

Patricia M. Shields *Editor*

Jane Addams: Progressive Pioneer of Peace, Philosophy, Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration

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Editor

Jane Addams: Progressive Pioneer of Peace, Philosophy, Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration



 Springer


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*This book is dedicated to George, Daniel and
Jeffrey Glaser.*

Foreword

Jane Addams: A Feminist Pioneer

There have been many fine biographies¹ and books, which examine the ideas² of Jane Addams. This book makes the case that Jane Addams is a *pioneer*—a pioneer of peace, philosophy, feminist studies, social science and professional fields. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary pioneers traverse the land. A pioneer is “one of the first people to move to or live in a new area.” Pioneers inhabit new physical space and “settle” a new area. Pioneers also inhabit the world of abstraction. They help “to create or develop new ideas or methods” and “prepare for others to follow” (Merriam-Webster n.d.). Hence, pioneers are explicitly and implicitly part of a community. A covered wagon train filled with families traveling west is a typical image of a pioneer, not the lone trapper wandering in the wilderness.

Addams is a pioneer in all three senses of the word. In the 1880s proper young women were not supposed to establish a home in the dangerous, dirty, slums of the inner city. She and other early residents of Hull House crossed this invisible boundary occupying a new space with the goal of settlement. The Settlement Movement, which she helped found, was almost by definition a pioneering effort. She was also deeply engaged in developing new ideas and methods. The innovative maps of *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895) became a prototype method for urban sociology (Deegan 1988) (see Fig. 1.1). By applying a feminine standpoint to ethics, municipal management, peace, pragmatism, industrialism, democracy, and labor market practices she developed a host of new ideas.

Young women of Addams generation were expected to live their lives within the family or private sphere. Their brothers, on the other hand, were free to operate in the almost limitless public sphere. A woman’s duty to her family established a claim that trapped her—creating a real and invisible boundary. Paternalism was at

¹See for example Knight (2005), Brown (2004), Linn (1935), Davis (1973).

²See for example Hamington (2009) and Elshtaine (2003).

the heart of the wall that cared for her and entrapped her simultaneously. Most of Addams's pioneering efforts can be explained through the lenses of a daughter traveling beyond the private sphere.

She often compared her urban environment to feudal cities. At their best feudal cities were led by a caring all-powerful Lord. Cities had to prepare for invaders and thus created a strong wall to keep out threats. The Lord and his soldiers protected the dependent residents. Women stayed within the walls and prepared food, made soap, spun wool, kept house, cared for children, delivered babies and tended to the sick. This system valued soldiers and ignored children. Chicago, too, ignored the plight of children through filthy streets, child labor and dangerous jails. Addams persistently criticized city government for failing to discard an outmoded feudal mindset.

Addams saw clear parallels between the nineteenth century daughter bounded by her home responsibilities and the residents of feudal cities. In many ways Addams's father was like the idealized feudal Lord. He was the most prominent citizen of Cedarville, Illinois. There he ran the mill and bank. Citizens of the community were obviously closely tied to the fortunes of John Huy Addams.

Like a good Lord he had his eye on the world beyond the mill. He was active in politics serving in the Illinois State Senate often spending months away from home. In the winter of 1863, during the darkest days of the American Civil War, Senator Addams was called to the state capitol leaving 2-year-old Jane, and her four siblings. His wife Sarah, age 49 and 7 months pregnant, was in charge of the farm and family. During a snowstorm, in the tradition of the Lady of the Manor, Jane's mother was called to deliver the baby of a millworker. Sarah saved the mother and baby but en route, fell, fatally injuring herself and her unborn child. This was probably the most important event in Jane Addams's life.

Both her parents modeled a life of service. Tragically, in her case it was the close-to-home service that was most dangerous. Her mother's death set the stage for an unusually strong father-daughter bond. In addition, a contentious relationship with a domineering stepmother must have left her feeling trapped. She was bound by space and an inflexible ethic—the rigidly held belief that a woman's paramount *duty* was to serve her husband and family. In Hull House she set up a home independent of patriarchy where the *sphere of duty* grew, changed and interacted—moving outward from the neighborhood, to embrace the world. In so doing, she became a pioneer in every sense of its meaning (Shields and Rangarajan 2011).

Jane Addams was among the first wave of American women to receive a college education. She thrived in Rockford Seminary's all-woman environment. Here she took on challenges like editing the school newspaper, participating in the debate club, and leading the Class of 1881. She understood that as colleges opened their doors, women would travel well beyond the restrictive private sphere. In her Junior Class Oration, entitled "Bread Givers" she examined "the change which has taken place ... in the ambition and aspirations of woman." As women developed their intellect and direct labor something new had emerged. "She wishes not to be a man, nor like a man, but she claims the same right to independent thought and action ... [She] has gained a new confidence in her possibilities, and fresher hope in her progress." At age 20, Addams (1880) recognized that women of her generation were poised to cross boundaries.

And, like a pioneer, who does not want to break with the past, but rather incorporate cherished possessions into her new home, Addams continued to value traditional women's contributions and experiences. "As young women of the nineteenth century, we assert our independence ... we still retain the old ideal of womanhood—the Saxon lady whose mission it was to give bread onto her household" (Addams 1880). Forty years later, in *Peace and Bread in Time of War* Addams would again turn to the "bread giver's" theme. *Peace and Bread* chronicled her efforts to collect and distribute bread to the starving children of war ravaged Europe (Addams 1922). Clearly, the "Saxon Lady's" limited sphere (boundary) had grown to include the aftermath of the Great War. She was a pioneering, bread-giver pacifist, challenging boundaries and embracing the feminine experience.

Jane Addams was most well known as a woman of action. For example, she founded Hull House, championed causes, organized reform efforts, gave speeches, investigated urban life, taught extension courses, wrote magazine articles, led professional organizations, established new peace and justice organizations, and demonstrated for suffrage. Her pioneering efforts in the world of ideas—philosophy—are less well recognized.

The world of philosophy is closely tied to the academy. It was after all, iconic philosopher, Plato who established the Academy (387 BCE) a precursor to universities. Further, his Academy was situated outside the city limits, away from ordinary experience. Universities and philosophy for millennia have welcomed ideas and closed their doors to women. Therefore, any nineteenth century woman recognized as a philosopher is perhaps by definition a pioneer (Shields 2010).

Louis Menand (2001) claims that at its core, Hull House was an educational institution nested in a turbulent, immigrant neighborhood. Maurice Hamington (2009), Addams scholar and philosopher, notes that Hull House was an environment, where women could muse, ask questions, debate, experience urban life and make sense of it through the lenses of feminine experience. Like the Academy, Hull House was an incubator of philosophic ideas. This incubator was pioneering because it was explicitly informed by feminine experience.³

Plato was fascinated with geometry and mathematics which led him to a theory of Forms. For Plato, Forms were "ideal, eternal, unchanging and pleasingly independent of earthly visible things" (Gottlieb 2016, p. 154). The concept five, for example, is impossible to touch, hear or see yet it clearly exists—in a real, yet intangible, world of abstraction. For Plato, numbers and geometric shapes had a sort of perfection or Form. He reasoned that these perfect Forms could be found in other realms and represented a kind of transcendent, fixed, truth.

In contrast, Addams had little use for rigid, ethereal truth. She was interested in the messy, imperfect world of lived experience—particularly women's experience. Her ethics, rather than focusing on individual fixed characteristics like virtues,

³One way to bring into the light, Addams philosophical contributions is to contrast her with Plato. Please note that the point here is to draw out Addams's philosophic contributions not to precisely capture Plato's ideas.

delved into the perplexity that characterized human situations, such as a daughter who was drawn to serve a broader society and was bound by a family claim or a friendly visitor charged with remediating poverty by teaching poor families better habits only to be haunted by a crowded tenement filled with coughing, sick mothers and crying babies (Addams 1902).

Plato's idealized and well-ordered *Republic* described a lowly producer class and elevated the militarized guardian and philosopher king. In contrast, Addams focused on the trials of a recently industrialized and often exploited Chicago labor force—the men and women of the lowly producer class. Where Plato distrusted democracy the residents of Hull House went about socializing democracy among a teeming multitude who made their way to Chicago, often ill equipped for life in this new land. Feminist pragmatist, Jane Addams, rotated the problem 90 degrees realizing the possibility from the chaos of its very diversity. “With a classic pragmatist combination of relentless common sense and elastic vision, she saw and took the opportunity to forge something broader and more durable than the obligatory servicing of the immediate, though paramount need ... She allowed this community to evolve with the mutual guidance of both the immigrants and the benefactors and did not consider the benefit of the experiences to be limited to either.” (Brom and Shields 2006, p. 303).

In *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Addams (1910) recalls the first time she was exposed to poverty. It was as a child of six on a ride to the mill with her father. When leaving the mill Addams eyes wandered, as a young child's do. She was saddened by the homes on the streets they passed that were close together, dirty, and run down devoid of privacy. Her father explained that less well-to-do persons lived in these homes. In a prescient insight, young Jane declared that she would not only live in a large home but it would be in a neighborhood with the dilapidated houses of the poor. John Huy Addams died shortly after Jane graduated from Rockford Seminary leaving her a sizable inheritance. For the next 8 years, however, she was “duty bound” to share life with her selfish, demanding stepmother. She took her first pioneering steps when she challenged this bond and established her new home (Hull House), as she predicted, amidst the torrid tenements of Chicago's Ninth Ward.

We had the opportunity to travel to Chicago to visit Hull House in October 2015. It still stands on Halstead Street, no longer shrouded by immigrants' homes, but rather is a Museum sitting at the edge of the University of Illinois—Chicago (UIC). Now, Jane Addams name and legacy stands forever within the grounds of a bustling urban university—a living testament to her pioneering efforts. Hull House is a visitors' attraction filled with antiques and important artifacts such as first edition books and her gold Nobel Peace Prize encased in a glass display. Looking at her desk, it was hard not to imagine the hours she spent crafting the books, speeches and thousands of letters, which spread her ideas and connected her to reform organizations around the world.

While the Jane Addams Hull House Museum celebrates her accomplishments it also uses a “Contemporary Exhibit” to highlight and redress twenty-first century problems. During our visit the “Into the Body—Into the Wall” exhibit used the wall of the Cook County Jail (Chicago, Illinois) to consider the architectures of power and incarceration. The wall stood as a social, political, psychological and physical frame. It was a vehicle to imagine alternatives, present inside and outside the wall

personal stories and in this way reflect the community's vision of transformation (Jane Addams Hull House Museum n.d.).

At the time of this writing (November 2016), Hull House Museum's Contemporary Exhibit ("Official Unofficial Voting Station: Voting for All Who Legally Can't") honors the disenfranchised, e.g., immigrants, children, and current and formerly incarcerated persons. It serves as a living exhibit where those who cannot legally vote can cast unsanctioned ballots for the President of the United States. In keeping with Hull House and Jane Addams' legacy as an educational institution, this insurgent project continues a conversation about the disenfranchised.

I am a young man, born 98 years after Miss Addams founded the Hull House Settlement. Before beginning this project, I had an elementary understanding of Hull House, mostly just its existence. So when I began assisting Dr. Shields over two years ago, I could not have imagined myself studying the works of Jane Addams, let alone writing a foreword for this volume.

As an 8-year veteran of the US Army, I am an unlikely student of Jane Addams. I took for granted the Army's implied patriarchic norms where women care for children and the men go off to war. Addams story helped me to see the boundaries she crossed. I began to realize her importance in shaping the lives of women across the world. To say that I have gained a sympathetic understanding for the adversity women faced then and the still disenfranchised face today is an understatement.

I am glad to have studied the life and works of Jane Addams and proud to see that so many have continued in her path by advocating for change where it is most needed. There is clearly much left to do. Today's crime ridden city of Chicago has experienced more shootings and murders in 2016 than in the last 20 years. In addition, Addams ideas and example may prove useful to societies' across the world facing terroristic acts and political unrest. At one time, I thought we needed another Jane Addams, but instead I see her passionate activism and life as continued through other's avocation, as evidenced by the Contemporary Exhibit at the Jane Addams Hull House Museum.

San Marcos, TX, USA
November 2016

Patricia M. Shields
Chad G. Kunsman

Chad G. Kunsman is a research assistant at Texas State University and editorial assistant for *Armed Forces & Society*, an interdisciplinary peer-reviewed publication. He is also an honorably discharged, disabled veteran of the United States Army and of the War in Iraq; Chad served 8 years (2006–2014) in the U.S. Army and attained the rank of Sergeant. He has a dual major Bachelor of Arts in Psychology & Social and Criminal Justice from Ashford University (2014) where he graduated Summa Cum Laude and a Master of Arts in Legal Studies from Texas State University (2016) where he graduated with a 4.0. His master's thesis was published as a law review article in the *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*. Chad is a law school aspirant with a passion for research and writing. His research interests include military sociology, legal issues of new and emerging technologies, and veterans' legal affairs. Chad, his fiancé, and daughter currently live in Austin, Texas, but will soon relocate to Chicago to attend law school. He and his family live a very active and healthy lifestyle. Finally, Chad is also a Certified Personal Trainer (National Federation of Personal Trainers) and enjoys helping others begin a spirited diet and exercise regimen.

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Acknowledgements

In the early 1990s I became intrigued with applying Classical American Pragmatism to my field—public administration (PA). Vincent Luizzi, then chair of the Texas State philosophy department, was my mentor and guide. During one of my many trips to the library, I learned that Jane Addams and African American W.E.B. Du Bois were identified as founders of American Pragmatism. Shortly thereafter Jean Elshtain lectured at the Texas State Political Science Department. We had a chance to chat at a social event and I learned she was in the process of writing an intellectual biography of Jane Addams. Elshtain's book, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy* became my first real encounter with Addams's idea.

Journal editors Gary Wamsley (*Administration & Society*) and Richard Stillman (*Public Administration Review*) supported and inspired my study of the links between pragmatism and public administration. The articles I wrote for these journals helped me to explore and integrated Addams' ideas into public administration. Other PA colleagues such as Janet Hutchinson, Camilla Stivers, Delysa Burnier, Jennifer Alexander, Helisse Levine, Maria D'Agostino, Jos Raadschelders, Grant Rissler, Glen Cope, Harvey White and Don Mensel encouraged me to explore the history of women in public administration.

For decades my scholarly attention focused on seemingly unrelated areas—pragmatism and military studies. I have edited an important journal in the area—*Armed Forces & Society* (AF&S) since 2001. A previous editor, sociologist, James Burk, helped me to see that Chicago Sociologist and founder of *Armed Forces & Society*, Morris Janowitz, was a pragmatist. While studying his seminal work *The Professional Soldier*, it occurred to me that philosophical pragmatism could be applied to contemporary peacekeeping. Dutch peacekeeping scholar, Joseph Soeters saw the connection immediately. Subsequently we co-authored a chapter on pragmatism and peacekeeping in a book edited by philosopher Shane Ralston.

At that point I realized that most of the contemporary literature I had read on Jane Addams focused on her work prior to WWI. By comparison to her early works, Addams books and articles on peace were virtually ignored. Her peace

activism and writings on peace led to a period of public disfavor, ridicule and isolation. By the time she was honored with the Nobel Prize, however, she was once again an admired icon. But her works on peace received little attention, perhaps still tainted by association. Some 100 years after The Hague Women's Peace Conference, it was perhaps time for a more serious exploration of her philosophy of peace. Further, these unexplored works might provide insight into ways military operations charged with peacekeeping could be more effective. Texas State provided me with a faculty development leave where I explored Addams ideas of peace and the problems with contemporary peacekeeping operations.

My exploration of the peace literature and Addams ideas led me to suggest peace as a topic of a sermon series to the Pastors of my church. Shortly thereafter I found myself along with Rabbi Alan Freedman, and Reverends Javier Alanis, Michael Floyd, Brad Highum and Lynnae Sorenson as part of a Lenten sermon series on Peace. This series became a special issue in the journal *Global Virtue Ethics Review* (edited by Cynthia Lynch) and provided a biblical perspective for Addams ideas of peace and justice.

Philosophers David Hildebrand and Maurice Hamington were particularly helpful during my leave. A special shout out to public administration colleague Guy Addams for encouraging me. I appreciate support from members of Texas State and the Political Science department including Ken Grasso, Vicki Britain, Nandhini Rangarajan, Audrey McKinney, Hassan Tajalli, Bill DeSoto, Dodie Weidner, Coleen Rankin, Jo Korthals, Sheri Mora, Chris Brown, Emily Hanks, Howard Balanoff, Connie Brownson, Jeremy Wells, Hyun Yun, Paul DeHart, Shirley Ogletree, Audwin Anderson, Margaret Vaverek, Rebecca Montgomery, Jo Ann Carson, Pam Tise, Don Inbody, Travis Whetsell, Rodolfo Hernandez, Catherine Hawkins, Ashleen Manchaca-Bagnulo, and Ross McEwen.

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My first encounter with Jane Addams came through my association with Social Work. Thanks to my Social Worker husband, George Glaser, for introducing me to Jane Addams and her work at Hull House. Many thanks to my son Daniel Glaser and his wife Yi Guo Glaser for getting me out of the Texas heat and allowing me to work for several weeks on the book in their home in Michigan. Also thanks to other friends and family who have supported me along the way Jeffrey Glaser, Melissa De Tarr, Peggy Beltrone, Joe Shields, Linda Buckley, Karron Lewis, Laurie Donovan, and Paula Ashby.



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Part I
**Jane Addams: Progressive Pioneer
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Chapter 1

An Introduction to the Life of Jane Addams

Patricia M. Shields

Between 1916 and 1931 Jane Addams was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize 91 times (Nobelprize.org). The nominators, including former US President Woodrow Wilson, listed her persistent and effective peace activism as the reason. Her peace activism achieved widespread international attention during World War I when she chaired the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague and was elected president of a women's peace organization. This influential peace organization, renamed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is her enduring legacy. The nominators also emphasized the post-conference peace mission she and Congress delegates made to world leaders.

Addams presided over subsequent international peace conferences and engaged in humanitarian post-conflict reconstruction. The nominators praised the Women's conferences for criticizing the Treaty of Versailles and adopting manifestos calling for "international justice... [and] democratic control over foreign policy, social peace and a stronger international organization" (Hudson 1931). In the comment section nominations lauded her pioneering work in the settlement movement, particularly the founding of Chicago's Hull House. There, she worked to "improve the living conditions of immigrants and working class people through educational and philanthropic activities" (Hudson 1931).



Mill at Cedarville. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 10

Addams peace activism led to international acclaim at the end of her life. This activism also contributed to public marginalization. During and after World War I, newspaper articles and influential public figures systematically condemned her steadfast peace activism. The criticism ran the gamut—everything from a duped and silly old lady to a traitorous communist (Knight 2010).

Addams was born into a world where most young women's lives were circumscribed by a rigid family or private sphere. Even as a college student she recognized, however, that times were changing for women (Addams 1880/2002). As a member of America's first generation of women with a college education her life's work helped to expand the women's sphere well beyond the family. Her efforts in the Settlement, Suffrage, and Peace Movements opened paths for women. She and the mostly women residents of Hull House collaborated with their neighbors to enhance social justice and improve the lives of the Chicago immigrants who lived in their community. Addams used an explicit and organic democratic ethos. She and the settlement workers were not experts who came to save or change the people of the neighborhood. Rather, the settlement workers she gently led were engaged in an experimental effort "to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression" (Addams 1892/2002: 15).

She brought a unique blend of activism and philosophical reflection to her life and work. She has long been noted as a pioneer in the field of Social Work. Her important contributions to other worlds—philosophy, sociology, peace theory, non-profit management and public administration have only recently been recovered. Scholars in the late 20th and early 21st century are beginning to claim her as a pioneer (Stillman II 1998; Hamington 2009; Seigfried 1996; Deegan 1990).

Luckily she left a significant written legacy in the form of eleven books and hundreds of journal and magazine articles. Through these we can see that her peace advocacy and peace theories were informed by earlier experiences working with her, often contentious, immigrant neighbors. She is now recognized as a feminist pragmatist who, along with John Dewey, William James and Charles Sanders Peirce founded the diverse philosophy sometimes called Classical American Pragmatism (Hamington 2014). Among these founders, she is the foremost practicing pragmatist and is particularly well known for actualizing and writing about participatory democracy and citizen engagement. Inspired by her Chicago experience, she widened the women's sphere to include world peace.

This chapter briefly examines her life and sets the stage for a later exploration of her pioneering ideas in philosophy, peace theory and the emerging fields of social work, public administration and sociology. How did a girl born just before the American Civil War in rural Illinois move to the world stage and become a 20th century intellectual pioneer in so many fields?

1.1 Early Years

Laura Jane Addams was born September 6th 1860 in Cedarville Illinois. When Jane was two years old, her mother, Sarah Weber Addams, died in childbirth. Jane was the youngest of five living siblings. Her father, John Huy Addams, community leader, successful businessman and state senator, was the most influential person in her early life. He had a strong ethical sensibility and a commitment to community, which he transferred to Jane. She was an avid reader and took advantage of the family's large library. John Addams was Christian but claimed no single religious affiliation. Like her father, Jane avoided religious dogma and embraced Christianity as a guide for living. When Jane was eight years old her father married Anna Haldeman. While Jane adored her father she had a contentious relationship with her strong willed stepmother (Linn [1935/1968](#)).

Jane left home to attend nearby Rockford Female Seminary (later Rockford College). She thrived in this intellectual, all female environment and developed interests and skills that began her path to the Nobel Prize. She excelled at academics (valedictorian), took on leadership positions (class president), edited the school magazine and honed her public speaking skills (president of the debate club). In college speeches she publically began a life long journey to enlarge women's role by developing their intellectual force and recognizing their intuitive contribution. In the process social justice (and peace) are strengthened by broadening un-dogmatic sympathies (Addams [1881/2002](#)).



Birthplace of Jane Addams in Cedarville, Illinois.
Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), in the public domain

She graduated from Rockford in 1881 and by 1889 had opened Hull House and began her public life. In the years between these events she lost her father and suffered depression as well as debilitating back problems. She also spent almost four years in Europe where she learned about new cultures, honed her interest in wider public service, experienced the challenges of urban poverty, visited the original settlement house—Toynbee Hall—and sharpened her language skills She emerged from what she called the “snare of preparation” (Addams [1910](#): 65) ready to establish a Settlement House to improve the lives and be part of a vibrant, poverty stricken, disease ridden, dirty, smelly, contentious, immigrant, urban community.

Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), in the public domain



1.2 Hull House Opens Its Doors

Jane Addams and her friend, Ellen Gates Starr moved to Chicago in January of 1889 ready to find a neighborhood to execute their plans. They began by spreading the word about the settlement movement and their intention to start a settlement in Chicago. These proper young women were welcomed and supported by the local women's clubs. Chicago's newspapers and magazines reported favorably on their project. Before long they had developed a network of supporters. With the help of an ex-mayor they found a somewhat dilapidated house on Halstead Street (in the 19th Ward) that had long ago been owned by a leading citizen, Charles Hull—thus the name Hull-House (Addams 1910: 77). They secured a four-year, rent-free lease, remodeled and move in September of 1889. An inheritance received after her father's death provided much of the initial funding (Knight 2010).



View from Hull House Window. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910: 112), in the public domain

Their first activity was a regular reading party, where they read George Eliot's book *Romola* aloud. *Romola*, set in Florence, was a strategic choice. Both women were fluent in Italian and had lived in Italy; they were able to initiate rapport by demonstrating respect and knowledge of their neighbor's culture (Farrell 1967: 60). Soon after, they established a kindergarten. Their activities, rapidly expanding network and positive press led likeminded young women and men to join their effort as resident settlement workers.

1.3 Early Hull House Years

Hull-House and the Settlement movement were filled with seeming contradiction. It was radical and conventional as well as transitional and transformational. Today, young women move out of the home into their own apartment and begin careers. There was no such option in the 1880s. By joining an established movement, connecting to an upper class English experiment in Toynbee Hall and gaining the support of Chicago's Women's organizations these two educated, upper-class, young ladies retained conventional norms. At the same time, they were able to leave their families and establish an activist, communal home in a crowded immigrant community (radical). They drew upon traditional women's service roles to make the transition. It was also an "intentional community of women living outside the domestic responsibilities normally borne by women. A safe space for women's reflection emerged" (Hamington 2009: 8). Addams feminist pragmatism, theories of democracies and peace activism were born and flowered in this unique, transformative, feminine environment.



Portrait, Jane Addams, from a Charcoal Drawing by Alice Kellogg Tyler of 1892. Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910: 114)

At first glance Hull House appears similar to a contemporary soup kitchen or homeless shelter. Hull House was an eclectic fully engaged member of the community working to improve conditions. Eventually this bustling and expanding often educational facility connected with their neighbors through drama classes, day care programs, a coffee house-theater, an art museum, a labor museum, Sunday concerts, a choir, over 25 clubs, meeting rooms for organized labor, and cooperative apartments for young women. The residents of Hull House were innovative and were the first in Chicago to establish a public bath, gymnasium, kitchen, playground, and swimming pool. Other firsts include college extension courses and citizen preparation classes (Elshtaine 2002b: xix). High profile speakers such as Theodore Roosevelt, John Dewey, W.E.B. DuBois, and Susan B. Anthony lectured at Hull House.

But what was the feel of Hull House? Elshtaine (2002a) interviewed elderly women who had learned and played at Hull House as children. These interviews provide a personal child's eye-view. "Miss Jane Addams was like a mother to us... Our Hull House was like a home, a well-kept home." We were "introduced to so many things. It was a rich environment. ... You weren't just some kid. They wanted you to be the best you could be... it was done with such a caring and loving way" (p. 13). Hull House modeled respect for



In the Hull-House Music School. Source: Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910: 383)

diversity. “We played and worked with everybody. Everybody was equal... We were children. She taught us to respect each other’s traditions” (p. 13). Jane Addams would, be pleased that these women remembered Hull House as such a caring and nurturing place.

Hull House was more than an engaged neighbor. It had a reformist agenda—one that emphasized women and children. Early on the members of Hull House organized to confront the problems of poverty. They organized to reform intolerable, unhealthy working conditions in the garment industry, the lack of safe spaces for play, the inappropriate incarceration of children with adults, unsanitary sewers, a dirty water system, cluttered streets, and poor schools. But before wading headlong into reformist activities they systematically and innovatively investigated these problems (Residents of Hull House 1895).

To understand the surrounding area they surveyed residents and developed colorful nationality and employment urban maps. They also used field research to study urban problems (e.g., abuses and health hazards of child labor, conditions in the tenement sweat shops). Their results were published in an extraordinary pioneering book—*Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895). The maps depict the 14 different nationalities in the 12-block area around Hull House (see Fig. 1.1). Hull House residents worked closely with University of Chicago faculty. Deegan (1990) was the first contemporary sociologist to document Addams leadership in Sociology, particularly drawing attention to women, and field based research, urban mapping and analysis.

During these early years, Addams was active on many interrelated fronts. Today she would be considered a high profile, effective executive director of a large, thriving, nonprofit organization. She sacrificed her own inheritance to fund the many early Hull House activities. She, of course, was a skilled fundraiser and used her talent as a speaker and writer to promote the settlement movement and Hull House generally. Her public visibility and ability to walk with respect across divergent groups led to her appointments on labor strike arbitration boards, most notably for the Pullman Strike of 1894 (Knight 2005).

She converted her speeches into magazine and journal articles and combined these into influential books. She also used these books to hone her feminist pragmatism and pacifism. Aside from *Maps and Papers*, which she supervised, Addams wrote five books between 1902 and 1912. In *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), she used Hull House and her organic vision of democracy to develop a social ethic. At the time, it was commonly believed that poverty and other social ills could be traced to moral ‘failings’ (Addams 1902, p. 13) and that moral righteousness and personal effort led to success. She challenged this narrow ethic and called for a broader social ethic based on a social claim. The basis of the social ethic was a *sympathetic understanding* (Hamington 2009). So instead of a paternalistic righteousness her social ethic asked people to “at least see the size of one another’s burdens” (Addams 1902: 6). Contemporary philosophers praised *Democracy and Social Ethics*. William James called it “one of the great books of the times” (Farrell 1967: 78).

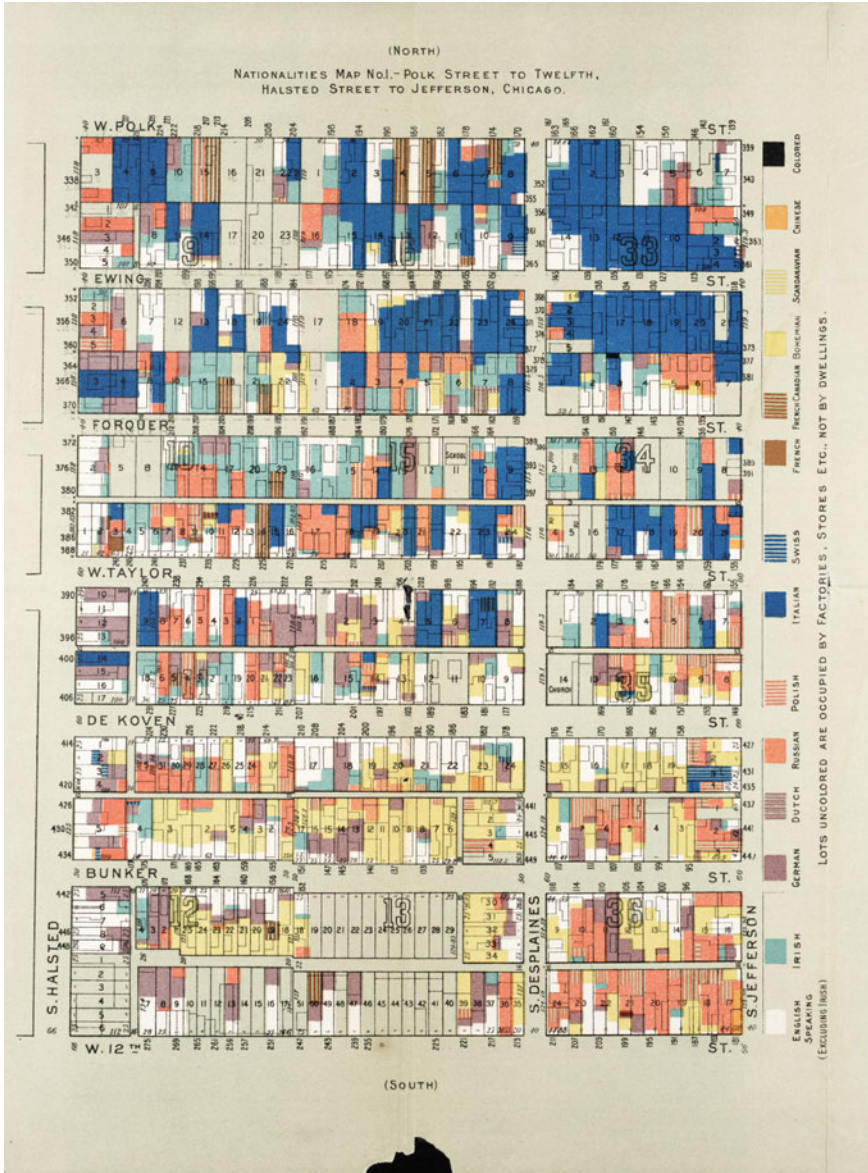


Fig. 1.1 Nationalities Map No. 1—Polk Street to Twelfth; Halstred Street to Jefferson, Chicago. *Source* Hull House Maps and Papers (North) Nationalities Map No. 1.—Polk Street to Twelfth, Halstead Street to Jefferson, Chicago, [#H4196c4H761895-c5-05], Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago Library

Stories drawn from her experiences are a hallmark of Addams writing style. She illustrated a widening circle of social responsibility through a story of a “boy of eight” darting into a moving streetcar intent on selling the evening newspaper. A businessman drawing from his belief in the importance of individual initiative is impressed with the child’s work ethic and buys a paper. A “Philanthropic Lady” worries that such a “bright boy is not in school” and vows to support schools for newsboys. Finally, a laborer sees the boy and observes a tragic loss of childhood. He dedicates himself to work for child labor laws. This simple story illustrates Addams life-long focus on children, her ability to see multiple perspectives and her commitment to action as part of recognizing and widening the social claim (Addams 1902: 169–170).

Addams also led efforts at municipal reform and to expand women’s claim to urban governance. Instead of a traditional, militarist model of “city as citadel” she advocated a “city as household” metaphor. Drawing from this sensibility, cities should attend to their citizen’s basic needs and city administration should incorporate a feminine perspective and use a civic housekeeping model. The high infant mortality rate in the 19th Ward led her to seek and obtain an official title as “Garbage Inspector”. She and neighborhood women rose at dawn to follow garbage trucks. They exposed corruption and initiated reform. Healthy babies and a dramatic drop in the infant mortality rate was their reward (Addams 1910). She focused on the problems of youth in *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909) and prostitution in *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912). Her lively, autobiographical *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910) was frequently reprinted and by 1960 considered a ‘classic’.

In *Twenty Years* Addams (1910: 125–126) explains the nature and mission of the settlement.

The Settlement, then is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the over accumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantages. From its very nature it can stand for no political or social propaganda. It must in a sense, give the warm welcome of the inn to all such propaganda, if perchance one of them be found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in the Settlement is that it loses its flexibility, its power of quick adaption, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment, It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation.

Clearly, Hull House was an exemplary settlement that came close to Addams’ ideal. This dynamic place of tolerance and inquiry was also where Addams’ unique ideas about peace grew and matured.

1.4 Early Peace Activism

Addams was drawn to Tolstoy's peace philosophy in her early 20s (Hamington 2014). Her unique conceptualization of peace, however, began in the neighborhoods around Hull House. There she saw all kinds of conflict. The streets were filled with immigrants from nations frequently at war. Differences in religious affiliations led to conflict. The adult immigrants and their first generation children were often at odds. Immigrants in Chicago also came in the form of African Americans seeking work and escape from the violent, racist, segregated South. Their transition to northern industrialism was often tense.

She observed that conflicts diminished and sometimes dissolved when opposing groups worked together to resolve a shared problem. At the time she also participated in a largely successful 'progressive' agenda. The Progressive Movement was raising a new awareness and changing policies. These experiences fuelled an evolving idealism, which led her to believe war making would soon be impossible (Wilson 1997). Addams argued that women were key to achieving widespread peace. Heretofore war and peace were the purview of men. Women had the capacity to bring new ideas and experiences to conflict resolution.

The Spanish American War [1898] offered her an early opportunity to speak against war and develop her pacifist ideas. In her first book about peace, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1906), she argued peace was an idea that transcended war. "Helping oppressed immigrants was an act of bringing forth peace" (Hamington 2009: 93). She also outlined ways society incorporated militarism through historical municipal practices that focused attention on "protecting city from rebellion from within and invasion from without" (Addams 1906: 110). This led to militarization of municipal functions particularly in law enforcement. In addition, war was associated with noble values like patriotism, courage, and self-sacrifice. She argued that peace should be equally compelling and patriotism should be disentangled from militarism (p. 133). *Newer Ideals* established Addams as a leading spokesperson for the peace movement in America (Wilson 1997: 22).

Between 1906 and the onset of the First World War Addams led progressive reform, which included her innovative ideas about peace. She promoted her ideas through lecture series, books, journal articles and high profile magazine articles. These activities increased her recognition and influence. She was a natural and obvious woman to lead women's peace organizations and activities during and after WWI.

1.5 World War I

In 1899 and 1907 world leaders convened influential peace conferences at The Hague. During these high profile conferences nations sought new international policy frameworks (Permanent Court of Arbitration, multilateral treaties) in order to

replace war with a “system for the peaceful settlement of disputes among states” (Van der Dungen/Wittner 2003: 368).

A third Hague Peace Conference was cancelled in 1915 due to the First World War. Pacifist women in neutral The Netherlands and the US took advantage of the high profile cancellation and organized a woman’s peace conference. Jane Addams presided at this unique International Congress of Women at The Hague. This was the premier event mentioned in all Nobel Prize nominations. The approximately twelve hundred participants from neutral and belligerent nations had a long agenda. But foremost they sought continuous mediation as a path toward peace (Addams 1922/2002: 13).

The Congress issued a set of resolutions and called for the creation of a “Society of Nations” that anticipated what subsequently became the League of Nations (Addams 1915/2003). They recognized the importance of ending a war without reprisals. Harsh treatment of the defeated sowed the seeds of subsequent war. Peace notions predicated on grand theories of power politics may ignore the everyday connections that can transform hatred into sympathy. The rights of both sides, an important component of a lasting peace, should be recognized in future peace negotiations (Addams 1915/2003).

All of the delegates had worked for suffrage in their home nation. Hence, it is not surprising the Congress also focused on the role of women and argued that the ongoing exclusion of women from meaningful policy discussion around war and peace was deeply flawed. A set of conference resolutions addressed these omissions by insisting on widespread voting rights and women’s inclusion in formal post war peace process. They argued that the peace process needed to be informed by women so that feminine values of caring, nurturance, and negotiation could inform and improve peace negotiations and post-war settlement.

After the Congress Addams and a delegation carried the message of the conference to heads of state in belligerent nations, citizen groups, and wounded soldiers. She and fellow American participants Emily Balch and Alice Hamilton recounted their experiences in *Women at The Hague* (1915/2003). Upon return she lectured widely about The Hague Congress and her experiences in war torn Europe. When the US entered the war, she continued to press for peace. During this time of war and inflamed nationalism she experienced years of, often brutal, condemnation from the popular press and fellow citizens. Large segments of her support network crumbled. Given how widespread the belief that she and her cause was toxic, it is not surprising that fields which claimed her as a founder emphasized her earlier work virtually ignoring her peace activism.

The War left Europe with severe food shortages. Addams joined a US humanitarian effort spearheaded by future president, Herbert Hoover, to provide food relief to civilian allies in France and Belgium. Her speaking engagements provided an opportunity to mitigate wartime suffering by raising awareness of this

humanitarian crisis. She was particularly happy to support an effort symbolically connected to women's traditional role as 'bread-givers'. This is yet another way she pushed "bread-givers" the circle of social responsibility outward.

The 1915 Hague Congress concluded with the commitment to meet again at the war's end. Addams presided at the 1919 Zurich post-war conference. This conference recognized the need to address the starvation and suffering in Europe and called for "immediate action" to lift the blockade and send food to *all* war torn European countries. The harsh Treaty of Versailles was made public while the women delegates were meeting. They were quick to see the treaty's flaws and publicly stated their "deep regret that the Terms of Peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured" (Addams 1922/2002: 93). Their statement predated widespread historical agreement that this treaty undermined peace rather than sustaining it (Sharp 2010). During the 1919 conference the group officially became the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which today is a vibrant organization with a formal link to the United Nations, ongoing peace related activities and chapters around the globe.

