provided the framework within which to blend her profession with the rest of her life.

As singular expert in the field, industrial toxicological investigations on behalf of one or the other reform-driven public agency became Hamilton's full-time occupation after 1908, first for the State of Illinois, then for the federal Bureau (later, Department) of Labor. Joint and individual investigations under her direction into the effects of such unexamined substances as arsenic, cyanide, turpentine, brass and above all, lead, for the first time established a direct correlation between illnesses and specific occupations, thereby shattering American industry's claims to superior factory conditions.³³

The distinction of these trail-blazing forays into American industry's "terra incognita" lay in her exacting scientific and technological analyses, accomplished within the context of her unique access to the empirical data concerning "dangerous" factories, manufacturing processes and workers' disease symptoms she called her "shoe leather epidemiology." The relative ease with which she could gather this practical knowledge grew out of her reformers' familiarity and concern with workers' occupational and family lives, unions, factory inspectors and hospital records, acquired in the course of her Hull-House life. The results of her scrupulous scientific investigations proved conclusively that both the extraordinarily high levels of the toxicity of substances and processes as well as those of morbidity in U.S. industry stemmed directly out of the absence of preventive legislation (already in place in Europe). As a second major factor for these significantly worse medical and social statistics of American factories Hamilton, the reformer, pointed

out the ignored correlation between the large number of immigrants and racial minorities in the work force and American owners' manifest indifference toward their employees' working conditions.³⁴

In the absence of preventive federal legislation or enforcement powers, and to complete her mandate of scientific investigator/reformer, Hamilton assumed another self-appointed role as worker's public health advocate and general political champion of their needs. In that capacity she acted as a persuasive industrial diplomat in personal interviews with individual plant owners concerning the accuracy of her reports' findings and feasibility of her recommendations for improvements. She continued her hands-on investigations into new industries with potential toxicity for decades, even after she became the first woman professor at the Harvard Medical School in 1919, and her role as nationally and internationally-recognized scientist and supporter of persecuted American radicals and European victims of fascism almost until her death at one hundred and two in 1970. Better than anyone else in that era, Hamilton successfully combined the roles of scientific professional woman activist working within a man's world.

Women in Industrial Society

Within the enlarged environment of overlapping Progressive reform circles Addams had by now become a leading source of inspiration, reform strategies and intellectual guidance. Her own involvement with urban/industrial reform issues had literally grown to global proportions. It extended from concern with the local clean milk supply to the promotion of schemes for strengthening international law and peaceful arbitration of disputes. At the same time, the welcome presence within this reform

environment of many more professionally-qualified social investigators and activists gave her a greater opportunity to concentrate more on a few particular issues that had become absorbing interests.

The three areas that, from now on, occupied a large proportion of her practical work and her most dedicated writing were concern for the lives of urban working-class children and youth, in which issues of child labor, public school education and urban facilities for play were the specific targets; women in urban society, starting from the perspective of working women's needs; and non-violent social relations in the city, as the foundation for non-violent international relations. Although these three topics had been close to her heart from early settlement days, after publication of Democracy and Social Ethics they served as her most compelling illustrations of her first book's central thesis that, like democracy, all reforms needed to be anchored in the circumstances of working people's lives. Publication of Addams' many essays on these topics, quickly followed by a number of books that dealt separately with each, constituted important additional resources with which to enrich and expand Progressive reform activists' efforts.

By now, finding outlets for her writings was no problem. Ever since the publication of Democracy and Social Ethics, Addams had been besieged by leading periodical and book publishers. Editors from some of the new magazines, such as McClure's and The Ladies Home Journal, were eager for single articles or a series. Both types of publishers sensed the many-leveled appeal of her material. By the beginning of the new century, all three topics, but particularly the first two, enjoyed the support of large audiences across the country, especially among women. The third topic--non-violence--gained steadily in attention as the long-standing Western expansionist policies moved

closer toward collision. Although Addams' educational thought was arguably her most encompassing expression of her mature settlement concept I chose to focus on her activities and thought about women as the most explicitly related of the three to my central thesis. Similarly, I chose to omit her prescient work and writing about non-violence because it is more fruitfully discussed in relation to World War I, an event beyond the chronological boundaries of my discussion.

Concern for women in the city--one of Addams' three areas of concentrated reform activity and thought during the early decades of the twentieth century--was also a direct response to the reviving suffrage movement, in which she now assumed a distinct place. Progressive Era reform, in which women often played dominant roles, and the ultimately successful "second stage" of the suffrage movement, went hand in hand in this period.

Although Addams considered herself "born a suffragist," and her "educated feminist" convictions for equal access to knowledge dated back to her college years, she had never joined a suffrage organization; nor had she been particularly explicit on suffrage politics. But even though her memorable call, as student leader at Rockford Seminary, to obtain "the same right to independent thought and action" as men, had been deliberately presented in terms of the traditional "breadgiver" ideal of women's service for others, it did not deny the political implications it held, despite its unbelligerent presentation. In those years, the cause of women's equal higher education was far from being explicitly linked to women's suffrage. Besides, Addams' trait of careful deliberation kept her from being a "ready joiner." Once she had decided on the settlement as her means to extend and share her educational and cultural advantages and knowledge and thereby improve her and others lives, Hull-House became her only platform from which to deal with all issues. In

all these, as they arose during the settlement's early years--education, poverty, sweatshops, strikes, municipal services --she searched for the right kind of approach through which women's suffrage could dovetail with settlement objectives: its inclusive perspective had to address the needs and interests of many different kinds of women occupying many different strata within the cross-class, multi-group society.³⁵

In the elaboration of her suffrage perspective, Addams benefitted particularly from two contrasting and sometimes contradictory groups of women during the dramatic years of the early settlement. The re-kindling of her suffrage ideas occurred, in first instance, through her growing intimacy with her fellow women residents and volunteers from among the educated, professionals or semi-professionals. They had flocked to Hull-House since its start, with similar motivations and expectations for greater intellectual and social autonomy, interesting work and service opportunities, mixed with suffrage convictions. These perceptions were rapidly augmented by the settlement's close cooperation with the Chicago Woman's Club's multiple organizational affiliations that assumed national dimensions after the creation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1890. Her expanding relations with the woman's movement through the settlement revitalized and vastly enriched her earlier "educated middle-class feminist" convictions.

Addams' second source of suffrage thinking arose out of her richly-varied acquaintance with the city's immigrant working-class women of all ages, conditions and nationalities. In the course of the first decade at Hull-House, this second source, grounded in the circumstances of working-class women's lives, became the more significant one for manifesting and elaborating the settlement's objectives. The groups from whom she drew her insights ranged from the energetic, perplexed or rebellious young working girls and

women, the largest group, to the teachers and sales ladies, the Irish matrons of the neighborhood who formed the backbone of the local woman's club civic undertakings, to the ancient crones whom Addams cherished for their ineffable embodiment of the unbroken human ties that endured through the ages. Among these women, the major concerns were higher wages, shorter hours and more bearable working conditions for themselves and their families. Survival, not suffrage, was their major concern; and after survival, women of the immigrant majority were concerned with services and facilities that communities had traditionally supplied, but that industrializing American cities neglected. Consequently, the settlement's primary efforts, in those years, went to help extend city services and institutions locally, and to strengthen existing support structures for the entire community of men, women and children. Until it had become clear, to both settlement residents and their neighbors, how the vote could concretely help women in the industrial areas of the city, women's suffrage had to remain on the back burner.

It was only after the crisis years of the eighteen-nineties, followed by the growing multiple-reform movement's unprecedented urban investigations as the base for new knowledge and new social and legislative proposals, that Addams and the other Hull-House activists grasped the practical potential of women's suffrage for urban working women. It also revealed to Addams how she could blend middle-class women's quest for "political rights" with the social, economic and human rights and needs of working women. That women's suffrage, as one of the basic democratic reform demands was, nonetheless, never far beneath the surface at Hull-House, was evident from the record of lectures, discussions and visiting suffrage personalities, closely identified with the cause.

Concurrently, the 1890 reunification of the two separate suffrage organizations into the single National American Suffrage Association (NASWA) with its single objective of gaining the vote, had made a noticeable impact nationally. This was equally true of states like Illinois and cities like Chicago, traditionally strong centers of the cause, where women like Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Addams' old Rockford College friend, emerged as one of the state's leaders through whom Hull-House suffrage ties were intensified. Events like the 1893 World's Fair Women's Auxiliary Congress had been a particular suffrage "reenergizer" nationally and locally. Settlement activists like those of Hull-House, with English and continental reform ties, had been instrumental in attracting politically experienced European suffragists to its discussions. As chairperson of the Auxiliary's industrial committee the Fair moved Addams to involve herself more publicly in specific women's issues such as domestic labor and women's trade unions, although she refrained from speaking publicly about suffrage. By 1897, however, Addams evidently felt sufficiently assured that her eight years of settlement living had given her enough of a distinct vantage point from which to discuss women's suffrage in a refreshingly down-to-earth manner. Deeply immersed by then in Chicago's accelerating municipal reform movement, she gave her first brief public address on suffrage in Boston, as part of what had become her customary annual or semi-annual lecture trips, in response to the widespread interest in settlements (and for personal reasons of earning income in support of her deceased sisters' children).³⁶

"Lionized by Bostonians" at a reception held in her honor by Massachusetts suffrage and reform groups that included luminaries such as Julia Ward Howe, Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary A. Livermore, she was introduced to the audience by the veteran

abolitionist/suffragist Thomas Wentworth Higginson as "future Mayoress of Chicago." In her brief address she revealed her intention to dissociate herself from the overblown "superior morality" rhetoric employed by many of the suffrage movement's speakers. Her own aim was to re-locate the suffrage arguments in the practical realm of "women's civic duties" and their aspirations for "the highest development of their social life", that rested on "equality of consideration and of recognition", instead of on abstract assertions of the "rights of man." Only after women had the ballot, she declared, could it be established if the reason why "women have not wrecked railroads and perverted Legislatures" was "because they were women" (reputed to hold higher standards of incorruptibility than men), or "because they had no chance" to act with equal freedom as men.³⁷

Although in the years that followed immediately, she continued to concentrate on topics of women's work and not suffrage, the warm response to her Boston talk and the rising interest in women's social and political situation evidently encouraged her to publish, at last, her early, seminal essay "The College Woman and the Family Claim." The essay's argument, that the educated daughter needed to move, independently of the family, into public spheres of work, clearly strengthened the case for women's public work role, for which suffrage was essential, although she refrained from making a direct suffrage argument. Addams' selection as one of the official American delegates to the 1900 Paris Exposition offered her another occasion to broaden her ties with members of the international suffrage movement that fortified her suffrage position at home.³⁸

* * *

Upon Addams' return from Paris when the more favorable economic and social climate was beginning to hold greater promise for enactment of long-delayed reforms, she

and Hull-House plunged into the growing reform opportunities that marked the onset of the Progressive Era nationally. Under these circumstances in which women's needs to effect social change were perceived as a crucial issue, women's suffrage took on a new urgency. Within the first years of the new decade, reform and women's suffrage began to go hand in hand among a broader sector of the reform-minded public than ever before. Aided by the many new reform-minded organizations, settlement-led multi-reform coalitions in cities and states across the country "intensified their focus" on the conditions of working women and the spread of child labor. Chicago pioneer leaders like Addams, McDowell, Lathrop, joined by Kelley, and Wald in New York, and by new academically-trained social scientists like Breckinridge and the Abbott sisters, provided sophisticated information regarding working women and children that made legislative and governmental projects possible. For the first time, these efforts enjoyed the massive support from woman's clubs nationally.

The new and somewhat improved Illinois Child Labor Law of 1903, whose passage owed a great deal to the close collaboration of Kelley and Addams served as an example of the intensified suffrage related efforts nationwide. Another was the concerted lobbying efforts of settlement leaders McDowell, Breckinridge, Addams, Wald and Kelley for the Congressional Investigation of Women and Children in Industry.³⁹

By then, the revived and re-energized second-stage suffrage movement was reasserting itself distinctly on the national scene, with new organizational forms and new arguments. The demand for women's suffrage had arisen originally out of the mid-century's women's rights movement. It had rested its case for the vote on the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence's rationalist doctrines of inalienable natural rights and the

enlightenment ideals of equal republican citizenship that conferred both individual autonomy and political participation in the world at large. In making their original call for the vote, these relatively affluent, independent, and intellectually-advanced members of predominantly North-Eastern entrepreneurial groups had, however, underestimated the impact of the steady, post-Revolutionary consolidation and codification of the traditional "domestic code" ideology, under which all women were seen as dependent wives, mothers or daughters in the private home sphere, separated from that of the public world of men. Moreover, suffragists ignored that the code had relevance primarily only to their own upper-level "two spheres" situation, but was largely inapplicable to the lives of the majority of American women, differentiated by the specificities of class, ethnicity, race and region--an omission whose significance became evident only later.⁴⁰

After the Revolution, few women had been prepared to respond actively to the rationalist and secular implications of the Declaration's natural rights ideals. For the majority of middle-class women, engaged primarily in activities of home and congregation, the path to fulfillment of the inherited republican virtues had beckoned through their growing participation in varieties of home-and-church-related moral and benevolent reform efforts, conservative as well as forward-looking. Even by mid-century and the approaching Civil War, the women's rights' cause was still only that of a minority within a growing, heterogeneous women's movement in which home-related reforms and abolition took center stage. Although the vote had by then become the cornerstone of women's equal rights, for most women within the women's movement as a whole, the vote as personal, social and political empowerment still lacked meaning.