After the conference, Addams was one of the first to tour Germany and report on the suffering of the starving women and children. Upon return she organized the American arm of WILPF into a "Fight the Famine" campaign and toured the US on behalf of the campaign (Wilson 1997: 83–85). She shared these and other war related experiences in *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922). She continued her international peace activism by presiding the WILPF Congresses in 1924, 1926 and 1929. During this period she also traveled around the world visiting sites in India, China and Japan spreading her message of peace. After many nominations, Addams finally was awarded the Noble Peace Prize in 1931. Unfortunately, health problems made it impossible for her to attend the ceremony. She died in 1935.

At the Nobel ceremony Professor Halvan Koht summed up Addams remarkable accomplishments (Linn 1935/1968).

She is the foremost woman of her nation, not far from being its greatest citizen.... In Jane Addams there are assembled all the best womanly attributes which shall help us to establish peace in the world.... She was the right spokesman for all the peace-loving women of the world (Linn 1935/1968: 390).

Clearly, Jane Addams was a remarkable pioneer along many dimensions. Table 1.1 summarized major events in her life, emphasizing events noted in her Nobel Prize nominations. The remainder of this book highlights her contributions to philosophy, peace studies and professional/academic fields that were emerging at the turn of the 19th century. After these chapters the reader will find Jane Addams in her own words.

Table 1.1 Jane Addams—key life and peace activist/scholar related events

1860	Laura Jane Addams born, Cedarville, Illinois
1863	Mother, Sarah Addams dies
1868	Father, John H. Addams remarries (Anna Haldeman)
1877	Enters Rockford Female Seminary
1881	Father dies
1883–1885	European trip, visits Toynbee Hall
1887–1888	European trip inspired to establish Settlement House
1889	(January) Moves to Chicago with E. Starr; searches for appropriate building (September) Opens Hull House
1891–1893	Hull House expansion (art gallery, cooperative boarding club for girls, coffeehouse, gymnasium...)
1894	Pullman Strike
1895	<i>Hull House Maps and Papers</i> Appointed garbage inspector
1896	Visits Europe, meets Tolstoy
1902	<i>Democracy and Social Ethics</i>
1905–1909	Chicago School Board
1907	Delegate first National Peace Conference <i>Newer Ideals of Peace</i>
1910	<i>Twenty Years at Hull House</i>
1914	World War I begins
1915	(January) Establishes Women’s Peace Party (USA) (April) International Congress of Women at The Hague Established International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (May–June) Led Congress peace delegation to war capitals <i>Women at The Hague</i> (co-authors E. Balch & A. Hamilton) Speech at Carnegie Hall
1916	US enters WWI
1917–1919	Spokesperson Department of Agriculture Food Relief Program
1919	Presides at second congress of the International Committee of Women for a Permanent Peace at Zurich. Congress changes name to Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom Tours post-war Europe
1921	Third congress of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Vienna).
1922	<i>Peace and Bread in Time of War</i>
1924	Fourth congress of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Washington D. C.)
1926	Fifth congress of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Dublin)
1929	Sixth congress of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Prague). Resigns as president
1931	Nobel Peace Prize (with N. M. Butler)
1935	Dies in Chicago

Source Compiled by the author

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Chapter 2

Jane Addams: Public Philosopher, and Practicing, Feminist Pragmatist

Patricia M. Shields

This chapter examines Jane Addams's contribution to Classical American Pragmatism. In the mid 1990s philosophers began to recover the work of Jane Addams and establish her as a founder of American Pragmatism. Since then she has also been described as a leading public philosopher, a feminist pragmatist, a social feminist, a practicing pragmatist and one of the "great minds of American Philosophy" (Hamington 2009: 10).¹

The chapter begins by placing Addams ideas in historical context by spotlighting the rise of Classical American Pragmatism and key philosophers associated with its founding. Second, a few basic tenets of pragmatism are briefly explained. Finally, Jane Addams's unique feminist pragmatism is explored. Her pioneering contributions such as sympathetic knowledge and lateral progress are highlighted.

2.1 Historical Setting

Pragmatism is considered "America's one original contribution to the world of philosophy" (Diggins 1994: 2). It was born soon after the American Civil War and was something of a reaction to the absolutist thinking that many believed contributed to the conflict (Menand 2001). Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which was published in 1859 at the outset of the Civil War, served as another stimulus. *Origin* challenged existing belief systems and offered evolution and transformational change as an alternative (Menand 2001).

The origin of American pragmatism is commonly attributed to the "Metaphysical Club" an informal group established in Cambridge Massachusetts in 1872. Key members include William James, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., and Charles Sanders

¹For example, see Elshtain (2002), Shields et al. (2013), Seigfried (1996), Hamington (2009).

Peirce (Menand 2001). In two essays (“The Fixation of Belief” and “How to Make Our Ideas Clear”) Peirce (1877, 1878) initiated a philosophy that embraced doubt and uncertainty and focused attention on practical effects. Several years later, University of Chicago professor John Dewey, a student of Peirce and friend of William James, became noted as a pragmatist philosopher as did his colleague George Herbert Mead.²

In *The Quest for Certainty*, John Dewey argued that traditional philosophies elevated knowledge over making and doing. The quest for knowledge was a quest for certainty or the “absolute and unshakable” truth (Dewey 1929/1988: 5). “Logic provided the patterns to which ultimately real objects conformed” (p. 13) and it belonged to theory or a “higher realm of fixed reality” (p. 14) set apart from an inferior and uncertain realm of practical matters and experience. Pragmatism turns this world on its head. The truth of a theory is found in its application and its success as a tool of practice.

Chicago pragmatists Mead and Dewey had a close and active association with Hull House and worked closely with Jane Addams. Dewey and Addams were particularly close. John Dewey used Addams books in class, was on the board of Hull House and worked with Addams, along with his wife Alice, to make schools less regimented and more democratic. John and Alice Dewey showed their abiding respect for Addams by naming their daughter Jane. “Dewey and Addams were intellectual soul mates from the moment they met in 1892.” Dewey credits “Addams with developing many of his important ideas including his view on education, democracy, and ultimately philosophy itself” (Hamington 2014). It is almost impossible to disentangle the ideas of Dewey and Addams, they influenced each other and for both, something unique emerged (Davis 1973; Farrell 1967; Linn 2000; Seigfried 1996). Addams also had an ongoing correspondence with William James, citing his works frequently. James praised her works calling *Democracy and Social Ethics* “one of the great books of our time” (as cited in Elshtain 2002: 283). “James and Addams both valued experience and among the professional pragmatists his style of writing is closest to Addams in terms of readability and the use of tangible examples” (Hamington 2014).

While there was ongoing exchange between the philosophers of the University of Chicago and Hull House, the university did not offer Addams a place to refine her ideas. Rather, in Hull House, she created an environment where her unique feminist pragmatism would emerge. The settlement house provided a home and springboard for “philosophical endeavors, not merely as a connection to the life of the community but as a place for significant philosophical theory and reflection” (Hamington 2009: 6). It was a milieu where theory and practice merged and where women were encouraged to reflect on their experience as they encountered the community (engaged in making and doing).

²Other important first generation pragmatists include John Fiske, Nicholas St. John Green, F.C.S Schiller and W.E.B. Du Bois.

When Addams died she was recognized as a beloved founder of Hull House, a progressive reformer and peace activist. Her contributions to philosophy were masked and nearly invisible. At the time, no one outside academia was recognized as a philosopher—much less a non-academic woman. Her intellectual legacy suffered as a result (Hamington 2009). Addams contribution to philosophy began its path to the light in the 1990s when women philosophers, most notably Seigfried (1996) with *Pragmatism and Feminism*, made the persuasive case for Jane Addams as an often radical, feminist, first generation, American pragmatist.

2.2 Basic Definitions of Pragmatism

According to the *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, pragmatism “is a philosophy that stresses the relation of theory to praxis and takes the continuity of experience and nature as revealed through the outcome of directed action as the starting point for reflection. Experience is the ongoing transaction of organism and environment.... Since the reality of objects cannot be known prior to experience, truth claims can be justified only as the fulfillment of conditions that are experimentally determined, i.e., the outcome of inquiry” (Audi 1995: 730). Inquiry is a focal point, which is inclusive of a “community of inquirers” (Shields 2003).

“Pragmatism asks you not to commit yourself to a single version of truth, nor even to a single position. It asks you to judge a theory by its consequences, by the way it lives in the minds of those who embrace it” (Brendel 2006: xv). The basic tenets of pragmatism can be summarized using four key terms—practical, pluralism, participatory and provisional—hereafter the 4 ps. The four ‘p’s’ offer an easy to remember and apply way to summarize pragmatism. Thus, pragmatic inquiry focuses on *practical* problems and their resolution through action. It is *pluralistic* in that it takes into account multiple points of view as it considers practical problems. The *participatory* nature of pragmatism incorporates the community of inquiry. Everyone with a stake in the problem is encouraged to participate. Finally, it is *provisional*, which takes into account the fallible nature of experimentation and human inquiry (Brendel 2006: 29–32). “Truths are beliefs confirmed in the course of experience and are therefore subject to revision” (Seigfried 1996: 7).

Addams is known as a practicing pragmatist. Although she wrote many books and articles, she emphasized the making and doing. She was engaged in resolving the compelling problems in and around Hull House (practical). She involved the community intensively and widely (participatory) and welcomed multiple perspectives (pluralism). The ‘experimental’ nature of the settlement movement makes clear she had an ongoing willingness to admit mistakes and try new approaches (provisional).

Jane Addams grew her philosophy in Chicago, a city without a colonial heritage widely regarded as the first truly American city. Her American pragmatism is distinguished because she drew so clearly from a new source—women’s experience (Hamington 2010).

2.3 Jane Addams Unique Contributions

Jane Addams took experience and ideas of pragmatism and ran the ideas through settlement life of Chicago at the turn of the 20th century. She sought ‘progress’ or a goal of improving the lives of the neighborhood people. To do this, she and the residents of Hull House became part of the community and learned from the situation. She radicalized pragmatism “by applying a stronger egalitarian approach to social issues, one that was keenly tuned to the impact of class, race, and gender” (Hamington 2009: 43).

The next section examines some of the defining elements of Adams’s pragmatism. It should be noted that the order and specification of these key concepts is somewhat arbitrary. Addams herself was leery of classification. Categories obliterated connections and the distinctiveness of experience. Categories may aid in making useful distinctions but they can also trap thinking and perhaps progress. So, dear reader, keep in mind that these categories are a device to move her ideas forward. They are very much interconnected and like experience messy. We next examine a few key tenets of her philosophy beginning with avoidance of rigid moralisms and then move on to sympathetic knowledge, progressive inquiry, democracy, lateral progress, feminist pragmatism, and the civic household.

2.4 Avoid Rigid Moralisms

We distrust the human impulse as well as the teachings of our own experience, and in their stead substitute dogmatic rules for conduct (Addams 1902: 67).

As we saw earlier with Charles Sanders Pierce’s first article, pragmatism was a response to fixated belief systems. Addams continued this tradition. Early on Addams confronted what seemed like a binding private sphere that morally bound women to the narrow world of the home. Her life in a sense was a pushback away from this rigid, paternalism toward a world where women could stretch boundaries, contribute beyond the family sphere and engage others in solving compelling, practical, community problems.

The rigid moralisms she was concerned with carried with them the weight of “right and wrong,” or a singular point of view. Her perspective was very much in contrast with prevailing view that people’s problems are due to their lack of effort or some moral failing. This view also held that the prosperous had a kind of moral superiority, which led to an inability to see that the environment/industrial conditions were often responsible for problems like poverty and prostitution (Elshatin 2002). This sense of a superior belief system often made “little or no provision for human weakness.” Further, it squeezed out space for forgiveness and passion (Elshatin 2002: 80).

But life itself teaches us nothing more inevitable than that right and wrong are most confusedly mixed: That the blackest wrong is by our side and within our own motives; that

right does not dazzle our eyes with its radiant shining, but has to be found by exerting patience, discrimination and impartiality. We cease to listen for the bugle note of victory our childish imagination anticipated and fear that our finest victories are attained in the midst of self-distrust, and the waving banner of triumph is sooner or later trailed to the dust by the weight of self-righteousness (Addams 1895a: 199)

Narrow adherence to fixed principles could miss the big picture and shift, dismiss or exacerbate life-threatening problems of women and children. The principle that bound a woman to the home had the potential to blind both father and daughter to ways practical problems of health like inadequate sewer systems could be resolved. Success in eliminating this disease carrier rested on engaging the world outside the limited family sphere, which constrained wives and daughters. The principle that gave business the right to pursue profit without government interference blinded industrialists to the many injured children who worked with dangerous factory machines.

2.5 Sympathetic Knowledge

He forgets that it is necessary to know of the lives of our contemporaries, not only to believe in their integrity, which is after all but the beginning of social morality, but in order to attain any mental or moral integrity for ourselves or any hope for society (Addams 1902/2002: 177).

Addams offered an alternative to rigid belief systems or moral certainty—sympathetic knowledge. Sympathetic knowledge is a willingness to suspend judgment and listen and “at least see the size of one another’s burden” (Addams 1902: 6). It is “a determination to enter into lives that were not one’s own, without falling into the arrogant pretence that one understood the lives of others better than they did” (Elshtain 2002: 122). “When we sympathetically and affectively understand the plight of others, we are more likely to care and act in their behalf” (Hamington 2009: 74). Addams wants us to incorporate our emotions into our sense of knowledge. In doing so we are able to bring emotional kindness and imagination to encounters with others. Sympathetic knowledge practiced at Hull House aided in conflict resolution among its neighbors by bridging dualisms such as Europe/American old/young, employee/employer, catholic/protestant, father/daughter, and male/female.

Sympathetic Knowledge rests on four interconnected assertions. First, “human existence is ontologically defined by social interconnection funded by an ability to find common cause.” Second, “if individuals take the time and effort to obtain a deep understanding of others, that knowledge has the potential to disrupt their lives with the possibility of empathetic caring.” Third, “empathy leads to action” people will act on behalf of people they care about. Finally, “an effective democratic society depends on caring responses ... Socializing care is emphasized over the applications of moral systems such as right-based ethics that locate morality in individual agency” (Hamington 2009: 71–72). Sympathetic knowledge opens the way for diversity of experience and widespread participation in inquiry.

2.6 Progressive Inquiry

The Residents of Hull-House offer these maps and papers to the public, not as exhaustive treatises, but as recorded observations which may possibly be of value, because they are immediate and the result of long acquaintance (Addams 1895b: vii).

Inquiry is a key component of pragmatism. Addams systematically used something akin to scientific inquiry as a way to change the dreadful conditions among her neighbors. Even the definition of a settlement contained inquiry at its heart. “The Settlement, then is an *experimental effort* to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city...” (Addams 1910: 125) (Italics added). She recognized that fixed belief systems would stifle inquiry. She was “resolutely empirical,” for example, in the 1890s she gave 1000 speeches against child labor and sweatshops. Her speeches emphasized questions/answers like “What is the situation we face? What is the evidence? (Elshtain 2002: 140).

Addams and the Hull-House residents demonstrated a commitment to a scientific approach by emphasizing data collection. Little would be accomplished if sympathetic knowledge worked in the absence of an organized effort to reason out the problem and empirically verify circumstances. Their data was subsequently shared with the larger community and often used to promote better *living* conditions (Shields 2006).

This belief in the necessity of depending upon factual data for scientific inquiry led the Hull House residents to develop innovative research designs and cartographic techniques. In the early 1890s, Jane Addams and fellow resident Florence Kelley supervised the writing and production of *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, which began by developing base line information through neighborhood maps that graphically illustrated where the 18 nationality groups lived as well as the residents’ wages, occupations and housing conditions (See Fig. 1.1). *Maps and Papers* also contained chapters that delved into some of the most important problems facing the immediate community such as dangerous working conditions in the garment industry and enforcement of child labor laws (Residents of Hull House 1895).

This commitment to inquiry also involved a willingness to see and learn from experimental failures (provisional). “There was room for discouragement in the many unsuccessful experiments in cooperation which were carried on in Chicago during the early [eighteen] nineties” (Addams 1910: 141). And, “in spite of failures, cooperative schemes went on, some of the same men appearing in one after another with irrepressible optimism” (Addams 1910: 142).

One of the key insights that Addams and the members of Hull House understood was that progressive inquiry needed to be carried out by a “Community of inquiry.” Any analysis and subsequent actions to resolve the practical problems of Chicago’s poor immigrant communities needed to incorporate the insights and experiences of the community. Here is where both pluralism and the participatory characteristics of pragmatism come to play and where they support her notion of democracy (Shields 2003).

2.7 Democracy

Social morality results perforce in the temper if not the practice of the democratic spirit, for it implies that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy which are the foundations and guarantee of Democracy (Addams 1902/2002: 7).

Addams ideas of democracy were refined between 1889 and 1920 a time before women had the right to vote. While she worked to gain women the franchise she also conceived a kind of democracy inclusive of the disenfranchised, particularly women and poor immigrants. She imagined democracy to be a “process of breaking down artificial barriers between people” facilitating a path for people to realize their full potential. She attempted to socialize democracy (Elshtain 2002: 94).

Traditional conceptions of democracy stress political participation through voting and the rule of law. Democracy is viewed as a form of government (Shields 2006). Addams and Dewey move outside these notions. They develop a conceptualization of democracy that stresses ‘moral and spiritual association.’ The participatory democracy envisioned by Dewey and Addams, was both wide and radical (Westbrook 1991: xiv).

Their democracy is one of ideal and practice. There is no claim of an eventual utopia. Nevertheless, these ideals can help us understand and perhaps improve the practical, lived world (Shields 2006). Their ideas have a down to earth quality and apply to daily conversations and associations. Clearly Dewey and Addams were preoccupied with social problems and their resolution (Hildebrand 2008). Their work, however, always incorporated the lived world and daily conversations, experiences and associations (Dewey 1938/1998).

Addams had faith in her expansive, idealized democracy because she witnessed democracy at work in the streets, homes and meeting rooms of Hull House. Here humans could experience conflict and work out social claims aided by sympathetic understanding of the other. Sympathetic knowledge is the foundation of her larger, ethical, social democracy; it helps people to comprehend the experiences of others and thus facilitates heartfelt communication and social transformation (Hamington 2009: 76).

Addams (1902/2002) illustrates these concepts through the example of a business man/philanthropist relationship with his workers who are unhappy with a reduction in their benefits. The employer owner’s steadfast inflexible belief system has no room for sympathetic understanding. He felt betrayed by their demands (which eventually led to a violent strike) and was unwilling to consider his worker’s perspective.. The industrialist in her story is confident he knows what is best for the worker. Unfortunately, this mindset often cuts him off from

the social ethics developing in regard to our larger social relationships, and from the great moral life springing from our common experiences. This is sure to happen when he is good ‘to’ people rather than ‘with’ them, when he allows himself to decide what is best for them instead of consulting them. He thus misses the rectifying influence of that fellowship which is so big that it leaves no room for sensitiveness or gratitude. Without this fellowship we may never know how great the divergence between ourselves and others may become, nor how cruel the misunderstandings (pp. 154–155).

Addams believed in a larger human solidarity that rested on the assumption “that certain experiences are shared on a deep level by all human beings” (Elshtain 2002: 122). She believed that if people could open themselves to their different cultures, generations, types of childhoods etc., they could find common ground. Thus “democracy by infusing a normative claim into the political concept” was equated with a social ethic and key to that social ethic was care for the vulnerable (Hamington 2009: 78).

2.8 Lateral Progress

To touch to vibrating response the noble fibre in each man, to pull these many fibres, fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking, as they are, into one impulse, to develop that mere impulse though its feeble and tentative stages into action, is no easy task, but lateral progress is impossible without it (Addams 1912/2002: 176).

Human progress is often marked by the achievement of elites. We cheer when humans run faster or climb higher. We follow the exploits of elite athletes and successful entrepreneurs. Addams shifted attention toward the other end of spectrum. She focused efforts on improving the lives of the most vulnerable. Hull House’s successful war on ‘flies’ and “street littering garbage” reduced the infant mortality rate, improving the lot of babies. Concern for lateral progress is one way she radicalized pragmatism (Hamington 2009: 47).

Hamington isolates four characteristics of lateral progress. First, “widespread progress is preferred over individual progress.... The solidarity of lateral progress [is] necessary for effective social philosophy.” Second, “lateral progress assumes *circumstances* to be the major difference between the haves and have-nots” and posits an optimistic “human ontology that suggests there are not bad people, circumstances lead to bad situations” (Hamington 2009: 44). Third, “experiences of one another lead to greater understanding, which in turn leads to mechanisms, such as policy change,” that elevate conditions of the vulnerable. Finally, “lateral progress assumes the possibility that social reforms can create widespread improvement” (Hamington 2009: 45). She focused attention on reform that advanced women’s status, lives and experiences; all of which brought lateral progress.

2.9 Feminist Pragmatism

Certain it is that woman has gained new confidence in her possibilities, and a fresher hope in her steady progress (Addams 1880/2002: 8).

As is clear from her junior oration speech at the Rockford Female Seminary, Jane Addams focused her energies on the changing and expanding role of women. She adopted a feminine standpoint in her public position and ideas at a young age.

Standpoint theory posits that the “standpoint or context of the knower affects the known. No one can escape to an independent objective position of knowledge” (Hamington 2009: 53). Addams explicitly took into account feminine experience as a way to expand knowledge. Clearly most women of her generation were engaged in the care of children. Women’s experience included special knowledge of children who touched their lives daily and were an intimate part of their feminine experience. Addams feminist pragmatism is noted for its focus on children (Hamington 2009). So along with radicalizing pragmatism through the notion of lateral progress she pioneered the feminine standpoint. It should be noted, Addams is not saying women are better than men. There is no inherent superiority but there are aspects of women’s experience like closeness to children, to which women are more sensitive than men (Hamington 2009: 49).

“The pragmatist goal of philosophical discourse, which is shared understanding and communal problem solving rather than rationally forced conclusions, is more feminine than masculine, as it is valuing of inclusiveness and community over exaggerated claims of autonomy and detachment” (Seigfried 1996: 3). Hence, given its focus on inquiry, pragmatism was a natural home for feminist research and analysis. Seigfried (1996: 37) notes three features that characterize feminist research. First it “begins with women’s experience as the basis for social analysis.” Second, its goal is to benefit women. Finally, it claims this “research is not a neutral observer, but rather is on the same critical plane as the subject matter” (Seigfried 1996: 37). All three of these conditions are present in Addam’s work.

Her feminist perspective is captured in a hilarious, tongue-in-cheek essay where she imagines a world where women contemplated granting men the right to vote. A few excerpts follow:

Our most valid objection to extending the franchise to you is that you are so fond of fighting—you always have been since you were little boys. You would very likely forget that the real object of the State is to nurture and protect life.... We [women] have carefully built up a code of factory legislation for the protection of workers in modern industry; we know that you men have always been careless about the house, perfectly indifferent to the necessity for sweeping and cleaning; if you were made responsible for factory legislation it is quite probable that you would let the workers in the textile mills contract tuberculosis through needless breathing the metal filings (Addams 1913/2002: 229–230).

2.10 Civic Household

A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. ... may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? (Addams 1913).

Historian Flanagan (1990) contrasted two reform models of Chicago city governance during the early 20th century. These gender based models were built and articulated through the works of two reform clubs—the ‘business’ and all male City Club of Chicago and the “health and welfare” oriented Women’s City Club of Chicago. The elites of Chicago filled the membership rolls of each club. The Women’s club also included Jane Addams and many settlement workers.

The ‘Club’ men viewed the City as a source of business profit. The women dismissed ‘profit’ as an appropriate position. They were concerned with the health and welfare of Chicago’s citizens. The differences between the approaches can be seen in how they viewed the garbage collection problem.

Both clubs agreed that the existing private contractors were leaving the streets filthy. Change was needed. The men’s group focused on Chicago as a source of business profits. Garbage collection responsibilities must stay in business hands. The contract should be renegotiated. In contrast, the women’s club emphasized the “healthiness of the urban environment” and did extensive research including comparisons with systems in the US and Europe (Flanagan 1990: 1038). They concluded that the city should assume responsibility for garbage collection.

In the process of tackling this and other urban problems the women’s club began to develop an alternative model for city government—*municipal housekeeping*. They saw the city as an extension of the home. It did this through food inspection, factory safety, birth registrations etc. (Flanagan 1990: 1048).

Jane Addams took this widely held position and turned it into a radical—and ahead of its time—philosophical argument for diversity. Philosopher Haslanger (2016), examines Addams’ arguments in what she calls an undiscovered ‘classic’ of philosophy—a 740 word broadside poster “Women and Public Housekeeping,” written by Addams and distributed in 1913 to promote women’s suffrage.

Addams argues that a well-governed city no longer needs to protect itself from invading armies. Further, cities are not quite like business enterprises; rather, it is a space where civic life should be managed with “a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children, and responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people” (Addams 1913). She points out that most of the organizational divisions within city government can be traced to household functions traditionally delegated to women. Woman’s responsibility as household manager has taught her how to juggle these “multiform activities” and to “attend to the complex demands of others to whom she often has special obligations due to their dependency. Men’s breadwinning and military responsibilities do not typically provide them with these skills and sensitivities, at least to the same degree. Therefore, the failure of cities to provide adequately for their citizens could be remedied by including women in public life, e.g., by allowing them to vote, to hold public office, etc. Moreover, women’s lives could be further enriched by such civic participation” (Haslanger 2016: 155).

Addams is not claiming, “that women, simply by virtue of their sex, have a special way of knowing or a special kind of knowledge that men lack. Rather, her point is that women have traditionally played the role of housekeeper and so have learned skills and sensitivities that men, on the whole, have not” (Haslanger 2016:

157). Banning women produces three problems. First, it denies them their traditional role and responsibility as community caregiver. Second, the men in charge undervalue or ignore these functions and instead debate questions about national tariffs or the navy. This lack of attention opens the doors to corruption. Third, banning women's formal participation denies women's wisdom, gained by experience, which would benefit the management and functioning of the city. Current practice (no right to vote or hold office) blocks women's potential to contribute. Expanding or making the pool of participants more diverse would draw from this experience and serve the citizens of Chicago and the US generally.

This short broadside captures many of Addams contributions to philosophy. It tackles a practical down to earth topic. It incorporates and clarifies a feminine standpoint. If effective it should help others walk in women's shoes—enhancing sympathetic knowledge. It calls for greater participation, and pluralism in resolving the problems of the city. It focuses on problems whose resolution would result in lateral progress. As a broadside arguing for women's suffrage it is a tool to widen democratic participation.

2.11 Conclusion

Addams status as a first generation, founder of Classical American Pragmatism has been secured only recently. She neither wanted to be a traditional university philosopher nor was the university ready to include her ideas within the rubric of philosophy. Even books like *Democracy and Social Ethics* and *Newer Ideals of Peace*, which contain obvious philosophical content, were written to appeal to a popular audience. They were “PUBLIC philosophy” filled with insights into contemporary problems and thought provoking stories. We are indebted to the many philosophers who have recovered Addams' feminist pragmatism in her books, magazine articles and even broadsides that were tacked onto billboards around Chicago.

This chapter focused on philosophy developed in her formative years as a settlement worker. Ideas such as sympathetic knowledge, lateral progress and feminist pragmatism laid the groundwork for her ideas of peace. The next chapter focuses on the interplay between her years as a peace activist and her conceptualization of peace summed up in the term *peaceweaving* (Shields/Soeters [forthcoming](#)).

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[Jane Addams] with Bishop Vincent at Chautagua [ca.] 1910–1920; [JAMC_0000_0027_0067],
Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago Library

Chapter 3

Jane Addams: Peace Activist and Peace Theorist

Patricia M. Shields

[W]ar is not a natural activity for mankind, that large masses of men should fight against other large masses is abnormal, both from the biological and ethical point of view... [I]t is a natural tendency of men to come into friendly relationships with ever larger and larger groups, the endless desire of men ... not to be kept apart but to come to terms with one another (Addams 1922/2002: 139).

Jane Addams wrote three books about peace. The first, *Newer Ideals of Peace* was written in 1907 almost two decades after she established Hull House. In those 20 years, her accomplishments must have outpaced her early vision. Not only was Hull House a force for progressive reform, she was an acknowledged, high profile, leader of the international settlement movement. Hundreds of urban community/education centers like Hull House were now serving immigrant communities throughout the US and around the world (Friedman/Friedman 2006). She then turned her attention toward peace. *Newer Ideals* was ultimately a hopeful book that linked peace with social justice. She called for a stronger more robust notion of peace that replaced the emotions of war with a passion to engage social problems such as workplace dangers, ill treatment of immigrants, and child labor practices. In 1907 the United States and international seas were mostly calm.

When Jane Addams, Emily Balch and Alice Hamilton wrote *Women at The Hague: The International Peace Congress of 1915*, Europe was in the early stages of the Great War. The Peace Congress was a way for women to act in the face of “useless destruction”, “mad slaughter”, and “national hatred” (Addams et al. 1915/2003: 118). This book was an account of the Congress, the details of the post conference visits to European warring and neutral capitals and a set of conference resolutions.

When I checked *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (Addams 1922/2002) out of the library, the student who ran the book through the scanner, looked at me, and with almost tears in her eyes, explained that she had recently read this book in a history class. She was still shaken by Addams’s account of the suffering and hunger among postwar children of Europe. This powerful book also included an account of humanitarian food assistance during and after the war, her encounter with President

Wilson, and the press's systematic maligning and misrepresentation of wartime pacifism (Addams 1922/2002).

When Addams wrote *Newer Ideals* her work in the settlement movement was lauded. She was the darling of the press. By 1922, this status had changed radically. Her peace activism during World War I led to public humiliation, which at times included claims that she was a traitor. So it is perhaps surprising that the hopeful quote found above is from *Peace and Bread*.

Addams did not accept the “Hobbesian notion that the state of nature is the state of war” (Hamington 2009: 106). Rather, even observing the devastation of World War I, she was optimistic about the prospects for peace basing her position on the belief that men and women had a natural tendency toward “friendly relationships” (Addams 1922/2002: 139).

This chapter explores Jane Addams as a peace activist and a peace theorist. It begins with an examination of the Addams place in the early peace movement; second the influential *Newer Ideals of Peace* is explored. Third, her feminist analysis of the problems with war is considered. Fourth, policy prescriptions, found in the 1915 women's peace conference are analyzed. Fifth, Addams ideas of peace are placed in a contemporary context. Sixth, her conceptualization of a positive peace or *peaceweaving* is presented. Finally, Addams contribution to peace theory and practice is critiqued.

3.1 Addams and the Peace Movement

Uncharacteristically, the American Peace Movement of late 1800s, when Addams entered the quest for peace, was filled with leaders in industry, media and government such as Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, Elihu Root and Louis Lochner. These men influenced by a vision of social Darwinism, prophesized world prosperity and focused on peace as a practical “law and order” problem. In a world without sufficient laws between nations, they argued for practical, legal tools such as arbitration and international courts (Marchand 1972). Of course, peace was also secured through military strength.

Prior to WWI, Addams certainly moved within the circles of the mainstream peace movement. But even then her assessment of the movement's assumptions, means and goals differed radically from the conventional position. Addams settlement work spearheaded, often controversial, progressive reform by addressing problems of inequity or injustice in America's cities (Sklar 2003). The pacifism she defined was a bottoms-up position, which drew heavily from Hull House residents' interactions with their diverse immigrant neighbors. Ironically, her seemingly extreme position linking peace and social justice is a theme easily traced to the Old Testament (Freedman 2016; Floyd 2016).

The unjust exclusion of women from all aspects of society—political, social and economic—was an early and ongoing issue addressed at Hull House. Her

innovative approach linked peace and justice through feminine lenses. It also drew lessons from the concrete experiences of Chicago's struggling immigrants.

Addams used overlapping social reform and suffrage networks to recruit and support her peace initiatives. Sklar (2003: 81) credits Addams's success with her ability to recruit noted women social reformers (e.g., Kelley, Hamilton). These successful social reformers moved skillfully and with unified intention from the national to international arena. The women's peace movement was also energized and stimulated by the even larger, well-organized, highly-networked international women's suffrage movement. In the years prior to WWI, women all over Europe and North America were organizing for political rights within their respective countries (Ramirez et al. 1997). This activity stimulated awareness about a next logical step the need for a voice and influence in the international arena—particularly the right to protest war and be an active, legitimate force for peace. The Women's Peace Party, established in 1915, used a common suffrage tactic and took the unlikely step—demonstrated for peace. (Sklar 2003: 92). Addams and the many women who worked with her such as Aletta Jacobs, Grace Abbott, Lillian Wald and Rosika Schwimmer used their passion and skills learned through suffrage activism to organize the women's international peace conference (Sullivan 1993; Wiltsher 1985).

It must be noted that the still strong Women's International League of Peace and Freedom provides evidence of her visionary leadership. This organization was formed at the 1915 meeting. Addams considered this organization as among her most important legacies—including it along with Hull House as the accomplishments mentioned on her tombstone (Sklar 1995: 32).

3.2 Newer Ideals of Peace

Addams was awakened to the issue of peace in her late 30s with the Spanish American War (1898). During the relative calm in international relations between the end of the Spanish American War and the onset of World War I, peace activists were confident that the world was evolving toward a world free of violent conflict. Their confidence was born in a Darwinian faith in the power of industrialism and capitalism. Addams was disillusioned with the peace through law and order perspective and in 1907 at the age of 47, she articulated an alternative vision in *Newer Ideals of Peace*.

In the introductory chapter of *Newer Ideals* she lays out the case for a more robust form of pacifism. She sought “a newer, more aggressive ideals of peace, as over against the older dovelike ideal”. These newer ideals are active and dynamic, and it is believed that if their forces were made really operative upon society they would, in the end, “quite as a natural process, do away with war” (Addams 1907/2003: 7). She criticized the passive, dogmatic pacifism of icons like Tolstoy. These were “feeble and inadequate with a ‘goody-goody’ attitude of ineffectiveness” (Addams 1907/2003: 9). She also found fault with the prudent “peace-secured-by-the-preparation-for-war” theory, which dominate official thinking. The idea that war is an appeal to prudence is a “*reductio as absurdum*” (Addams 1907/2003: 8).

She acknowledged that war had the power to stir “the nobler blood.” She pursued a conceptualization of peace that contained valor and was a moral substitute for war (Addams 1907/2003: 17). Courage and self-sacrifice are compelling virtues of war. Peace needed an equivalent sensibility (Addams 1907/2003: 106). She sought a “new heroism” bent on eliminating poverty and disease, a determination, for example, to rid the world of tuberculosis. The “newer humanitarianism” she envisioned was aggressive, courageous, noble, and contained emotional stimuli (Addams 1907/2003: 17). A robust notion of nurture should replace conquest.

Her call to a moral substitute for war is very similar to James’s (1910) “Moral Equivalent of War”. Scholars of the 1970s such as Davis (1973) suggest that she borrowed from James. Contemporary scholars, such as Hamington (2009) challenge this assertion because Addams had presented her idea in speeches as early as 1899. Although the debate can never be completely untangled, at a minimum, James and Addams who corresponded regularly and attended similar meetings influenced each other. But more importantly, James’s ideas were narrowly defined by traditional gender roles. He sought equivalency for the *male* who would “perform a wide variety of public service tasks as an alternative to war.” Addams, on the other hand, called “for *men and women* to share in the great cause of social improvement as a moral substitute for war” (Hamington 2009: 98–99) (*italics added*).

The subsequent chapters of *Newer Ideals* point out the failures of modern cities to achieve the goals of industrialism and capitalism. She observed these failures every day in her life at Hull House in the form of the public health threats, questionable practices at city hall, dangerous working conditions in Chicago’s factories. All of these were the downside of Industrialism. She also observed behavior among city officials similar to a ‘militarism’ found in earlier, more violent, centuries.

She, like her “practical, law and order” brothers, found hope for sustained peace. Her hope, however, sprang from the international microcosm that was the immigrant world around Hull House. Her neighbors provided evidence that a cosmopolitan environment, which transcended nationalism, was possible. Although, “they will probably believe for a long time that war is noble ...yet ... below their shouting, they are living in the kingdom of human kindness. They are laying the simple and inevitable foundations for an international order ... They are developing the only sort of patriotism consistent with the intermingling of the nationals, for the citizens of a cosmopolitan quarter” (Addams 1907/2003: 14).

The activities of progressive reform actuated in the settlement movement were connected to wider societal end-in-view of democratic peace and social justice. The onset of World War I changed her focus. She engaged in activism to end the war and also built international mechanisms to prevent future conflict and feed the starving of war torn Europe (Davis 2000).

3.3 Problems with War

While Addams articulated a positive peace informed by the feminine standpoint, she was very clear about the problems of war. She saw war as a waste of resources. (Addams 1930: 167). War fosters violence, which in turn fosters more violence. War brings with it in absolutist thinking (friend/enemy; good/evil; victory/defeat) which makes it difficult to resolve conflict. It also makes it difficult for a citizen to be both a patriot and a pacifist. The burden of war falls most heavily on the young and middle class. War does not address the underlying conditions such as poverty, injustice or inequality, which stimulated violent conflict.

Addams also made observations about war closely tied to the feminine experience, which were often overlooked by the males responsible for waging war (Hamington 2009). Women have a special sensitivity to the value of human life because they have historically been responsible for care of the young, aged and sick. This sensitivity carries with it an obligation (Addams 1915: 65). In “What War Destroys” she lays out five ways war is destructive, which reflects this feminine sensibility. First, war produces collateral damage—the destruction of war is inclusive of babies and children who are in the countryside and villages of warring nations. Second, women nurture their sons from birth and then give them over to armies during war. This destroys the nurture of human life to which mothers had devoted so much attention and love. Third, war destroys the fulfillment of human life by jeopardizing hope for the future. Fourth, it destroys the conservation of human life. The state is responsible to care for the vulnerable; war diverts attention away from these groups. The care for the elderly and infirm is then disrupted or discarded. Finally, war turns back human progress. It represents a backward movement for society. A community’s recovery from the disaster of war is usually slow and uneven making it difficult for the next generation to prosper (Addams 1915).

3.4 Policy Prescriptions

As stated in the first chapter, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize because of her leadership in the Women’s Peace Conference at The Hague. One of the tangible results of the conference was a series of Resolutions. Sklar (2003) maintains that Addams’s influence on these resolutions has never been recognized. She shows that the American delegation, headed by Addams, had an agenda for the meeting implemented through the resolutions, which was closely connected to themes developed in *Newer Ideals*.

The resolutions called for immediate *action* to end the war (all resolutions are found in the Appendix 3, Addams et al. 1915/2003: 123–130). They called upon world leaders to “end the bloodshed and to begin peace negotiations” (Resolution 3, hereafter R3). Another resolution authorized a set of delegates to travel to the

leaders of belligerent and neutral nations in Europe and the US to urge them to stop the war (R20). They also resolved to meet again at wars end when world leaders were crafting a peace settlement so that they could make “practical proposals” for peace (R19).