The post-Civil War fragmentation of the reform community, simultaneously with the demise of reconstruction, had moved the pioneer suffrage leaders to jettison their broad array of equal rights demands in order to concentrate on the vote as key to all other rights. Other, more distinctly social and economic, post-war perceptions, such as increasing poverty, industrial exploitation, social chaos, drunkenness and prostitution had moved many of the moral, social and civic reform activists within the majority to demand the vote in support of their self-conscious role as uniquely-qualified guardians of home and republic. War-related employment and increased volunteer work had given women a new awareness of the importance of their civic rights and the utility of suffrage.⁴¹

By the turn of the century decades, the reunited suffrage movement's arguments and outlook saw women as both equal and different from men, with the preponderance of the rhetoric going in the latter direction. This duality reflected both a continuation of the Revolution's beliefs in the common humanity of women and men and a new awareness of human differences under the impact of class conflict, urbanization, immigration and colonialist acquisitions.

In terms of organization and arguments three groups of unequal size, with distinct perspectives as well as degrees of overlap, could now be discerned within the suffrage movement as a whole. The first were the "core suffragists," the most politically astute strategists since the beginning, who in the course of the "doldrums" 'seventies and 'eighties had led the persistent struggle for the vote per se, as an abstract political right as well as a practical, personal one.

The second group, clearly dominant by 1890, consisted of the enormous variety of reform, social service, professional organizations and women's clubs, whose work and

outlook had emerged out of the earlier code-based associations with an extended and politicized reform ideology. For them the vote was not primarily important as a personal right, but as a practical means of enlarging women's acknowledged moral and care-giving capacities. These women campaigned for the vote on behalf of their reform goals based on their assertions of women's special qualifications for employment in the new social and political structures created by industrial society. Among its members, genuine outreach efforts and arguments on behalf of the socially-excluded vied with defensive attitudes and rhetoric that reflected beliefs in inherent differences.

The third and smallest group, actually a sub-group of the preceding one, likewise used the arguments of women's special capacities to deal with women's special needs. But it also reached back to the earlier republican views of common humanity under which the need for women's equal individual rights, for their political effectiveness on behalf of social justice reform and as equal citizens within a modern democracy, were essential. Addams emerged as the most explicit leader of this group.

As a leading Progressive reform figure within the suffrage orbit, Addams made her first comprehensive speech in support of women's suffrage at the NASWA convention in 1906. Its immediate purpose was to address the limited goal of municipal suffrage, as part of the Chicago reform coalitions' current campaign to add woman's suffrage to the new city charter. But its prime significance lay in the fact that this speech contained her well-considered approach to suffrage, the distillation of more than fifteen years of practical urban experience, insights and actions that she maintained in one or another variation until the successful achievement of the vote. Although not yet positioned among the top NASWA leadership, Addams' speech revealed her as the most effective advocate of

working women's needs for the vote and thereby consolidated the social justice suffragists' advocacy. Its second significance rested on the fact that her formulations, which focused on working women's need for the ballot, also offered the most clearly-articulated expression of the dominant "enlarged housekeeping" approach in the second and final phase of the struggle.⁴²

In formulating "The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women," Addams spoke out of her extensive knowledge of the occupations, needs and hopes of many kinds of city women. These ranged from the tax-paying propertied, self-employed or professional women, through the salaried employees of offices, department stores or school systems, to the largest category of young and single working women and the married or widowed working mothers and grandmothers.

In her analysis, women's position and participation in modern urban/industrial society was the chief reason for suffrage. Women needed the vote for practical and personal reasons of working and living, for the improvement of urban conditions men had neglected and for women's attainment and exercise of full citizenship within an expanding democratic self-government. Addams argued that the industrial city's failure to utilize the practical skills, knowledge and sense of obligation accumulated by women over the ages was directly related to the prevailing ruthless technological and social conditions to which men's indifferent, militaristic and commercial outlook had led.

In Addams' view, shared with many others, modern government, starting at the municipal level, was essentially "enlarged housekeeping." It was extensively concerned with activities and services formerly done by women in the home and with the recently "municipalized" expressions of their old "maternal anxieties" for life and well-being.

Women, therefore, needed to exert their influence inside those government departments and government-regulated factories that now performed their former traditional occupations outside the home.⁴³

Originally, as the city evolved, only those were given a voice who, as the city's actual defenders, had staked their lives in the external or internal protection of the community. As women had not participated in armed defense and had had no say in collective decisions of war or peace, they had been excluded from the electorate. Today, however, Addams asserted, when community concerns of the modern city or state were no longer being decided from a military viewpoint, but from that of human welfare, the electorate had to include all those who "bear a valiant part" in complex city life.

Women in the new industrial society needed the vote for three specific reasons: first, to control the conditions of work they had previously done individually in their homes, but which now was done in factories. Traditionally, according to Addams, women had been able to control many of the conditions surrounding such work. But with the introduction of steam and electricity into the new factories, they had been denied a voice in the control of these new conditions. Moreover, in these areas where industrial processes intimately affected crucial issues concerning the health and lives of thousands of workers, working women along with immigrant women and unschooled women needed this voice the most.

Beyond the workplace, women needed the vote to continue their control of social conditions affecting them as housekeepers and mothers within their homes, where they were once presumed to have been the "rulers," but which they had let slip from their hands under modern municipal government: the care of parks, playgrounds and libraries; the

supervision of markets, sewers and bridges, of street cleaning and garbage collection, of building and sanitation codes. They needed it to provide for their children's education, recreation and health needs; to prevent "insanitary houses, poisonous water, contaminated food, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome overcrowding, prostitution and drunkenness...." Both the physical and moral welfare of a woman's family life were now part of the general welfare of the community that had nothing to do with bearing arms.

The third large reason, Addams felt, why women needed the vote, was to help strengthen expanding democratic self-government as new groups came within its aegis as citizens. Groups for whom laws were being made needed a voice to insure the new legislation's appropriate formulation and their members full status as citizens and individual persons under the new provisions. With her gaze directed toward the dawning of "the new period of humanitarianism" in which government must concern itself with human welfare," Addams concluded that women needed the vote not just as a right "written on parchment," but as a tool or "a piece of governmental machinery" to play their essential part in the city's normal development.⁴⁴

From 1906 on until America's involvement in World War I, copies or excerpts of the handful of Addams' seminal articles, hundreds of speeches and more informal talks in which she touched on one or the other or all of her suffrage arguments, were disseminated all over the country. Ever since her 1906 speech, she had made suffrage, in terms of working and immigrant women's needs, the heart of most of her speeches. Whether she was addressing middle-class women reformers, trade union women or housewives, she varied her approach to suit the audience. She spoke either directly to the working

women's need for "self-protection" through the ballot, or showed clubwomen and social service activists why it was vital, if they were interested in improving and "protecting" the conditions of their families, their homes and their cities, for working women to have the vote. She told an audience of Boston trade-union women in 1908 that they, as the youngest group in the work force, needed the vote especially since, in contrast to working men, they had few unions to protect them. Immigrant wives of workers, among whom there were many who still practiced the domestic arts such as spinning, had a particular contribution to make here, she added. They were well-qualified to advise their daughters, now doing the same work in factories, how long and under what conditions they should work. She advised her middle-class readers of the Woman's Home Companion that young working women needed the vote even more than educated or propertied women, because their "stake in the country" was represented by their lives, their health, their virtue and the safety of their children. And because the boundaries of their work and of their homes had been extended without a proportionate extension of their powers to control either, the municipal vote alone was not enough. Legislation on such matters as child labor, pure food or divorce was now a state, if not a federal matter in which the ballot could be used as the best "labor-saving tool." Ultimately, working women needed full suffrage "to share the fullest social civic life for the sake of [their] own mental development."⁴⁵

As a NASWA vice-president, she told the delegates of the 1911 national NASWA convention in Louisville, Kentucky that working women headed her list of those for whom the vote was indispensable. "Working women cannot hope to help their own industrial matters where their interests may clash with those of their enfranchised fellow workers or employers.... They must force entrance into the ranks of responsible citizens in whose

hands lies the solution to the problems which are at present convulsing the industrial world."⁴⁶

In 1912, when she appeared on the first of several occasions before the House Judiciary Committee hearings on the proposed suffrage amendment, she chose to open the testimony of a number of representative women with that of a trade union woman. In her introduction of Leonora O'Reilly, a long-time New York leader, she repeated her by now familiar argument that "no class of women in the entire community needed the ballot as much as the working women," and cited the multi-volumed Congressional Report on the Condition of Women and Children in Industry, then being published, as further evidence of the relevance of her approach. With her selection as first vice-president of the national suffrage organization in 1911, the tempo of Addams' speaking and lecture tours accelerated, a reflection of a renewed spirit and new forces entering the movement, highlighted by five more states', besides the original four, adopting full suffrage during this period.⁴⁷

By mid-1912, Addams embarked on parallel, but clearly distinguishable, speaking tours--one for suffrage and the other for the Progressive Party. By then, a series of events and a certain sequence in her thinking had taken place that convinced her that her twin goals of social justice and suffrage could best be accomplished by espousing the new party.

Climax and Decline: A New Party

After 1909, the many, previously separate, streams of the broad Progressive Reform efforts were coming together, with Addams' own more specific social justice

concentrations blending in, if not leading--suffrage and protective legislation, child labor, education, recreation, the arts and non-violent relations--and she was riding the crest of their waves. The new measures that had been achieved in the course of the century's first decade (and would continue during these years) included the beginnings of states' social insurance programs that reflected an increasingly segmented labor market with state-wide workers compensation and employers' liability for male workers with union contracts. For women workers, relatively few of whom were organized, rudimentary support and protection was reflected in state-enforced maximum hours and minimum wage legislation, mothers' pensions, stronger child labor and compulsory education laws. These "zenith years" were further highlighted for Addams by the publication of four more books. All helped to enlarge and interweave those themes. All reflected that inimitable combination of graphic observation and imaginative reflectiveness: the visionary Newer Ideals of Peace (1907), the lyrical and profoundly perceptive The Spirit of Youth on the City Streets (1909), the climactic Twenty Years at Hull-House (1910), whose relevance seems to have maintained itself over the decades, and her book on prostitution, A New Conscience and an old Evil (1912), her least successful.

In the second volume of her memoirs, Addams recalled these years as having been suffused by an atmosphere of "planetary consciousness," a term she borrowed from another writer, to convey a feeling that the United States was beginning to transcend its "intense self-interest and self-preoccupation" with a shared, if unspoken, sense of social compassion and its practical expression in new, both private and public undertakings. Thanks in particular to the "more careful knowledge" concerning social conditions that had been assembled by the universities and "great foundations," the years from 1909 to

1914 were "filled with a veritable zeal for social reform throughout the United States." Two particular undertakings concretely augmented that zeal.⁴⁸

Among the new philanthropic foundations, the Russell Sage Foundation's sociological investigative efforts loomed above all others. Focused on the heart of the American steel industry, its Pittsburgh Survey was the most ambitious and comprehensive of a number of community-wide investigations done during these years. Its findings, published in the settlement-sponsored investigative journal Charities and the Commons during the winter of 1909, "aroused the entire country to conditions of work in the great American industries." Both its advisory committee, which included Addams and Kelley, as well its experienced investigative staff, emerged from out of the settlement-led reform orbit. Its purpose was to examine concretely the conditions and their consequences under which working people spent their lives in a modern industrial community. Its documentation of inadequate one-man "family wages," seven-day work weeks, flimsy tenements in chaotic neighborhoods, preventable epidemics, industrial accidents and absentee owners, conveyed a total picture of "appalling human waste and misery" based on "social timidity" and reluctance to interfere with "the rites of money-making." Workers' lives, health and strength "were treated as things of little worth." Besides feeding "the fires of reform," the Pittsburgh Survey's publication spawned a number of subsequent surveys of other large industrial cities. Additionally, its combined impact of activist pressure and concrete factual data helped to create a new momentum among state and federal government agencies for groundbreaking investigative reports on conditions of labor, followed by equally groundbreaking social and regulatory legislation.⁴⁹

The second catalytic event that was also another confirmation of Addams' having reached a personal pinnacle of influence and renown, was her election as president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC) for the year 1909 to 1910. Besides the distinction of being the first woman president of an organization not known for taking avant-garde positions, it confirmed the organization's significance that, almost in spite of itself, it had become the leading national body involved in economic and social policy discussions and programs concerning industrialism's most intractable problems, invariably linked to poverty. Among the many innovations undertaken during the year was the creation of new committees and inclusion of working-class representatives, aimed at a more practical introduction of social, educational, public institutional or health-related reforms, none was more weighted with significance than the committee on Occupational Standards.