The resolutions called for the world to engage in *principles of permanent peace*, which include respecting the right of self-government among nations, agreeing to refer future disputes to international arbitration and conciliation, agreeing to pressure future disputing parties to agree to arbitration and conciliation, ensuring that a nation’s foreign policy was subject to democratic control (inclusive of men and women), and finally, franchising women with the right to vote (R5–9).

International cooperation was another theme found in the resolutions. These resolutions called for a third Hague peace conference (R10), creation of a conference of neutral nations to offer “continuous mediation” (R4), the creation of an organization or “Society of Nations” which would meet regularly using principles of “justice, equity and goodwill.” This organization would deal with practical matters of international cooperation and create a council of conciliation and investigation for the settlement of international differences (R11). Nationally and internationally the civil and political rights of women would be equivalent with men (R15). They advocated free trade and demanded that secret treaties be voided (R14). Perhaps the most radical proposal—the conference called for general disarmament (R12).

Finally, the resolutions directed attention toward *women and children*. They incorporate the interests of women and children by resolving that the education of children should be directed towards peace (R16), asking all countries to extend the right to vote to women (R17) and ensuring women be given a voice in the peace settlement (R18).

3.5 Women and Peace Research

So far the focus has been on Addams as a historical peace activist who organized, spoke and wrote about the problems of war and peace in her time. This section shifts gears and examines Addams in a contemporary context. Much has changed. Events have patently challenged Addams’s optimistic assessment about peace. From World War II, to the nuclear Cold War, to the chaotic War on Terror, the world is a violent place. Yet much that she sought has occurred, women’s rights have expanded widely around the globe. The United Nations (UN) mirrors the “Society of Nations” advocated in The Hague Resolutions. The UN engages in peacekeeping operations, which are an example of international cooperation. Women’s important contribution to peace operations is widely accepted. The study of peace has gained scholarly import. Universities offer Peace Studies degrees and empirical studies fill the pages of prestigious peace research journals.

While women scholars actively contribute to the peace research literature, the philosophic, historical legacy of women like Jane Addams is missing from the

literature. For example, Richmond (2008) and Horowitz (2007) list 22 key peace philosophers. All are men. The absence of pioneering women like Jane Addams from this collective philosophic history is a contemporary problem, which should be recovered and corrected.

3.6 Positive Peace

There is nothing negative in the idea of peace. War is negative. Peace is the highest effort of the human brain applied to the organization of the life and being of the peoples of the world on the basis of cooperation (Addams et al. 1915/2003: 117).

Another reason Addams' ideas have been lost, is the widespread emphasis on the *negative* (absence of war) definition of peace in empirical peace research (Gleditsch et al. 2014; Diehl 2016a). The "absence of war" definition is easily measured with a dichotomous variable and is compatible with massive databases and advanced statistical analysis commonly used in peace research. Addams notion of peace, which Shields/Soeters ([forthcoming](#)) call 'peaceweaving' is an example of positive peace. The less well-articulated and used notion of positive peace incorporates, social justice, social equity, cooperation, community engagement, collaboration, effective-governance and democracy. It also focuses on the importance of positive relationships as they move outward from family, neighborhood, tribe, city, nation, or cross-national context. Positive peace is a process, an organic goal and incorporates the long run perspective (Shields 2016). It should be noted that positive peace cannot be placed in a neat rational continuum beginning with war's end (negative peace) and evolving smoothly to a positive peace.

Violent conflict is messy; the two types of peace are intertwined and seldom clearly demarcated. Positive peace also incorporates the long run. Jane Addams understood the unevenness of positive peace. Her analysis of the latent militarism in municipal government is illustrative (Addams 1907). Positive peace might be lacking in a city or community even when a nation is not at war. The American South in the post-Civil War is an example where structural violence was widespread and positive peace missing. No wonder Martin Luther King, Jr.'s saying, "without justice there can be no peace" resonated so completely with his followers (Floyd 2015).

Prominent peace scholars such as Richmond (2008), and Diehl (2016b) are critical of the way positivist theories in International Relations (IR) treat peace. IR conceptions of peace reinforce the negative definition and focus on 'states' and their interaction. The focus is reduced to examining "strategies, elites, officials and states as actors, rational calculations and assumptions about power" (Richmond 2008: 161). Negative peace also ignores the quality of relationships between nations (Diehl 2016a). Peace is part of a power exercise in an international system. This practice ignores the experiences of individuals, neighborhoods and communities.

Peace becomes distinct from the community, ongoing dialogue, and the dynamics of everyday life. Further, women and children are excluded.

As noted peace scholar, John Paul Lederach (2005), points out in *The Moral Imagination: The Heart and Soul of Building Peace* an “authenticity gap” can threaten treaties and the signed papers of formal international relations. This is the gap between promises in the formal documents and the experiences on the ground (within the community). If not tended to, there inevitably occurs a gap in trust that undermines progress toward an uninterrupted peace and thriving societies. Along with formal documents, positive peace is supported by “engagement of the deep issues and of people sustained in dialogue, [which continues] ... at multiple level” (p. 49). Jane Addams’s work recognizes this aspect of positive peace, emphasizing the inclusion of the community broadly.

3.7 Peaceweaving

To touch to vibrating response the noble fibre in each man, to pull these many fibres, fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking, as they are, into one impulse, to develop that mere impulse though its feeble and tentative stages into action, is no easy task, but lateral progress is impossible without it (Addams 1912/2002: 176).

Addams visualized the challenge of pulling together “into action” the “fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking” fibers of a community in conflict (Addams 1912/2002: 176). The activity of weaving draws together and connects. Weaving does not homogenize, rather strings of different colors and textures form a whole cloth. The fragile strings are transformed into a fabric, which can be both flexible and strong. Cloth can provide aesthetic pleasure and warmth. Weavers must have patience. The cloth is revealed slowly and the process often includes frustrating setbacks. Historically both men and women have engaged in weaving. Thus weaving is a term with a feminine sensibility that transcends gender roles.

Addams’s positive peace draws heavily from her feminist pragmatism developed in Chap. 2. Lateral progress, sympathetic understanding and the community of inquiry shape her notion of peaceweaving, which begins with a focus on relationships. First, positive peace involves societal transformation; rigid belief systems threaten this transformation because they breed unresolvable conflict. Second, if enemies are to become friends—sympathetic knowledge or the ability to see another’s perspective is instrumental for building these relationships. Third, instead of trying to overcome ideological differences, relationships can be built as groups focus on shared problems and become a community of inquiry. When people use participatory democracy and focus on resolving practical problems, space is opened up to build relationships. Finally, Addams notion of positive peace contains a social justice component—lateral progress. Real peace advances the welfare of all, including those at the bottom (Hamington 2009; Fischer 2009).

Thus, Addams’s Peaceweaving is a process, which builds “the fabric of peace by emphasizing relationships. Peaceweaving builds these positive relationships by

working on practical problems, engaging people widely with sympathetic understanding while recognizing that progress is measure by the welfare of the vulnerable” (Shields/Soeters [forthcoming](#)).

In the opening quote to this chapter, Addams states her belief in the “natural tendency of men to come into friendly relationships” (Addams [1922/2002](#): 139). Perhaps at bottom the essence of peace is “friendly relationships.” For Addams “the intimate connection of the individual to the many knew no limits” (Elshtaine [2002](#): 174). Addams theory of peace begins by focusing on these connections in the home and neighborhood, which are eventually extended outward to incorporate nations. These relationships are severed by violent conflict. Peaceweaving suggests a path that can transform violent conflict to “friendly relations.”

Addams civic household was a place to nurture all kinds of relationships. This was a civic model, which valued sympathetic understanding and where an ethic of care could flourish. Note the contrast of the militaristic “city as citadel” model present in Chicago. She found manifestations of this in the treatment of immigrants were “spirit of the conqueror toward an inferior people” could be observed. (Addams [1907/2003](#): 29). The civic household, in contrast, used family ties as an underlying metaphor. It had the potential to “open channels of possibilities to countless others” (Elshtain [2002](#): 174).

This focus on relationships is consistent with Addams feminist pragmatism because “pragmatism is a relational philosophy ... things are what they are by virtue of their relations” (Ryder [2013](#): 1). “One cannot resolve tension and conflict between the two through abstract logic. Instead, the relationship must be worked out in practice” (Elshtain p. 104). In a review of *Newer Ideals*, pioneering Chicago sociologist, George Herbert Mead, notes “the thesis of the book is that social control, that government must arise out of immediate human relations” (Mead in Fischer [2009](#): 171).

Peace is also an ongoing patient process where relationships of all sorts are strengthened. Relationships grow and change. They are sustained by attention and care. Conflict is not bad or absent. It has the potential to generate needed reform. Rather, conflict should stay within a civil sphere. Notions of victor and vanquished are problematic in this context.

Sympathetic knowledge provides a mindset for peace. The community of inquiry the scaffolding. The weaving takes place within the community of inquiry, which, begins with a concrete problematic situation followed by deliberation, action and reflection (Shields [2003](#); Whetsell/Shields [2011](#)). Addams’s community of inquiry is widely conceived to be inclusive of a diverse community. It is these processes and focus that weave together the relationships of peace and take into account lateral progress.

Scholars such as Shields/Soeters ([forthcoming](#)) who have recently examined Addams ideas in a contemporary context find that many of her key ideas are latent within the literature of positive peace and peacekeeping. “International Peace Keeping Operations are institutional structures charged with transforming a warlike situation into peace. International peace operations often begin as the conflict and violence is” slowing. These multinational “military organizations are charged with

administering and coordinating the peace. The operations are often mixed military and civilian and led by military forces, which bring a warrior ethos to the task” (Shields/Soeters 2013). These organizations confront many challenges and are responsible to bring functioning, sustaining institutions to war torn societies—they are charged with managing the peace. The warrior ethos includes rigid dichotomies such as good/evil, life/death, friend/enemy, victory/defeat, and strength/weakness. The seeming contradiction of warriors administering peace poses challenges for achieving long run peace.

Civil wars are among the most deadly and brutal conflicts of the 21st century. A nation’s military may fight rebels only to find the violence brings insurgents sympathy from the public. As a result, “winning hearts and minds” rather than defeat has become a counterinsurgency strategy. Addams’s Peaceweaving might be a useful way to “win hearts and minds.”

3.8 Addams Critics

Theodore Roosevelt, another Nobel Peace Prize winner, was an outspoken critic of Addams ideas on peace. He believed in a strong armed forces, peace through power and negotiation. Both Addams and Roosevelt led the progressive reform movement. She brought playgrounds to the nation’s children, he did the same on a wider scale through national parks. They also emphasize different aspects of peace—he negative peace, she positive peace. Roosevelt was a student of the war. His first books analyzed the Naval battles of the War of 1812 (Roosevelt 1900/1882. He was a Spanish American war hero—fighting with the rough rider. He received the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating a settlement to the Russo-Japanese War.

Shortly after leaving the Presidency he wrote a review, which ridiculed her misplaced concept of militarism applied to municipal management. He criticized her for equating war with evil while ignoring evil itself. “[I]t is not righteous war, not even war itself, which is the absolute evil, the evil which is evil always and under all circumstances.... Militarism as an evil in our society is as purely a figment of the imagination” (Roosevelt 1909/2002: 176). Roosevelt called *Newer Ideals* “foolish and fantastic” (Roosevelt 1909/2002: 176). He also addresses city as citadel criticism head on arguing for more militarism in city government, saying “militarism which takes the form of a police force municipal or national may be the prime factor for upholding peace” (Roosevelt 1909/2002: 175).

Elstain’s (2002) is also critical in her widely cited *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*. She asserts that in this case Addams exhibits the rigid moralism she finds so problematic. Addams, in wholly negative terms, views the military as something “the human race can and should abandon altogether.” In so doing, she fails to recognize that it is possible to provide for the common defense without inciting contempt and cruelty (pp. 218–219). Addams had a blind spot to the centrality of military force in ending war.

3.9 Conclusion

Jane Addams was clearly a pioneer as a peace activist and peace theorist. Her most obvious impact was through bringing feminine lenses to these forums. The Women's International League of Peace and Freedom is an enduring legacy of her peace activism and organizational skills. The field of peace studies is another matter. It is time for this academic field to re-examine its roots and include Jane Addams as among its founders. This is particularly true as the field shifts emphasis toward positive peace.

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Chapter 4

Jane Addams: Pioneer in American Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration

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This chapter explores Jane Addams influence on the emerging fields of Social Work, Sociology, and Public Administration in the United States. All three fields began in response to social problems of the late 19th and early 20th century. The advent of railroads and factories led to rapidly expanding wealth, urbanization and industrialization throughout the United States. This in turn attracted record numbers of migrants from Europe and the rural South. The public responses to these challenges were filtered through corrupt, crony capitalism/crony democracy. As a result, city's such as Chicago suffered from massive poverty, shoddy housing, poor sanitation, dangerous workplaces, crime, politicized, dysfunctional local government, exploited women, and exhausted, uneducated children worn out by long factory shifts (Hofstadter 1963; Addams 1909, 1912a, b).

Sociology is a social science focused on studying the nature of social problems. Like philosophy, its home is academia. In contrast, social workers and public administrators carry out strategies to resolve these problems. The professionals of these fields serve society as caseworkers, planners, administrators, government workers and nonprofit employees. People have filled positions serving the poor and managing cities for thousands of years. In the 1880s, however, these functions evolved into modern, self-aware secular fields, which identified with scientific objectivity and eventually offered university degrees (Deegan 1988; Austin 1983; Shields/Rangarajan 2011).

Social work often traces its origin to 1869 and the founding of the Charity Organization Society (COS) in London. The COS sought a way to make charity more scientific and efficient through a home visit service, which identified fraudulent relief claims and prescribed ways to fix individual vices such as drunkenness or gambling. Over time the home visit evolved into social casework one of the pillars of social work practice. The settlement movement, another source of social work identity, advocated intimate community involvement, systematic investigation into the causes of poverty, infectious diseases, crime etc., and organized action to address systemic dangers to

the community (Abramovitz 1998: 513–14). The history of social work is framed by the sustained tension between these two approaches.¹

The Sociology Department at the University of Chicago and Hull House were founded in response to urban challenges (Deegan 1988). During the 1890s these closely affiliated infant organizations stimulated pioneering work in sociology (Trevino 2012; Feagin 2001; Gross/Krohn 2005). Eventually, settlement women such as Addams with their preference for the world of action and reform were not quite scientific, detached or objective enough for an increasingly academic and male dominated field. They were transformed into social workers and disappeared from sociology's formal institutional memory (Dale/Kalob 2006). In the late 20th century, sociologists discovered and recovered the work of pioneering settlement sociologists like Addams (Deegan 1988; Grant et al. 2002). By 2001, Joe Feagin's presidential address to the American Sociology Association identified Addams as a "key founder" (p. 7) as he called for sociology to reclaim its activist roots and commitment to social justice.



Polk street opposite Hull House. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 95

Hull House operated in a city with a well-deserved reputation for dysfunction and corruption (political bosses who controlled lucrative contracts and public hiring) (White 1963; Stivers 2000). The field of public administration emerged as a way to redress abuses of city governments plagued by fraud and inefficiencies. Its founders sought greater municipal efficiency through business practices and a healthier democracy by incorporating merit and expertise into personnel policies (instead of political patronage) (Shields 2008). Addams (1905: 425) recognized the "shame of the city" and worked for holistic municipal reform. She, however, criticized the city as business ideal believing it left out the concerns of women and children—she instead offered the "city as home" model (Addams 1905: 438). At that time, the male founders of public administration were unable or unwilling to incorporate insights from the settlement perspective into PA. In the early 21st century, public administration scholars are recognizing the value of Addams's contributions to social policy, public administration theory and management practices.² Recognition of her pioneering efforts proceeds slowly, however.³

¹See Abramowitz (1998), Bisman (2004), Brieland (1990), Chambers (1986), Franklin (1986), Haynes (1998), Johnson (2004), Kam (2012), McLaughlin (2002).

²See Stillman (1998), Stivers (2000, 2009), Shields (2003, 2008), Ansell (2011).

³See Gabriele (2015), Shields/Soeters (forthcoming), Shields et al. (2013).

In the late 19th century, women and men operated in separate spheres. With few exceptions, men were masters of the public sphere where armies, courts, business, higher education and politics resided. Strict social mores encouraged disenfranchised women to limit their vision to the private sphere (household). Addams role as a pioneer is deeply imbedded with her struggle to expand and transcend the limits of the women's



South Halsted Street opposite Hull House.
 Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 96

sphere. After the Civil War, women used the moral authority of motherhood and an expansive network of women's clubs to shape social policy (Shields/Rangarajan 2011; Skocpol 1992). Social work, a field dominated by women, emerged from this tradition and, not surprisingly, social work claims Addams as a key founder. In contrast, sociology and public administration emerged as part of the male dominated public sphere where women's intellect was marginalized and emotional stability questioned. A recognized woman founder would be a liability that could emasculate a new field seeking recognition in this male arena (Stivers 2000: 11). Patriarchy and sexism overshadowed the historical narrative informing these fields. The strict separation of the spheres has long eroded opening space for both PA and sociology to reclaim and reintegrate their lost heritage.

The remainder of this chapters explores Jane Addams pioneering role in shaping social work, sociology and public administration during her lifetime and in the 21st century.

4.1 Social Work

In the early 1800s, US women played an important role in the abolitionist movement and after the Civil War (1864) they continued their political activism addressing social problems that affected families, women and children. These disenfranchised women creatively used well-organized women clubs and maternal moral arguments to fight for policies that protected women and children (Skocpol 1992; Giesberg 2000). For example, the women's temperance movement, which successfully outlawed alcohol was motivated by the threat of domestic violence. Women were also active in all aspects of charitable work. The US field of social work came into being partly because college educated, post-civil war women sought appropriate service outlets outside the home (Austin 1983).

Of the three fields, social work is the only one with a clear history claiming Addams as founder. The Jane Addams College of Social Work (University of Illinois, Chicago) and the highly ranked University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, founded by Hull House residents, provide tangible evidence of Addams pioneering role in social work.

4.2 Defining Social Work

In 2000, the International Federation of Social Workers defined social work as a “profession [which] promotes social change, problem-solving in human relationships, and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilizing theories of human behavior and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work” (Hare 2004: 409). As a ‘profession,’ social work emphasizes the world of practice (Addams’s world) and is committed to promoting “social change [and] problem-solving in human relationships,” as well as “principles of human rights and social justice.” Jane Addams is identified as a key historical source of these commitments.⁴

4.3 An Alternative to the Friendly Visitor

The field of social work identifies the “friendly visitor” program, established by the Charity Organization Society (COS), as an important pioneering effort. The London based COS quickly took roots in cities and towns across America (Abramowitz 1998). The COS, a coordinating, umbrella agency, was established to address the many problems of “professional pauperism and unwholesome poverty” (Brandt 1907: 11). It was designed “to check the evils of overlapping relief” (p. 15) that led to “notorious professional beggars” and systemic fraud and abuse (p. 22). It did this by bringing business-like efficiency and scientific practices to local relief programs. The friendly visitors were key to this effort. These, mostly, well educated women visited homes collecting data and offering education and advice that would enable the worthy-poor to pull themselves out of poverty through self-reliance and better habits (avoiding alcohol). Mary Richmond the foremost founder of the field of social work began her career as a faithful, friendly visitor (Franklin 1986).

⁴See Hare (2004: 41), Kendall (2000: 100), Specht/Courtney (1994: 73–85), Staniforth et al. (2011: 193).



Main entrance to Hull House. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 128

When Jane Addams established Hull House in 1889 the COS was a powerful force influencing the behavior of public relief agencies and charitable organization throughout the United States (Abramowitz 1998: 513). For example, it dominated the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which had previously been led by the public sector and state agencies. “Influenced by the COS philosophy ... virtually all of the nation’s major cities abolished home relief between 1870 and 1900” (Abramowitz 1998: 514). The Settlement movement was, in part, a reaction to this individualistic, punitive and moralistic approach to urban poverty. In contrast to the judgmental “visitor,” the settlement worker lived and worked in the community. Settlement houses offered services which met immediate needs. They also sympathetically investigated the conditions of the neighbor-

hood, identified social problems and organized to address the problems. *Hull House Maps and Papers*, for example, devoted a chapter to “Wage-Earning Children”, which documented the extent of child labor in Chicago as well as its harsh dangers (Kelly/Stevens 1895). Subsequently, the residents of Hull House worked diligently to change child labor laws.

Perhaps because she wanted to distance her approach from the activities of the friendly visitor, Jane Addams never referred to herself as a social worker (except in quotation marks) (Brieland 1990: 135). In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Addams (1902) voices her criticisms of contemporary charity efforts. Her message resonated with the public because, as the economic panic of 1893 made painfully clear, families can quickly fall into poverty through no fault of their own. Addams identified the COS practices as outdated, “our estimate of the effect of environment and social conditions has doubtless shifted faster than our methods of administrating charity has changed.

Formerly when it was believed that poverty was synonymous with vice and laziness, and that the prosperous man was the righteous man, charity was administered harshly with a good conscience for the charitable agent really blamed the individual for his poverty, and the very fact of his own superior prosperity gave him a certain consciousness of superior morality” (Addams 1902: 11–12).

Addams’s experiences working with impoverished Hull House neighbors led to different insights. In spite of their limited circumstances, her neighbors consistently



A Doorway in Hull House Court. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 149

demonstrate a (more ethical) generous spirit. She illustrates this with the example of a large family living in a one-bedroom apartment that takes in a penniless, pregnant friend whose husband was recently incarcerated. The unemployed father of the family willingly sleeps on a park bench. In contrast to this caring family, the “friendly visitor” (p. 30) is expected to evaluate the morals of the homeless woman’s family ignoring immediate need. No wonder her Hull House neighbors show distaste for the clueless, “daintily clad charity visitor” (p. 12).



In a Tenement House, Sick Mother and Children. Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 164

Addams is most critical of the *system* that produces the charity visitor and is sympathetic with a state of perplexity these women experience. They enter the neighborhood around Hull House firmly situated on the moral high ground with scientific answers. But when they are in a home seeing the conditions, they come to appreciate the precarious circumstances of the family they visit. Addams (1902) sees both the family seeking aid and the friendly visitor as victims of a system that fails to recognize the catastrophic consequences of intransigent, societal, injustices such as unsafe workplaces, child labor, streets filled with rotting garbage, and meager

wages. Hence, as early as 1902 Addams was making the case for a social work that recognized systematic problems and worked to remedy them.



Irish Spinner in the Hull House Labor Museum. Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 238



Scandinavian Weaver in the Hull House Labor Museum. Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 239

Addams books were a key component of her social change agenda. For example, *Spirit of Youth* and *Ancient Evil* alerted the public to the plight of wayward

juveniles and the systematic exploitation of young women through prostitution (Addams 1909, 1912a, b). She also joined and led influential social welfare organizations. Social workers schooled in the COS tradition and Settlement House social workers vied for control of these organizations. In 1909 Addams was elected president of the powerful National Conference of Charities and Corrections signaling that social work professionals were adopting many of her ideas (Davis 1994: 198). At the 20th anniversary of Hull House's founding (in 1909), the progressive reform movement was in full swing and achieving a measure of success (e.g., legislation protecting workers from dangers of the workplace, juvenile courts, state child labor laws etc.). Many former residents of Hull House such as Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley and Grace Abbot led these efforts eventually taking top positions within social welfare agencies and influencing the direction of social work (Addams 1935; Austin 1983; Stivers 2000). It should be noted that neither the friendly visitor program nor the settlement movement were exclusively female. Both men and women populated the field of social work. Nevertheless, women made up a significant majority of the profession and women's traditional values are clearly evident in social work curriculums and scholarly works.

4.4 Mary Richmond

To understand Addams pioneering role in social work it is useful to examine the influence of her rival Mary Richmond and the development of social work education. Mary Richmond began as a friendly visitor and successfully rose in the ranks to the highest position of the Baltimore COS. She led many social work professional organizations but had no use for social reform such as women's suffrage (Kemp/Brandwein 2010). She was hostile to settlements viewing them as "old-fashioned missions doing harm by their cheap sprinkling sort of charity" (Franklin 1986: 510). She was fully committed to shaping the early professional literature and the curriculum of fledgling social work education programs (Franklin 1986). In both, she developed and advocated for *casework* methodology, which drew from a medical model and focused on changing individuals and families. In an early textbook, she "established the crucial link between the attention to individual coping capacities and material resources necessary for their realization" (Lorenz 2014: 19). She also recognized problems with the "coercive 'policing' character" of COS work. Social worker investigations evolved into casework, which became a "shared platform of insights which allowed for a 'realistic' identification of tasks to be shared between assistant and the assisted in the resolution of problems" (Lorenz 2014: 19). Importantly, her approach focused on individuals and families.

In addition, Mary Richmond connected casework to unique, experiential, practical wisdom, which could be shared and should form the basis of the social work curriculum (Austin 1983: 359). Her position dominated; by 1912 most social work curriculum emphasized casework. Perhaps more importantly, Richmond's focus on the individual provided a way to document and charge for services. The business of

social reform did not provide a steady income. Not everyone had Addams inheritance or gifts for speaking and publishing. In addition, the 1930 Social Security Act incentivized the provision of services to individuals (Abramowitz 1998: 520).

As Mary Richmond placed her stamp on social work education, Jane Addams's attention shifted to organizing the women's international peace movement and ending WWI. The newly evolving social work curriculum was not on her radar. After the war, the public lost interest in progressive reform. Mary Richmond and other social work leaders were glad to distance themselves from a tarnished peace activist who promoted outdated, perhaps communist, social change (Franklin 1986).



Italian Spinner in the Hull House Labor Museum. Source Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 241

Social Work's emphasis on casework and eventually psychotherapy has drawn criticism within the profession. For example, Specht/Courtney (1994) argued social workers had become *Unfaithful Angels* focusing on the paying, worried well (middle class Americans seeking meaning) that lost track of their true mission—promoting social justice. Kam (2012) refers to the Addams heritage as he decries the “withering social justice mission in the existing social work literature” (p. 724). He calls for a way to

reclaim social justice by emphasizing the “social” in social work.

Of course Addams reform emphasis did not disappear. First, contemporary social work has an unabashed feminist perspective, which traces its roots to Jane Addams and settlement women (Kemp/Brandwein 2010; White 2006; Sands/Nuccio 1992). Second, although the casework perspective may have dominated, social work curriculums include courses, which examine poverty and injustice (Haynes 1998). Third, settlement women who continued to emphasize social reform founded social work programs. Hull House residents Edith Abbot and Sophonisba Breckenridge established the University of Chicago's program (Brieland 1990). Fourth, social work scholars continue to look to Jane Addams for inspiration. Check the references throughout this chapter for examples. Fifth, Social Work's emphasis on social justice and concern for the disadvantaged are clearly evidenced in professional documents such as the *NASW Code of Ethics* (Haynes 1998). In many ways, Jane Addams's perspective represents something like the *conscious* or *soul* of the profession (Haynes 1998).

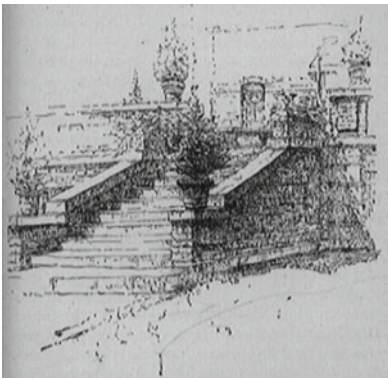
Interestingly, the social work field appears mostly unaware of Addams status as a pragmatist philosopher. In 2001, a practitioner, exploring the nature of social work professionalism makes a case for Addams pragmatism as a fruitful unexplored resource for social work. He finds pragmatism compelling because it connects to the board “goal of helping individuals, groups, families and neighbors have better lives” (Glaser 2001: 196). He is concerned that both sides of this debate have become too fundamentalist in their thinking. This “fundamentalism impairs connections to the larger system of which the group is a part” (p. 196). He is attracted to the pluralism and flexibility of pragmatism

as a way to enhance knowledge. Pragmatism supports a relational model he believes should be a central guiding principle. “Social Work is ultimately concerned with the nexus of human relationships and problems. One of the reasons for the diversity of our practice forms (and subsequent conflicts about them) is the tremendous multiplicity of human relationships” (p. 198). He asks that social work hold onto the perspective that its “main purpose is assisting people in changing their relationships with larger and smaller systems.” He believes Addams’s pragmatic perspective would make many of social work’s ongoing “functional arguments disappear” (p. 198).

4.5 Sociology

Hull House was for women sociologists what the University of Chicago was for men sociologists: the institutional center for research and social thought (Deegan 1988: 33).

The University of Chicago established the first US Department of Sociology (1892). Its early faculty were instrumental to the founding of American sociology, initiating the first professional organization (American Society of Sociology 1905) and its first academic journal (*American Journal of Sociology AJS*, 1895). Key members of Chicago’s department, such as its Chair and founder of *AJS*, Albion Small advocated a sociology that married “thought with action” (Small 1896: 564) and that was active “in the work of perfecting and applying plans and devices for social improvement and amelioration” (p. 581). They did this in the “vast sociological laboratory” that was Chicago (p. 581).



Steps to Hull House Terrace. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 447



Entrance to Hull House Courtyard. *Source* Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), p. 426

When Chicago Sociology opened its doors, Hull House was already a bustling, innovative, high profile space filled with women engaged in a reform oriented, applied sociology (Deegan 1988). The residents welcomed the first cohort of professors, who were soon “intimately involved with Hull House” and “assiduously

engaged with applied social reform and philanthropy” (Trevino 2012: 3). For example, in 1893 professors Small, Vincent and Bennis along with Addams and Kelley worked to generate legislation “banning sweat shops and employment of children” (Deegan 1988: 73).

At the time the field of sociology existed prior to and independent of academic departments. “The word ‘sociology had a dual meaning... referring to both a field of study and the thing being so studied” (Lengermann/Niebrugge-Brantley 2002: 7). While not all universities contained a sociology department, all settlements identified themselves “in some way as concerned with ‘sociology’” (p. 7). The memoirs of leading settlement residents show a “self-conscious sense of themselves as working in the field of sociology” (p. 8). A person studied sociology in the university and could do sociology in a settlement (Lengermann/Niebrugge-Brantley 2002). Further, at a time when “little reliable information on social problems was available” (Davis 1967) social settlements were conducting empirical investigations to understand the nature of social problems. *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895) was “a pioneering contribution to many later [sociological] research studies (Moyer 2003: 6–7).

World War I also marked changes in Sociology. First, the marriage of theory with action envisioned by Albion Small was displaced by a focus on the positivist, value free works of Comte, Durheim and Weber. This shifted sociology’s focus to broad theoretical perspectives and opened the door for new theorists like Talcot Parsons. Second, the heated political climate, which conflated government intervention with the threat of communism, gave momentum to the movement away from activism. Third, the energy behind the feminist agenda dissipated after women received the franchise. For the increasingly academic sociology professors, the activist women’s agenda became ‘women’s work’ “defined as unscientific and unnecessary” (Deegan 1988: 314). If sociology were to receive the social science prestige it sought, it should discard its activist and feminist tendencies.

The University of Chicago responded to these changes with an administrative realignment. In 1920, all the women sociologists in Chicago’s Department of Sociology “were moved en-masse out of sociology and into social work” (Deegan 1988: 309). Women sociologists like Addams were immediately redefined as social workers and evaporated from sociology’s historical legacy. The long road to recover the settlement women’s contributions began with Deegan’s (1988) *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School: 1892–1918*. She documented the unique synergy and cooperation between Hull House and the University of Chicago and the action and research oriented sociology practiced by both settlement workers and tenured faculty.

4.6 Was Addams a Sociologist?

In the 1970s when Mary Jo Deegan began her historical search she hoped to find at least one woman “who worked in my discipline” (1988: xiii). Her search took her to archives, musty organizational records and voluminous correspondence. Here she

found Jane Addams, the women of Hull House and overwhelming evidence that these women sociologists, and particularly Jane Addams, made significant contributions to the field.

Deegan (1988: 9–12) begins her argument by establishing Addams as a sociologist. She uses criteria developed by German sociologist Dirk Kasler. He maintained that if one of these criteria were fulfilled an individual should be considered a sociologist. These criteria are:

1. Occupy a chair of sociology and/or teach sociology
2. Membership in a professional sociological society
3. Authorship of sociological articles or textbooks
4. Self-defined as a sociologist
5. Defined as a sociologist by others.

Deegan (1988) shows that, Addams met all five criteria. First, Addams lectured at colleges and universities throughout the country and offered University of Chicago Sociology college courses through their Extension Division. Second, she joined the American Sociological Society at its inception in 1905 and continued membership until 1930. She was active in the society, addressing it in 1912, 1915 and 1919. Third, she published widely in sociology. She contributed to the first volume of the *American Journal of Sociology* and in all, contributed five articles (Addams 1896, 1899, 1905, 1912a, b, 1914). *Hull House Maps and Papers* as well as *Democracy and Social Ethics* are considered sociology books. Fourth, although she preferred not to label herself in any way, she identified sociology as her professional home on numerous occasions (Ferrell 1967: 68). Fifth, Addams was acknowledged as a sociologist by the leading sociologists of her time. For example, her books were assigned in sociology classes and she spoke at the American Sociological Society. In addition, the popular press referred to her as a sociologist, and she had regular association with leading British sociologists. Indeed, Deegan (1988: 9–13) provides compelling evidence that Addams was an active sociologist at the founding of American sociology.

4.7 Contributions to *American Journal of Sociology*

The next section examines Addams five *AJS* articles to see her sociological perspective and scholarly contributions. Sociology is a social science with broad scope. It is the “systematic study of the ways in which people are affected by and affect the social structures and social processes that are associated with groups, organizations, cultures, societies and the world in which they exist” (Ritzer 2015: 6). Fields/Stein (2014: 9) define sociology as the “systematic or scientific study of human society and social behavior, from large-scale institutions and mass culture to small groups and individual reaction.” Contemporary sociologists gather and analyze evidence about and within a wide array of social life with the goal of understanding social

processes. Unlike social work, these textbook definitions of sociology do not include a social action or social justice component. Using these definitions, does Addams's work fit within the umbrella of 21st century sociology?

Addams (1896, 1914) first and last *AJS* articles brought attention to women and the way they are affected by *social structures and social processes*. In the first article, she introduced her notion of "social ethics" and applied it to domestic labor—"an industry by means of which large numbers of women are earning their livelihood." She showed how domestic service was a "surviving remnant of the household system that preceded the factory system" (Addams 1896: 536). Just like a feudal lord who controlled the life of his peasants, these young women lived and worked at the call of their mistress. She [domestic worker] was "isolated from her fellow workers" and instead was "dependent upon the protection and goodwill of her employer" (p. 536). She served from sunup until the dinner dishes were cleaned and the children were tucked in bed seven days a week (one afternoon off). These young women were cut off from their friends and social ties. Addams contrasts this harsh social isolation with the freedom of a factory worker to enjoy friends and family as well as her ability to organize to achieve better working conditions. "The isolation of the household employee is perhaps inevitable so long as the employer holds her belated ethics" (p. 539)—an ethics unable to recognize when a larger harm is occurring. Although Addams does not provide details, she obtained her data from "conversations" (interviews) in a Woman's Labor Bureau with women who had voluntarily relinquished their domestic position (p. 536). She *gathered and analyzed evidence* (interviews) to make claims found in her article.

In her final *AJS* article, Addams (1914) analyzes the behavior of older immigrant women who lined up for six weeks outside Hull House to see the Devil Baby. A false rumor of a deformed child (devil baby) deposited on the Hull House steps triggered the prolonged and mystifying onrush. Addams insightful analysis connects the "fairy story" of the Devil Baby with the problem of domestic violence suffered by immigrant women. These, often abused, women used the power and threat of myth as a "taming effect" to "soften the treatment of men accorded to women" (p. 117). By linking this odd and disturbing event to the dynamics of immigrant family structure and process Addams demonstrated sociological insight.

In an 1899 article Addams uses two propositions (*systematic analysis*) to show the way trade unions (1) displayed a public duty or social ethic and (2) were "persistently misunderstood and harshly criticized" (p. 448) by the public. She pointed to trade union's demonstrated commitment to *organized social reform*, which improved the health and welfare of the nation's children as evidence of this ethic. Outcry over disruptive strikes overshadowed union successes at policy reform unfairly tarnishing their reputation. Unions, for example, "endeavored to secure laws regulating the occupations in which children may be allow[ed] to work, the hours of labor permitted in those occupations, and the minimum age below which children may not be employed" (p. 448). This behavior demonstrated a duty to society or a social ethic, which the "public had ignored" (p. 462). While this article is clearly normative, it systematically analyzes a *large-scale institution* (labor union) and shows how this institution affects society (through their efforts to reform policy).

Unlike the labor unions, which acted to protect the nation's young, Addams (1905) *AJS* article highlights flaws in municipal governments, which demonstrated little or no commitment or public duty. This *carelessness* is manifest as dirty, unhealthy, almost unlivable environments. Placing the situation in historical context, she analyzes why city administrations ignored or were oblivious to the needs of the people. She credits an 18th century puritan ideal "which loves the people without really knowing them" (p. 425) and which focuses more on protecting property than the life of the people. She also finds problems with municipalities held together by penalties, coercion and "remnants of military codes" (p. 427). She argues the survival of the fittest way of thinking should be replaced by a commitment to "duty of the strong toward the weak" (p. 433). In addition, she advocated for more avenues of democratic expression as a way to remedy the situation. This article analyzed social structure and processes within a large organization.

In 1912, she wrote a short article on the role of parks and recreation in cities in response to a "hideous murder committed by a group of six young Polish men and boys" (p. 615). She notes Huxley's insight that a society's environment can influence behavior—in the worst case leading to savages. She shows how the urban environment provides limited "means for social intercourse and companionship" (p. 615). She calls on recent scientific discovery, which demonstrates the ways moments of recreation can lead to greater comradeship. She sees city parks and recreational centers as a way to create urban environments where immigrants can express their individual cultures so "that variety is prized.... They meet together and enjoy each other's national dances and games" and in the process a "sense of comradeship and pleasure grows" (p. 616). She points to the success of the 15 small Chicago parks. The number of arrests among juvenile delinquents had fallen "off surprisingly in a neighborhood where such a park has been established—a negative measure, possibly, but one which cannot be disregarded" (p. 619). Here she uses evidence to examine how social behavior is triggered by access to park environments.

The above discussion connected Addams articles to contemporary definitions of sociology. Her topics fall within the large umbrella of sociology, although their normative orientation is unlike contemporary articles. In three articles, she promotes the idea and practice of a "social ethic." She claims this, often missing, social structure could promote large-scale social progress and social justice. The Devil Baby story provided a window into the hidden, often violent, world of early 20th century, immigrant grandmothers.