Conscious of the contrast between the settlement activists' initial reception and their present position within the organization, Addams' presidential keynote speech "Charity and Social Justice" in May 1910 served not only as overview of the year's achievements, but offered an appreciative and diplomatic summary of the organization's past fifteen years, during which it had itself in many instances moved from its old, circumscribed charity disbursement to a wider and more modern perspective of social support.⁵⁰

Taking the long-term view, Addams, in her speech saw the changes within the organization as the result of a confluence of charitable people's motivation rooted in a nineteenth century sense of pity, with that of so-called radicals, motivated by a "hatred of injustice." Both groups, by now moved by a visible increase of widespread distress and a

perception of its causes, were "at last uniting into an effective demand for juster social conditions." Charity people had at last recognized industrial conditions as the major causes of poverty, disease and crime, and radicals acknowledged the value of carefully-collected data for a better understanding of the "effect of existing conditions on the poor and criminal." Both groups thereby gained in sympathetic appreciation of concrete facts about actual people and developed more flexible and democratic approaches. Newly devoted to the study of social and economic conditions, organized charity people, in particular, had learned to cooperate with other sources of knowledge, such as those of economists, sanitary engineers, and statisticians.

Ultimately, Addams asserted, charity people had gained the insight that "the charitable effort was part of the general social movement" that was currently transforming the modern industrialized world. This was leading them from a search for admonitory individual "cures" to "preservation" and from there to "a consideration of vital welfare;" from a policy of relieving destitution...or the more generous prevention...to the positive idea of raising life to its highest value." In this vast undertaking, driven by popular agitation, the newest trend in the century-old private and public efforts now prominently included the involvement of local, state and federal government agencies, aiming to "enhance the life of citizens."⁵¹

* * *

Moving toward the election year of 1912, the feeling had been rising out of enormously diverse reform quarters that "a great cause" was needed to pull them together. For this task, settlement-led social justice reformers had the most inclusive and detailed program to integrate the many separate successes in various states and the federal

government. Hundreds of reform organizations and many more thousands of individuals beyond them, Addams recalled, began to express their sense of need for a new party "to make social reform a political issue of national dimensions," that would simultaneously be an "educational campaign" and send representatives to state legislatures and Congress committed to the reform program as a national force for progress."⁵²

This was where the NCCC committee's "occupational standards" came into play as the ultimate catalyst, after its well-considered three-year formulation of the original Pittsburgh Survey findings. In its final form the report, "Social Standards for Industry," that had also been extensively discussed with employers, doctors and labor leaders, was presented in June 1912 at the annual Conference of Charities and Corrections in Cleveland. Resting on the premise that "The conservation of our human resources contributes the most substantial asset to the welfare of this country." It proposed reasonable standards in terms of wages, hours, safety, health, housing, pensions and social insurance. At that same conference a group of social reform activists, aware of American social legislative backwardness compared to other industrialized Western countries, urged placing the issues before the country as a "coherent political program."⁵³

The pace with which people were drawn from many directions toward forming a new party, Addams recalled, increased steadily during the first half of 1912 and became "absolutely breathless" by mid-summer. After the Cleveland Conference had ended in June, a group of settlement activists and social workers decided to present the "Social standards for Industry" to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, who rejected them completely, except for Theodore Roosevelt, who evinced some interest. After Roosevelt had bolted from the Republicans and announced the new party, three prominent

social activists from the New York area, led by Paul Kellogg, who had directed the Pittsburgh Survey, offered to present the standards and discuss the new Progressive Party with Roosevelt. As a result of their meeting with him in Oyster Bay in mid-July, Roosevelt took the Cleveland Standards over "practically bodily" according to Kellogg.⁵⁴

The Progressive reform delegates, including Addams, had a very different reception a few weeks later at the Progressive Party's Convention in Chicago, where the platform committee of academics and Progressive politicians met them "more than half way." After the social justice activists heard Roosevelt's acceptance speech that had included most of their social and industrial legislative proposals as platform planks, they realized that their long-held "social hopes so long ignored by the politicians" would, at last, receive the nation-wide hearing they had struggled for so long. The platform included proposals for a national industrial commission, protective maximum hours and minimum wages for women workers, a federal child labor law, pensions and unemployment insurance. Reforms for national electoral mechanics, such as direct elections of senators, initiative, referendum and recall were topped by a first-time national party proposal in support of women's suffrage, an irresistible mix for most Progressives, as Addams confirmed in her seconding speech. In it she cited the "measures for industrial amelioration and social justice" and stressed how this "programme of human welfare" could not fail to appeal to women, "...now offered a chance for... participation in political life." From then on, for all socially-motivated reformers the platform was the heart of the Progressive Party's, campaign.⁵⁵

The Progressive Party's substantial inclusion of the social and political proposals signified an unprecedented and intrinsically unbelievable alliance of the opportunistic

Roosevelt with the largest organized sector of social idealists turned political pragmatists. The immediate gains for both sides were evident. Theodore Roosevelt, spurred by the desire for revenge against his former protégé Taft, mixed with a genuine dismay at Republican "stalwart" politics, gained a ready-made program with broad appeal to voters beyond Progressives, together with an army of highly-motivated party workers.⁵⁶

Progressives, with the socially-committed activists in the lead, in turn, gained what had become the main object of their efforts: the conversion of their reform proposals into a national political program guaranteed to reach, at least formally, into every hamlet and substantially, into all important regions of the country. Given the social Progressives' view of the platform as the core element, the campaign for them meant a more graphic and continuous presentation of the platform and the opportunity for a nationwide two-and-a-half months educational appeal to all voters. Among the many Hull-House activists, the most effective campaigners were Raymond and Margaret D. Robins, Edith and Grace Abbott, Mary McDowell, George Hooker and Louise deKoven Bowen. But the star campaigner was Addams, who covered whistle-stops and cities, from Oklahoma to the Dakotas, and from Iowa to Colorado, throughout this period of incessant speech-making as the leading and more credible national symbol of Progressivism than Theodore Roosevelt.⁵⁷

Most of the social reform Progressives distrusted Roosevelt or were at least deeply skeptical. For some, he was almost irrelevant in relation to the importance of their causes. But leaders like Addams, who had worked with him during his presidency, appreciated his support of certain of her causes and even more his great talents as a national publicist.