4.8 Contemporary Sociology

The infant field of sociology during Addams lifetime was somewhat monolithic. Today, like most social sciences, it has a wide variety of subfields. These subfields are slowly reorienting the mainstream toward an activist orientation inspired by a commitment to social justice (Dale/Kalob 2006). These subfields draw on theories

(i.e., critical theory), which challenge the conventional detached “scientific inquiry” approach and push sociology toward “social and political affairs of the world” (Dald/Kalob 2006: 125). Humanist sociology, public sociology, liberation sociology, and critical sociology are all examples. These groups have taken up the cause which links sociology to social justice. In addition, interdisciplinary scholarly organizations founded by sociologists, such as the Society for the Study of Social Problems and its prestigious journal *Social Problems*, focus and reward sociologists doing research on social problems and their amelioration. Leading scholars in these subfields have been elected to top leadership positions in the American Sociological Association (liberation sociologist, Joe Feagin in 2000 and public sociologist Michael Burawoy in 2003) (Dale/Kalob 2006: 132, 135).

As members of these sub-fields examine their roots they often find Jane Addams and claim her and many of her Hull House companions as inspiring pioneers. Included in this list are humanist sociology (Dale/Kalob 2006), clinical sociology (Fritz 2008), public sociology (Misztal 2009), applied sociology (Misztal 2009), service sociology (Trevino 2012) and liberation sociology (Feagin 2001). Her work establishing juvenile courts and juvenile probation has led to her recognition in criminology (Moyer 2003). While her ideas of peace and democracy are applicable to peacemaking criminology (Fritz 2008). Some sociologists are so taken by her work that they have identified a unique Hull House School of Sociology (Deegan 2010, 2013) and settlement sociology (Lengermann/Niebrugge-Brantley 2002). While it is unlikely Addams will ever be considered along with revered founders such as Weber, Marx, Durkheim, or Comte, she has appeared in introductory texts as part of a North American social reform tradition (Henslin 2014: 8–12). Nearly forty years after Mary Jo Deegan began her trek among Chicago’s musty documents, Addams has become an acknowledged, influential and in some circles beloved pioneer of sociology.

4.9 Public Administration

Public Administration (PA) cannot claim high profile, easy to document, direct links to Addams as sociology and social work. Instead, Addams resided in a parallel universe where she participated in the founding of public administration by contributing to the creation of the administrative state and to theories of participatory democracy. In addition, she helped develop and promoted municipal housekeeping as an alternative model of city government and infused policy and administration with social justice concerns (Shields 2003, 2008; Stillman 1998; Stivers 2000, 2009). Stivers (2000) first described these parallel universes in *Bureau Men and Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*.

In addition, public administration is a field of practice and like social work is defined through practice not academics. Jane Addams wore many hats during her

busy life; one of these was as public administrator. She worked as a garbage inspector and for over forty years she directed a large, innovative, nonprofit organization (Hull House) (Addams 1910, 1930). Her practitioner experience occurred in the years' American public administration began defining itself as a self-aware field (Stillman 1998; Shields/Rangarajan 2011).

4.10 Historical Context

Throughout most of the 18th and 19th centuries the US multi-layered, federal democracy linked politics and administration. Newly elected men threw out their opponents and populated government offices with their friends. This crony democracy resulted in, often corrupt, governments poorly prepared to carry out the nation's laws. As America grew and complicated public problems arose, reformers called for more efficient, business like, governments. Wilson (1887), a high profile critic, called for the separation of politics and administration and in so doing began the official story of American public administration. Wilson (1887: 212) defined public administration as "the detailed and systematic execution of public law." In other words, elected officials pass laws while public administrators carry them out. The efficient and effective execution of public law dictated the early scope of the science of administration. So before Woodrow Wilson became president or won the Nobel Peace Prize, he helped establish public administration as a self-aware field separate from politics.

Civil Service reform and the recognition of the need for expertise in running public programs were a natural outgrowth of this new perspective. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research (established 1909) was a noted "catalyst for the creation and expansion of a professional public service" (McDonald III 2010: 815). These pioneering Bureau men systematically advanced PA practice, knowledge and theory. They also developed influential education and training programs. Stivers's (2000) *Bureau Men/Settlement Women* contrasts the perspective of these municipal reform leaders with an alternative vision of PA put forth by settlement women.

Before the US Civil War, women actively organized for the abolition of slavery, during the war women managed, the U.S. Sanitary Commission, a huge national network of war-related relief and nursing programs (Shields/Rangarajan 2011). This set the groundwork for a post-war politically active universe of women (Giesberg 2000). Without the right to vote, however, women were excluded from formal politics including holding office and political appointments. When the new field of administration peeled off from politics, it created yet another world populated by men. By this time, however, women had built a 'maternalistic' policy domain, which contained effective, alternative ways to influence legislation and the execution of laws.

4.11 Birth of the US Administrative State

In her influential book *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, Skocpol (1992) argues that during the 19th century, compared to other industrialized nations, the US distinguished the political world “sharply on strictly gender lines.” Lacking working-class initiatives to build a paternalist welfare state, space was open for organized women to shape social welfare policy. “Huge maternalist associations, organized as local clubs tied into state and national federations, sought to extend into civic life and public policymaking the caring values of the separate ‘domestic sphere’ culturally ascribed to the female gender during that time” (Skocpol 1992: 528).

As an alternative to formal electoral politics, many middle class American women established local voluntary associations for charitable, religious and welfare purposes. By the end of the century, these associations were woven together into enormous nation-spanning, networked federations, which paralleled the tiered US federal structure. The women who formed these networks “increasingly thought of themselves as uniquely moral political actors who had the duty to ‘mother the nation’” (p. 529). They used their moral authority as “mothers” and their vast network to lay claim to social programs, which helped mothers and families around the nation (Skocpol 1992: 529).

These activist women focused on changes within the private or women’s sphere—arenas where mother’s expertise and moral sense mattered and which PA men willingly avoided or ignored. Preferring instead to focus on important matters such as political corruption, efficiency, the Navy, railroad regulation and the science of administration. Thus, parallel universes were established. Some of these women led and worked at women-oriented federal agencies such as the Women’s Bureau or the Children’s Bureau. Here they became practicing public administrators. They identified themselves, however, as social workers and eventually with social work administration (a small subfield of social work) (Skidmore 1995).

These educated women retained a “Victorian sense of the uniqueness and special moral mission of women.” Unlike their mothers, they established separatist organizations and created “single-sex institutions where they lived permanently outside the home” (Skocpol 1992: 343). Hull House was an exemplar of this trend. Their efforts laid the groundwork for the social policy component of the administrative state. Addams was a leader of this campaign; she “more than any other individual should be credited with conceiving and spawning a ... maternalist welfare state” that is caring, compassionate, and comprehensive with institutions responsible “for dealing with the urgent problems of women, mothers, children and the urban poor” (Stillman 1998: 82). This alone makes Addams an important pioneer of public administration.

4.12 Democracy

Over the years Woodrow Wilson's definition of public administration has expanded beyond the "execution of public laws". Public administrators are not puppets blindly carrying out clear laws. They often have considerable discretion in policy implementation. The legitimacy of laws, which administrators' implement, depends upon *fair and transparent democratic processes*, many of which extend beyond voting (Redford 1969). These along with other values, which support democracy are found in the *Public Administration Code of Ethics*, which calls administrators to "promote democratic expression" (American Society for Public Administration 2016). Long gone are the days where a strict dichotomy between politics and administration defined the field.

When a public administrator executes a law he or she makes the policy 'work.' Garbage is collected, roads are built, mail is delivered, abused children are removed from danger, budgets are deployed and employee handbooks written. Thus, clean streets, safe children, and public budgets are a kind of a PA 'product' forged through a political/democratic system. Public administrators serve the public by making programs work within a larger, dynamic, democratic framework. For these reasons, public administration traces its roots to philosophical pragmatism.⁵ Addams role as a founder of American pragmatism helps to establish her presence as a pioneer in PA (Shields 1996).

Using Addams' pragmatism, Shields (1998: 199) defined public administration as the "stewardship and implementation of the products of a living democracy." As stewards of a living democracy public administrators are concerned with resources (efficiency, accountability and effectiveness) and the values that support democratic administrative structures and processes (transparency, justice, equity). As a widely recognized democratic theorist, Addams has much to contribute to public administration.⁶ Her contributions to democratic theory such as sympathetic knowledge, social ethic, community of inquiry and lateral progress reviewed in chapter two have clear implications for public administration. This is where her organic philosophical concepts leave the screenplay and enter the stage. Her ideas suggest and inform the *theory* and *practice* of a public administration which incorporates efficiency as well as social justice and social ethics.

Addams notion of participatory democracy is both simple and profound. Most informed individuals associate democracy with representative or procedural democracy and processes like voting. Participatory democracy complements political democracy and brings the benefits and joys of fraternal association (Elshtain 2002). Her social democracy is a way of communicating that incorporates the variety of human experience. "It is most difficult to hold to our political democracy and to make it in any sense a social expression and not a mere

⁵See Shields (1996, 1998, 2003, 2008), Stolcis (2004), Hildebrand (2005), Whetsell (2013).

⁶See Elshtain (2002), Knight (2005), Fischer et al. (2009), Ansell (2010), Shields (2006), Stivers (2009).

governmental contrivance, unless we take pains to keep common ground in our human experiences” (Addams 1902: 221).

Addams advocates a form of democracy, which operates independently of, as well as within, governmental structures. “Ironically, for most of her life Addams was denied the right to vote and was shut out of public office. Although she worked tirelessly for suffrage and inclusion of women in the political process, her vision and participatory prescription were developed as a person with little or no formal political power. There is a kinship between Addams’ circumstances and the powerlessness public administrators may feel as city councils or legislatures make sea change in policies” (Shields 2008: 214).

Addams always looked for practical ways to effect social change through democracy, for “as democracy modifies our conception of life, it constantly raises the value and function of each member of the community” (Addams 1902: 80). Addams felt that a lack of democracy contributed to a society where the needs of the poor and the working men and women went unanswered (Addams 1902: 96–97). Therefore, she advocated for a democracy that broke barriers through the “mutual interpretation of the social classes to one another” (Elshtain 2002: 88) making it possible for “human beings to realize their full sociality” (Elshtain 2002: 95). Her bottom-up vision of democracy is a way to incorporate the social claim or duty toward citizens (particularly the most vulnerable). The stewardship role in public administration is inclusive of this democratic claim.

These dynamic women’s networks formed outside of politics are a window into the nature of the role of relationships in participatory democracy. The power of networks and collaboration gave Addams insight into the nature of democracy that complemented political democracy. These experiences informed Addams’s expanded notion of “participation” as a component of democracy.

Contemporary public administration is actively developing ways to gain citizen input and enhanced collaboration through mechanisms like deliberative democracy, citizen panels, public hearings, neighborhood forums, citizen surveys, interactive websites and citizen juries (Crosby et al. 1986) (Emerson/Nabatchi 2015). All of these techniques are ways public administrators can learn from citizens directly and are consistent with the Addams’s messages about democracy.

4.13 Municipal Housekeeping

Addams notion of municipal housekeeping was introduced earlier through the *American Journal of Sociology* article discussed in this chapter and in the Philosophy chapter (2). Recall she argues that the natural functions of the city such as maintaining clean streets and spaces for children to play have counterparts in the home. Also, it is within this model one can clearly see that the *strong have a duty to care for the weak*. She makes these arguments in sociology journals and books on peace (*Newer Ideals*). The running of a city is clearly within the scope and purview of public administration. When a city is running smoothly, public administrators are

doing their jobs. When a city commits to serving its most vulnerable citizens, it attends to its stewardship role.

Addams also promoted her ideas in public administration related literature. For example, amid advertisements for “Bottom Dump Garbage Wagons” and the “next advances in sewage” Jane Addams articulates the municipal housekeeping model in the *Bulletin of the League of American Municipalities* (Addams 1906). The “League,” led by elected officials (mostly mayors), reflected a world where politics and administration blended. Her article spanned both politics and administration because she also makes the case for expanding representative democracy by extending the right to vote to women in municipal elections. She argues that women, having been ascribed the role of housekeeper and mother, are naturally well suited by experience and temperament to understand and run a municipal household.

From a contemporary PA perspective, this article captures the scope of public administration in sophisticated, ahead-of-it-time ways. It presented a model for city government which included concrete functions of government. At the same time, it made an innovative social equity argument (the city would be better able to carry out its work if it were more inclusive—allowing women to vote). Addams has clearly linked social justice and public administration via the duty of the strong toward the weak and through her expansive notion of democracy. Her work also prefigured a focus in public administration, which incorporated social equity and social justice (Frederickson 1980, 1990; Marini 1971).

4.14 Social Equity

As the young field of public administration matured it focused on building knowledge about the challenging job of executing public law. The men who ran government needed knowledge and skills, for example, at planning, organizing, directing, staffing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting (Gulick/Urwick 1937). Simon (1947) ushered in positivism and decision science to public administration. These are examples of how knowledge and expertise grew and supported the men of public administration in their quest to execute public laws with economy and efficiency (two pillars of public administration).

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s challenged these comfortable assumptions. In response, leading public administration scholar, Dwight Waldo, called a conference in Minnowbrook, New York, with the goal of constructing a “new” public administration better able to meet contemporary challenges (Frederickson 1990). Participants of this ground breaking conference called on public administration to incorporate new norms including social equity and social justice into its theory and practice (Marini 1971). Frederickson (1980: 37) a

persistent, articulate, passionate and steadfast proponent of this position called for social equity as a “third pillar” of PA. “To say that a service may be well managed and that a service may be efficient still begs the question: Well managed for whom? Efficient for whom? Economical for whom?” Unbeknown to the Minnowbrook participants, Jane Addams had laid the theoretical and practical ground work for this third pillar, which provides more evidence she is a pioneer of public administration.

4.15 Positive Peace

Public administration has gone a long way toward integrating the concept of social equity into its theory and practice. But it struggles at times to articulate a clear vision of what these efforts will lead to, an image that can place a capstone, for example on the pillars of efficiency, economy and equity. Recent scholars propose the rich concept of “positive peace” as a possible answer to this question. They drew on Addams peace philosophy (see Chap. 2) to make their argument.⁷ Positive peace speaks to the fabric of the kind of society public administrators are trying to make work—a society infused with social justice and a functioning dynamic democracy. It focuses on factors such as the “structures that create and sustain peaceful societies” (IEP 2016: 4). These structures include democratically informed law and its fair and reliable execution (a key function of PA). When these structures break down, problems like excessive use of police force in minority communities can be commonplace. Twenty first century American cities like Ferguson, MO or Chicago IL need more positive peace. Note that Addams’ *Newer Ideals of Peace* applies directly to city governance. Her first chapter is entitled “Survival of Militarism in City Government.”

Effective democracies recognize that conflict within and across societies is inevitable. Positive peace provides the framework and skills for “nonviolent and creative conflict transformation”—a skill that makes sense to be in a public administrator’s tool kit (Galtung 1996: 9). Positive peace is also an ideal, which includes prosperity and wholeness (Freedman 2016), as well as humanity toward others (Gade 2011). Attention to positive peace can create a space where innovation and moral imagination are nurtured and shared. These ideas fit well with Addams’s Municipal Household model and her concept of *peaceweaving*. Social justice and social equity would surely flourish in the caring, civic household imagined by Addams—and positive peace would be strengthened. This is yet another way Addams has played a role as pioneer in public administration.

⁷See Shields/Soeters (2013, forthcoming), Shields/Rissler (2016), Shields (2016).

4.16 Conclusion

The three fields examined here were part of a larger trend in professionalization across many fields in the US (e.g., business administration, engineering, journalism, teaching and nursing) (Mosher 1975). The talented, ambitious and driven Jane Addams was clearly at the right place at the right time, making it possible to contribute as social work, public administration and sociology became self-aware. Her stature in each field, however, is framed by the status and role of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Women were allowed voice in a “domestic policy sphere” where the welfare of women and children were the central focus. They were less welcome and virtually ignored in the male dominated sociology and public administration.

In social work, a field dominated by women, she has long been considered an honored and important founder. She led the settlement movement, which social work claims as an institution, which shaped its early history. Hull House residents became part of the community, listening and learning from their neighbors. Reform efforts bubbled up from this interchange and became an important, although sometimes neglected, component of social work identity.

The University of Chicago’s Sociology Department was established several years after Hull House. For a brief period the male professors and settlement women collaborated to create an activist sociology. Jane Addams was deeply involved in development of the field publishing in its major journals and speaking at professional meetings. Eventually, academic sociology turned toward a more objective and scientific world. The settlement heritage was dismissed and the women of sociology were transformed into social workers. Thanks in large part to Mary Jo Deegan, the sociological contributions of Jane Addams and her settlement worker sisters are being recovered, embraced by some and incorporated into the sociology literature.

Addams case as a pioneer is least well-established in public administration. She never claimed to be a public administrator nor did she find their reform efforts (economy and efficiency in government, separate administration from politics) particularly interesting. She and her activist sisters of the early 20th century proposed a different model of municipal governance—the *municipal household* where a social ethic embedded with care and duty were norms that overshadowed business values such as economy and efficiency. Her world began to be retrieved and integrated into public administration’s historical memory by Stivers’s (2000) *Bureau Men and Settlement Women*. She is recognized as a social policy pioneer, democratic theorist, and for articulating an alternative model of municipal governance. The effort to integrate Addams’ work is still at early phases.

It should be noted that the case for Jane Addams as a pioneer in all three fields included some oversimplification of the nature of each discipline. Each has a rich history and the picture of the history presented here was far from exhaustive. Nevertheless, while the depiction of the field may include gaps, I believe the arguments and evidence supporting the claim of pioneer for Jane Addams are sound.

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Chapter 5

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Part II
Texts by Jane Addams



[Attendance at Jane Addams'] Funeral; [JAMC_0000_0044_0849], *Special Collections, University of Chicago Illinois at Chicago Library*

Chapter 6

Bread Givers (1880)

Friends and Citizens of Rockford:

The class of 1881 has invited you this evening to the First Junior Exhibition ever given within the walls of Rockford Seminary.¹ The fact of its being the first, seems to us a significant one, for it undoubtedly points more or less directly to a movement which is gradually claiming the universal attention. We mean the change which has taken place during the last fifty years in the ambition and aspirations of women; we see this change most markedly in her education. It has passed from accomplishments and the arts of pleasing, to the development of her intellectual force, and her capabilities for direct labor. She wishes not to be a man, nor like a man, but she claims the same right to independent thought and action. Whether this movement is tending toward the ballot-box or will gain simply equal intellectual advantages, no one can predict, but certain it is that woman has gained a new confidence in her possibilities, and a fresher hope in her steady progress.

We then, the class of 1881, in giving this our Junior Exhibition, are not trying to imitate our brothers in college; we are not restless and anxious for things beyond us, we simply claim the highest privileges of our time and avail ourselves of its best opportunists.

But while on the one hand, as young women of the 19th century, we gladly claim these privileges, and proudly assert our independence, on the other hand we still retain the old ideal of womanhood—the Saxon lady whose mission it was to give bread unto her household. So we have planned to be “Bread-givers” throughout our lives; believing that in labor alone is happiness, and that the only true and honorable life is one filled with good works and honest toil, we have planned to idealize our labor, and thus happily fulfil Woman’s Noblest Mission. But if at any time we should falter in our trust, if under the burden of years, we should for the moment doubt the high culture which comes from giving, then may be the memory of this evening when we were young and strong, when we presented to our

¹Addams, J. (April 21, 1880). Bread Givers. *Rockford Daily Register*.

friends a portion of the work already accomplished, and told them of the further labor we had planned for the future, then, I say, the memory of our Junior Exhibition may come to us as an incentive to renewed effort. It may prove to us a vow by which we pledged ourselves unto our high calling; and if through some turn of fortune we should be confined to the literal meaning of our words, if our destiny throughout our lives should be to give good, sweet, wholesome bread unto our loved ones, then perchance we will do even that the better, with more of conscious energy and innate power for the memory of our Junior Exhibition.

Chapter 7

‘Cassandra’ (1881)

Upon the *Broad Trojan Plain* for ten years the mighty warriors of Greece and Troy fought hand to hand for honor and justice.¹ Safe within the city walls the stately Trojan dames ever wove with golden threads the history of the conflict. To one of these beautiful women, to Cassandra, daughter of Priam, suddenly came the power of prophecy. Cassandra fearlessly received the power, with clear judgment and unerring instinct she predicted the victory of the Greeks and the destruction of her father’s city. But the brave warriors laughed to scorn the beautiful prophetess and called her mad. The frail girl stood conscious of Truth but she had no logic to convince the impatient defeated warriors, and no facts to gain their confidence, she could only assert and proclaim until at last in sooth she becomes mad.

This was the tragic fate of Cassandra—always to be in the right, and always to be disbelieved and rejected. Three thousand years ago this Trojan woman represented pure intuition, powerful and God given in itself but failing to accomplish. She, who might have changed the entire destiny of the ancient world, becomes only a curse and a thorn to her brethren. I would call this a feminine trait of mind—an accurate perception of Truth and Justice which rests contented in itself, and will make no effort to confirm itself, or to organize through existing knowledge. Permit me to repeat my subject; a mighty intuitive perception of Truth which yet counts nothing in the force of the world.

The nineteenth century is distinguished by the sudden acquisition of much physical knowledge. The nineteenth century has proclaimed the duty of labor and the bond of brotherhood. These acquisitions and high thoughts of the century have increased each man’s responsibility, but as yet have added nothing to the vitality and spontaneous motives of mankind. With increasing demands the force of society tends to be mechanical and conscious, rather than vital. In other words, while men with hard research into science, with sturdy and unremitting toil, have shown the power and magnificence of knowledge, somewhere, someone has shirked to perform for intuition the same hard labor.

¹‘Cassandra’, Valedictory, *Rockford Seminary Magazine* (July 1881).

Knowledge is revered, and the old beautiful force which Plato taught is treated with contempt. Intuition is not telling on the world. Occasionally a weak woman, striving to use her high gift, will verge out into spiritualism and clairvoyance, others will become sentimentalists or those women who bear through life a high discontent, because of their very keen-sightedness, yet have not power to help those around them. The world looks upon such women with mingled pity and contempt; they continually reenact [sic] the fate of the fearless, unfortunate Cassandra, because they failed to make themselves intelligible; they have not gained what the ancients called *auethoritas* [sic], right of speaker to make themselves heard, and prove to the world that an intuition is a force in the universe, and a part of nature; that an intuitive perception committed to a woman's charge is not a prejudice or fancy, but one of the holy means given to mankind in their search for truth.

I will make one exception—there is one means which has hitherto saved this force from complete loss and contempt. The divine force of love which ever exalts talents and cultivates woman's insight. A loving woman believes in ministering spirits; the belief comes to her that her child's every footstep is tenderly protected by a guardian angel. Let her not sit and dreamily watch her child; let her work her way to a sentient idea that shall sway and ennoble those around her. All that subtitle [sic], force among women which is now dreaming fancy, might be changed into creative genius.

There is a way opened, women of the nineteenth century, to convert this wasted force to the highest use, and under the feminine mind, firm and joyous. In its intuitions; a way opened by the scientific ideal of culture; only by the accurate study of at least one branch of physical science can the intuitive mind gain that life which the strong passion of science and sturdy, feeds and forms, more self-dependent than love, confident in errorless purpose. With eyes accustomed to the search for Truth, she will readily detect all self-deceit and fancy in herself; she will test whether her intuition of genuine and a part of nature, or merely a belief of her own. She will learn silence and self-denial, to express herself not by dogmatism, but by quiet, progressive development. And besides this training, there is certainly a place in science reserved for this stamp of mind; there are discoveries to be made which cannot come by induction, only through perception, such as the mental laws which govern suggestion, or the place that rhythm [sic] holds in nature's movements. These laws have remained undiscovered for lack of the needed intuitive minds. Could an intuitive mind gain this scholarly training, or discover one of these laws, then she would attain her *auethoritas* [sic]. Men would see that while the searching for Truth, the patient adding one to one is the highest and noblest employment of the human faculties. Higher and nobler than even this, infinitely more difficult, is the intuitive seeing of Truth, the quick recognition of the true and genuine wherever it appears.

Having gained accuracy, would woman bring this force to bear throughout morals and justice, then she must take the active, busy world as a test for the genuineness of her intuition. In active labor she will be ready to accept the promptings that come from growing insight, and when her sympathies are so

enlarged that she can weep as easily over a famine in India as a pale child at her door, than she can face social ills and social problems as tenderly and as intuitively as she can now care for and understand a crippled factory child.

The actual Justice must be established in the world by trained intelligence; by broadened sympathies toward the individual man and woman who crosses one's path, only an intuitive mind has a grasp comprehensive enough to embrace the opposing facts and forces.

The opening of the ages has long been waiting for this type of womanhood. The Egyptians called her Neith; the Hebrews, Sophia, or Wisdom; the Greeks, Athene; the Romans, Justicia, holding in her hand the scale pans of the world; the Germans called her Wise-woman, who was not all knowing, but had a power deeper and more primordial than knowledge. Now is the time for a faint realization of this type, with her hand upon the magnetic chain of humanity. Then the story of Cassandra will be forgotten, which now constantly meets and stirs us with its proud pathos.

Chapter 8

The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement (1895)

One man or group of men sometimes reveal to their contemporaries a higher conscience by simply incorporating into the deed what has been before but a philosophic proposition.¹ By this deed the common code of ethics is stretched to a higher point.

Such an act of moral significance, for instance, was John Burns's loyalty to the dockers' strike of East London. "The injury to one" "did at last actually" "become the concern of all;" and henceforth the man "who does not share that concern drops below the standard ethics of his day." The proposition which workingmen had long quoted was at last incarnated by a mechanic, who took his position so intelligently that he carried with him the best men in England, and set the public conscience. Other men became ashamed of a wrong to which before they had been easily indifferent.

When the social conscience, if one may use the expression, has been thus strikingly formulated, it is not so hard for others to follow. They do it weakly and stumblingly perhaps; but they yet see a glimmer of light of which the first man could not be sure, and they have a code of ethics upon which the first man was vague. They are also conscious of the backing of a large share of the community who before this expression knew not the compunction of their own hearts. A settlement accepts the ethics of its contemporaries that the sharing of the life of the poor is essential to the understanding and bettering of that life; but by its very existence it adopts this modern code somewhat formally. The social injury of the meanest man not only becomes its concern, but by virtue of its very locality it has put itself into a position to see, as no one but a neighbor can see, the stress and need of those who bear the brunt of the social injury. A settlement has not only taken a pledge towards those thus injured, but it is placed where the motive-power for the fulfilment of such a pledge is constantly renewed. Propinquity is an unceasing factor in its existence.

A review of the sewing-trades, as seen from a settlement, will be sufficient to illustrate this position.

¹This excerpt represents Chap. X of *Hull House Maps and Papers (1895)*.

Hull House is situated in the midst of the sweaters' district of Chicago. The residents came to the district with the general belief that organization for working people was a necessity. They would doubtless have said that the discovery of the power to combine was the distinguishing discovery of our time; that we are using this force somewhat awkwardly, as men use that which is newly discovered. In social and political affairs the power to combine often works harm; but it is already operating to such an extent in commercial affairs, that the manufacturer who does not combine with others of his branch is in constant danger of failure; that a rail-road cannot be successfully projected unless the interests of parallel roads are consulted; and that working people likewise cannot be successful until they too, learn, skilfully to avail themselves of this power.

This was to the residents; as to many people, an accepted proposition, but not a working formula. It had not the driving force of a conviction. The residents have lived for five years in a neighborhood largely given over to the sewing trades, which is an industry totally disorganized. Having observed the workers in this trade as compared to those in organized trades, that have gradually discovered that lack of organization in a trade tends to the industrial helplessness of the workers in that trade. If in all departments of social, political, and commercial life, isolation is a blunder, and results in dreariness and apathy, then in industrial affairs isolation is a social crime; for it there tends to extermination.

This process of extermination entails starvation and suffering, and the desperate moral disintegration which inevitably follows in their train, until the need of organization in industry gradually assumes a moral aspect. The conviction arrived at entails a social obligation.

No trades are so overcrowded as the sewing-trades; for the needle has ever been the refuge of the unskilled woman. The wages paid throughout the manufacture of clothing are less than those in any other trade. In order to meet the requirements of the workers, lack of skill and absence of orderly life, the work has been so subdivided that almost no skill is required after the garment leaves the cutter. It is given practically to the one who is at hand when it is ready, and who does it for the least money. This subdivision and low wage have gone so far, that the woman who does home finishing alone cannot possibly gain by it a living wage. The residents of Hull House have carefully investigated in any cases, and are ready to assert that the Italian widow who finishes the cheapest goods, although she sews from six in the morning until eleven at night, can only get enough to keep her children clothed and fed; while for her rent and fuel she must always depend upon charity or the hospitality of her countrymen. If the American sewing-woman, supporting herself alone lives on bread and butter and tea, she finds a Bohemian' woman next door whose diet of black bread and coffee enables her to undercut. She competes with a wife who is eager to have home finishing that she may add something to the family comfort; or with a daughter who takes it that she may buy a wedding outfit.

The Hebrew tailor, the man with a family to support, who, but for this competition of unskilled women and girls, might earn a wage upon which a family could subsist, is obliged, in order to support them at all, to put his little children at work as soon as they can sew on buttons.

It does not help his industrial situation that the woman and girl who have brought it about have accepted the lower wages in order to buy comforts for an invalid child, or to add to the earnings of an aged father. The mother who sews on a gross of buttons for seven cents, in order to buy a blue ribbon with which to tie up her little daughter's hair, or the another who finishes a dozen vests for five agents, with which to buy her children a loaf of bread, commits unwittingly a crime against her fellow-workers, although our hearts may thrill with admiration for her heroism and ache with pity over her misery.

The maternal instinct and family affection is woman's most holy attribute; but if she enters industrial life, that is not enough. She must supplement her family conscience by a social and an industrial conscience. She must widen her family affection to embrace the children of the community. She is working havoc in the sewing trades, because with the meagre equipment sufficient for family life she has entered industrial life.

Have we any right to place before untrained women the alternative of seeing their little children suffer, or of complicating the industrial condition until all the children of the community are suffering? We know of course what their decision would be. But the residents of a settlement are not put to this hard choice, although it is often difficult to urge organization when they are flying to the immediate relief of the underfed children in the neighborhood.

If the settlement, then, is convinced that in industrial affairs lack organization tends to the helplessness of the isolated worker, and is a menace to the entire community, then it is bound to pledge itself to industrial organization, and to look about it for the lines upon which to work. And at this point the settlement enters into what is more technically known as the labor movement.

The labor movement may be called a concerted effort among the workers in all trades to obtain a more equitable distribution of the product, and to secure a more orderly existence for the laborers. How may the settlement be of value to this effort?

If the design of the settlement is not so much the initiation of new measures, but fraternal co-operation with all good which it finds in its neighborhood, then the most obvious line of action will be organization through the trades-unions, a movement already well established.

The trades-unions say to each workingman, "Associate yourself with the fellow-workers in your trade. Let your trade organization federate with the allied trades, and they, in turn, with the National and International Federation, until working-people become a solid body, ready for concerted action. It is the only possible way to prevent cuts in the rate of wages, and to regulate the hours of work. Capital is organized, and has influence with which to secure legislation in its behalf. We are scattered and feeble because we do not work together."

Trades-unionism, in spite of the many pits into which it has fallen has the ring of altruism about it. It is clearly the duty of the settlement to keep it to its best ideal, and to bring into it something of the spirit which has of late characterized the unions in England. This keeping to the ideal is not so easy as the more practical work of increasing unions, although that is difficult enough. Of the two Women's unions organized at Hull House, and of the four which have regularly held their meetings

there, as well as those that come to us during strikes at various times, I should venture to say of only one of them that it is filled with the new spirit, although they all have glimpses of it, and even during times of stress and disturbance strive for it.

It was perhaps natural from the situation, that the unions organized at Hull House should have been those in the sewing-trades. The shirt makers were organized in the spring of 1891. The immediate cause was a cut in a large factory from twenty-five cents a dozen for the making of collars and cuffs to twelve cents. The factory was a model in regard to its sanitary arrangements, and the sole complaint of the girls was of the long hours and low rate of wages. The strike which followed the formation of the union was wholly unsuccessful; but the union formed then has thriven ever since, and has lately grown so strong that it has recently succeeded in securing the adoption of the national labels.

The cloakmakers were organized at Hull House in the spring of 1892. Wages had been steadily falling, and there was great depression among the workers of the trade. The number of employees in the inside shops was being rapidly reduced, and the work of the entire trade handed over to the sweaters. The union among the men numbered two hundred; but the skilled workers were being rapidly supplanted by untrained women, who had no conscience in regard to the wages they accepted. The men had urged organization for several years, but were unable to secure it among the women. One apparently insurmountable obstacle had been the impossibility of securing any room, save one over a saloon that was large enough and cheap enough for a general meeting. To a saloon hall the women had steadfastly refused to go, save once, when, under the pressure of a strike, the girls in a certain shop had met with the men from the same shop, over one of the more decent saloons, only to be upbraided by their families upon their return home. They of course refused ever to go again. The first meeting at Hull House was composed of men and girls, and two or three of the residents. The meeting was a revelation to all present. The men, perhaps forty in number, were Russian-Jewish tailors, many of whom could command not even broken English. They were ill-dressed and grimy, suspicious that Hull House was a spy in the service of the capitalists. They were skilled workers, easily superior to the girls when sewing on a cloak, but shamefaced and constrained in meeting with them. The American-Irish girls were well dressed, and comparatively at ease. They felt chaperoned by the presence of the residents, and talked volubly among themselves. These two sets of people were held together only by the pressure upon their trade. They were separated by strong racial differences, by language, by nationality, by religion, by mode of life, by every possible social distinction. The interpreter stood between the two sides of the room, somewhat helpless. He was clear upon the economic necessity for combination; he realized the mutual interdependence; but the social aspect of the situation baffled him. The residents felt that between these men and girls was a deeper gulf than the much talked of 'chasm' between the favored and unfavored classes. The working-girls before them, who were being forced to cross such a gulf, had a positive advantage over the cultivated girl who consciously, and sometimes heroically, crosses the 'chasm' to join hands with her working sisters.

There was much less difference of any sort between the residents and working-girls than between the men and girls of the same trade. It was a spectacle only to be found in an American city, under the latest conditions of trade-life. Working people among themselves are being forced into a social democracy from the pressure of the economic situation. It presents an educating and broadening aspect of no small value.

The Woman's Cloakmakers' Union has never been large, but it always has been characterized by the spirit of generosity which marked its organization. It feels a strong sense of obligation toward the most ill-paid and ignorant of the sweaters' victims, and no working people of Chicago have done more for abolition of the sweating-system than this handful of women.

But the labor movement is by no means as simple as trades-unionism. A settlement finds in the movement devoted men who feel keenly the need for better industrial organization, but who insist that industrial organization must be part of the general re-organization of society. The individualists, for instance, insist that we will never secure equal distribution until we have equality of opportunity; that all State and city franchises, all privilege of railroad, bank, and corporation, must be removed before competition will be absolutely free, and the man with his labor alone to offer will have a fair chance with the man who offers anything else; that the sole function of the State is to secure the freedom of each guarded by the like freedom of all, and that each man free to work for his own existence and advantage will by this formula work out our industrial development. The individualist then works constantly for the recall of franchise and of special privilege, and for the untrammelled play of each man's force. There is much in our inheritance that responds to this, and he has followers among workmen and among capitalists; those who fear to weaken the incentive to individual exertion, and those who believe that any interference would work injuriously. The residents of a settlement hear the individualist pleading in many trades' assemblies. Opposite to him, springing up in discussion every time he speaks is the socialist in all varieties. The scientific socialist reads his Karl Marx, and sees a gradual and inevitable absorption of all the means of production and of all capital by one entity, called the community. He makes out a strong case because he is usually a German or a Russian, with a turn for economic discussion, and widely read. He sees in the present tendency towards the concentration of capital, and in the growth of trusts and monopolies, an inevitable transition to the socialistic state. Every concentration of capital into fewer hands but increases the mass of those whose interests are opposed to the maintenance of its power and vastly simplifies the final absorption. He contends that we have already had the transformation of scattered private property into capitalistic property, and that it is inevitable that it should be turned into collective property. In the former cases we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of people. He points with pride to the strong tendency towards State regulation of the means of transportation, and of many industries, and he urges legislative check and control at every point.

Between these two divergent points of view we find many shades of opinion and many modifications of philosophy; but perhaps a presentation of these two, as heard many times from earnest workingmen, will illustrate how difficult a settlement finds it to be liberal in tone, and to decide what immediate measures are in the line of advantage to the labor movement and which ones are against it.

It has been said that the imagination in America has been seized in due turn by the minister, the soldier, and the lawyer, who have successively held the political appointments; but that it is now the turn of the economist; that the man who would secure votes and a leadership in politics is the one who has a line of action to propose which shall bring order out of the present industrial chaos. This may be illustrated by the marvelous growth of the single-tax movement, which offers a definite remedial measure. Is it not true that our knotty theological difficulties as matters for prolonged discussion are laid aside? Is it not true that the interpretation of the Constitution, and the standard of action for the law-abiding and upright citizen, are well determined in men's minds? But that the moral enterprise of each man, not by any means his morality, but his moral enterprise, has to be tested by his attitude toward the industrial problem? The crucial question of the time is, "In what attitude stand ye toward the present industrial system? Are you content that greed and the seizing upon disadvantage and the pushing of the weaker to the wall shall rule your business life, while in your family and social life you live so differently? Are you content that Christianity shall have no play in trade?" If these questions press upon all of us, then a settlement must surely face the industrial problem as a test of its sincerity, as a test of the unification of its interests with the absorbing interests of its neighbors. Must it, then, accept the creeds of one or the other of these schools of social thought, and work for a party; or is there some underlying principle upon which the settlement can stand, as in its Christianity it endeavors to stand on something more primitive than either Catholicism or Protestantism? Can it find the moral question involved? Is there a line of ethics which its action ought to follow? Is it possible to make the slow appeal to the nobler fibre in men, and to connect it with that tradition of what is just and right?

A glance at the labor movement shows that the pre-pondering force has been given to what may be called negative action. Unions use their power to frustrate the designs of the capitalist, to make trouble for corporations and the public, such as is involved, for instance, in a railroad strike. It has often seemed to be the only method of arresting attention to their demands; but in America, at least, they have come to trust it too far.

A movement cannot be carried on by negating other acts; it must have a positive force, a driving self-sustaining motive-power. A moral revolution cannot be accomplished by men who are held together merely because they are all smarting under a sense of injury and injustice, although they may begin it.

Men thus animated may organize for resistance, they may struggle bravely together, and may destroy that which is injurious, but they cannot build up, associate, and unite. They have no common, collective faith. The labor movement in America bears this trace of its youth and immaturity. As the first social organizations of men were for purposes of war; as they combined to defend themselves, or

to destroy their enemies, and only later they united for creative purposes and pacific undertakings, so the labor organizations first equip themselves for industrial war, and much later attempt to promote peaceful industrial progress. The older unions have already reached the higher development, but the unions among the less intelligent and less skilled Workmen are still belligerent and organized on a military basis, and unfortunately give color to the entire movement.