Although for her too, the platform was the reason for her support of the party, unlike other Progressive activists, she was deeply troubled by the three "negative" platform planks she had to "swallow"--the two new battleships a year along with the fortification plans for the Panama Canal. She could only accommodate herself to the first two after a profound soul searching of her entire career as a pacifist, which led her to the conclusion that, given a choice to vote for legislative action against the "human waste in industry" or a mere protest vote against the "havoc in warfare," the former outweighed the latter by its well-considered legislative proposals against the waste. The third objectionable plank prohibited the seating of the Progressive Negro delegates from some Southern states, thereby enabling potential Democratic votes, but condoning a "lily-white" Progressive Party in the South--a decision that Addams and many other delegates argued strenuously against, but also lost.⁵⁸

There were other negative issues that had cropped up, not just in the course of the Progressive Party campaign, but throughout the national phase of the era, as interest groups had felt free to voice their particular outlooks while participating in the broader agenda. One was the much louder expression of racism, newly evident within the women's movement as suffrage was becoming a national issue. Another was a more outspoken anti-immigrant sentiment, evident from heartland farm groups to urban, Eastern pro-and-anti-labor intellectual circles and organized labor itself. A third new issue became evident once some of the new social and economic laws were in place. Administered by different branches of government susceptible to corporate influence, they were whittled down from their initial broad popular mandates to narrower, bureaucratic ones, thereby limiting such guarantees as working women's equal job opportunities as well as legally re-defining

women's status in unequal ways. All were intrinsically part of the era's proliferating reform efforts as well as indicators of reform's cooptation and decline.

Besides these briefly noted vast and long-lived phenomena, there were other expressions of an unspecified feeling of the end of an era, after the Democratic Party victory and the country's move into the pre-World War I period. They were manifested, perhaps, by such diverse trends as the rapid disintegration of the Progressive Party itself, or by an ebbing of interest in settlements Addams noted in 1911 when she reported that they were no longer getting their share of the "most eager young people."⁵⁹

But despite these developments, for social justice Progressives like Addams, the bottom line was that new parties, like the Progressive Party, "ultimately write the platforms for all parties" and she rejoiced, that the Democrats under Wilson were proving it by their rapid introduction of such new measures as tariff and federal reserve commissions and extension of protective legislation to certain categories of male workers. In this general trend, social justice activists' most important contribution, in her view, was to have been close enough to the "diverse groups whose history, language and customs show[ed] the tremendous variability of human nature" and for them to have been able to thereby detect "clues to new life patterns."⁶⁰

NOTES

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³Ibid., 3-12.

⁴Henry Demarest Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), 527.

⁵Jane Addams, "The Growth of Corporate Consciousness," Illinois Conference for Charities and Corrections Proceedings (Nov. 11, 1897): 40-42.

⁶Charles and Mary Beard, The American Spirit (New York: Macmillan, 1942, repr. New York: Collier Books, 1962), 415-16.

⁷Unsigned review in untitled periodical, 1902; Vida Scudder to Jane Addams Jun. 13, 1902; Jane E. Robbins, The Commons 7/8 (Jun. 1902): 13; Helena Dudley to Jane Addams, Apr. 30, 1902, all in Jane Addams correspondence, April-May, 1902, JAP.

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¹⁴Flexner, Century of Struggle; Ellen Carol DuBois, "The Radicalism of the Woman Suffrage Movement. Notes toward the Reconstruction of Nineteenth Century Feminism," Feminist Studies 3 #1/2 (Fall 1975):63-71, and idem, Feminism and Suffrage; Mari Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds., The Concise History of Woman Suffrage (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), "Introduction: Woman Suffrage and Reform," 2-45; Mary Ryan, Womanhood in America, 195-225; Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); see also Mari Jo Buehl, Ann D. Gordon, and Nancy Schrom, "Women in American Society: A Historical Contribution," Radical America 5, #4 (Jul.-Aug. 1971): 3-76.

¹⁵Twenty Years at Hull-House, 177.

¹⁶Fitzpatrick, 78-79.

¹⁷Based on personal comments of former Hull-House residents or neighbors Wallace Kirkland, Jessie Binford, Ruth Austin, Florence Scala.

¹⁸Davis, Spearheads of Reform, 66-67, 129-31; Thomas L. Philpott, The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 29-39, 93-105.

¹⁹See Robert Hunter, Poverty (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904).

²⁰Davis, Spearheads of Reform, 191-93, 202-203. See also Payne, Reform Labor and Feminism.

²¹William E. Walling in Spearheads of Reform, 140-41, 139-45, 99-102; David A. Shannon, "William English Walling" in Robert L. Schuyler and Edward T. James, eds., Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 2, Supplement 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 689-690; Mary W. Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down (New York:

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²⁵Fitzpatrick; Breckinridge biography, 44-52.

²⁶Ibid., 66-72; Edith Abbott biography.

²⁷Ibid., expectations and marginalization, 28-32, 82-87.

²⁸Ibid., the Hull-House significance for women social scientists and reform, 77-79.

²⁹Ibid., Breckinridge and Abbott's academic and activist collaboration via Hull-House 166-200.

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³¹Sicherman, 11-22, 33-36, 83-91; Hamilton, 18-56.

³²The Commons, 8 (May 3, 1903): 3-7, 19; Chicago Medical Record 25 (Jul. 15, 1903): 58.

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³⁴Hamilton, 151-52; Sicherman, 167.

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³⁸"The College Woman;" The Commons 3 (Sep. 1898): 3-7; Jane Addams correspondence June 1900, JAP.

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⁴¹Ellen Carol DuBois, "The Radicalism of the Woman Suffrage Movement." Feminist Studies 3 (Fall 1975):63-71.

⁴²Jane Addams, "The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women," address first given at NASWA Convention in Baltimore, Feb. 7-13, 1906; partial quotation also in Ida Husted Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage 5 (1900-1920) (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922; repr. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969) 178-79. Harper also noted that the speech was "thenceforth a part of the standard suffrage literature."

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⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 208, 187.

⁴⁵Jane Addams, "The Relation of Women to Industry and Social Legislation," Woman's Journal (Mar. 28, 1908): 42-43; also see Jane Addams, "The Working Woman and the Ballot," Woman's Home Companion 35 (Apr. 1908): 19.

⁴⁶Jane Addams, Address, Woman's Journal 42 (Oct. 28, 1911) 337.