It is doubtless true that men who work excessively certain weeks in the year, and bear enforced idleness, harassed by a fear of starvation, during certain other weeks, as the lumber-shovers and garment-workers do, are too far from that regulated life and sanity of mind in which the quiet inculcation of moral principle is possible. It is also doubtless true that a more uniform leisure and a calmer temper of mind will have to be secured before the sense of injury ceases to be an absorbing emotion. The labor involvement is bound, therefore, to work for shorter hours and increased wages and regularity of work, that education and moral reform may come to the individual laborer; that association may be put upon larger principles, and assume the higher fraternal aspect. But it does not want to lose sight of the end in securing the means, nor assume success, nor even necessarily the beginnings of success, when these first aims are attained. It is easy to make this mistake. The workingman is born and reared in a certain discomfort which he is sure the rich man does not share with him. He feels constantly the restriction which comes from untrained power; he realizes that his best efforts are destined to go round and round in a circle circumscribed by his industrial opportunity, and it is inevitable that he should overestimate the possession of wealth, of leisure, and of education. It is almost impossible for him to keep his sense of proportion.

The settlement may be of value if it can take a larger and steadier view than is always possible to the workingman, smarting under a sense of wrong; or to the capitalist, seeking only to "quiet down," without regard to the historic significance of the case, and insisting upon the inalienable right of "invested capital," to a return of at least 4%, ignoring human passion. It is possible to recall them both to a sense of the larger development.

A century ago there was an irresistible impulse, an upward movement, among the mass of people to have their share in political life, hitherto the life of the privileged. The universal franchise was demanded, not only as a holy right, but as a means of entrance into the sunshine of liberty and equality. There is a similar demand at the close of this century on the part of working-people, but this time it is for a share in the results of industry.

It is an impulse to come out into the sunshine of Prosperity. As the leaders of political democracy overestimated the possession of the franchise, and believed it would obtain blessings for the working-people which it has not done, so, doubtless, the leaders of the labor movement are overestimating the possession of wealth and leisure. Mazzini was the inspired prophet of the political democracy, preaching duties and responsibilities rather than rights and franchises; and we might call Arnold Toynbee the prophet of the second development when we contend that the task of the labor movement is the interpretation of democracy into industrial affairs. In that remarkable exposition called "Industry and Democracy," Toynbee sets forth

the struggle between the masters and men during the industrial revolution. Two ideals in regard to the relationship between employer and employee were then developed. Carlyle represented one, pleading passionately for it. He declared that the rich mill-owner's duty did not end with the "cash nexus;" that after he had paid his men he should still cherish them in sickness, protect them in misfortune, and not dismiss them when trade was bad. In one word, he would have the rich govern and protect the poor. But the workers themselves; the mass of the people, had caught another ideal; they dreamed of a time when they should have no need of protection, but when each workman should stand by the side of his employer the free citizen of a free state. Each workingman demanded, not class protection, but political rights. He wished to be a unit; not that he might be isolated, but that he might unite in a fuller union, first with his fellow-workers, and then with the entire people. Toynbee asks who was right, Carlyle or the people. And replies that the people were right—"The people who, sick with hunger and deformed with toil, dreamed that democracy would bring deliverance."

And democracy did save industry. It transformed disputes about wages from social feuds into business bargains. It swept away the estranging class elements of suspicion and arrogance. "It gradually did away with the feudal notion among the masters that they would deal with their men one at a time, denying to their the advantages of association." It is singular that in America, where government is founded upon the principle of representation, the capitalist should have been so slow to accord this right to workingmen; that he should refuse so steadily to treat with a "walking delegate," and so long maintain that no 'outsider' could represent the men in his shop.

We must learn to trust our democracy, giant-like and threatening as it may appear in its uncouth strength and untried applications. When the English people were demanding the charter, the English nobility predicted that the franchise—would be used to inaugurate all sorts of wild measures, to overturn long-established customs, as the capitalist now sometimes assumes that higher wages will be spent only in the saloons. In both cases there is a failure to count the sobering effect of responsibility in the education and development which attend the entrance into a wider life.

The effort to keep the movement to some consciousness of its historic value in the race development is perhaps no more difficult than to keep before its view the larger ethical aims. There is doubtless a tendency among the workingmen who reach leadership in the movement to yield to individual ambition, as there is among capitalists to regard class interests, and yield only that which must be yielded. This tendency on one side to yield to ambition, and on the other to give into threats, may be further illustrated.

The poor man has proverbially been the tyrant of poor men when he has become rich. But while such a man was yet poor, his heart was closed to his fellows, and his eyes were blinded to the exploitation of them and himself, because in his heart he hoped one day to be rich, and to do the exploiting; because he secretly approved the action of his master, and said, "I would do the same if I were he."

Workingmen say, sometimes, that the rich will not hear the complaint of the poor until it rises into a threat, and carries a suggestion of ruin with it; that they then throw the laborers a portion of the product, to save the remainder.

As the tendency to warfare shows the primitive state of the labor movement, so also this division on class lines reveals its present undeveloped condition. 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, is to divide the world into two hostile camps, and to turn us back into class warfare and class limitations. All our experience tells us that no question of civilization is as simple as that, nor can we any longer settle our perplexities by mere good fighting. One is reminded of one's childish conception of life that Right and Wrong were drawn up in battle array into two distinct armies, and that to join the army of Right and fight bravely would be to settle all problems.

But life itself teaches us nothing more inevitable than that right and wrong are most confusedly mixed; that the blackest wrong is by our side and within our own motives; that right does not dazzle our eyes with its radiant shining, but has to be found by exerting patience, discrimination, and impartiality. We cease to listen for the bugle note of victory our childish imagination anticipated, and learn that our finest victories are attained in the midst of self-distrust, and that the waving banner of triumph is sooner or later trailed to the dust by the weight of self-righteousness. It may be that as the labor movement grows older and riper, it will cease to divide all men so sharply into capitalists and proletarians, into exploiter and exploited.

We may live to remind its leaders in later years, as George Eliot has so skilfully reminded us, that the path we all like when we first set out in our youth is the path of martyrdom and endurance, where the palm branches grow; but that later we learn to take the steep highway of tolerance, just allowance, and self-blame, where there are no leafy honors to be gathered and worn. As the labor movement grows older its leaders may catch the larger ethical view which genuine experience always gives; they may have a chance to act free from the pressure of threat or ambition. They should have nothing to gain or lose, save as they rise or fall with their fellows. In raising the mass, men could have a motive-power as much greater than the motive for individual success, as the force which sends the sun above the horizon is greater the force engendered by the powder behind the rocket.

Is it too much to hope that as the better organized and older trades-unions are fast recognizing a solidarity of labor, and acting upon the literal notion of brotherhood, that they will later perceive the larger solidarity which includes labor and capital, and act upon the notion of universal kinship? That before this larger vision of life there can be no perception of 'sides' and no "battle array"? In the light of the developed social conscience the "sympathetic strike" may be criticized, not because it is too broad, but because it is too narrow, and because the strike is but a wasteful and negative demonstration of ethical fellowship. In the summer of 1894 the Chicago unions of Russian-Jewish cloakmakers; German compositors and Bohemian and Polish butchers, struck in sympathy with the cause of the American Railway Union, whom they believed to be standing for a principle. Does an event such as this, clumsy and unsatisfactory as its results are, prefigure the time when no

factory child in Chicago can be overworked and underpaid without a protest from all good citizens, capitalist and proletarian? Such a protest would be founded upon an ethical sense, so strong that it would easily override business interests and class prejudices.

Manifestations of the labor movement are erratic and ill-timed because of the very strength of its motive power. A settlement is not affrighted nor dismayed when it sees in labor-meetings, in caucuses, and turbulent gatherings, men who are

Groping for the right, with horny calloused hands, and staring round for God with blood-shot eyes.

Although the clumsy hands may upset some heavy pieces of convention, as a strong blind man overturns furniture, and the bloodshot eyes may be wild and fanatical. The settlement is unworthy of its calling if it is too timid or dull to interpret this groping and staring. But the settlement should be affrighted, and bestir itself to action, when the groping is not for the right, but for the mere purpose of overturning; when the staring is not for God, but for Mammon—and there is a natural temptation towards both.

A settlement may well be dismayed when it sees workingmen apathetic to higher motives, and thinking only of stratagems by which to outwit the capitalists; or when workingmen justify themselves in the use of base measures, saying they have learned the lessons from the other side. Such an attitude at once turns the movement from a development into a struggle, and the sole judge left between the adversaries must in the end be force. Class interests become the governing and motive power, and the settlement can logically be of no value to either side. Its sympathies are naturally much entangled in such a struggle, but to be of value it must keep its judgment clear as to the final ethical outcome and this requires both perceptions and training.

Fortunately, every action may be analyzed into its permanent and transient aspects. The transient aspect of the strike is the anger and opposition against the employer, and too often the chagrin of failure. The permanent is the binding together of the strikers in the ties of association and brotherhood, and the attainment of a more democratic relation to the employer; and it is because of a growing sense of brotherhood and of democracy in the labor movement that we see in it a growing ethical power.

Hence the duty of the settlement in keeping the movement from becoming in any sense a class warfare is clear. There is a temperamental bitterness among working men which is both inherited and fostered by the conditions of their life and trade; but they cannot afford to cherish a class bitterness if the labor movement is to be held to its highest possibilities. A class working for a class, and against another class, implies that within itself there should be trades working for trades, individuals working for individuals. The universal character of the movement is gone from the start, and cannot be caught until an all-embracing ideal is accepted.

A recent writer has called attention to the fact that the position of the power holding classes capitalists—as we call them just now—is being gradually undermined by the disintegrating influence of the immense fund of altruistic feeling with which society has become equipped; that it is within this fund of altruism that we

find the motive force which is slowly enfranchising all classes and gradually insisting upon equality of condition and opportunity. If we can accept this explanation of the social and political movements of our time, then it is clear that the labor movement is at the bottom an ethical movement, and a manifestation of the orderly development of the race.

The settlement is pledged to insist upon the unity of life, to gather to itself the sense of righteousness to be found in its neighborhood, and as far as possible in this city; to work towards the betterment not of one kind of people or class of people, but for the common good. The settlement believes that just as men deprived of comradeship by circumstances or law go back to the brutality from which they came, so any class or set of men deprived of the companionship of the whole become correspondingly de-civilized and crippled. No part of society can afford to get along without the others.

The settlement, then urges first, the organization of working people in order that as much leisure and orderly life as possible may be secured to them in which to carry out the higher aims of living; in the second place, it should take a distance effort to bring to bear upon the labor movement a consciousness of its historic development; and lastly, it accentuates the ultimate ethical aims of the movement.

The despair of the labor movement is, as Mazzini said in another cause long ago, that we have torn the great and beautiful ensign of Democracy. Each party has snatched a rag of it, and parades it as proudly as if it were the whole flag, repudiating and not denying to look at the others.

It is the feeling of disdain to any class of men or kind of men in the community which is dangerous to the labor movement, which makes it a class-measure. It attacks its democratic character, and substitute's party enthusiasm for the irresistible force of human progress. The labor movement must include all men in its hopes. It must have the communion of universal fellowship. Any drop of gall within its cup is fatal. Any grudge treasured up against a capitalists, any desire to "get even" when the wealth has changed hands, are but the old experiences of human selfishness. All sense of injury must fall away and be absorbed in the consciousness of a common brotherhood. If to insist upon the universality of the best is the function of the settlement, nowhere is its influence more needed than in the labor movement, where there is constant temptation towards a class warfare.

Chapter 9

“A Modern Lear” (1912)

Those of us who lived in Chicago during the summer of 1894 were confronted by a drama which epitomized and, at the same time, challenged the code of social ethics under which we live, for a quick series of unusual events had dispelled the good nature which in happier times envelopes the ugliness of the industrial situation.¹ It sometimes seems as if the shocking experiences of that summer, the barbaric instinct to kill, roused on both sides, the sharp division into class lines, with the resultant distrust and bitterness, can only be endured if we learn from it all a great ethical lesson. To endure is all we can hope for. It is impossible to justify such a course of rage and riot in a civilized community to whom the methods of conciliation and control were open. Every public-spirited citizen in Chicago during that summer felt the stress and perplexity of the situation and asked himself, “How far am I responsible for this social disorder? What can be done to prevent such outrageous manifestations of ill-will?”

If the responsibility of tolerance lies with those of the widest vision, it behooves us to consider this great social disaster, not alone in its legal aspect nor in its sociological bearings, but from those deep human motives, which, after all, determine events.

During the discussions which followed the Pullman strike, the defenders of the situation were broadly divided between the people pleading for individual benevolence and those insisting upon social righteousness; between those who held that the philanthropy of the president of the Pullman company had been most ungratefully received and those who maintained that the situation was the inevitable outcome of the social consciousness developing among working people.

In the midst of these discussions the writer found her mind dwelling upon a comparison which modified and softened all her judgments. Her attention was caught by the similarity of ingratitude suffered by an indulgent employer and an indulgent parent. King Lear came often to her mind. We have all shared the family relationship and our code of ethics concerning it is somewhat settled. We also bear

¹Addams, J. (November 2, 1912). A Modern Lear. *Survey*, XXIX, 131–7.

a part in the industrial relationship, but our ethics concerning that are still uncertain. A comparative study of these two relationships presents an advantage, in that it enables us to consider the situation from the known experience toward the unknown. The minds of all of us reach back to our early struggles, as we emerged from the state of self-willed childhood to a recognition of the family claim.

We have all had glimpses of what it might be to blaspheme against family ties; to ignore the elemental claim they make upon us, but on the whole we have recognized them, and it does not occur to us to throw them over. The industrial claim is so difficult; the ties are so intangible that we are constantly ignoring them and shirking the duties which they impose. It will probably be easier to treat of the tragedy of the Pullman strike as if it were already long past when we compare it to the family tragedy of Lear which has already become historic to our minds and which we discuss without personal feeling.

Historically considered, the relation of Lear to his children was archaic and barbaric, holding in it merely the beginnings of a family life, since developed. We may in later years learn to look back upon the industrial relationships in which we are now placed as quite as incomprehensible and selfish, quite as barbaric and undeveloped, as was the family relationship between Lear and his daughters. We may then take the relationship of this unusually generous employer at Pullman to his own town full of employees as at least a fair one, because so exceptionally liberal in many of its aspects. King Lear doubtless held the same notion of a father's duty that was held by the other fathers of his time; but he alone was a king and had kingdoms to bestow upon his children. He was unique, therefore, in the magnitude of his indulgence, and in the magnitude of the disaster which followed it. The sense of duty held by the president of the Pullman Company doubtless represents the ideal in the minds of the best of the present employers as to their obligations toward their employees, but he projected this ideal more magnificently than the others. He alone gave his men so model a town, such perfect surroundings. The magnitude of his indulgence and failure corresponded and we are forced to challenge the ideal itself: the same deal which, more or less clearly defined, and is floating in the minds of all philanthropic employers.

This older tragedy implied maladjustment between individuals; the forces of the tragedy were personal and passionate. This modern tragedy in its inception is a maladjustment between two large bodies of men, an employing company and a mass of employees. It deals not with personal relationships, but with industrial relationships.

Owing, however, to the unusual part played in it by the will of one man, we find that it closely approaches Lear in motif. The relation of the British King to his family is very like the relation of the president of the Pullman Company to his town; the denouement of a daughter's break with her father suggests the break of the employees with their benefactor. If we call one an example of the domestic tragedy, the other of the industrial tragedy, it is possible to make them illuminate each other.

It is easy to discover striking points of similarity in the tragedies of the royal father and the philanthropic president of the Pullman Company. The like quality of

ingratitude they both suffered is at once apparent. It may be said that the ingratitude which Lear received was poignant and bitter to him in proportion as he recalled the extraordinary benefits he had heaped upon his daughters, and that he found his fate harder to bear because he had so far exceeded the measure of a father's duty, as he himself says. What, then, would be the bitterness of a man who had heaped extraordinary benefits upon those toward whom he had no duty recognized by common consent; who had not only exceeded the righteousness of the employer, but who had worked out original and striking methods for lavishing goodness and generosity? More than that, the president had been almost persecuted for this goodness by the more utilitarian members of his company and had at one time imperiled his business reputation for the sake of the benefactions to his town, and he had thus reached the height of sacrifice for it. This model town embodied not only his hopes and ambitions, but stood for the peculiar effort which a man makes for that which is misunderstood.

It is easy to see that although the heart of Lear was cut by ingratitude and by misfortune, it was cut deepest of all by the public pity of his people, in that they should remember him no longer as a king and benefactor, but as a defeated man who had blundered through oversoftness. So the heart of the Chicago man was cut by the unparalleled publicity which brought him to the minds of thousands as a type of oppression and injustice, and too many others as an example of the evil of an irregular sympathy for the "lower classes." He who had been dined and feted throughout Europe as the creator of a model town, as the friend and benefactor of workingmen, was now execrated by workingmen throughout the entire country. He had not only been good to those who were now basely ungrateful to him, but he felt himself deserted by the admiration of his people.

In shops such as those at Pullman, indeed, in all manufacturing affairs since the industrial revolution, industry is organized into a vast social operation. The shops are managed, however, not for the development of the workman thus socialized, but for the interests of the company owning the capital. The divergence between the social form and the individual aim becomes greater as the employees are more highly socialized and dependent, just as the clash in a family is more vital in proportion to the development and closeness of the family tie. The president of the Pullman Company went further than the usual employer does. He socialized not only the factory but the form in which his workmen were living. He built and, in a great measure, regulated an entire town. This again might have worked out into a successful associated effort, if he had in view the sole good of the inhabitants thus socialized, if he had called upon them for self-expression and had made the town a growth and manifestation of their wants and needs. But, unfortunately, the end to be obtained became ultimately commercial and not social, having in view the payment to the company of at least 4% on the money invested, so that with this rigid requirement there could be no adaptation of rent to wages, much less to needs. The rents became static and the wages competitive, shifting inevitably with the demands of trade. The president assumed that he himself knew the needs of his men, and so far from wishing them to express their needs he denied to them the simple rights of trade organization, which would have been, of course, the merest

preliminary to an attempt at associated expression. If we may take the dictatorial relation of Lear to Cordelia as a typical and most dramatic example of the distinctively family tragedy, one will asserting its authority through all the entanglement of wounded affection, and insisting upon its selfish ends at all costs, may we not consider the absolute authority of this employer over his town as a typical and dramatic example of the industrial tragedy? One will directing the energies of many others, without regard to their desires, and having in view in the last analysis only commercial results?

It shocks our ideal of family life that a man should fail to know his daughter's heart because she awkwardly expressed her love, that he should refuse to comfort and advise her through all difference of opinion and clashing of will. That a man should be so absorbed in his own indignation as to fail to apprehend his child's thought; that he should lose his affection in his anger, is really no more unnatural than that the man who spent a million of dollars on a swamp to make it sanitary for his employees, should refuse to speak to them for 10 min, whether they were in the right or wrong; or that a man who had given them his time and thought for twenty years should withdraw from them his guidance when he believed them misled by ill-advisers and wandering in a mental fog; or that he should grow hard and angry when they needed tenderness and help.

Lear ignored the common ancestry of Cordelia and himself. He forgot her royal inheritance of magnanimity, and also the power of obstinacy which he shared with her. So long had he thought of himself as the noble and indulgent father that he had lost the faculty by which he might perceive himself in the wrong. Even when his spirit was broken by the storm he declared himself more sinned against than sinning. He could believe any amount of kindness and goodness of himself, but could imagine no fidelity on the part of Cordelia unless she gave him the sign he demanded.

The president of the Pullman Company doubtless began to build his town from an honest desire to give his employees the best surroundings. As it developed it became a source of pride and an exponent of power, that he cared most for when it gave him a glow of benevolence. Gradually, what the outside world thought of it became of importance to him and he ceased to measure its usefulness by the standard of the men's needs. The theater was complete in equipment and beautiful in design, but too costly for a troupe who depended upon the patronage of mechanics, as the church was too expensive to be rented continuously. We can imagine the founder of the town slowly darkening his glints of memory and forgetting the common stock of experience which he held with his men. He cultivated the great and noble impulses of the benefactor until the power of attaining a simple human relationship with his employees, that of frank equality with them, was gone from him. He too, lost the faculty of affectionate interpretation, and demanded a sign. He and his employees had no mutual interest in a common cause.

Was not the grotesque situation of the royal father and the philanthropic employer to perform so many good deeds that they lost the power of recognizing good in beneficiaries? Were not both so absorbed in carrying out a personal plan of improvement that they failed to catch the great moral lesson which their times

offered them? This is the crucial point of the tragedies and may be further elucidated.

Lear had doubtless swung a bauble before Cordelia's baby eyes that he might have the pleasure of seeing the little pink and tender hands stretched for it. A few years later he had given jewels to the young princess, and felt an exquisite pleasure when she stood before him, delighted with her gaud and grateful to her father. He demanded the same kind of response for his gift of the kingdom, but the gratitude must be larger and more carefully expressed, as befitted such a gift. At the opening of the drama he sat upon his throne ready for this enjoyment, but instead of delight and gratitude he found the first dawn of character. His daughter made the awkward attempt of an untrained soul to be honest, to be scrupulous in the expressions of its feelings. It was new to him that his child should be moved by a principle outside of himself, which even his imagination could not follow; that she had caught the notion of an existence so vast that her relationship as a daughter was but part of it.

Perhaps her suitors, the King of France or the Duke of Burgundy, had first hinted to the young Cordelia that there was a fuller life beyond the seas. Certain it is that someone had shaken her from the quiet measure of her insular existence and that she had at last felt the thrill of the world's life. She was transformed by a dignity which recast her speech and made it self-contained, as is becoming a citizen of the world. She found herself in the sweep of a notion of justice so large that the immediate loss of a kingdom seemed of little consequence to her. Even an act which might be construed as disrespect to her father was justified in her eyes because she was vainly striving to fill out this larger conception of duty.

The test which comes sooner or later to many parents had come to Lear, to maintain the tenderness of the relation between father and child after that relation had become one between adults; to be contented with the responses which this adult made to the family claim, while at the same time, she felt the tug upon her emotions and faculties of the larger life, the life which surrounds and completes the individual and family life, and which shares and widens her attention. He was not sufficiently wise to see that only that child can fulfill the family claim in its sweetness and strength who also fulfills the larger claim, that the adjustment of the lesser and larger implies no conflict. The mind of Lear was not big enough for this test. He failed to see anything but the personal slight involved, the ingratitude alone reached him. It was impossible for him to calmly watch his child developing beyond the strength of his own mind and sympathy.

Without pressing the analogy too hard may we not compare the indulgent relation of this employer to his town to the relation which existed between Lear and Cordelia? He fostered his employees for many years, gave them sanitary houses and beautiful parks, but in their extreme need, when they were struggling with the most difficult question which the times could present to them, when, if ever, they required the assistance of a trained mind and a comprehensive outlook, he lost his touch and had nothing wherewith to help them. He did not see the situation. He, had been ignorant of their gropings toward justice. His conception of goodness for them had been cleanliness, decency of living, and above all, thrift and temperance. He had provided them means for all this; had gone further, and given them

opportunities for enjoyment and comradeship. But he suddenly found his town in the sweep of a world-wide moral impulse. A movement had been going on about him and through the souls of his workmen of which he had been unconscious. He had only heard of this movement by rumor. The men who consorted with him at his club and in his business had spoken but little of it, and when they had discussed it had contemptuously called it the "Labor Movement," headed by deadbeats and agitators. Of the force and power of this movement, of all the vitality within it, of that conception of duty which induces men to go without food and to see their wives and children suffer for the sake of securing better wages for fellow-workmen whom they have never seen, this president had dreamed absolutely nothing. But his town had at last become swept into this larger movement, so that the giving up of comfortable homes, of beautiful surroundings, seemed as naught to the men within its grasp.

Outside the ken of this philanthropist, the proletariat had learned to say in many languages that "the injury of one is the concern of all." Their watchwords were brotherhood, sacrifice, the subordination of individual and trade interests to the good of the working class; and their persistent strivings were toward the ultimate freedom of that class from the conditions under which they now labor.

Compared to these watchwords the old ones which the philanthropic employer had given his town were negative and inadequate.

When this movement finally swept in his own town, or, to speak more fairly, when in their distress and perplexity his own employees appealed to the organized manifestation of this movement, they were quite sure that simply because they were workmen in distress they would not be deserted by it. This loyalty on the part of a widely ramified and well organized union toward the workmen in a "scab shop," who had contributed nothing to its cause, was certainly a manifestation of moral power.

That the movement was ill-directed, that it was ill-timed and disastrous in results, that it stirred up and became confused in the minds of the public with the elements of riot and bloodshed, can never touch the fact that it started from an unselfish impulse.

In none of his utterances or correspondence did the president of the company for an instant recognize this touch of nobility, although one would imagine that he would gladly point out this bit of virtue, in what he must have considered the moral ruin about him. He stood throughout pleading for the individual virtues, those which had distinguished the model workman of his youth, those which had enabled him and so many of his contemporaries to rise in life, when "rising in life" was urged upon every promising boy as the goal of his efforts. Of the new code of ethics he had caught absolutely nothing. The morals he had taught his men did not fail them in their hour of confusion. They were self-controlled and destroyed no property. They were sober and exhibited no drunkenness, even though obliged to hold their meetings in the saloon hall of a neighboring town. They repaid their employer in kind, but he had given them no rule for the higher fellowship and life of association into which they were plunged.

The virtues of one generation are not sufficient for the next, any more than the accumulations of knowledge possessed by one age are adequate to the needs of another.

Of the virtues received from our fathers we can afford to lose none. We accept as a precious trust those principles and precepts which the race has worked out for its highest safeguard and protection. But merely to preserve those is not enough. A task is laid upon each generation to enlarge their application, to ennoble their conception, and, above all, to apply and adapt them to the peculiar problems presented to it for solution.

The president of this company desired that his employees should possess the individual and family virtues, but did nothing to cherish in them those social virtues which his own age demanded. He rather substituted for that sense of responsibility to the community, a feeling of gratitude to himself, who had provided them with public buildings, and had laid out for them a simulacrum of public life.

Is it strange that when the genuine feeling of the age struck his town this belated and almost feudal virtue of personal gratitude fell before it?

Day after day during that horrible suspense, when the wires constantly reported the same message, "The president of the company holds that there is nothing to arbitrate," one longed to find out what was in the mind of this man, to unfold his ultimate motive. One concludes that he must have been sustained by the consciousness of being in the right. Only that could have held him against the great desire for fair play which swept over the country. Only the training which an arbitrary will receives by years of consulting first its own personal and commercial ends could have made it strong enough to withstand the demands for social adjustment. He felt himself right from the commercial standpoint, and could not see the situation from the social standpoint. For years he had gradually accustomed himself to the thought that his motive was beyond reproach; that his attitude to his town was always righteous and philanthropic. Habit held him persistent in this view of the case through all the changing conditions.

The diffused and subtle notion of dignity held by the modern philanthropist bears a curious analogy to the personal barbaric notion of dignity held by Lear. The man who persistently paced the seashore, while the interior of his country was racked with a strife which he alone might have arbitrated, lived out within himself the tragedy of "King Lear." The shock of disaster upon egotism is apt to produce self-pity. It is possible that his self-pity and loneliness may have been so great and absorbing as to completely shut out from his mind a compunction of derelict duty. He may have been unconscious that men were charging him with a shirking of the issue.

Lack of perception is the besetting danger of the egoist, from whatever cause his egoism arises and envelopes him. But, doubtless, philanthropists are more exposed to this danger than any other class of people within the community. Partly because their efforts are overestimated, as no standard of attainment has yet been established, and partly because they are the exponents of a large amount of altruistic feeling with which the community has become equipped and which has not yet found adequate expression, they are therefore easily idealized.

Long ago Hawthorne called our attention to the fact that "philanthropy ruins, or is fearfully apt to ruin, the heart, the rich juices of which God never meant should be pressed violently out, and distilled into alcoholic liquor by an unnatural process; but it should render life sweet, bland and gently beneficent."

One might add to this observation that the muscles of this same heart may be stretched and strained until they lose the rhythm of the common heartbeat of the rest of the world.

Modern philanthropists need to remind themselves of the old definition of greatness: that it consists in the possession of the largest share of the common human qualities and experiences, not in the acquirements of peculiarities and excessive virtues. Popular opinion calls him the greatest of Americans who gathered to himself the largest amount of American experience, and who never forgot when he was in Washington how the 'crackers' in Kentucky and the pioneers of Illinois thought and felt, striving to retain their thoughts and feelings, and to embody only the mighty will of the "common people." The danger of professionally attaining to the power of the righteous man, of yielding to the ambition "for doing good," compared to which the ambitions for political position, learning, or wealth are vulgar and commonplace, ramifies throughout our modern life, and is a constant and settled danger in philanthropy.

In so far as philanthropists are cut off from the influence of the *Zeitgeist*, from the code of ethics which rule the body of men, from the great moral life springing from our common experiences, so long as they are "good to people," rather than "with them," they are bound to accomplish a large amount of harm. They are outside of the influence of that great faith which perennially springs up in the hearts of the people, and re-creates the world.

In spite of the danger of overloading the tragedies with moral reflections, a point ought to be made on the other side. It is the weakness in the relation of workmen to the employer, the fatal lack of generosity in the attitude of workmen toward the company under whose exactions they feel themselves wronged.

In reading the tragedy of "King Lear", Cordelia does not escape our censure. Her first words are cold, and we are shocked by her lack of tenderness. Why should she ignore her father's need for indulgence, and be so unwilling to give him what he so obviously craved? We see in the old king "the overmastering desire of being beloved, which is selfish, and yet characteristic of the selfishness of a loving and kindly nature alone." His eagerness produces in us a strange pity for him, and we are impatient that his youngest and best-beloved child cannot feel this, even in the midst of her search for truth and her newly acquired sense of a higher duty. It seems to us a narrow conception that would break thus abruptly with the past, and would assume that her father had no part in her new life. We want to remind her that "pity, memory and faithfulness are natural ties," and surely as much to be prized as is the development of her own soul. We do not admire the Cordelia "who loves according to her bond" as we later admire the same Cordelia who comes back from France that she may include in her happiness and freer life the father whom she had deserted through her self-absorption. She is aroused to her affection through her pity, but when the floodgates are once open she acknowledges all. It sometimes

seems as if only hardship and sorrow could arouse our tenderness, whether in our personal or social relations; that the king, the prosperous man, was the last to receive the justice which can come only through affectionate interpretation. We feel less pity for Lear on his throne than in the storm, although he is the same man, bound up in the same self-righteousness, and exhibiting the same lack of self-control.

As the vision of the life of Europe caught the sight and quickened the pulses of Cordelia, so a vision of the wider life has caught the sight of workingmen. After the vision has once been seen it is impossible to do aught but to press toward its fulfillment. We have all seen it. We are all practically agreed that the social passion of the age is directed toward the emancipation of the wage-worker; that a great accumulation of oral force is overmastering men and making for this emancipation as in another time it has made for the emancipation of the slave; that nothing will satisfy the aroused conscience of men short of the complete participation of the working classes in the spiritual, intellectual and material inheritance of the human race. But just as Cordelia failed to include her father in the scope of her salvation and selfishly took it for herself alone, so workingmen in the dawn of the vision are inclined to claim it for themselves, putting out of their thoughts the old relationships; and just as surely as Cordelia's conscience developed in the new life and later drove her back to her father, where she perished, drawn into the cruelty and wrath which had now become objective and tragic, so the emancipation of working people will have to be inclusive of the employer from the first or it will encounter many failures, cruelties and reactions. It will result not in the position of the repentant Cordelia but in that of King Lear's two older daughters.

If the workingmen's narrow conception of emancipation was fully acted upon, they would hold much the same relationship to their expropriated employer that the two elder daughters held to their abdicated father. When the kingdom was given to them they received it as altogether their own, and were dominated by a sense of possession; "it is ours not yours" was never absent from their consciousness. When Lear ruled the kingdom he had never been without this sense of possession, although. He expressed it in indulgence and condescending kindness. His older daughters expressed it in cruelty, but the motive of father and children was not unlike. They did not wish to be reminded by the state and retinue of the old King that he had been the former possessor. Finally, his mere presence alone reminded them too much of that and they banished him from the palace. That a newly acquired sense of possession should result in the barbaric, the incredible scenes of bitterness and murder, which were King Lear's portion, is not without a reminder of the barbaric scenes in our political and industrial relationships, when the sense of possession, to obtain and to hold, is aroused on both sides. The scenes in Paris during the political revolution or the more familiar scenes at the mouths of the mines and the terminals of railways occur to all of us.

The doctrine of emancipation preached to the wage-workers alone runs an awful risk of being accepted for what it offers them, for the sake of the fleshpots, rather than for the human affection and social justice which it involves. This doctrine must be strong enough in its fusing power to touch those who think they lose, as well as

those who think they gain. Only thus can it become the doctrine of a universal movement.

The new claim on the part of the toiling multitude, the new sense of responsibility on the part of the well-to-do, arise in reality from the same source. They are in fact the same "social compunction," and, in spite of their widely varying manifestations, logically converge into the same movement. Mazzini once preached, "The consent of men and your own conscience are two wings given you whereby you may rise to God." It is so easy for the good and powerful to think that they can rise by following the dictates of conscience by pursuing their own ideals, leaving those ideals unconnected with the consent of their fellow-men. The president of the Pullman Company thought out within his own mind a beautiful town. He had power with which to build this town, but he did not appeal to nor obtain the consent of the men who were living in it. The most unambitious reform, recognizing the necessity for this consent, makes for slow but sane and strenuous progress, while the most ambitious of social plans and experiments, ignoring this, and is prone to the failure of the model town of Pullman.

The man who insists upon consent, who moves with the people, is bound to consult the feasible right as well as the absolute right. He is often obliged to attain only Mr. Lincoln's "best possible," and often have the sickening sense of compromising with his best convictions. He has to move along with those whom he rules toward a goal that neither he nor they see very clearly till they come to it. He has to discover what people really want, and then "provide the channels in which the growing moral force of their lives shall flow." What he does attain, however, is not the result of his individual striving, as a solitary mountain climber beyond the sight of the valley multitude, but it is underpinned and upheld by the sentiments and aspirations of many others. Progress has been slower perpendicularly, but incomparably greater because lateral.

He has not taught his contemporaries to climb mountains, but he has persuaded the villagers to move up a few feet higher. It is doubtful if personal ambition, whatever may have been its commercial results, has ever been of any value as a motive power in social reform. But whatever it may have done in the past, it is certainly too archaic to accomplish anything now. Our thoughts, at least for this generation, cannot be too much directed from mutual relationships and responsibilities. They will be warped, unless we look all men in the face, as if a community of interests lay between, unless we hold the mind open, to take strength and cheer from a hundred connections.

To touch to vibrating response the noble fibre in each man, to pull these many fibres, fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking, as they are, into one impulse, to develop that mere impulse through its feeble and tentative stages into action, is no easy task, but lateral progress is impossible without it.

If only a few families of the English speaking race had profited by the dramatic failure of Lear, much heart-breaking and domestic friction might have been spared. Is it too much to hope that some of us will carefully consider this modern tragedy, if

perchance it may contain a warning for the troublous times in which we live? By considering the dramatic failure of the liberal employer's plans for his employees we may possibly be spared useless industrial tragedies in the uncertain future which lies ahead of us.

Chapter 10

First Days at Hull House (1910)

The next January found Miss Starr and myself in Chicago, searching for a neighborhood in which we might put our plans into execution.¹ In our eagerness to win friends for the new undertaking, we utilized every opportunity to set forth the meaning of the Settlement as it had been embodied at Toynbee Hall, although in those days we made no appeal for money, meaning to start with our own slender resources. From the very first the plan received courteous attention, and the discussion, while often skeptical, was always friendly. Professor Swing wrote a commendatory column in the *Evening Journal*, and our early speeches were reported quite out of proportion to their worth. I recall a spirited evening at the home of Mrs. Wilmarth, which was attended by that renowned scholar, Thomas Davidson, and by a young Englishman who was a member of the then new Fabian society and to whom a peculiar glamour was attached because he had scoured knives all summer in a camp of high-minded philosophers in the Adirondacks. Our new little plan met with criticism, not to say disapproval, from Mr. Davidson, who, as nearly as I can remember, called it “one of those unnatural attempts to understand life through cooperative living.”

It was in vain we asserted that the collective living was not an essential part of the plan, that we would always scrupulously pay our own expenses, and that at any moment we might decide to scatter through the neighborhood and to live in separate tenements; he still contended that the fascination for most of those volunteering residence would lie in the collective living aspect of the Settlement. His contention was, of course, essentially sound; there is a constant tendency for the residents to “lose themselves in the cave of their own companionship,” as the Toynbee Hall phrase goes, but on the other hand, it is doubtless true that the very companionship, the give and take of colleagues, is what tends to keep the Settlement normal and in touch with “the world of things as they are.” I am happy to say that we never resented this nor any other difference of opinion, and that fifteen years later

¹Addams, J. (1910). *Twenty Years at Hull House*. New York, NY: Macmillan. Chapter V, pp. 89–111.

Professor Davidson handsomely acknowledged that the advantages of a group far outweighed the weaknesses he had early pointed out. He was at that later moment sharing with a group of young men, on the East Side of New York, his ripest conclusions in philosophy and was much touched by their intelligent interest and absorbed devotion. I think that time has also justified our early contention that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. I am not so sure that we succeeded in our endeavors "to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society and to add the social function to democracy." But Hull House was soberly opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal; and that as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gives a form of expression that has peculiar value.

In our search for a vicinity in which to settle we went about with the officers of the compulsory education department, with city missionaries, and with the newspaper reporters whom I recall as a much older set of men than one ordinarily associates with that profession, or perhaps I was only sent out with the older ones on what they must all have considered a quixotic mission. One Sunday afternoon in the late winter a reporter took me to visit a so-called anarchist Sunday School, several of which were to be found on the northwest side of the city. The young man in charge was of the German student type, and his face flushed with enthusiasm as he led the children singing one of Koerner's poems. The newspaperman, who did not understand German, asked me what abominable stuff they were singing, but he seemed dissatisfied with my translation of the simple words and darkly intimated that they were "deep ones," and had probably 'fooled' me. When I replied that Koerner was an ardent German poet whose songs inspired his countrymen to resist the aggressions of Napoleon, and that his bound poems were found in the most respectable libraries, he looked at me rather askance and I then and there had my first intimation that to treat a Chicago man, who is called an anarchist, as you would treat any other citizen, is to lay yourself open to deep suspicion.