⁴⁷"Remarks," U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings on Woman Suffrage, Mar. 13, 1912, Serial 2, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁸Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 8, 10.

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⁵¹Ibid, 441-43.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 2, 20, 23, 24-25.

⁵³Davis, Spearheads of Reform, 196; idem, "Social Workers and the Progressive Party 1912-1916," The American Historical Review 49 (Apr. 1964):671-88; The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, 26.

⁵⁴Paul Kellogg to Jane Addams, Feb. 9, 1929 and in The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, 27-28.

⁵⁵Jane Addams, "Why I Seconded Roosevelt's Nomination," Woman's Journal 43 (Aug. 17, 1912): 257.

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⁵⁷The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, 30-40; Davis, Spearheads of Reform, 211.

⁵⁸Jane Addams, "My Experiences as a Progressive Delegate," McClure's Magazine 40 (Nov. 1912): 12-14; Mowry, 267-69.

⁵⁹Jane Addams, Address, University Settlement of New York, Annual Report 25 (1911): 21-24.

⁶⁰The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, 46-47.

CONCLUSION

As the war clouds were gathering over Europe, the Progressive Era's reform spirit had begun to ebb and Americans became preoccupied with a new set of issues facing the expanding economy. But by then, the multi-group and class efforts for social, economic and political reforms were clearly established within an initial web of socially supportive, protective and regulatory laws and governmental administrative bodies that, at last, identified the United States as one among the other modern industrialized nations.

Within the framework of the events of that decade and a half, Addams and the Chicago social justice reformers emerged as leading social and political catalysts. They were the ones who first drew attention to the need for human well-being and social life within the industrial society through the inclusion of working people and all other ignored and exploited people. Progressives motivated by ideas of social justice as the key to strengthening modern democratic society found like-minded partners in the women-led social settlements and among reform-eager workers. For this coalition the settlement became the model micro-community through which to develop new social practices and attitudes. Within the incoherent Progressive Reform movement it was the democratic and human appeal of the Chicago Social justice movement that reverberated among large numbers of reform activists and moved them and their programs to the head of the movement.

Among the Chicago social justice reformers' new practices and attitudes, the first one that had become evident was their belief that in matters of poor relief and support of the unemployed the client's own expressed needs and actual circumstances ought to form the basis of the aid system. Arising out of a perspective that recognized common human needs, it suggested a new relationship between giver and recipient that transcended class and other broad group differences, that reduced the traditional and deliberate outlook of distinctions between them and extended the democratic idea of social equality and community support to all members of society. It signified a directional change in American reform.

The second far-reaching innovation was the social justice activists' invitation to workers and organized labor to participate in their reform discussions and proposals, and to include them in the reform coalition activities--the first time that a political middle-class reform group established broad integral and long-term organizational and institutional ties with working class people. By including working people as partners in reform perspectives, along with all other social groups (such as women, immigrants, children, the elderly and the disabled) who had been increasingly excluded from equal social or economic participation under the rapidly developing urban industrialism, the reformers initiated steps toward practical democratization through a host of new pilot facilities and legislative proposals. This meant that the needs, aspirations and circumstances of living of working people and those of the other subordinated groups became the basic social, economic and political standards reflected eventually in the first minimal system of social protection and industrial regulation.

As the third significant innovation to help implement broad recognition of the working-class majority's needs, social justice Progressives introduced a new social outlook for which Addams became the leading voice. In her call to the public, but particularly to her fellow-members of the bourgeoisie, she urged the substitution of the outmoded ethics of acquisitive individualism with a new social ethical perspective, better suited to deal appropriately, justly and undogmatically with the interrelated complexities of human existence in modern technologically-advancing urban society. The new social ethic called for a society in which an individual's well-being in all aspects of life, not only in the marketplace, depended on her/his interrelations with and within the community. This entailed two-way relations and responsibilities. It envisioned an expanded private and public morality in which individual and community needed to be seen as two poles whose multiple interdependence created the enriched and enriching whole.

An intimately-related significant fourth development was the increasingly massive involvement in Progressive social reform of middle- and some working-class women with large numbers of college and university-trained women in the lead. As demonstrated in the events and trends discussed in the preceding chapters, middle-class women became the most prominent sector within Progressive social reform. Combining their fifty-year struggle for the vote with their even longer experience in social service, they were the group that revealed the most visible array of social, educational, professional and political gains under Progressivism. As Progressive social reform moved onto the national scene, activist women also became the leading advocates for government on all levels to take over the "social housekeeping" responsibilities they had been charged with for so long. Some of these measures, such as protective legislation for women workers, turned out to

be double-edged swords in the government's hands that inhibited women from equal work opportunities while protecting only a minority of the skilled.

Like most of the Progressives, women activists took the optimistic "best possible" approach to at least reduce the chaotic manner in which the big technological and social changes were taking place, "to blunt the worst of capitalism's economic and social problems," not to eliminate the system.¹

Within this context of able and emancipation-eager women, Addams stood out as the one who best voiced the needs and expectations of different kinds of women and of the many people feeling dislocated, deprived and exploited. A synthesizer since college who aimed to mesh the promptings of her feelings, intellect and spiritual questing into one satisfying outlook, she seemed to have achieved it after the years of deep uncertainty. The settlement offered itself as the ultimate unifier through which her highly complex but adaptable personality could operate coherently. She became, in fact, a perfect example of what the psychologist Abraham Maslow has called a "growth-oriented person...who most easily forgets or transcends the ego..." and can "center upon the world."²

As a woman, Addams represented a new paradigm, deprecating qualities that were traditionally considered "feminine," exhibiting others traditionally seen as "masculine," and yet remaining in the outward projection of her person so entirely herself—a late Victorian woman of the upper-middle-class whom the appellation "lady" fit perfectly. She first proved herself within a few years of the settlement's existence as a practical activist through the uniqueness of Hull-House as a creative center for urban life and culture. Her significance as a social interpreter was twofold. The social vision she offered the middle-classes assured them that the necessary inclusion of outsiders was an evolutionary process

in which social and economic extension of political democracy amounted to a quasi-organic fulfillment of the Founders' original political design. Her message to working people was that underneath the fiercely-fought class-conflicts lay the bedrock of common human needs, capacities and dreams which they, the workers, expressed through their everyday lives, better and more copiously than anyone else. Therefore, their lives needed to be the foundation for the well-being of the expanding democratic society in the advanced industrial age. Addams understood that in an ever more complex, technology-driven society that saw science increasingly as its handmaiden, the crucial task was to keep the focus on all current and emerging human needs, capacities and behaviors. As she had known since the late eighteen-nineties, when she touched upon it in her essay on the charity worker's dilemma, for science to be at its most truthful, it has to be constantly aware of the infinitely varied reality of human existence, beyond its measurable aspects.³

She was an original speaker and writer whose calm demeanor and unpretentious style belied the challenging content of her thought. As a social thinker, the leading characteristic of her thought--its knack for relating empirical fact and observation to theoretical constructs--identified her as a twentieth century pioneer of undogmatic modern social, psychological and political thinking. It was a leading model for a deliberately unsystematized open-ended approach that made a "humanity-focused" politics its common denominator, under which scientific evidence in tandem with imaginative theoretical flights aimed to serve people's ever-expanding and interrelated needs and interests in the modern world.⁴

NOTES

¹Who Built America, 2:213.