Another Sunday afternoon in the early spring, on the way to a Bohemian mission in the carriage of one of its founders, we passed a fine old house standing well back from the street, surrounded on three sides by a broad piazza, which was supported by wooden pillars of exceptionally pure Corinthian design and proportion. I was so attracted by the house that I set forth to visit it the very next day, but though I searched for it then and for several days after, I could not find it, and at length I most reluctantly gave up the search.

Three weeks later, with the advice of several of the oldest residents of Chicago, including the ex-mayor of the city, Colonel Mason, who had from the first been a warm friend to our plans, we decided upon a location somewhere near the junction of Blue Island Avenue, Halsted Street, and Harrison Street. I was surprised and overjoyed on the very first day of our search for quarters to come upon the hospitable old house, the quest for which I had so recently abandoned. The house was of course rented, the lower part of it used for offices and storerooms in connection

with a factory that stood back of it. However, after some difficulties were overcome, it proved to be possible to sublet the second floor and what had been a large drawing-room on the first floor.

The house had passed through many changes since it had been built in 1856 for the homestead of one of Chicago's pioneer citizens, Mr. Charles J. Hull, and although battered by its vicissitudes, was essentially sound. Before it had been occupied by the factory, it had sheltered a second-hand furniture store, and at one time the Little Sisters of the Poor had used it for a home for the aged. It had a half-skeptical reputation for a haunted attic, so far respected by the tenants living on the second floor that they always kept a large pitcher full of water on the attic stairs. Their explanation of this custom was so incoherent that I was sure it was a survival of the belief that a ghost could not cross running water, but perhaps that interpretation was only my eagerness for finding folklore.

The fine old house responded kindly to repairs, its wide hall and open fireplace always insuring it a gracious aspect. Its generous owner, Miss Helen Culver, in the following spring gave us a free leasehold of the entire house. Her kindness has continued through the years until the group of thirteen buildings, which at present comprises our equipment, is built largely upon land which Miss Culver has put at the service of the Settlement which bears Mr. Hull's name. In those days the house stood between an undertaking establishment and a saloon. "Knight, Death and the Devil," the three were called by a Chicago wit, and yet any mock heroics which might be implied by comparing the Settlement to a knight quickly dropped away under the genuine kindness and hearty welcome extended to us by the families living up and down the street.

We furnished 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. While all the new furniture which was bought was enduring in quality, we were careful to keep it in character with the fine old residence. 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. We believed that the Settlement may logically bring to its aid all those adjuncts which the cultivated man regards as good and suggestive of the best of the life of the past.

On the 18th of September, 1889, Miss Starr and I moved into it, with Miss Mary Keyser, who began performing the housework, but who quickly developed into a very important factor in the life of the vicinity as well as that of the household, and whose death five years later was most sincerely mourned by hundreds of our neighbors. In our enthusiasm over 'settling,' the first night we forgot not only to lock but to close a side door opening on Polk Street, and we were much pleased in the morning to find that we possessed a fine illustration of the honesty and kindness of our new neighbors. Our first guest was an interesting young woman who lived in a neighboring tenement, whose widowed mother aided her in the support of the family by scrubbing a downtown theater every night. The mother, of English birth, was well bred and carefully educated, but was in the midst of that bitter struggle which awaits so many strangers in American cities who find that their social position tends to be measured solely by the standards of living they are able

to maintain. Our guest has long since married the struggling young lawyer to whom she was then engaged, and he is now leading his profession in an eastern city. She recalls that month's experience always with a sense of amusement over the fact that the succession of visitors who came to see the new Settlement invariably questioned her most minutely concerning "these people" without once suspecting that they were talking to one who had been identified with the neighborhood from childhood. I at least was able to draw a lesson from the incident, and I never addressed a Chicago audience on the subject of the Settlement and its vicinity without inviting a neighbor to go with me, that I might curb any hasty generalization by the consciousness that I had an auditor who knew the conditions more intimately than I could hope to do.

Halsted Street has grown so familiar during twenty years of residence that it is difficult to recall its gradual changes,—the withdrawal of the more prosperous Irish and Germans, and the slow substitution of Russian Jews, Italians, and Greeks. A description of the street such as I gave in those early addresses still stands in my mind as sympathetic and correct.

Halsted Street is thirty-two miles long, and one of the great thoroughfares of Chicago; Polk Street crosses it midway between the stockyards to the south and the shipbuilding yards on the north branch of the Chicago River. For the six miles between these two industries the street is lined with shops of butchers and grocers, with dingy and gorgeous saloons, and pretentious establishments for the sale of ready-made clothing. Polk Street, running west from Halsted Street, grows rapidly more prosperous; running a mile east to State Street, it grows steadily worse, and crosses a network of vice on the corners of Clark Street and Fifth Avenue. Hull House once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians—Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Calabrians, with an occasional Lombard or Venetian. To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Still farther south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French, clannish in spite of their long residence in America, and to the north are Irish and first-generation Americans. On the streets directly west and farther north are well-to-do English speaking families, many of whom own their own houses and have lived in the neighborhood for years; one man is still living in his old farmhouse.

The policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative, and always waiting to be urged to do their duty, is obviously fatal in a neighborhood where there is little initiative among the citizens. The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, sanitary legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables foul beyond description. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street sewer. The older and richer inhabitants seem anxious to move away as rapidly as they can afford it. They make room for newly arrived immigrants who are densely

ignorant of civic duties. This substitution of the older inhabitants is accomplished industrially also, in the south and east quarters of the ward. The Jews and Italians do the finishing for the great clothing manufacturers, formerly done by Americans, Irish, and Germans, who refused to submit to the extremely low prices to which the sweating system has reduced their successors. As the design of the sweating system is the elimination of rent from the manufacture of clothing, the "outside work" is begun after the clothing leaves the cutter. An unscrupulous contractor regards no basement as too dark, no stable loft too foul, no rear shanty too provisional, no tenement room too small for his workroom, as these conditions imply low rental. Hence these shops abound in the worst of the foreign districts where the sweater easily finds his cheap basement and his home finishers.

The houses of the ward, for the most part wooden, were originally built for one family and are now occupied by several. They are after the type of the inconvenient frame cottages found in the poorer suburbs twenty years ago. Many of them were built where they now stand; others were brought thither on rollers, because their previous sites had been taken by factories. The fewer brick tenement buildings which are three or four stories high are comparatively new, and there are few large tenements. The little wooden houses have a temporary aspect, and for this reason, perhaps, the tenement-house legislation in Chicago is totally inadequate. Rear tenements flourish; many houses have no water supply save the faucet in the back yard, there are no fire escapes, the garbage and ashes are placed in wooden boxes which are fastened to the street pavements. One of the most discouraging features about the present system of tenement houses is that many are owned by sordid and ignorant immigrants. The theory that wealth brings responsibility, that possession entails at length education and refinement, in these cases fails utterly. The children of an Italian immigrant owner may 'shine' shoes in the street, and his wife may pick rags from the street gutter, laboriously sorting them in a dingy court. Wealth may do something for her self-complacency and feeling of consequence; it certainly does nothing for her comfort or her children's improvement nor for the cleanliness of anyone concerned. Another thing that prevents better houses in Chicago is the tentative attitude of the real estate men. Many unsavory conditions are allowed to continue which would be regarded with horror if they were considered permanent. Meanwhile, the wretched conditions persist until at least two generations of children have been born and reared in them.

In every neighborhood where poorer people live, because rents are supposed to be cheaper there, is an element which, although uncertain in the individual, in the aggregate can be counted upon. It is composed of people of former education and opportunity who have cherished ambitions and prospects, but who are caricatures of what they meant to be—"hollow ghosts which blame the living men." There are times in many lives when there is a cessation of energy and loss of power. Men and women of education and refinement come to live in a cheaper neighborhood because they lack the ability to make money, because of ill health, because of an unfortunate marriage, or for other reasons which do not imply criminality or stupidity. Among them are those who, in spite of untoward circumstances, keep up

some sort of an intellectual life; those who are "great for books," as their neighbors say. To such the Settlement may be a genuine refuge.

In the very first weeks of our residence Miss Starr started a reading party in George Eliot's 'Romola,' which was attended by a group of young women who followed the wonderful tale with unflagging interest. The weekly reading was held in our little upstairs dining room, and two members of the club came to dinner each week, not only that they might be received as guests, but that they might help us wash the dishes afterwards and so make the table ready for the stacks of Florentine photographs. Our "first resident," as she gaily designated herself, was a charming old lady who gave five consecutive readings from Hawthorne to a most appreciative audience, interspersing the magic tales most delightfully with recollections of the elusive and fascinating author. Years before she had lived at Brook Farm as a pupil of the Ripleys, and she came to us for ten days because she wished to live once more in an atmosphere where "idealism ran high." We thus early found the type of class which through all the years has remained most popular—a combination of a social atmosphere with serious study.

Volunteers to the new undertaking came quickly; a charming young girl conducted a kindergarten in the drawing room, coming regularly every morning from her home in a distant part of the North Side of the city. Although a tablet to her memory has stood upon a mantel shelf in Hull House for five years, we still associate her most vividly with the play of little children, first in her kindergarten and then in her own nursery, which furnished a veritable illustration of Victor Hugo's definition of heaven—"a place where parents are always young and children always little." Her daily presence for the first two years made it quite impossible for us to become too solemn and self-conscious in our strenuous routine, for her mirth and buoyancy were irresistible and her eager desire to share the life of the neighborhood never failed, although it was often put to a severe test. One day at luncheon she gaily recited her futile attempt to impress temperance principles upon the mind of an Italian mother, to whom she had returned a small daughter of five sent to the kindergarten "in quite a horrid state of intoxication" from the wine-soaked bread upon which she had breakfasted. The mother, with the gentle courtesy of a South Italian, listened politely to her graphic portrayal of the untimely end awaiting so immature a wine bibber; but long before the lecture was finished, quite unconscious of the incongruity, she hospitably set forth her best wines, and when her baffled guest refused one after the other, she disappeared, only to quickly return with a small dark glass of whisky, saying reassuringly, "See, I have brought you the true American drink." The recital ended in seriocomic despair, with the rueful statement that "the impression I probably made on her darkened mind was, that it was the American custom to breakfast children on bread soaked in whisky instead of light Italian wine." That first kindergarten was a constant source of education to us. We were much surprised to find social distinctions even among its lambs, although greatly amused with the neat formulation made by the superior little Italian boy who refused to sit beside uncouth little Angelina because "we eat our macaroni this way"—imitating the movement of a fork from a plate to his mouth—"and she eat her macaroni this way," holding his hand high in the air and

throwing back his head, that his wide-open mouth might receive an imaginary cascade. Angelina gravely nodded her little head in approval of this distinction between gentry and peasant. "But isn't it astonishing that merely table manners are made such a test all the way along—" was the comment of their democratic teacher. Another memory which refuses to be associated with death, which came to her all too soon, is that of the young girl who organized our first really successful club of boys, holding their fascinated interest by the old chivalric tales, set forth so dramatically and vividly that checkers and jackstraws were abandoned by all the other clubs on Boys' Day, that their members might form a listening fringe to "The Young Heros."

I met a member of the latter club one day as he flung himself out of the House in the rage by which an emotional boy hopes to keep from shedding tears. "There is no use coming here any more, Prince Roland is dead," he gruffly explained as we passed. We encouraged the younger boys in tournaments and dramatics of all sorts, and we somewhat fatuously believed that boys who were early interested in adventurers or explorers might later want to know the lives of living statesmen and inventors. It is needless to add that the boys quickly responded to such a program, and that the only difficulty lay in finding leaders who were able to carry it out. This difficulty has been with us through all the years of growth and development in the Boys' Club until now, with its five-story building, its splendid equipment of shops, of recreation and study rooms, that group alone is successful which commands the services of a resourceful and devoted leader. The dozens of younger children who from the first came to Hull House were organized into groups which were not quite classes and not quite clubs. The value of these groups consisted almost entirely in arousing a higher imagination and in giving the children the opportunity which they could not have in the crowded schools, for initiative and for independent social relationships. The public schools then contained little hand work of any sort, so that naturally any instruction which we provided for the children took the direction of this supplementary work. But it required a constant effort that the pressure of poverty itself should not defeat the educational aim. The Italian girls in the sewing classes would count the day lost when they could not carry home a garment, and the insistence that it should be neatly made seemed a super-refinement to those in dire need of clothing. As these clubs have been continued during the twenty years they have developed classes in the many forms of handicraft which the newer education is so rapidly adapting for the delight of children; but they still keep their essentially social character and still minister to that large number of children who leave school the very week they are fourteen years old, only too eager to close the schoolroom door forever on a tiresome task that is at last well over. It seems to us important that these children shall find themselves permanently attached to a House that offers them evening clubs and classes with their old companions, that merges as easily as possible the school life into the working life and does what it can to find places for the bewildered young things looking for work. A large proportion of the delinquent boys brought into the juvenile court in Chicago are the oldest sons in large families whose wages are needed at home. The grades from which many of them leave school, as the records show, are piteously far from the seventh and eighth where the

very first introduction in manual training is given, nor have they been caught by any other abiding interest.

In spite of these flourishing clubs for children early established at Hull House, and the fact that our first organized undertaking was a kindergarten, we were very insistent that the Settlement should not be primarily for the children, and that it was absurd to suppose that grown people would not respond to opportunities for education and social life. Our enthusiastic kindergartner herself demonstrated this with an old woman of ninety who, because she was left alone all day while her daughter cooked in a restaurant, had formed such a persistent habit of picking the plaster off the walls that one landlord after another refused to have her for a tenant. It required but a few week's time to teach her to make large paper chains, and gradually she was content to do it all day long, and in the end took quite as much pleasure in adorning the walls as she had formally taken in demolishing them. Fortunately the landlord had never heard the aesthetic principle that exposure of basic construction is more desirable than gaudy decoration. In course of time it was discovered that the old woman could speak Gaelic, and when one or two grave professors came to see her, the neighborhood was filled with pride that such a wonder lived in their midst. To mitigate life for a woman of ninety was an unfailing refutation of the statement that the Settlement was designed for the young. On our first New Year's Day at Hull House we invited the older people in the vicinity, sending a carriage for the most feeble and announcing to all of them that we were going to organize an Old Settlers' Party.

Every New Year's Day since, older people in varying numbers have come together at Hull House to relate early hardships, and to take for the moment the place in the community to which their pioneer life entitles them. Many people who were formerly residents of the vicinity, but whom prosperity has carried into more desirable neighborhoods, come back to these meetings and often confess to each other that they have never since found such kindness as in early Chicago when all its citizens came together in mutual enterprises. Many of these pioneers, so like the men and women of my earliest childhood that I always felt comforted by their presence in the house, were very much opposed to 'foreigners,' whom they held responsible for a depreciation of property and a general lowering of the tone of the neighborhood. Sometimes we had a chance for championship; I recall one old man, fiercely American, who had reproached me because we had so many "foreign views" on our walls, to whom I endeavored to set forth our hope that the pictures might afford a familiar island to the immigrants in a sea of new and strange impressions. The old settler guest, taken off his guard, replied, "I see; they feel as we did when we saw a Yankee notion from Down East,"—thereby formulating the dim kinship between the pioneer and the immigrant, both "buffeting the waves of a new development." The older settlers as well as their children throughout the years have given genuine help to our various enterprises for neighborhood improvement, and from their own memories of earlier hardships have made many shrewd suggestions for alleviating the difficulties of that first sharp struggle with untoward conditions.

In those early days we were often asked why we had come to live on Halsted Street when we could afford to live somewhere else. I remember one man who used to shake his head and say it was "the strangest thing he had met in his experience," but who was finally convinced that it was "not strange but natural." In time it came to seem natural to all of us that the Settlement should be there. If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young, comfort to the aged, and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse that all men feel. Whoever does it is rewarded by something which, if not gratitude, is at least spontaneous and vital and lacks that irksome sense of obligation with which a substantial benefit is too often acknowledged. In addition to the neighbors who responded to the receptions and classes, we found those who were too battered and oppressed to care for them. To these, however, was left that susceptibility to the bare offices of humanity which raises such offices into a bond of fellowship.

From the first it seemed understood that we were ready to perform the humblest neighborhood services. We were asked to wash the new-born babies, and to prepare the dead for burial, to nurse the sick, and to "mind the children."

Occasionally these neighborly offices unexpectedly uncovered ugly human traits. For six weeks after an operation we kept in one of our three bedrooms a forlorn little baby who, because he was born with a cleft palate, was most unwelcome even to his mother, and we were horrified when he died of neglect a week after he was returned to his home; a little Italian bride of fifteen sought shelter with us one November evening to escape her husband who had beaten her every night for a week when he returned home from work, because she had lost her wedding ring; two of us officiated quite alone at the birth of an illegitimate child because the doctor was late in arriving, and none of the honest Irish matrons would "touch the likes of her"; we ministered at the deathbed of a young man, who during a long illness of tuberculosis had received so many bottles of whisky through the mistaken kindness of his friends, that the cumulative effect produced wild periods of exultation, in one of which he died.

We were also early impressed with the curious isolation of many of the immigrants; an Italian woman once expressed her pleasure in the red roses that she saw at one of our receptions in surprise that they had been "brought so fresh all the way from Italy." She would not believe for an instant that they had been grown in America. She said that she had lived in Chicago for six years and had never seen any roses, whereas in Italy she had seen them every summer in great profusion. During all that time, of course, the woman had lived within ten blocks of a florist's window; she had not been more than a five-cent car ride away from the public parks; but she had never dreamed of faring forth for herself, and no one had taken her. Her conception of America had been the untidy street in which she lived and had made her long struggle to adapt herself to American ways.

But in spite of some untoward experiences, we were constantly impressed with the uniform kindness and courtesy we received. Perhaps these first days laid the simple human foundations which are certainly essential for continuous living among the poor; first, genuine preference for residence in an industrial quarter to any other part of the city, because it is interesting and makes the human appeal; and

second, the conviction, in the words of Canon Barnett, that the things that make men alike are finer and better than the things that keep them apart, and that these basic likenesses, if they are properly accentuated, easily transcend the less essential differences of race, language, creed, and tradition.

Perhaps even in those first days we made a beginning toward that object which was afterwards stated in our charter: "To provide a center for higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago."

Chapter 11

The Spirit of Social Service (1920)

It is quite impossible for anyone who has been abroad recently not to tell of that experience.¹ I was in Europe trying to find out as accurately as possible the condition of the children throughout several countries. It seems to me that there is for us from over there a direct message in regard to the spirit of social service. I should like to speak this afternoon as my colleagues in the same profession and to state frankly that I thought many times, that unless as social workers we comprehend this situation and take hold of it and cease not until it is rectified, we are not worth our salt. After all, what is the spirit of social work? It was founded upon genuine, human pity, upon the desire to relieve suffering, to give food to the hungry and shelter to the homeless; unless we can get back to that, underlying as it does, all the subdivisions and subtleties into which we have developed our activities, and take hold of this great world-situation, we will fail in an essential obligation, in a sense we will be traitors to our original purpose. Whether we see groups of long neglected little children returning to the devastated regions of northern France; whether we are told of the starved children of Armenia going to the graveyards to find bones from which they may extract the marrow for food; whether you see, as I did, crowds of malnourished children waiting to be transported to Switzerland to be rescued from actual starvation—how can we fail to regard the situation as a challenge so imperious and so overwhelming that everything else must be put aside? Surely, we have not forgotten that social work must be based upon sheer survival. After all, how did human ethics start? We are told that the basis of family life came from the insistence of the woman that her child must be fed. For that reason she refused constantly to follow the tribe from one place to another. Sometimes when the tribe had decided to move on she said, “I will not move from this spot until the crop is ripened, so that my children may have food.” Such we are told, was the humble beginning of family ethics: the man went abroad to fish and to hunt, but he kept coming back to the cave or the hut which she had selected, near the field. Insisting

¹National Conference of Social Work *Proceedings* (1920) 213–215.

that the life of her child was of more importance than the wanderings of the tribe, she gradually changed the habits of the tribe from nomadic to a more settled type.

It is said that commercial relations were established when one starving tribe was forced to seek food from another which it was not strong enough to fight. In substituting the process of barter for that of plunder a long step was taken forward, although the progress was based upon starvation. But if the institution of the family arose from the feeding of children, if the beginning of our commercial order came from the effort to keep the tribe alive, it might also be true that new international relationships might be founded upon the determination to keep the childhood of the race from destruction, to feed the peoples of the world. And shall we not say in this dark moment of distress and reaction that in an unusual sense, the hour of the social worker has come, if we but have the insight and the courage to measure up to its opportunities? How can we insist that the children of the United States must be adequately fed—and we are trying to do it through many new organizations as well as through the old ones—unless at the same time we concern ourselves with the children across the sea?

By entering the world-war, the United States gave up her former isolation and assumed responsible relationships with the governments of Europe. The very people for whom the war for democracy was fought, the people of whom we are demanding that they change from monarchial to republican forms of government; those very people are starving, and have no energy, no mental vigor with which to consider and adjust the delicate political and industrial questions that confront them.

Mr. Hoover has made a recent estimate that \$150,000,000 worth of food is needed in Europe before the harvest of 1920 will be available. Congress has appropriated one-third of the amount—the money to be spent for wheat in the United States—but now it holds back, not because the country does not possess the food, but because of lack of imagination and because we are not widely humanitarian enough to bring the situation before all the people of the United States in such wise that Congress, yielding to an irresistible pressure, shall send the food speedily. In every country during and after the war the greatest amount of suffering was felt in the late winter and early spring, after the potato crop had been consumed as well as the grain harvest of the previous year, and before anything new could come from the ground. For months all that the people in certain districts of Saxony, for instance, had to eat, was a certain coarse kind of turnip. Inevitably many old people died as well as little children. People cannot live upon such food for long stretches of time, unless they are strong and healthy.

What, therefore does this challenge from Europe mean? That the primitive human relations are the basis of social work, the sanction for all we do. If we cut away from those and say that it is not out business to feed the hungry in Armenia, that, of course, we are sorry for Servia, but that we in America can do nothing for its typhus we may quite easily so injure and cripple the spirit of social service that all our efforts for many years may fail to make good the lost opportunity. The statisticians tell us that the United States has a surplus of wheat and pork. A little later on, the farmers may ask for larger opportunities to ship it out of the country.

Let us not wait for the financial pinch, for the commercial motive, but let us act upon the humanitarian aspect of the situation.

Every social worker, brought close day by day to the anxiety of the immigrants in his own community, may well say not only that it is our solemn obligation to respond to this world-need, and that unless we do so respond we are in a very real sense unworthy of the professions we make, but also that such action on the part of America would become a great reconciling act, a gigantic expression of good will to our immigrant populations and to their kinsfolk across the sea. The need is world-wide, including nations who are not in the least responsible for the war, as well as the allied countries and the Central Powers. In all of them starving children must be fed and that quickly. Upon the adults in each generation rests the responsibility of the survival of the next generation. Shall social workers who have assumed additional responsibility be worthy of their calling until this humanitarian purpose be fulfilled?

Chapter 12

The Thirst for Righteousness (1909)

Even as we pass by the joy and beauty of youth on the streets without dreaming it is there, so we may hurry past the very presence of August things without recognition.¹ We may easily fail to sense those spiritual realities, which, in every age, have haunted youth and called to him without ceasing. Historians tell us that the extraordinary advances in human progress have been made in those times when “the ideals of freedom and law, of youth and beauty, of knowledge and virtue, of humanity and religion, high things, the conflicts between which have caused most of the disruptions and despondences of human society, seem for a generation or two to lie in the same direction.”

Are we perhaps at least twice in life’s journey dimly conscious of the needlessness of this disruption and of the futility of the despondency? Do we feel it first when young ourselves we long to interrogate the “transfigured few” among our elders whom we believe to be carrying forward affairs of gravest import? Failing to accomplish this are we, for the second time, dogged by a sense of lost opportunity, of needless waste and perplexity, when we too, as adults, see again the dreams of youth in conflict with the efforts of our own contemporaries? We see idealistic endeavor on the one hand lost in ugly friction; the heat and burden of the day borne by mature men and women on the other hand, increased by their consciousness of youth’s misunderstanding and high scorn. It may relieve the mind to break forth in moments of irritation against the folly of the coming generation, but whose pauses on his plodding way to call even his youngest and rashest brother a fool, ruins thereby the joy of his journey—for youth is so vivid an element in life that unless it is cherished, all the rest is spoiled. The most praiseworthy journey grows dull and leaden unless accompanied by youth’s iridescent dreams. Not only that, but the mature of each generation run a grave risk of putting their efforts in a futile direction, in a blind alley as it were, unless they can keep in touch with the youth of their own day and know at least the trend in which eager dreams are driving them—those dreams that fairly buffet our faces as we walk the city streets.

¹This text represents Chap. 6 in: Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (New York: MacMillan, 1909); 139–162.

At times every one possessed with a concern for social progress is discouraged by the formless and unsubdued modern city, as he looks upon that complicated life which drives men almost without their own volition, that life of ingenuous enterprises, great ambitions, political jealousies, where men tend to become mere "slaves of possessions." Doubtless these striving men are full of weakness and sensitiveness even when they rend each other, and are but caught in the coils of circumstance; nevertheless, a serious attempt to ennoble and enrich the content of city life that it may really fill the ample space their ruthless wills have provided, means that we must call upon energies other than theirs. When we count over the resources which are at work "to make order out of casualty, beauty out of confusion, justice, kindness and mercy out of cruelty and inconsiderate pressure," we find ourselves appealing to the confident spirit of youth. We know that it is crude and filled with conflicting hopes, some of them unworthy and most of them doomed to disappointment, yet these young people have the advantage of "morning in their hearts"; they have such power of direct action, such ability to stand free from fear, to break through life's trammelings, that in spite of ourselves we become convinced that

They to the disappointed earth shall give
The lives we meant to live.

That this solace comes to us only in fugitive moments, and is easily misleading, may be urged as an excuse for our blindness and insensitiveness to the august moral resources which the youth of each city offers to those who are in the midst of the city's turmoil. A further excuse is afforded in the fact that the form of the dreams for beauty and righteousness change with each generation and that while it is always difficult for the fathers to understand the sons, at those periods when the demand of the young is one of social reconstruction, the misunderstanding easily grows into bitterness.

The old desire to achieve, to improve the world, seizes the ardent youth today with a stern command to bring about juster social conditions. Youth's divine impatience with the world's inheritance of wrong and injustice makes him scornful of "rose water for the plague" prescriptions, and he insists upon something strenuous and vital.

One can find innumerable illustrations of this idealistic impatience with existing conditions among the many Russian subjects found in the foreign quarters of every American city. The idealism of these young people might be utilized to a modification of our general culture and point of view, somewhat as the influence of the young Germans who came to America in the early fifties, bringing with them the hopes and aspirations embodied in the revolutions of 1848, made a profound impression upon the social and political institutions of America. Long before they emigrated, thousands of Russian young people had been caught up into the excitements and hopes of the Russian revolution in Finland, in Poland, in the Russian cities, in the university towns. Life had become intensified by the consciousness of the suffering and starvation of millions of their fellow subjects. They had been living with a sense of discipline and of preparation for a coming struggle

which, although grave in import, was vivid and adventurous. Their minds had been seized by the first crude forms of social theory and they had cherished a vague belief that they were the direct instruments of a final and ideal social reconstruction. When they come to America they sadly miss this sense of importance and participation in a great and glorious conflict against a recognized enemy. Life suddenly grows stale and unprofitable; the very spirit of tolerance which characterizes American cities is that which strikes most unbearably upon their ardent spirits. They look upon the indifference all about them with an amazement which rapidly changes to irritation, some of them in a short time lose their ardor, others with incredible rapidity make the adaptation between American conditions and their store of enthusiasm, but hundreds of them remain restless and ill at ease. Their only consolation, almost their only real companionship, is when they meet in small groups for discussion or in larger groups to welcome a well-known revolutionist who brings them direct news from the conflict, or when they arrange for a demonstration in memory of "The Red Sunday" or the death of Gershuni. Such demonstrations, however, are held in honor of men whose sense of justice was obliged to seek an expression quite outside the regular channels of established government. Knowing that Russia has forced thousands of her subjects into this position, one would imagine that patriotic teachers in America would be most desirous to turn into governmental channels all that insatiable desire for juster relations in industrial and political affairs. A distinct and well directed campaign is necessary if this gallant enthusiasm is ever to be made part of that old and still incomplete effort to embody in law—"the law that abides and falters not, ages long"—the highest aspirations for justice.

Unfortunately, we do little or nothing with this splendid store of youthful ardor and crew five enthusiasm. Through its very isolation it tends to intensify and turn in upon itself, and no direct effort is made to moralize it, to discipline it, to make it operative upon the life of the city. And yet it is, perhaps, what American cities need above all else, for it is but too true that Democracy—"a people ruling"—the very name of which the Greeks considered so beautiful, no longer stirs the blood of the American youth, and that the real enthusiasm for self-government must be found among the groups of young immigrants who bring over with every ship a new cargo of democratic aspirations. That many of these young men look for a consummation of these aspirations to a social order of the future in which the industrial system as well as government shall embody democratic relations, simply shows that the doctrine of Democracy like any other of the living faiths of men, is so essentially mystical that it continually demands new formulation. To fail to recognize it in a new form, to call it hard names, to refuse to receive it, may mean to reject that which our fathers cherished and handed on as an inheritance not only to be preserved but also to be developed.

We allow a great deal of this precious stuff—this *Welt-Schmerz* of which each generation has need—not only to go unutilized, but to work havoc among the young people themselves. One of the saddest illustrations of this, in my personal knowledge, was that of a young Russian girl who lived with a group of her compatriots on the west side of Chicago. She recently committed suicide at the

same time that several others in the group tried it and failed. One of these latter, who afterwards talked freely of the motives which led her to this act, said that there were no great issues at stake in this country; that America was wholly commercial in its interests and absorbed in money making; that Americans were not held together by any historic bonds nor great mutual hopes, and were totally ignorant of the stirring social and philosophic movements of Europe; that her life here had been a long, dreary, economic struggle, unrelieved by any of the higher interests; that she was tired of getting seventy-five cents for trimming a hat that sold for twelve dollars and was to be put upon the empty-head of someone who had no concern for the welfare of the woman who made it. The statement doubtless reflected something of "The Sorrows of Werther," but the entire tone was nobler and more highly socialized.

It is difficult to illustrate what might be accomplished by reducing to action the ardor of those youths who so bitterly arraign our present industrial order. While no part of the social system can be changed rapidly, we would all admit that the present industrial arrangements in America might be vastly improved and that we are failing to meet the requirements of our industrial life with courage and success simply because we do not realize that unless we establish that humane legislation which has its roots in a consideration for human life, our industrialism itself will suffer from inbreeding, growing ever more unrestrained and ruthless. It would seem obvious that in order to secure relief in a community dominated by industrial ideals, an appeal must be made to the old spiritual sanctions for human conduct, that we must reach motives more substantial and enduring than the mere fleeting experiences of one phase of modern industry which vainly imagines that its growth would be curtailed if the welfare of its employees were guarded by the state. It would be an interesting attempt to turn that youthful enthusiasm to the aid of one of the most conservative of the present social efforts, the almost world-wide movement to secure protective legislation for women and children in industry, in which America is so behind the other nations. Fourteen of the great European powers protect women from all night work, from excessive labor by day, because paternalistic governments prize the strength of women for the bearing and rearing of healthy children to the state. And yet in a republic it is the citizens themselves who must be convinced of the need of this protection unless they would permit industry to maim the very mothers of the future.

In one year in the German Empire one hundred thousand children were cared for through money paid from the State Insurance fund to their widowed mothers or to their invalidated fathers. And yet in the American states it seems impossible to pass a most rudimentary employers' liability act, which would be but the first step towards that code of beneficent legislation which protects "the widow and fatherless" in Germany and England. Certainly we shall have to bestir ourselves if we would care for the victims of the industrial order as well as do other nations. We shall be obliged speedily to realize that in order to secure protective legislation from a governmental body in which the most powerful interests represented are those of the producers and transporters of manufactured goods, it will be necessary to exhort to a care for the defenseless from the religious point of view. To take even the

non-commercial point of view would be to assert that evolutionary progress assumes that a sound physique is the only secure basis of life, and to guard the mothers of the race is simple sanity.

And yet from lack of preaching we do not unite for action because we are not stirred to act at all, and protective legislation in America is shamefully inadequate. Because it is always difficult to put the championship of the oppressed above the counsels of prudence, we say in despair sometimes that we are a people who hold such varied creeds that there are not enough of one religious faith to secure anything, but the truth is that it is easy to unite for action people whose hearts have once been filled by the fervor of that willing devotion which may easily be generated in the youthful breast. It is comparatively easy to enlarge a moral concept, but extremely difficult to give it to an adult for the first time. And yet when we attempt to appeal to the old sanctions for disinterested conduct, the conclusion is often forced upon us that they have not been engrained into character, that they cannot be relied upon when they are brought into contact with the arguments of industrialism, that the colors of the flag flying over the fort of our spiritual resources wash out and disappear when the storm actually breaks.

It is because the ardor of youth has not been attracted to the long effort to modify the ruthlessness of industry by humane enactments, that we sadly miss their resourceful enthusiasm and that at the same time groups of young people who hunger and thirst after social righteousness are breaking their hearts because the social reform is so long delayed and an unsympathetic and hardhearted society frustrates all their hopes. And yet these ardent young people who obscure the issue by their crying and striving and looking in the wrong place, might be of inestimable value if so-called political leaders were in any sense social philosophers. To permit these young people to separate themselves from the contemporaneous efforts of ameliorating society and to turn their vague hopes solely toward an ideal commonwealth of the future, is to withdraw from an experimental self-government founded in enthusiasm, the very stores of enthusiasm which are needed to sustain it.

The championship of the oppressed came to be a spiritual passion with the Hebrew prophets. They saw the promises of religion, not for individuals but in the broad reaches of national affairs and in the establishment of social justice. It is quite possible that such a spiritual passion is again to be found among the ardent young souls of our cities. They see a vision, not of a purified nation but of a re-generated and a reorganized society. Shall we throw all this into the future, into the futile prophecy of those who talk because they cannot achieve, or shall we commingle their ardor, their overmastering desire for social justice, with that more sober effort to modify existing conditions? Are we once more forced to appeal to the educators? Is it so difficult to utilize this ardor because educators have failed to apprehend the spiritual quality of their task?

It would seem a golden opportunity for those to whom is committed the task of spiritual instruction, for to preach and seek justice in human affairs is one of the oldest obligations of religion and morality. All that would be necessary would be to attach this teaching to the contemporary world in such ways that the, eager youth might feel a tug upon his faculties, and a sense of participation in the moral life

about him. To leave it unattached to actual social movements means that the moralist is speaking in incomprehensible terms. Without this connection, the religious teachers may have conscientiously carried out their traditional duties and yet have failed utterly to stir the fires of spiritual enthusiasm.

Each generation of moralists and educators find themselves facing an inevitable dilemma; first, to keep the young committed to their charge "unspotted from the world," and, second, to connect the young with the ruthless and materialistic world all about them in such ways that they may make it the arena for their spiritual endeavor. It is fortunate for these teachers that sometime during "The Golden Age" the most prosaic youth is seized by a new interest in remote and universal ends, and that if but given a clue by which he may connect his lofty aims with his daily living, he himself will drag the very heavens into the most sordid tenement. The perpetual difficulty consists in finding the clue for him and placing it in his hands, for, if the teaching is too detached from life, it does not result in any psychic impulsion at all. I remember as an illustration of the saving power of this definite connection, a tale told me by a distinguished labor leader in England. His affections had been starved, even as a child, for he knew nothing of his parents, his earliest memories being associated with a wretched old woman who took the most casual care of him. When he was nine years old he ran away to sea and for the next seven years led the rough life of a dock laborer, until he became much interested in a little crippled boy, who by the death of his father had been left solitary on a freight boat. My English friend promptly adopted the child as his own and all the questionings of life centered about his young protégé. He was constantly driven to attend evening meetings where he heard discussed those social conditions which bear so hard upon the weak and sick. The crippled boy lived until he was fifteen and by that time the regeneration of his foster father was complete, the young docker was committed for life to the bettering of social conditions. It is doubtful whether any abstract moral appeal could have reached such a roving nature. Certainly no attempt to incite his ambition would have succeeded. Only a pull upon his deepest sympathies and affections, his desire to protect and cherish a weaker thing, could possibly have stimulated him and connected him with the forces making for moral and social progress.

This, of course, has ever been the task of religion, to make the sense of obligation personal, to touch morality with enthusiasm, to bathe the world in affection and on all sides we are challenging the teachers of religion to perform this task for the youth of the city.

For thousands of years definite religious instruction has been given by authorized agents to the youth of all nations, emphasized through tribal ceremonies, the assumption of the Roman toga, the Barmitzvah of the Jews, the First Communion of thousands of children in Catholic Europe, the Sunday Schools of even the least formal of the evangelical sects. It is as if men had always felt that this expanding period of human life must be seized upon for spiritual ends, that the tender tissue and newly awakened emotions must be made the repository for the historic ideals and dogmas which are, after all, the most precious possessions of the race. How has it come about that so many of the city youth are not given their share in our common inheritance of life's best goods? Why are their tender feet so often

ensnared even when they are going about youth's legitimate business? One would suppose that in such an age as ours moral teachers would be put upon their mettle, that moral authority would be forced to speak with no uncertain sound if only to be heard above the din of machinery and the roar of industrialism; that it would have exerted itself as never before to convince the youth of the reality of the spiritual life. Affrighted as the moralists must be by the sudden new emphasis placed upon wealth, despairing of the older men and women who are already caught by its rewards, one would say that they would have seized upon the multitude of young people whose minds are busied with issues which lie beyond the portals of life, as the only resource which might save the city from the fate of those who perish through lack of vision.

Yet because this inheritance has not been attached to conduct, the youth of Jewish birth may have been taught that prophets and statesmen for three thousand years declared Jehovah to be a God of Justice who hated oppression and desired righteousness, but there is no real appeal to his spirit of moral adventure unless he is told that the most stirring attempts to translate justice into the modern social order have been inaugurated and carried forward by men of his own race, and that until he joins in the contemporary manifestations of that attempt he is recreant to his highest traditions and obligations.

The Christian youth may have been taught that man's heartbreaking adventure to find justice in the order of the universe moved the God of Heaven himself to send a Mediator in order that the justice man craves and the mercy by which alone he can endure his weakness might be reconciled, but he will not make the doctrine his own until he reduces it to action and tries to translate the spirit of his Master into social terms.

The youth who calls himself an Evolutionist is rather hard to find a name for this youth, but there are thousands of him and a fine fellow he often is—has read of that struggle beginning with the earliest tribal effort to establish just relations between man and man, but he still needs to be told that after all justice can only be worked out upon this earth by those who will not tolerate a wrong to the feeblest member of the community, and that it will become a social force only in proportion as men steadfastly strive to establish it.

If these young people who are subjected to varied religious instruction are also stirred to action, or rather, if the instruction is given validity because it is attached to conduct, then it may be comparatively easy to bring about certain social reforms so sorely needed in our industrial cities. We are at times obliged to admit, however, that both the school and the church have failed to perform this office, and are indicted by the young people themselves. Thousands of young people in every great city are either frankly hedonistic, or are vainly attempting to work out for themselves a satisfactory code of morals. They cast about in all directions for the clue which shall connect their loftiest hopes with their actual living.

Several years ago a committee of lads came to see me in order to complain of a certain high school principal because "He never talks to us about life." When urged to make a clearer statement, they added, "He never asks us what we are going to be; we can't get a word out of him, excepting lessons and keeping quiet in the halls."

Of the dozens of young women who have begged me to make a connection for them between their dreams of social usefulness and their actual living, I recall one of the many whom I had sent back to her clergyman, returning with this remark: "His only suggestion was that I should be responsible every Sunday for fresh flowers upon the altar. I did that when I was fifteen and liked it then, but when you have come back from college and are twenty-two years old, it doesn't quite fit in with the vigorous efforts you have been told are necessary in order to make our social relations more Christian."

All of us forget how very early we are in the experiment of founding self-government in this trying climate of America, and that we are making the experiment in the most materialistic period of all history, having as our court of last appeal against that materialism only the wonderful and inexplicable instinct for justice which resides in the hearts of men, which is never so irresistible as when the heart is young. We may cultivate this most precious possession, or we may disregard it. We may listen to the young voices rising clear above the roar of industrialism and the prudent councils of commerce, or we may become hypnotized by the sudden new emphasis placed upon wealth and power, and forget the supremacy of spiritual forces in men's affairs. It is as if we ignored a wistful, over-confident creature who walked through our city streets calling out, "I am the spirit of Youth! With me, all things are possible!" We fail to understand what he wants or even to see his doings, although his acts are pregnant with meaning, and we may either translate them into a sordid chronicle of petty vice or turn them into a solemn school for civic righteousness.

We may either smother the divine fire of youth or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets.

Chapter 13

“If Men Were Seeking the Franchise” (1913)

Let us imagine throughout this article, if we can sustain an absurd hypothesis so long, the result upon society if the matriarchal period had held its own; if the development of the State had closely followed that of the Family until the chief care of the former, as that of the latter, had come to be the nurture and education of children and the protection of the weak, sick and aged.¹ In short let us imagine a hypothetical society organized upon the belief that “there is no wealth but life.” With this Ruskinian foundation let us assume that the political machinery of such a society, the franchise and the rest of it, were in the hands of women because they had always best exercised those functions. Let us further imagine a given moment when these women, who in this hypothetical society had possessed political power from the very beginnings of the State, were being appealed to by the voteless men that men might be associated with women in the responsibilities of citizenship.

Plagiarizing somewhat upon recent suffrage speeches let us consider various replies which these citizen women might reasonably make to the men who were seeking the franchise; the men insisting that only through the use of the ballot could they share the duties of the State.

First, could not the women say: “Our most valid objection to extending the franchise to you is that you are so fond of fighting you always have been since you were little boys. You’d very likely forget that the real object of the State is to nurture and protect life, and out of sheer vain glory you would be voting away huge sums of money for battleships, not one of which could last more than a few years, and yet each would cost ten million dollars; more money than all the buildings of Harvard University represent, although it is the richest educational institution in America. Every time a gun is fired in a battleship it expends, or rather explodes, seventeen hundred dollars, as much as a college education costs many a country boy, and yet you would be firing off these guns as mere salutes, with no enemy within three thousand miles, simply because you so enjoy the sound of shooting.”

¹“If Men Were Seeking the Franchise” *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 30. (June 1913).

"Our educational needs are too great and serious to run any such risk. Democratic government itself is perilous unless the electorate is educated; our industries are suffering for lack of skilled workmen; more than half a million immigrants a year must be taught the underlying principles of republican government. Can we, the responsible voters, take the risk of wasting our taxes by extending the vote to those who have always been so ready to lose their heads over mere military display?"

Second, would not the hypothetical women, who would have been responsible for the advance of industry during these later centuries, as women actually were during the earlier centuries when they dragged home the game and transformed the pelts into shelter and clothing, say further to these disenfranchised men: "We have carefully built up a code of factory legislation for the protection of the workers in modern industry; we know that you men have always been careless about the house, perfectly indifferent to the necessity for sweeping and cleaning; if you were made responsible for factory legislation it is quite probable that you would let the workers in the textile mills contract tuberculosis through needlessly breathing the fluff, or the workers in machine shops through inhaling metal filings, both of which are now carried off by an excellent suction system which we women have insisted upon, but which it is almost impossible to have installed in a man-made State because the men think so little of dust and its evil effects. In many Nations in which political power is confined to men, and this is notably true in the United States of America, there is no protection even for the workers in white lead, although hundreds of them are yearly incapacitated from lead poisoning, and others actually die."

"We have also heard that in certain States, in order to save the paltry price of a guard which would protect a dangerous machine, men legislators allow careless boys and girls to lose their fingers and sometimes their hands, thereby crippling their entire futures. These male legislators do not make guarded machinery obligatory, although they know that when the heads of families are injured at these unprotected machines the State must care for them in hospitals, and when they are killed, that if necessary the State must provide for their widows and children in poorhouses."

These wise women, governing the State with the same care they had always put into the management of their families, would further place against these men seeking the franchise the charge that men do not really know how tender and delicate children are, and might therefore put them to work in factories, as indeed they have done in man-made States during the entire period of factory production. We can imagine these women saying: "We have been told that in certain States children are taken from their beds in the early morning before it is light and carried into cotton mills, where they are made to run back and forth tending the spinning frames until their immature little bodies are so bent and strained that they never regain their normal shapes; that little children are allowed to work in canneries for 15 and 17 h until, utterly exhausted, they fall asleep among the debris of shells and husks."

Would not these responsible women voters gravely shake their heads and say that as long as men exalt business profit above human life it would be sheer folly to give them the franchise; that, of course, they would be slow to make such matters the subject of legislation?

Would not the enfranchised women furthermore say to these voteless men: "You have always been so eager to make money; what assurance have we that in your desire to get the largest amount of coal out of the ground in the shortest possible time you would not permit the mine supports to decay and mine damp to accumulate, until the percentage of accidents among miners would be simply heart-breaking? Then you are so reckless. Business seems to you a mere game with big prizes, and we have heard that in America, where the women have no vote, the loss of life in the huge steel mills is appalling; and that the number of young brakemen, fine young fellows, every one of them the pride of some mother, killed every year is beyond belief; that the average loss of life among the structural-iron workers who erect the huge office buildings and bridges is as disastrous in percentages as was the loss of life in the Battle of Bull Run. When the returns of this battle were reported to President Lincoln he burst into tears of sorrow and chagrin; but we have never heard of any President, Governor or Mayor weeping over the reports of this daily loss of life, although such reports have been presented to them by Governmental investigators; and this loss of life might easily be reduced by protective legislation."

Having thus worked themselves into a fine state of irritation, analogous to that ever-recurrent uneasiness of men in the presence of insurgent women who would interfere in the management of the State, would not these voting women add: "The trouble is that men have no imagination, or rather what they have is so prone to run in the historic direction of the glory of the battlefield, that you cannot trust them with industrial affairs. Because a crew in a battle-ship was once lost under circumstances which suggested perfidy the male representatives of two great Nations voted to go to war; yet in any day of the year in one of these Nations alone—the United States of America—as many men are killed through industrial accidents as this crew contained. These accidents occur under circumstances which, if not perfidious, are at least so criminally indifferent to human life as to merit Kipling's characterization that the situation is impious."

Certainly these irritated women would designate such indifference to human life as unpatriotic and unjustifiable, only to be accounted for because men have not yet learned to connect patriotism with industrial affairs.

These conscientious women responsible for the State in which life was considered of more value than wealth would furthermore say: "Then, too, you men exhibit such curious survivals of the mere savage instinct of punishment and revenge. The United States alone spends every year five hundred million dollars more on its policemen, courts and prisons than upon all its works of religion, charity and education. The price of one trial expended on a criminal early in life might save the State thousands of dollars and the man untold horrors. And yet with all this vast expenditure little is done to reduce crime. Men are kept in jails and penitentiaries where there is not even the semblance of education or reformatory measure; young men are returned over and over again to the same institution until

they have grown old and gray, and in all of that time they have not once been taught a trade, nor have they been in any wise prepared to withstand the temptations of life."

"A homeless young girl looking for a lodging may be arrested for soliciting on the streets, and sent to prison for six months, although there is no proof against her save the impression of the policeman. A young girl under such suspicion may be obliged to answer the most harassing questions put to her by the city attorney, with no woman near to protect her from insult; she may be subjected to the most trying examination conducted by a physician in the presence of a policeman, and no matron to whom to appeal. At least these things happen constantly in the United States in Chicago, for instance but possibly not in the Scandinavian countries where juries of women sit upon such cases, women whose patience has been many times tested by wayward girls and who know the untold moral harm which may result from such a physical and psychic shock."

Then these same women would go further, and, because they had lived in a real world and had administered large affairs and were therefore not prudish and affected, would say: "Worse than anything which we have mentioned is the fact that in every man-ruled city the world over a great army of women are so set aside as outcasts that it is considered a shame to speak the mere name which designates them. Because their very existence is illegal they may be arrested whenever any police captain chooses; they may be brought before a magistrate, fined and imprisoned. The men whose money sustains their houses, supplies their tawdry clothing and provides them with intoxicating drinks and drugs, are never arrested, nor indeed are they even considered lawbreakers."

Would not these fearless women, whose concern for the morals of the family had always been able to express itself through State laws, have meted out equal punishment to men as well as to women, when they had equally transgressed the statute law?

Did the enfranchised women evoked by our imagination speak thus to the disenfranchised men, the latter would at least respect their scruples and their hesitation in regard to an extension of the obligation of citizenship. But what would be the temper of the masculine mind if the voting women representing the existing State should present to them only the following half-dozen objections, which are unhappily so familiar to many of us: If the women should say, first, that men would find politics corrupting; second, that they would doubtless vote as their wives and mothers did; third, that men's suffrage would only double the vote without changing results; fourth, that men's suffrage would diminish the respect for men; fifth, that most men do not want to vote; sixth, that the best men would not vote?

I do not believe that women broadened by life and its manifold experiences would actually present these six objections to men as real reasons for withholding the franchise from them, unless indeed they had long formed the habit of regarding men not as comrades and fellow citizens, but as a class by themselves, in essential matters really inferior although always held sentimentally very much above them.

Certainly no such talk would be indulged in between men and women who had together embodied in political institutions the old affairs of life which had normally

and historically belonged to both of them. If woman had adjusted herself to the changing demands of the State as she did to the historic mutations of her own house-hold she might naturally and without challenge have held the place in the State which she now holds in the family.

When Plato once related his dream of an ideal Republic he begged his fellow-citizens not to ridicule him because he considered the cooperation of women necessary for its fulfillment. He contended that so far as the guardianship of the State is concerned there is no distinction between the powers of men and women save those which custom has made.

Chapter 14

A Modern Devil Baby (1914)

Hull House, Chicago. There is a theory that woman first evolved and used the fairy story, that combination of wisdom and romance, in an effort to tame her mate and to make him a better father to her children. The stories finally became a rude creed, or rather rule of conduct, which softened the treatment men accorded to women. In support of this theory it is pointed out that in the typical fairy story the heroine is often disguised under a repulsive and ugly mask and the man is destroyed by seductive beauties. The old woman, the mother-in-law to the maker of the tale—let us observe in passing—is too often a wicked witch who gives men bad advice, and, above all, the stepmother is the incarnation of all wickedness.

These first pitiful efforts of women became so widespread and so powerful that we have not yet escaped their influence. We had a remarkable experience at Hull House this year of the persistence of one of these tales which has doubtless had its taming effects through the centuries upon recalcitrant husbands and fathers. It burst upon us one day in the persons of three Italian women who, with an excited rush into Hull House, demanded to see the devil-baby. No amount of denial convinced them that it was not there, for they knew exactly what it was like, with its cloven hoofs, its pointed ears, and its diminutive tail. It had been able to speak as soon as it was born and was most shockingly profane. For six weeks the messages, the streams of visitors from every part of the city and suburbs to this mythical baby, poured in all day long and so far, into the night that the regular activities were almost swamped. The Italian version, with a hundred variations, dealt with a pious Italian-girl married to an atheist who vehemently tore a holy picture from the bedroom wall, saying that he would quite as soon have a devil in the house as that, whereupon the devil incarnated himself in the child. As soon as the devil-baby was born, it ran about the table shaking its finger in deep reproach at its father, who finally caught it and in fear and trembling brought it to Hull House. When the residents there, in spite of the baby's shocking appearance, in order to save its soul

Addams, J. (1914). A Modern Devil Baby. *American Journal of Sociology*, 20(1), 117–118.

took him to the church for baptism, they found the shawl was empty, and the devil-baby, fleeing from the holy water, ran lightly over the backs of the pews.

The Jewish version, again with variations, was to the effect that the father of six daughters said before the birth of the seventh child that he would rather have a devil than another girl, whereupon the devil-baby promptly appeared. The story was not only used to tame restless husbands, but mothers threatened their daughters that if they went to dance halls or out to walk with strange young men they would be eternally disgraced by devil-babies. Simple, round-eyed girls came to Hull House to see if this were true, many of them quite innocent of the implications in the warning. Save for a red automobile which occasionally figured in the story, and a stray cigar, the tale was as mediaeval and unrelieved as if it had been fashioned a thousand years ago in response to the imperative need of anxious wives and mothers. It had fastened itself to a poor little deformed creature, born in an obscure street, destined in his one breath of life to demonstrate the power of an old wives' tale among thousands of people in modern society who are living in a corner of their own, their vision fixed, their intelligence held by some iron chain of silent habit. Or did the incident rather make clear that the love of the marvelous will not die, and that romance springs unexpectedly from the most uncongenial soil?

Chapter 15

Tolstoy and Gandhi (1931)

Thousands of people in every nation are eagerly watching Gandhi's great experiment in India.¹ It may be his seizure of the moral initiative, his courageous endurance of suffering, the news interest in his tactical surprises and untried maneuvers, which create such a high degree of suggestibility in the spectators; but it is as if Gandhi at the present moment, as Tolstoy before him, had given a 'suggestion' needed to free the pent-up energies of good will among men. I have been much interested in this reaction, and find myself continually comparing it to certain experiences during the decade of 1890 when we first read Tolstoy's masterly exposition of the doctrine of non-resistance. Both men demonstrate that when this doctrine is clearly set forth it easily speaks over the head of whatever else may be happening in the world, and both men exemplify the value of conduct as a medium of propaganda.

Tolstoy came to the doctrine of non-resistance as a political method fifty years ago when, during the 1870s he was often urged to join the movement of revolt against the oppressive government of the tsar by the eager young people who keenly felt the opposition of the government to all their efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants. They were disappointed that ten years of the reign of Alexander II had not justified the high hopes which the emancipation of the serfs had engendered. Tolstoy never joined them; although he sympathized with their sense of wrong, he disapproved of their methods. In 1878 the movement resulted in terrorism, and the assassination of the tsar in 1881 demonstrated Tolstoy's position that the inciting of revolution against wrong is sure to end in a resort to violence.

¹*The Christian Century* 48 (25 November 1931): 321–326. Copyright © 1931 by the *Christian Century*. Reprinted by permission from the 25 November, 1931, issue of the *Christian Century*. www.christiancentury.org.

15.1 Tolstoy's Purpose

What Tolstoy wished to do was to substitute moral forces for all those forces which are at present aroused in warfare. He pointed out that as war develops, it means more expensive equipment, which only the stronger party to the conflicts is able to supply, and thus daily the fight becomes more unequal, until there is nothing left but the exertion of moral power, in which alone men are equal. So Tolstoy considered it a matter of wisdom to overthrow oppressive government by the use of this principle from the start, rather than later when much force has been wasted and worse than wasted, for it has raised anger and a spirit of opposition making it more difficult for men to use reason and good will. This position was carefully stated by Tolstoy in his book entitled "My Religion," with the contention that to oppose one wrong with another is to get away ever further from the teachings of the New Testament in regard to overcoming evil with good.

It was not until the later years of his life that Tolstoy himself saw his theory put into practice in an actual political situation; an attempt was at length made to overcome governmental domination without hatred or violence. Tolstoy, who collected examples of non-resistance as an enthusiastic numismatist amasses rare coins, wrote before his death that he regarded Gandhi's activities in the Transvaal as the most important of all the work being done in the world.

15.2 Gandhi in the Transvaal

Curiously enough, Gandhi's first public activity after he had left London in 1891, where he had studied law for three years, had taken place in South Africa. For twenty years in the Transvaal he had devoted his splendid capacities to the tireless task of protecting his countrymen from a long series of discriminatory enactments designed to prevent serious competition from the free Indian workers who had been brought into the country as indentured laborers. Their former masters did not wish to hire them because they preferred to import new indentured labor, and the citizens of the Transvaal feared the competition of the free Indians as farmers and merchants. Gandhi, as their attorney, finally learned the use of non-cooperation as a successful means of obtaining legal redress. For seven years, without hatred or violence, the indomitable Indian community refused to obey oppressive laws and cheerfully accepted the consequences, although approximately 10,000 of them were sent to jail.

The strategy finally succeeded in 1914 so that Gandhi, in the interest of his clients, found himself in England in the opening days of the world war. In spite of his experience in South Africa, Gandhi at that time often expressed his great admiration for the British colonial system as perhaps the best in the world. He devoted his energies throughout the war to recruiting soldiers and securing money

to be sent from India in the support of Great Britain in the world war, although he himself served only as a stretcher bearer.

It was during the armistice that his attitude towards the British rule in a India underwent drastic change, and in a year he had become a tireless a opponent of the British rule in India and had joined his fellow countrymen whose resentment against foreign domination had long been accumulating in the nationalist movement. But instead of an armed uprising, which has been the historic method of throwing off the domination of a foreigner, when in 1920 India had reached the breaking point, Gandhi eloquently advocated the use of non-violent non-cooperation as the strategy to be adopted. His experience in its successful use and his fervent convictions resulted in a response to his appeal which was unparalleled. For a moment it appeared that the bewildering strategy of non-cooperation would sweep all before it.

15.3 Gandhi's Indebtedness to Tolstoy

Gandhi often acknowledges his indebtedness to the teachings of Tolstoy, whose books he had eagerly read, although the doctrine of non-resistance and the gospel of returning good for evil had also been reinforced by his reading of the Hindu scriptures and his study of the Sermon on the Mount. He has never believed in acquiescence to injustice. On the contrary, he has advocated the utmost opposition to wrong doing, even to the extent, if necessary, of laying down one's life in the effort. But only by the use of non-violent means. Hatred must be resisted by love, violence by meekness, cruelty by suffering, inhumanity by forgiveness. Not hopeless resignation nor violent antagonism, but an unceasing effort to overcome evil by doing good. Gandhi's attitude toward the established government in India was not unlike Tolstoy's attitude toward the tsar's government, which was represented to the peasant only by the tax gatherer and the conscription officer. Tolstoy uses this primitive form of government as the embodiment of sheer force. He says that because we have the policeman, the army and the courts, all of which embody governmental force, we rely upon them to such an extent that we do not exert our own moral energy.

Although throughout the campaign in India Gandhi had pleaded for good will toward Englishmen while urging ceaseless opposition to the British policy, and although his followers were exhorted to accept any humiliation and to endure any sufferings rather than to retaliate with violence, popular riots occurred in several places, one of them accompanied by hideous barbarities. These riots were undoubtedly due to the panic of undisciplined troops on their first battlefield. Apparently the leaders of non-violence must control the emotion of anger and the instinct of pugnacity in the same way and to the same extent that military discipline controls the emotion of fear and the instinct of flight.

Gandhi's followers were not sufficiently drilled in the new technique and had simply dropped back into the old patterns of conduct. In deep agony of spirit, he

decided on the drastic policy of calling off the campaign of mass non-cooperation, and declared that he could not think of starting mass "civil disobedience" until he was sure of peace being retained in spite of government provocation. It was only a month later that Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to prison after one of the most notable trials recorded in legal history.

15.4 Indicting Western Civilization

The message of Gandhi is similar to Tolstoy's in its indictment of western civilization and equally insistent in its call to labor and simple living. Gandhi faces an agricultural situation which it is hard for the people of the west to envisage, for we can scarcely imagine the depths of misery in which hundreds of millions of Indians live, nine-tenths of them in agricultural villages where they cultivate incredibly small plots of ground with resulting unemployment for half of the year. To ask these hard driven peasants to plant a few rows of cotton and to spin and weave their own clothing, is the most sensible advice in the world. Spinning is a simple process and if by this means a person saves or earns only five cents per day for 180 days, the amount thus received is equivalent to half a year's income for the average peasant in India. He could eat more of his produce if he were not obliged to take out enough to buy even his simple clothing; this margin might easily save him from starvation and prove the truth of Gandhi's statement that "the whole nation is starving for want of a large productive occupation ancillary to agriculture."

This is at the base of the home industry movement, and quite naturally the spinning wheel has become the emblem of the nationalists. Gandhi himself uses it daily and when I visited his ashram near Ahmedabad, his followers showed me the long-fibered cotton which they are raising in the hope that they may eventually improve the quality of cotton for the peasants.

15.5 Agricultural Problems

In addition to the aspect, Gandhi contends that India should avoid the difficulties which have occurred in Japan and England and to a certain extent in the United States, by allowing agriculture to become dependent upon industry. Indications of this dependency can already be seen in India; in the neighborhood of Bombay, the villages from which the young people have gone to the textile mills and to which they have brought back their wages, show improvement in housing and tillage, as is true of certain Japanese villages near the large new silk mills. In both countries such villages are in sharp contrast to those in which the inhabitants have depended solely upon agriculture. The farmers, to a large extent, in England and also in certain parts of the United States have become dependent in the same way upon what "the boys who have left the farm" are able to send back. But these western countries are

predominantly industrial and in a very different situation from India with her overwhelmingly agricultural population.

Through identification with the lives of the peasants who obtain so inadequate a living from their tiny strips of earth, both Tolstoy and Gandhi, with convictions attained in middle age, committed themselves to a daily portion of manual labor. Gandhi has embraced poverty as Tolstoy had done; neither of them, however, as St. Francis did, in response to the counsel of perfection, but through the desire to use no force, governmental or other, for the protection of their persons or property.

Gandhi, like Tolstoy, constantly resents the heavy taxation to which the humblest are subjected, and he continually demands that the whole revenue system be so revised as to make the good of the peasant its primary concern. It was therefore in a spirit of challenge to the entire revenue system that Gandhi, in August, 1930, inaugurated the civil disobedience campaign by marching to the sea with a group of his followers and conspicuously making salt from its waters, in defiance of the salt tax which he considers "the tax most iniquitous of all, from the standpoint of the poor man."

15.6 Religion as Statesmanship

Both these men have expounded the religious foundation of non-resistance and have insisted that it is as old as the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. This modern manifestation has as yet no term which exactly defines it. Tolstoy's non-resistance is a very inadequate name for overcoming evil with good, and Gandhi's soul-force is slow to come into English usage. It is sometimes said that Gandhi may be a great religious teacher, but that he has not political acumen nor statesmanship. Such critics ignore the fact that religion is the great preoccupation of India; that no man could be a leader there nor even evoke widespread public interest unless he made the religious appeal and validated it with his daily living; that the saint is still the popular political hero in the east. It is as if Gandhi's vigorous activity had evoked a response in the policy of the British government itself, which is also changing as the result of a situation he has in part created. The response is not to a fixed environment but to newly discovered relationships.

The political world is just now beginning to count up the deadening effects and waste of opposing force to force, exhausting both in the process and often producing a mutual canceling out. Because almost every modern state is founded upon a rebellion against the domination of a master group and owes its existence to success in arms, there grew up, in the western races at least, the classic pattern of domination and conflict, succeeding one another in almost rhythmic order. In addition to this, it was evident that physical clash between men strikes sparks of high tension of will, of emotion, of heroism, as the clash of minds in debate and argument sharpens wits and heightens intellectual voltage. Conflict was at last prized for itself and gradually became conventionalized into opposing armies on the

field of battle, into opposing parties in parliaments, and into lawyers for the prosecution and defense in the courts.

Yet, all over the world at the present moment there is an amazing tendency to experiment with this new technique and to see what it can do. The masterful foreman in a factory has been replaced by the personnel director; the domineering pedagogue has fled the field in favor of a new type of educator who evokes the ability of his students, as in medicine the doctor thinks it important as never before to win the cooperation of the patient; the judge of the juvenile court neither acquits nor condemns, but uses every available means, including the moral energy of the offender himself, to rectify a given situation. Everywhere men are eager to find a technique fitted to cope with the extraordinary complications of the modern world.

Chapter 16

Address at the International Peace Congress (1922)

I am very happy to represent here the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, because if I represented an American society it would be much more difficult for me to make peace with my very old friend, Samuel Gompers (laughter).¹ The Women's International League has held a meeting for three days here and urged the making of a new peace, a peace made not only by one side but by both sides in conjunction with the neutral countries. We urged three reasons for this new peace. First, we considered the economic situation in Europe unstable partly because the peace made after the great war contains punitive aims, and a punitive peace cannot be either morally or economically stable. It also fails to allocate the raw materials of the world in relation to the world's needs. In the United States the wool growers of Montana have put in storage two clips of wool because there is no sale for it, and a year ago the cotton growers were grateful that the boll weevil reduced the cotton crop. Last year the corn crop was so large that some farmers found it cheaper to use corn for fuel than to buy coal. And yet on this side of the water people are perishing for lack of food. We want some system of economics which shall bring the plethora on one side in touch with the dearth on the other (applause).

We also urged a new peace hoping finally to secure absolute disarmament, which, of course, cannot be brought about while there is a sense of fear and suspicion on one side and on the other side a sense of injury and grievance. Disarmament can only rest upon a sense of justice and security. If the Ruhr is occupied, as it now threatens to be, it will not only throw Europe into war, but if the troops march before an impartial body decides whether or not the defaults of payment have been willful it will mean that disarmament itself will receive a great blow. To invade any unarmed nation without all possible legal safeguards is certainly a very serious matter (applause).

¹*Report of the International Peace Congress Held at The Hague under the Auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, December 10–15, 1922 (Amsterdam: International Federation of Trade Unions, 1923): 167–168.

We are also for a new peace hoping for a higher type of internationalism. We believe that the League of Nations, in spite of its defects, has shown that there is such a thing as the international spirit. When men get together under its influence it tends to open new reaches of human ability, new reservoirs of moral energy, such as we are not seeing in this world because we have no place where they can be fostered and brought to fruition. We believe that this plan for a new peace will not easily be brought about by the Governments because Governments have always considered the protection of their people their principal obligation, and have spent large sums of money for this purpose. We are told that at this moment Great Britain spends 66% of the budget upon war and that the United States spent 87% of the Federal budget for the same purpose.

A demand for a better peace must come from the people themselves, and in every country members of Parliament are most anxious to know what the people want. We say in the United States that, following an old Indian custom, politicians "keep their ears to the ground" to learn what the people are asking for. We need organization in every Parliamentary country which will keep the statesmen informed of the desire of the people in regard to peace and war. We believe if the women on one side, who nourish human life, and the workers, who are responsible for the production of the world's wealth, will join together with the determination that this old world shall see a better state of things than it has had before, the result will be a new peace founded on a sense of justice and upon good-will. There is a good deal of that in the world, but there seems to be no point on which to focus it. Perhaps the Congress will provide it.

Chapter 17

The Revolt Against War (1915)

It is difficult to formulate your experience when brought face to face with so much genuine emotion and high patriotism as Europe exhibits at the present moment.¹ You become very much afraid of generalizing. The situation is so confused, so many wild and weird things are said about it, that you are afraid to add one word that is not founded upon absolutely first-hand impressions and careful experience; because, for the world, you would not add a bit to this already overwhelming confusion. And you do not come back, at least I do not, from these various warring countries with any desire to let loose any more emotion upon the world. You feel that what is needed above all else is some careful understanding, some human touch, if you please, in this over involved and over-talked of situation in which so much of the world finds itself in dire confusion and bloodshed. You get afraid of tall talk; you do not know where words may lead the people to whom you are speaking. They seem to have acquired such a fearful significance and seem to have power over the very issues of life and death itself.

And so I should like, if I might, for a few moments, to tell as simply as I can, the experiences which we had at The Hague. Some have been much too kind to call me the leader of that movement, for I was not, in any sense of the word. It was convened and called together by a group of European women, and only after all the arrangements were made did we know about it in America, and consent to go. They were anxious to have a woman from a neutral country to serve as president, and it was safer to have the neutral country as far away as possible, and America was the furthest away. Therefore, I think America was chosen.

The women who called the Congress were sure that, although during this last year none of the great international congresses, in science and arts or the most abstract subjects, had dared to meet; they were quite sure that the women who had been meeting during many years, in such conventions as Dr. Shaw has described,

¹Jane Addams's account of her interviews with the Foreign Ministers of Europe, a speech delivered in Carnegie Hall, NY, 9 July, 1915. Original Source: *The Survey* 34 (17 July 1915): 355–59.

that at least a few of them could come together and in all sobriety and in all friendliness discuss their common aims and the terrible stake which they all had together in this war. That faith as you know, was well grounded, and for three days and a half with much less friction than is usual in the ordinary meetings of men or women, so far as I know them, the women met there at The Hague and formulated their series of resolutions. I will confess that the first day we were a little cautious. We skated, as it were, more or less on thin ice, because we did not know how far we dared venture in freedom of expression. One of the Dutch Committee came to me and whispered almost in a stage whisper: "I think you ought to know that the hall is full of police, not only those supplied by The Hague, but some of them supplied by the government itself because they fear trouble." We told them we should be happy to have the police there to listen to our deliberations, and to call upon them if needed! It seemed as if everyone was nervous; and I will admit that there was an element of risk if you please, in asking woman to come; but they did come from twelve different countries, in the midst of the strain under which Europe is now laboring.

On the last day of that conference it was suggested that the resolutions be carried by committees to the various governments of Europe, and to the President of the United States. Some of us felt that the congress had ended very happily, that we had proceeded day by day in good will and understanding, and that it was perhaps unfortunate to venture further. But the resolution was passed, and two committees set forth. One committee to the north, consisting of a woman from the side of the allies, and a woman from the side of the Germans, and also two women from the neutral nations, have visited the Scandinavian countries and Russia. We have had cables from them from time to time. They were received by the prime ministers and members of Parliament and all of the countries as well as by the ministers of foreign affairs. They have been reported in Italy and Holland, and will arrive in America we hope within a week or two. You cannot tell how long it may take to cross the ocean now because you may quite easily be held up in the English Channel or some other crucial trade route for some ten or twelve days.

The other committee consisting of the vice-president and the president of the congress, women from the two neutral nations, from Holland and from America, set forth to visit the other countries.

We were received in each of the capitals, in London, in Berlin, in Budapest, in Rome, in Paris, and in Havre, where the Belgian government is now established. We took in also Switzerland and Holland, although they are neutral, and Rome should be counted twice for we visited the Vatican; or nine visits in all. We were received in each case by the minister of foreign affairs, and by the chancellor or prime minister, and in all of the countries we saw members of Parliament and other men who are responsible for governmental policies.

It is too much to hope to reach the mind of everyone in a huge audience like this, but I should like to reproduce in the minds of some of you some of the impressions made by this pilgrimage of ours, if you choose to call it so, going to and from one government to another, as we did to nine governments in the space of five weeks.

The first thing which was striking is this, that the same causes and reasons for the war were heard everywhere. Each warring nation solemnly assured you it is fighting under the impulse of self-defense. Each of the warring nations I assure you feels it is fighting to preserve its own traditions and its own ideals from those who would come in and disturb and destroy those high traditions and those ideals. And in one tongue or another, or translated into English, we heard the identical phrases. Going as rapidly as we did, from one country to another, I almost knew what to expect and what phrases were coming next, after a foreign minister had begun.

Another thing which we found very striking was that in practically all of the foreign offices including those two foreign offices, one of which I suppose to be leading one side and one the other side of this conflict, the men said again in very similar phrases—that a nation at war cannot make negotiations and that a nation at war cannot even express willingness to receive negotiations, for if it does either, the enemy will at once construe it as a symptom of weakness; and when the terms are made the side which first suggested negotiations will suffer as being construed the side that was weaker and was suing for peace.

But they said, in all of these foreign offices, that if some other power presented propositions, if neutral people, however they might be gotten together, people who would command the respect of the foreign offices to whom their propositions would be presented if a small conference were willing to get together to study the situation seriously and to make propositions, one, two, three even if they were turned down over and over again until something were found upon which negotiations might commence, *there is none of the warring nations that would not be glad to receive such service*. Now that came to us unequivocally.

We presented to each of the chancelleries our resolutions, but we talked for the most part about the possibility of substituting negotiations for military processes. Now, it is very easy for a minister to say: "This country will never receive negotiations if we are going to drive the enemy out inch by inch," but it is pretty hard for him to say it to one or two or three or four women who are sitting there and asking: "If a proposition were presented to you, which seemed to you feasible—if something were presented to you which might mean the beginning of further negotiations between yourselves and your enemies, would you decline such a proposition? Would you feel justified to go on sacrificing the young men of your country in order to obtain through bloodshed what might be obtained through negotiations—the very thing for which your foreign office was established?" No minister, of course, is willing to say that he would. No minister would be willing, of course, to commit himself for a moment to such a policy. That we found everywhere.

There was another thing which was impressed upon us all of the time and in all of the countries which we visited. Although each is tremendously united at the present moment, although there is no break that can be seen or heard anywhere on the part of the people fighting together that they wish the war to cease or that they are going to divide into parties, one party to oppose the other while they are thus united in this tremendous national consciousness, there was manifested in every country two general lines of approach. One finds expression in the military party which believes that the matter can be settled only upon a military basis; the other, a

civil party, which very much deprecates this exaltation of militarism, which says that the longer the war runs on, the more the military parties are being established as censors of the press and in all sorts of other places which they ordinarily do not occupy; that the longer the war goes on the more the military power is breaking down all of the safeguards of civil life and of civil government, and that consequently the harder will it be for civil life and for the rights of civil life to re-establish themselves over the rights and power of the military. The more desperately they cling to their army, the more absolute is the power and the glory of that army. The people who represent the civil view of life, in the midst of this patriotic fervor, in the midst of this devotion to the army, see that and long—for some other form of settlement, for some other form of approach to this terrible, confused situation, long for it one month more than they did the month before.

As you go from one country to another, you can only say for yourself and say it to the citizens as you have opportunity, that if this war is ever to be settled through negotiations, and sometime it must be, heaven knows when, but sometime men must stop fighting and return to their normal existence you say to these men: “Why not begin now before the military becomes even further entrenched? Why not begin now when you still have enough power to hold them to their own statements, to hold them to their own purposes, and not allow them to rule and control the absolute destinies of the nation?”

Now, I am quite aware that in every country we met, broadly speaking, the civil people and not the military people. I am quite aware that it was natural for us to see the pacifists, if you please—although they are hardly known under that name—that it was more natural for, us to meet and know the people who were on that side of life, instead of the military side of life. But because we did meet dozens of them, I am willing to believe that there must be many more of the same type of mind in every country; quite as loyal as the military people, quite as eager for the growth and development of their own ideals and their own standard of living; but believing with all their hearts that the military message is a wrong message, which cannot in the end establish those things which are so dear to their hearts.

Now, that is something to work upon. When peace comes, it must come through the people within those countries having some sort of claim to the same type of mind and the same type of people who are dwelling in other countries.

At present they have no means of communication. They say that under the censorship of the press one man cannot tell how many other men are feeling as he does or believing as he does. Although he is a comrade in mind, and may be living in the next street or in the next town, he does not know how many there are. He cannot get them together. In our modern cities with their huge agglomeration of human beings, we communicate largely through the daily press. We cannot find out public opinion in any other way. Poor method as it seems, it is, after all, all that we have worked out as yet. And in the warring countries nothing goes into the press except those things which the military censors deem fit and proper.

So as we went about, people would say to us, in regard to the press, if you see So and So, say a word about lessening the censorship. And we said, No, we can talk about but this one thing. We cannot carry messages from the citizens to their

governments. But over and over again this request was made. And as we got back to one country from another, they would say: "Are people talking like that there? That is just the way we are talking here." But they do not know each other from one country to another. And the individuals cannot find each other within the country itself.

In each of the warring nations there is this other point of similarity. Generally speaking, we heard everywhere that this war was an old man's war that the young men who were dying, the young men who were doing the fighting, were not the men who wanted the war, and were not the men who believed in the war; that somewhere in church and state, somewhere in the high places of society, the elderly people, the middle-aged people, had established themselves and had convinced themselves that this was a righteous war, that this war must be fought out, and the young men must do the fighting.

Now, this is a terrible indictment, and I admit that I cannot substantiate it. I can only give it to you as an impression, but I should like to bring one or two details before you to back it up, so to speak.

I thought when I got up I shouldn't mention the word 'German' or the word 'allies' but perhaps if I give an example from Germany and then an example from the allies, I will not get into trouble.

We met a young man in Switzerland. He had been in the trenches for three months, had been wounded and had been sent to Switzerland to be cured: He had developed tuberculosis and the physician among us thought he would scarcely live three months. But he thought he was being cured and he was speaking his mind before he went back to the trenches. He was I suppose, what one would call a fine young man, but not an exceptional young man. He had a gymnasium education. He had been in business with his father, had traveled in South Africa; he had travelled in France England and Holland, in the line of business. He had come to know men a *mensch* that *gute menschen* were to be found in every land. And now here he was, at twenty-eight, facing death because he was quite sure when he went back to the trenches that death awaited him. This is what he said never during that three months and a half had he once shot his gun in a way that could possibly hit another man. He said that nothing in the world could make him kill another man. He could be ordered into the trenches; he could be ordered to go through the motions, but the final act was in his own hands and with his own conscience. And he said: "My brother is an officer." (He gave the name of his brother, gave his title; he wasn't concealing anything; was quite too near death's door to have any shifting and concealing.) "He never shoots anything; he never shoots in a way that will kill. And I know dozens and dozens of young men who do not."

We had a list given to us by the woman at the head of a hospital in one German city of five young Germans who had been cured and were ready to be sent back to the trenches, when they committed suicide, not because they were afraid of being killed, but because they were afraid they might be put into a position where they would have to kill someone else.

We heard stories of that sort from France. We talked with nurses in hospitals; we talked with convalescent soldiers; we talked to the mothers of soldiers who had

come back on furlough and had gone into the trenches; and in all of these countries we learned that there are surprising numbers of young men and old men who will not do any fatal shooting because they think that no one has the right to command them do that thing.