² Abraham Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (New York: Van Nostrand, 1968), 37.

³Jane Addams, "The Subtle Problem of Charity," Atlantic Monthly 83 (Feb. 1899): 163-78, particularly the passage in which she deplores the tendency toward rigid systematization of sociological data that underestimates the importance of changing human impulses and motivations confirming growth and endless variability as the characteristics of human nature.

⁴There were several reasons, I suspect, why most of the more recent biographers of Addams still fell more or less into the "kind Lady"/self-serving power monger dichotomy. First, they gave more weight to some of the better-known contemporaries' comments that fell mostly into the "power monger" category and reflected their authors' cynical, anxious or angry reactions to women of their class becoming too seriously involved in "causes" that appeared doubtful or even dangerous in their direct political implications. Biographers thereby also tended to underrate the considered opinions of Addams' co-workers and discerning friends, whom they regarded as unreliable as themselves members of the opposite do-gooder camp. Second, analyzing the voluminous personal record of correspondence and writings of a woman engaged in transcending many kinds of conventions (even though she did it undemonstratively) demanded a peculiarly multi-layered reflectiveness not everyone was prepared to employ.

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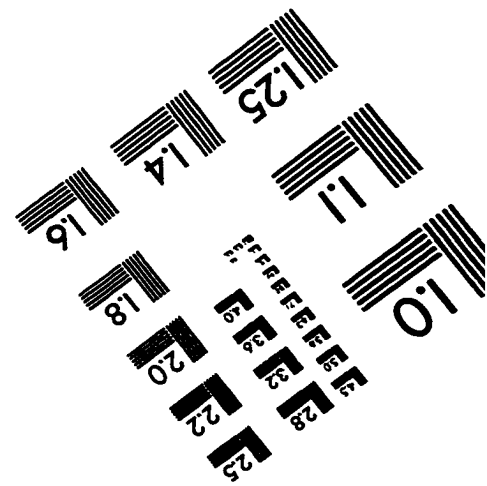
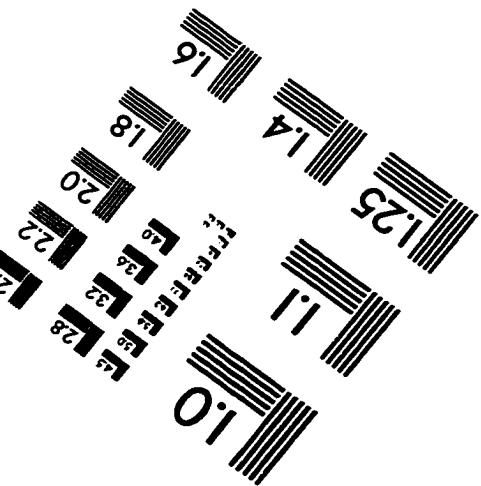
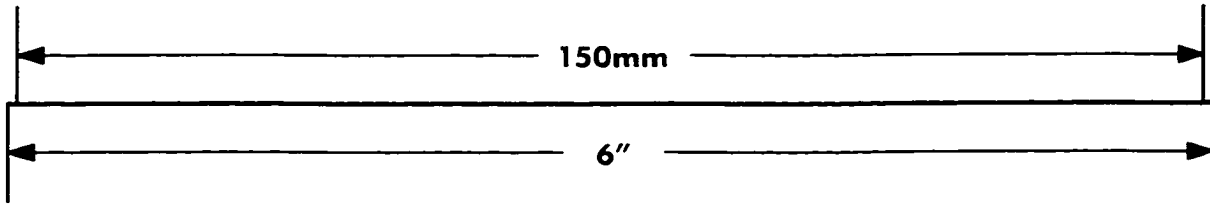
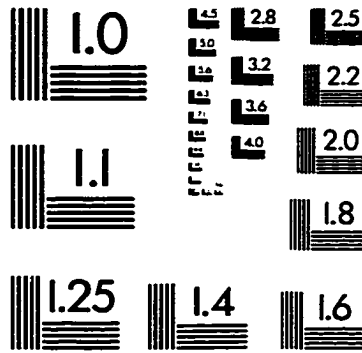
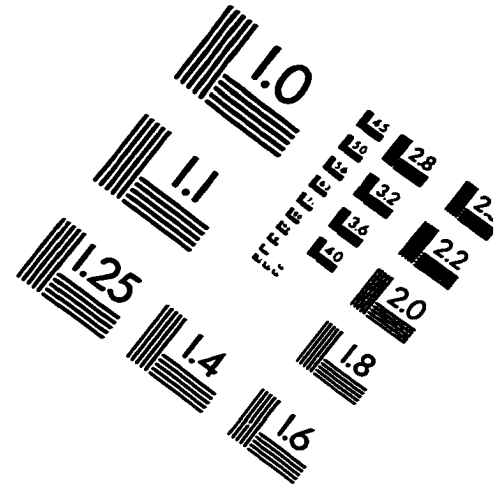
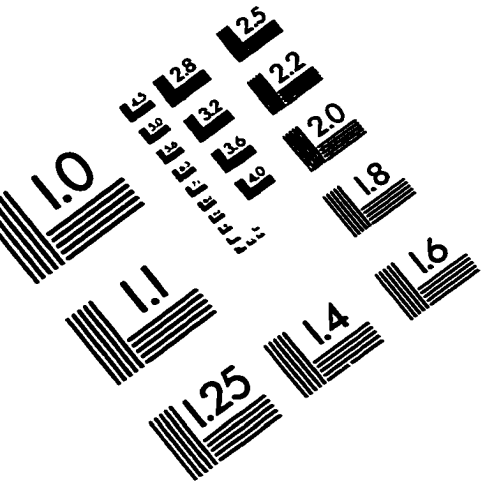
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