In order to be quite fair and square, I shall next give my testimony from England. I quote a letter published in *Cambridge Magazine* at Cambridge University, and written by a young man who had gone to the front. I didn't visit Cambridge, but I did visit Oxford. The universities are almost depleted of young men. The great majority of them have gone into the war. This is what this young man wrote:

"The greatest trial that this war has brought is that it has released the old men from all restraining influences, and has let them loose upon the world. The city editors, the retired majors, the amazons women are included, you see and last, but I fear, not least, the venerable archdeacons, have never been so free from contradiction. Just when the younger generation was beginning to take its share in the affairs of the world, and was hoping to counteract the Victorian influences of the older generation, this war has come to silence us—permanently or temporarily as the case may be. Meanwhile, the old men are having field days on their own. In our name, and for our sakes as they pathetically imagine, they are doing their very utmost, it would seem, to perpetuate, by their appeals to hate, intolerance and revenge, those very follies which have produced the present conflagration."

I am not going to tell of many things that were said because I think there have been, for the present, too many things said: but the mothers would say to us: "It was hard to see that boy go because he did not believe in war; he did not belong to a generation that believes in war."

One of the leading men of Europe, whose name you would instantly recognize if I felt at liberty to give it, said: "If this war could have been postponed for ten years—perhaps," he said, "I will be safe and say, twenty years—war would have been impossible in Europe, because of the tremendous revolt against it in the schools and the universities."

I am quite sure when I say that, that it is a partial view. I am quite sure that there are thousands of young men in the trenches feeling that they are performing the highest possible duties. I am quite sure that the spirit of righteousness is in the hearts of most of them, at least of many of them; but that throughout there are to be found these other men who are doing violence to the highest teachings which they know.

It seemed to me at times as if the difference between the older generation and the new, is something we apprehended dimly in each country—that the older men believed more in abstractions, shall I say; that when they talked of patriotism, when they used certain theological or nationalistic words, these meant more to them than they did to the young men; that the young men had come to take life much more from the point of view of experience; that they were much more—pragmatic (I suppose I could have said in Boston: I don't know how well it would go in New York)—that they had come to take life much more empirically; and when they went to the trenches and tested it out, they concluded that it did not pay, that it was not what they wanted to do with their lives.

I saw an old Quaker in England who said: "My sons are not fighting, they are sweeping mines." The Quakers are very clever in distinguishing between what they will or will not do. This Quaker explained to me that his sons allow themselves to sweep mines but they do not allow themselves to fire mines. They are doing this, that and the other thing. "It is strange to me," he said, "because they never went to Quaker meetings but they are awfully keen now on being consistent." Now, there you are. I think it was the difference again between the older generation and the new. This again may be a superficial impression, but such as it is, we had it in every single country, one after the other.

Let me say just a word about the women in the various countries. The belief that a woman is against war simply and only because she is a woman and not a man, does not, of course; hold. In every country there are many women who believe that the war is inevitable and righteous, and that the highest possible service is being performed by their sons who go into the army; just as there are thousands of men believing that in every country, the majority of women and men doubtless believe that.

But the women do have a sort of pang about it. Let us take the case of an artist, an artist who is in an artillery corps, let us say, and is commanded to fire upon a wonderful thing, say St. Mark's at Venice, or the Duomo at Florence, or any other great architectural and beautiful thing. I am sure he would have just a little more compunction than the man who had never given himself to creating beauty and did not know the cost of it. There is certainly that deterrent on the part of the women, who have nurtured these soldiers from the time they were little things, who brought them into the world and brought them up to the age of fighting, and now see them destroyed. That curious revolt comes out again and again, even in the women who are most patriotic and who say: "I have five sons and a son-in-law in the trenches. I wish I had more sons to give." Even those women when they are taken off their guard, give a certain protest, a certain plaint' against the whole situation which very few men I think are able to formulate.

Now, what is it that these women do in the hospitals? They nurse the men back to health and send them to the trenches, and the soldiers say to them: "You are so good to us when we are wounded, you do everything in the world to make life possible and to restore us; why do you not have a little pity for us when we are in the trenches? Why do you not put forth a little of their same effort and this same tenderness to see what might be done to pull us out of those miserable places?"

That testimony came to us; not from the nurses of one country, and not from the nurses who were taking care of the soldiers on one side, but from those who were taking care of them upon every side.

And it seems to make it quite clear that whether we are able to recognize it or not, there has grown up a generation in Europe, as there has doubtless grown up a generation in America, who have revolted against war. It is a god they know not of, that they are not willing to serve; because all of their sensibilities and their training upon which their highest ideals depend, revolt against the whole situation.

Now it seems to me this—and bear in mind that the papers were much too kind when they said that I was going to advise the President. I never dreamed of advising

him or of formulating plans. That last will have to be done when the others have returned—I should never venture alone to do anything of the sort. But this, it seems to me, broadly speaking, might be true, that a set of people could be gotten together who are international, out of their own experience. You know, of course, that the law is the least international thing we have! We have an international body of science; a man takes the knowledge of the science to which he is devoted, and deals with that knowledge, and he doesn't ask whether it was gathered together by Englishmen or Germans. We have an international postal system, a tremendous international commerce, and a tremendous international finance; internationalism in all sorts of fields, but the law lags behind, and perhaps will lag behind for a long time, quite as many of our most settled customs have never been embodied in law at all.

If men could be brought together who have had international experience, who have had it so long and so unconsciously that they have come to think not merely in internationalist terms, but in the realities of the generation in which they have been doing the thing whether business or labor or any other thing which has become so tremendously international if they could be brought together, they could be asked to try to put the very best mind they have, not as representing one country or another country, but as representing human life and human experience as it has been lived during the last ten years in Europe.

They could be asked what it is that has brought about this situation. Does Serbia need a seaport? Is that what is the matter with Serbia? I won't mention any of the other warring countries because I might get into difficulties; but is this thing or that thing needed? What is it from the human standpoint, from the social standpoint? Is it necessary to feed the people of Europe—who are, as you know, so underfed in all of the southern portions of Europe—is it necessary, in order to feed them, to get the wheat out of Russia? Then in heaven's name, let us have warm water harbors in order to get that wheat out of Russia.

Let us not consider it from the point of view of the claims of Russia, or of the counterclaims of someone else; but consider it from the point of view of the needs of Europe. If men with that temper, and that experience, and that sort of understanding of life were to begin to make propositions to the various governments, men who would not placate the claims of one government and set them over against the claims of another government, but would look at the situation from a humane standpoint, I am sure, at the least (from my knowledge of dozens of men in all of the countries who talked with me about the situation) that sort of negotiation would be received. Now, that does not seem an impossible thing.

Perhaps the most shocking impression left upon one's mind is this; that in the various countries the temper necessary for continuing the war is worked up and fed largely by the things which have occurred in the war itself. Germany has done this; the allies have done that; somebody tried to do this and somebody else tried to do that, and we foiled them by doing that. Now I submit that no, shall say, plain mother who found two children fighting—not for any cause which they stated, but because “he did that” and “I did this, and therefore he did that to me,”—that such a

woman would say “this can’t go on.” It leads to nothing but continuous hatred and quarreling.

Let us say that there are two groups of boys in a boys’ club, and I have much experience of that sort in boys’ clubs to draw upon. If one says, “We did this because the other fellows did that,” you will simply have to say, “I won’t go into the rights and wrongs of this, but this thing must stop, because it leads nowhere and gets nowhere.” And with larger groups. We all know the strikes that have gone on for weeks, with the original cause quite lost sight of. I submit that something of the same sort is happening in Europe now.

They are going on because of the things which I have been done in the war; but that certainly is a very curious cause for continuing the war. And what it needs, it seems to me, and too many of us, is a, certain touch of human nature. The human nature in the trenches would heal them over; the kindly people in the various countries would not support the war longer, and the foreign offices themselves would resume their own business, that of negotiation versus that of military affairs—if human nature can be released instead of being kept at the boiling pitch as it is all the time by outrages here and there and somewhere else. I do not know how that is to be brought about, and I admit that this is a very simple analysis of a very serious and complex situation. But when you go about and see the same sort of sorrow everywhere, see the tremendous loss of life in these countries, when you find that you can’t talk to a woman on any subject, however remote from the war, “without finding at once that she is in the deepest perplexity, that while she is carrying herself bravely and going on with her accustomed activities because she thinks thereby that she is serving her country, her heart is being torn all the time”—it is borne in upon you that at last human nature must revolt. The fanatical feeling which is so high in every country, and which is so fine in every country, cannot last. The wave will come down. The crest cannot be held indefinitely. Then men must see the horrible things which have happened; they will have to soberly count up the loss of life, and the debt they have settled upon themselves for years to come.

I could go on and tell many things that we saw. The Pope himself gave us an audience of half an hour. The men with religious responsibility feel keenly what has happened in Europe—that while the various countries see in the war a throwback of civilization, the church sees it as a throwback to religion breeding animosities and tearing and rending the work of years. And yet we are all apparently powerless to do the one thing which might end it. I do not say end it. We did not talk peace as we went about. It would merely confuse the issue. (And, in truth, isn’t it hideous that whole nations find the word ‘peace’ intolerable.) We said, “Why not see what can be done to arrive at some form of coming together—to discover what might be done in the place of the settlement which is now being fought out through military processes?” And that was as far as we were able to go with clearness and safety, and upon that platform we were met with the greatest—someone said courtesy it was to my mind more than courtesy. It was received, as one Englishmen expressed it, like a breath of fresh air, this coming in at last of someone to talk of something that was not of war. We went into the room of one of the prime ministers of Europe, a large, grizzled, formidable man. We told him our little story and he said nothing. I never

have a great deal of self-confidence—I am never so dead sure I am doing the right thing, and I said to him:

“This perhaps seems to you very foolish, to have women going about in this way; but after all, the world itself is so strange in this new war situation that our mission may be no more strange or foolish than the rest.”

He banged his fist on the table. ‘Foolish?’ he said, “Not at all.” These are the first sensible words that have been uttered in this room for ten months.

He said: “That door opens from time to time, and people come in to say, ‘Mr. Minister, we must have more men, we must have more ammunition, we must have more money. We cannot go on with this war without more of something else. At last the door opens and two people walk in and say, Mr. Minister, why not settle by means of negotiations instead of by fighting?’ They are the sensible ones.”

Other people, of course, said he was an old man, this prime minister that he was without power. Yet he was an officer of the government in a high place, and that is what he said. I give it to you for what it is worth. And there are other testimonials of the same sort from all kinds of people in office and out of office; they are part of the peoples who are at war and unable to speak for themselves.

There is one more thing I should like to say and I will close; and that is that one feels that the talk against militarism, and the belief that it can be crushed by a counter-militarism is, as has been uttered so many times, one of the greatest illusions which could possibly seize the human mind. England likes to talk and does talk sharply against what it calls militarism, but if they have conscription in England, then the militarism which they think they are fighting will, at least for the moment, have conquered Britain itself, which has always been so proud that it had a free army and not a conscripted army. And if all of the young men of France between certain ages come to their deaths in their effort to move people out of trenches from which they cannot be moved (because they are absolutely built in of concrete on both sides—and even military men say you cannot budge them without tremendous loss of life) if these young men are convinced that France must arm as never before, that she must turn herself into a military camp, as they are fond of saying then, of course, the militaristic idea has conquered France.

The old notion that you can drive a belief into a man at the point of a bayonet is in force once more. It is quite as foolish to think that if militarism is an idea and an ideal, it can be changed and crushed by counter-militarism or by bayonet charge: And the young men in these various countries say of the bayonet charges: “That is what we cannot think of.” We heard in all countries similar statements in regard to the necessity for the use of stimulants before men would engage in bayonet charges that they have a regular formula in Germany, that they give them rum in England and absinthe in France, that they all have to give them the ‘dope’ before the bayonet charge is possible. Well, now, think of that.

No one knows who is responsible for the war; all the warring nations are responsible, and they indict themselves. But in the end human nature must reassert itself. The old elements of human understanding and human kindness among them must come to the fore, and then it may well be that they will reproach the neutral nations and will say: “What was the matter with the rest of the world that you kept

quiet while this horrible thing was happening, and our men for a moment had lost their senses in this fanaticism of national feeling all over Europe?" They may well say: "You were far enough away from it not to share in it, and yet you wavered until we lost the flower of the youth of all Europe."

That is what the women said in various tongues and according to their various temperaments at The Hague, and that is what enabled them to leave their countries when they were at war, believing as they did in the causes for which they were fighting. The women who came to the congress were women who were impelled by a genuine feeling for life itself.

Please do not think we are overestimating a very slight achievement or "taking too seriously the kindness with which we were received abroad". We do wish to record ourselves as being quite sure that the peoples in the various countries were grateful for the effort; trifling as it was. The people say they do not want this war, they say that the governments are making this war. And the governments say they do not want this war. They say, "We will be grateful to anybody who would help us to stop the war." We did not reach the military, but we did talk to a few military men, some of whom said they were sick to death of the war, and I have no doubt there were many others who, if they spoke freely, would say the same thing.

"Without abandoning your causes, and without lowering, if you please, the real quality of your patriotism,"—the women's resolutions, which we carried, said to these various nations, and we said it to their representatives as long as they permitted us to talk "whatever it is you want, and whatever it is you feel you ought to have in honor, why in the world can't you submit your case to a tribunal of fair-minded men? If your case is as good as you are sure it is, certainly those men will find righteousness which adheres within it." And they all say that if the right medium can be found, the case will be submitted.

Chapter 18

Through Disarmament Nations Will Substitute Political for Military Arrangements (1931)

In a report to the disarmament conference made recently, France reminded the world of her paramount demand for a sense of national security.¹ She voiced what every nation feels, that above all they must be defended against potential enemies; against attacks on their colonies or protectorates; against attacks on their commerce or special commercial arrangements, with protection for their investments and nationals abroad. Furthermore, nations want to defend their favorite doctrines—the Monroe Doctrine is very dear to us, as the doctrines of vital interests and access to colonies are very dear to Great Britain. We may add to this list at the present moment that many nations are afraid of Russia and wish protection against what they consider a popular revolution, instigated by her agents.

If the nations could be convinced that armies and navies, armed alliances and military guarantees cannot obtain security for any of these demands and in point of fact are danger points, liable to result in insecurity, a great step would be taken towards the success of the Disarmament Conference to be convened at Geneva next February.

One of the wisest things said by the Prime Minister of England, Ramsay MacDonald, when he last visited the United States, was that the real question before the nations how to shift their sense of security from dependence upon military strength to dependence upon political arrangements. But such a shift as we all know has already taken place in various parts of the world; and day by day national security is coming to depend upon political arrangements because the armies and navies are less able to guarantee it. We find that security obtained through the good offices of mediation, international commissions of inquiry, international conferences and treaties, whenever tried, have been uniformly successful.

As to the relationship to colonies and other remote parts of the world, the United States itself has already demonstrated the policy of successful mutual aid and

¹Addams, J. (August 17, 1931). Through Disarmament Nations Will Substitute Political for Military Arrangements. *International Disarmament Notes*, IV, [1]. Used with Permission from Swarthmore College Peace Collections Curator, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

friendship through the utilization for world tasks of sums paid for reparation or debts.

The return of the Boxer Indemnity to China—how much national prestige the United States has gotten out of that. It is perfectly amazing how it changed our entire relation with China: it increased our trade, it secured us all sorts of educational preferences, a great deal more than could have been brought about through any war. The world is facing at the present moment an opportunity to try this method on a much larger scale than has ever been possible before and it is only reasonable to expect that the result will be worldwide good will.

Chapter 19

“Patriotism and Pacifists in Wartime” (1917)

The position of the pacifist in time of war is most difficult, and necessarily he must abandon the perfectly legitimate propaganda he maintained before war was declared.¹ When he, with his fellow countrymen, is caught up by a wave of tremendous enthusiasm and is carried out into a high sea of patriotic feeling, he realizes that the virtues which he extols are brought into unhappy contrast to those which war, with its keen sense of a separate national existence, places in the foreground.

Nevertheless, the modern peace movement, since it was inaugurated three hundred years ago, has been kept alive throughout many great wars and during the present war some sort of peace organization has been maintained in all of the belligerent nations. Our Woman’s International Committee for Permanent Peace, for instance, of which I have the honor to be chairman, is in constant communication with our branches organized since this war began in such fighting nations and colonies as Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Hungary, British India, Italy, France, Poland and Russia, in addition to the neutral countries of Europe and one or two of South America. Surely the United States will be as tolerant to pacifists in time of war as those countries have been, some of which are fighting for their very existence, and fellow-citizens, however divided in opinion, will be able to discuss those aspects of patriotism which endure through all vicissitudes.

Before taking up the subject of this paper, it may be well to state that there are many types of pacifists, from the extreme left, composed of non-resistants, through the middle-of-the-road groups, to the extreme right, who can barely be distinguished from mild militarists; and that in our movement, as well as in many others, we must occasionally remind ourselves of Emerson’s saying, that the test of a real reformer is his ability to put up with the other reformers.

¹“Patriotism and Pacifists in Wartime,” *City Club of Chicago Bulletin* vol. 10 (June 18, 1917) 352–364.

In one position, however, we are all agreed, and to this as to an abstract proposition, we must hold at all times, even after war has been declared: that war, although exhibiting some of the noblest qualities of the human spirit, yet affords no solution for vexed international problems; and that moreover after war has been resorted to, its very existence, in spite of its superb heroisms and sacrifices which we also greatly admire, tends to obscure and confuse those faculties which might otherwise find a solution.

In the stir of the heroic moment when a nation enters war, men's minds are driven back to the earliest obligations of patriotism, and almost without volition the emotions move along the worn grooves of blind admiration for the soldier and of unspeakable contempt for him who, in the hour of danger, declares that fighting is unnecessary. We pacifists are not surprised, therefore, when apparently striking across and reversing this popular conception of patriotism, that we should not only be considered incapable of facing reality, but that we should be called traitors and cowards. It makes it all the more incumbent upon us, however, to demonstrate, if we can that in our former advocacy we urged a reasonable and vital alternative to war, and that our position now does not necessarily imply lack of patriotism or cowardice.

To take up the three charges in order.

19.1 Pacifists and 'Passivism'

First: The similarity of sound between the words 'passive' and 'pacifism' is often misleading, for most pacifists agree with such—statements as that made by Mr. Brailsford in *The New Republic* of March 17th that wonderful journal, *The New Republic*, from which so many preachers are now taking their texts in preference to the New Testament. Mr. Brailsford, an Englishman, said, "This war was an act of insurrection against the death in life which acquiesces in hampered conditions and unsolved problems. There was in this concerted rush to ruin and death the force of a rebellious and unconquerable life. It was bent on a change, for it knew that the real denial and surrender of life is not a physical death but the refusal to move and progress. Agreeing substantially with this analysis of the causes of the present war, we pacifists, so far from passively wishing nothing to be done contend on the contrary that this world crisis should be utilized for the creation of an international government able to make the necessary political and economic changes when they are due; we feel that it is unspeakably stupid that the nations should have failed to create an international organization through which each one, without danger to itself, might recognize and even encourage the impulse toward growth in other nations."

Pacifists believe that in the Europe of 1914, certain tendencies were steadily pushing towards large changes which in the end made war, because the system of peace had no way of effecting those changes without war, no adequate international organization which could cope with the situation. The conception of peace founded

upon the balance of power or the undisturbed *status quo* was so negative that frustrated national impulses and suppressed vital forces led to war, because no method of orderly expression had been devised.

We are not advocating the mid-Victorian idea that good men from every country meet together at The Hague or elsewhere, where they shall pass a resolution, that "wars hereby cease" and that "the world hereby be federated." What we insist upon is that the world can be organized politically by its statesmen as it has been already organized into an international fiscal system by its bankers—or into an international scientific association by its scientists. We ask why the problem of building a railroad to Bagdad, of securing corridors to the sea for a land-locked nation, or warm water harbors for Russia, should result in war. Surely the minds of this generation are capable of solving such problems as the minds of other generations have solved their difficult problems. Is it not obviously because such situations transcend national boundaries and must be approached in a spirit of world adjustment, while men's minds still held apart by national suspicions and rivalries are unable to approach them in a spirit of peaceful adjustment?

The very breakdown exhibited by the present war reinforces the pacifists' contention that there is need of an international charter a—Magna Charta indeed of international rights, to be issued by the nations great and small, with large provisions for economic freedom.

19.2 The Patriotism of Pacifists

In reply to the old charge of lack of patriotism, we claim that we are patriotic from the historic viewpoint as well as by other standards. American pacifists believe—if I may go back to those days before the war, which already seem so far away—that the United States was especially qualified by her own particular experience to take the leadership in a peaceful organization of the world. We then ventured to remind our fellow citizens that when the founders of this republic adopted the federal constitution and established the Supreme Court, they were entering upon a great political experiment of whose outcome they were by no means certain. The thirteen colonies somewhat slowly came into the federation, and some of them consented very reluctantly to the use of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the great political experiment of the United States was so well established by the middle of the 19th century, that America had come to stand to the world for the principle of federal government and for a supreme tribunal whose decisions were binding upon sovereign states.

We pacifists hoped that the United States might perform a similar service in the international field, by demonstrating that the same principles of federation and of an interstate tribunal might be extended among widely separated nations as they had already been established between contiguous states. Stirred by enthusiasm over the great historical experiment of the United States, it seemed to us that American patriotism might rise to a supreme effort. We hoped that the United States might

refuse to follow the beaten paths of upholding the rights of a separate nationalism by war, because her own experience for more than a century had so thoroughly committed her to federation and to peaceful adjudication as to every-day methods of government. The President's speech before the Senate embodied such a masterly restatement of these early American principles that thousands of his fellow citizens dedicated themselves anew to finding a method for applying them in the wider and more difficult field of international relationships.

19.3 The Task of Organization

We also counted upon the fact that this great war had challenged the validity of the existing status between nations as it had never been questioned before, and that radical changes were being proposed by the most conservative of men and of nations. As conceived by the pacifist, the constructive task laid upon the United States in the recent crisis called for something more than diplomacy and the old type of statesmanship.

It demanded a penetration which might discover a more adequate moral basis for the relationship between nations and the sustained energy to translate the discovery into political action. The exercise of the highest political intelligence, we hoped, might not only establish a new scale of moral values, but might hasten to a speedy completion for immediate use, that international organization which has been so long discussed and so ardently anticipated. For there is another similarity between the end of the 18th century and the present time; quite as the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution had been preceded by much philosophic writing on the essential equality of all men and on the possibility of establishing self-government among them, so the new internationalism has long had its thinkers who have laid a foundation of abstract principle. Then, as now, however, the great need was not for more writing, nor even for able propaganda, but for a sober attempt to put them into practice, to translate them into concrete acts.

19.4 American Precedents

We were more hopeful of this from the fact that the test of experience had already been applied by the United States to such a course of actions at least so far as to substitute adjudication for war. Four times before now has our country become involved in the fringe of European wars, and in three instances the difficulties were peacefully adjudicated. In 1798, when the French Revolution had pulled most of Europe into war, George Washington, who was then President—perhaps because he was so enthusiastic over our Supreme Court—refused to yield to the clamor of his countrymen to go to war on the side of France, our recent friend, against Great Britain, our recent enemy, and sent Chief Justice John Jay over to London to adjust

the difficulties which had arisen in connection with our shipping. Because John Jay was successful in his mission, George Washington became for the time so unpopular that he publicly expressed the wish that he had never been born—although he does not seem to have permanently lost his place in the hearts of his countryman.

Four years later, when France violated our neutral rights on the seas, John Adams, as President, sent commissioners to Paris who adjudicated the matter. Although keeping the peace made Adams so unpopular that he failed of his second term, many years later, as an old man, he said that his tombstone might well be inscribed with the words: “He kept the peace with France.”

Adams’ successor, Thomas Jefferson, encountered the same difficulty, and in spite of grave mistakes succeeded in keeping the country out of war. He was finally rewarded by the peaceful acquisition of the vast Louisiana territory.

The War of 1812 was the result of a disregard of neutral rights incident to the Napoleonic upheaval and made the first break in the chain of international adjudications instituted by Chief Justice Jay, which had become known as the American plan.

Although both England and France had violated our rights at sea, the United States was drawn into war with England at the moment when she was in a death grapple with Napoleon, and so irrational is war, that in the final terms of peace, the treaty did not mention the very matter upon which war had been declared. Perhaps, however, three adjudications out of five instances in which the shipping of the United States has become involved in European war is as much as can be hoped for.

19.5 Pacifists Against Isolation

With such a national history back of us, as pacifists we are thrown into despair over our inability to make our position clear when we are accused of wishing to isolate the United States and to keep our country out of world politics. We are, of course, urging a policy exactly the reverse, that this country should lead the nations of the world into a wider life of coordinated political activity; that the United States should boldly recognize the fact that the vital political problems of our time have become as intrinsically international in character as have the commercial and social problems so closely connected with them; that modern wars are not so much the result of quarrels between nations as of the rebellion against international situations inevitably developed through the changing years, which admit of adequate treatment only through an international agency not yet created. The fact that such an agency has been long desired, the necessity for it clearly set forth by statesmen in all the civilized nations, and that a splendid beginning had already been made at The Hague, makes the situation only more acute.

19.6 America's Resources for Leadership

We had also hoped much from the varied population of the United States, for whether we will or not, our very composition would make it easier for us than for any other nation to establish an international organization founded upon understanding and good will did we but possess the requisite courage and intelligence to utilize it.

There are in this country thousands of emigrants from the Central Powers, to whom a war between the United States and the fatherland means exquisite torture. They and their inheritances are a part of the situation which faces us. They are a source of great strength in an international venture, as they are undoubtedly a source of weakness in a purely nationalistic position of the old-fashioned sort. These ties of blood, binding us to all the nations of the earth, afford a unique equipment for a great international task if the United States could but push forward into the shifting area of internationalism.

Modern warfare is an intimately social and domestic affair. The civilian suffering and, in certain regions, the civilian mortality, is as great as that endured by the soldiers. There are thousands of our fellow citizens who cannot tear their minds away from Poland, Galicia, Syria, Armenia, Serbia, Roumania, Greece, where their own relatives are dying from diseases superinduced by hardship and hunger. To such sore and troubled minds war had come to be a hideousness which belongs to Europe alone and was part of that privation and depression which they had left behind them when they came to America. Newly immigrated Austrian subjects of a dozen nationalities came to their American friends during the weeks of suspense, utterly bewildered by the prospect of war. They had heard not three months before that the President of the United States did not believe in war for so the Senate speech has been interpreted by many simple minds—and they had concluded that whatever happened, some more American way would be found.

The multitude of German subjects who have settled and developed certain parts of the United States had, it seems to me, every right to be considered as important factors in the situation, before war was declared. President Wilson himself said, in February, after the U-boat campaign had been announced, that he was giving due weight to the legitimate rights of the American citizens of German descent. The men of '48 are as truly responsible for our national ideals as the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or the Russian revolutionists of the '90s. How valuable that gallant spirit of '48, spreading as it did from one European country to another, could be made in an international venture it is difficult to estimate.

It has been said that this great war will prove the bloody angle at which mankind turns from centuries of warfare to the age of peace. But certainly this will not happen automatically nor without leadership founded upon clear thinking and international sympathies.

It is very easy to go to war for a well defined aim which changes imperceptibly as the war progresses, and to continue the war or even end it on quite other grounds. Shifting aims is one of the inherent characteristics of war as an institution.

Pacifists hoped that this revolution in international relationships, which has been steadily approaching for three hundred years and is long over-due might have been obtained without our participation in the war; but we also believe that it may be obtained after the war, if the United States succeeds in protecting and preserving the higher standards of internationalism.

19.7 National Unselfishness

Pacifists recognize and rejoice in the large element of national unselfishness and in the recognition of international obligation set forth by President Wilson as reasons for our participation in the great war. We feel that the exalted sense of patriotism in which each loses himself in the consciousness of a national existence has been enlarged by an alliance with nations across the Atlantic and across the Pacific with whom we are united in a common purpose. Let the United States, by all means, send a governmental commission to Russia; plans for a better fiscal system to bewildered China; food to all nations wherever little children are starving; but let us never forget that the inspiring and overwhelming sense of a common purpose, which an alliance with fifteen or sixteen nations gives us, is but a forecast of what might be experienced if the genuine international alliance were achieved, including all the nations of the earth.

In so far as we and our allies are held together by the consciousness of a common enemy and the fear of a common danger, there is a chance for the growth of the animosity and hatred which may yet overwhelm the attempt at international organization to be undertaken after the war, as it has defeated so many high-hearted attempts in the past.

May we not say in all sincerity that for thirty-three months Europe has been earnestly striving to obtain through patriotic wars, that which can finally be secured only through international organization? Millions of men, loyal to one international alliance, are gallantly fighting millions of men loyal to another international alliance, because of Europe's inability to make an alliance including them all. Can the United States discharge her duty in this situation save as she finally makes possible the establishment of a genuine international government?

19.8 America's Sense of Failure

Ever since the European war began, the United States has been conscious of a failure to respond to a moral demand; she has vaguely felt that she was shirking her share in a world effort toward the higher good; she has had black moments of

compunction and shame for her own immunity and safety. Can she hope through war to assuage the feverish thirst for action she has felt during all those three years? There is no doubt that she has made the correct diagnosis of her case, of her weariness with a selfish, materialistic life, and of her need for concerted, self-forgetting action. But is blood-letting a sufficiently modern remedy in such a diagnosis? Will she lose her sense of futility and her consciousness of moral failure, when thousands of her young men are facing the dangers of war? Will she not at the end of this war still feel her inadequacy and sense of failure unless she is able to embody in a permanent organization the cosmopolitanism which is the essence of her spirit? Will she be content, even in war time, to organize food supplies of one group of nations and to leave the women and children of any nation still starving?

Is not the government of the United States somewhat in the position of those of us who have lived for many years among immigrants? It is quite impossible for us to ask just now whether the parents of a child who needs food are Italians, and therefore now our allies, or Dalmatians and therefore now our "alien enemies." Such a question is as remote as if during the Balkan war we had anxiously inquired whether the parents were Macedonians or Montenegrins, although that was then a distinction of paramount importance to thousands of our neighbors.

It has been officially declared that we are entering this war "to make the world safe for democracy." While we are still free to make terms with our allies, are we not under obligation to assert that the United States owes too much to all the nations of the earth whose sons have developed our raw prairies into fertile fields, to allow the women and children of any of them to starve?

It is told of the recent Irish uprising that after Sheehy Skeffington had been arrested, an English soldier was placed on guard in the house lest Mrs. Skeffington and her little boy might destroy possibly incriminating papers; that the soldier, after standing for a long time in the presence of the woman and child, finally shifted his position and, looking uneasily at Mrs. Skeffington, said, "You see, I didn't enlist exactly for this."

Would it not be possible for the United States to tell her allies that she had not enlisted in this great war for the purpose of starving women and children? When the United States entered the war the final outcome was apparently to be decided by food supply rather than by force of arms. Could Germany hold out during the spring and early summer until the new crop was garnered? Could England feed herself were the U-boat campaign in any degree successful, were the terrible questions in men's minds.

For decades civilized nations had confidently depended upon other nations for their supply of cattle and of grain until long continued war brought the primitive fear of starvation back into the world with so many other obsolete terrors.

19.9 National Boundaries and Food Supply

Such an international organization as the United States is now creating in connection with her allies for the control of their common food supply is clearly transcending old national bounds. It may be a new phase of political unification in advance of all former achievements, or it may be one of those shifting alliances for war purposes of which European history affords so many examples. Simply because food is so strategic, as it were, we lay ourselves open to the latter temptations. Could we not free ourselves from this and at the same time perform a great service if we urge that an international commission sit at Athens during the rest of this war, as an international commission sat in London during the Balkan wars? Such a commission might at once insist upon a more humane prosecution of the war, at least so far as civilian populations are concerned, a more merciful administration of the lands occupied, and distribution of foodstuffs to all conquered peoples.

19.10 Military Coercion or Social Control?

The United States has to her credit a long account of the spread of democratic institutions during the years when she was at peace with the rest of the world. Her own experiment as a republic was quickly followed by France, and later by Switzerland, and to the south of her a vast continent contains no nation which fails—through many vicissitudes though it be—to maintain a republican form of government.

It has long been the aim of this government of ours and of similar types of government the world over to replace coercion by the full consent of the governed, to educate and strengthen the free will of the people through the use of democratic institutions, and to safeguard even the rights of minorities. This age long process of obtaining the inner consent of the citizen to the outward acts of his government is of necessity violently interrupted and thrown back in war time; but we all realize that someday it must be resumed and carried forward again, perhaps on an international basis. Let us strive to keep our minds clear regarding it.

Some of us once dreamed that the cosmopolitan inhabitants of this great nation might at last become united in a vast common endeavor for social ends. We hoped that this fusing might be accomplished without the sense of opposition to a common enemy which is an old method of welding people together, better fitted for military than for social use. If this for the moment is impossible, let us at least place the spirit of cooperation above that of bitterness and remember the wide distinction between social control and military coercion.

It is easy for all of us to grow confused in a moment like this for the pacifist, like the rest of the world, has developed a high degree of suggestibility; we too share that sensitiveness to the feelings, the opinion, and the customs of our own social group which is said to be an inheritance from an almost prehuman past. An instinct

which once enabled the man-pack to survive when it was a question of keeping a herd together, or of perishing off the face of the earth is perhaps not under-developed in any of us.

19.11 Are Pacifists Cowards?

When as pacifists we urge a courageous venture into international ethics, which will require a fine valor as well as a high intelligence, we experience a sense of anti-climax when we are told that because we do not want war, we are so cowardly as to care for "safety first," that we place human life, physical life, above the great ideals of national righteousness.

But surely that man is not without courage who, seeing that which is invisible to the majority of his fellow countrymen, still asserts his conviction and is ready to vindicate its spiritual value over against the world. Each advance in the zigzag line of human progress has traditionally been embodied in small groups of individuals, who have ceased to be in harmony with the status quo and have demanded modifications. Such modifications did not always prove to be in the line of progress, but whether they were or not, they always excited opposition, which from the nature of the case was never so determined as when the proposed changes touched moral achievements which were greatly prized and had been secured with much difficulty.

Bearing in mind the long struggle to secure and maintain national unity, the pacifist easily understands why his theories seem particularly obnoxious just now, although in point of fact our national unity is not threatened, and would be finely consummated in an international organization.

19.12 Peace and Justice

With visions of international justice our minds, pacifists are always a little startled when those who insist that justice can only be established by war, accuse us of caring for peace irrespective of justice. Many of the pacifists in their individual and corporate capacity have long striven for social and political justice with a fervor perhaps equal to that employed by the advocates of force, and we realize that a sense of justice has become the keynote to the best political and social activity in this generation. Although this ruling passion for juster relations between man and man, group and group, or between nation and nation, is not without its sterner aspects, among those who dream of a wider social justice throughout the world there has developed a conviction that justice between men or between nations can be achieved only through understanding and fellowship, and that a finely tempered sense of justice, which alone is of any service in modern civilization, cannot be secured in the storm and stress of war. This is not only because war inevitably arouses the more primitive antagonisms, but because the spirit of fighting burns

away all of those impulses, certainly towards the enemy, which foster the will to justice.

We believe that the ardor and self-sacrifice so characteristic of youth could be enlisted for the vitally energetic role which we hope our beloved country will inaugurate in the international life of the world. We realize that it is only the ardent spirits, the lovers of mankind, who will be able to break down the suspicion and lack of understanding which has so long stood in the way of the necessary changes upon which international good order depends; who will at last create a political organization enabling nations to secure without war, those high ends which they now gallantly seek to obtain upon the battlefield.

With such a creed, can the pacifists of today be accused of selfishness when they urge upon the United States not isolation, not indifference to moral issues and to the fate of liberty and democracy, but a strenuous endeavor to lead all nations of the earth into an organized international life worthy of civilized men?

Erratum to: Jane Addams: Progressive Pioneer of Peace, Philosophy, Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration

Patricia M. Shields

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E1

Texas State University

Texas State University was established in 1899 by the Texas legislature. It's almost 39,000 students reside on two campuses in Central Texas (San Marcos and Round Rock). President Lyndon Baines Johnson is Texas State's most famous graduate. The San Marcos Campus contains the second-largest spring in Texas which forms the headwaters of the San Marcos River. This crystal clear river, which remains 71 °F (21 °C) year-round, is the home of many unique species of plants and animals. It also provides a locus for the university's environmental and aquatic biology specializations. The university has 98 bachelors, 90 masters' and 12 doctoral degrees. As an Emerging Research University, Texas State offers opportunities for discovery and innovation for its faculty and students.

The Nobel Peace Prize 1931

Jane Addams, Nicholas Murray Butler



Award Ceremony Speech

Presentation Speech by Halvdan Koht¹, member of the Nobel Committee, on December 10, 1931.

In awarding the Peace Prize to two Americans, the Nobel Committee today brings the United States into first place among those nations whose representatives have received the prize during the past thirty years.² Previously, France had the highest number of prize winners, a total of six, while other nations had no more

¹Mr. Koht, also at this time professor of history at the University of Oslo, delivered this speech in the auditorium of the Nobel Institute in Oslo on the afternoon of December 10, 1931. Because neither laureate was able to attend, Mr. Hoffman Philip, United States minister to Norway, accepted the prize on their behalf in a brief speech expressing their gratitude and that of the United States for the honor conferred. This translation of Mr. Koht's speech is based on the Norwegian text in *Les Prix Nobel en 1931*.

²From *Nobel Lectures, Peace 1926–1950*, Editor Frederick W. Haberman, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1972 Copyright © The Nobel Foundation 1931. "The Nobel Peace Prize 1931—Presentation Speech". *Nobelprize.org*. Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. 23 Aug 2016. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1931/press.html.

than two or three. As of today, seven Peace Prizes will have gone to America, four of them during the last five years.

What is true of the other Nobel awards is also true of the Peace Prize: people do not always agree that it is given to the most suitable candidates. And no one is more aware of the difficulties involved in the selection than the members of the Nobel Committee. But I trust everyone will agree that it is only natural that so many Peace Prizes should have gone to the United States in recent years.

The United States of America is a world in itself, as large as the whole of Europe; and this world is a great land of peace where war between states, either economic or military, is unthinkable. But the United States is, at the same time, one of the great world powers and economically is now the greatest of all. By virtue of this position, she influences decisions on war and peace in all corners of the globe. We can say, in fact, that, because of this vast economic strength, she wields greater power over war and peace than any other country on earth. All who yearn for a lasting peace must therefore look to America for help.

America helped—perhaps it would be more correct to say compelled—Europe to create a League of Nations which would provide a firm basis for peaceful coexistence among nations. It was a crushing blow that America herself did not join this organization, and without doubt her failure to do so contributed largely to the failure of the League of Nations to live up to expectations. We still see too much of the old rivalries of power politics. Had the United States joined, she would have been a natural mediator between many of the conflicting forces in Europe, for America is more interested in peace in Europe than in lending her support to any particular country.

It must be said, however, that the United States is not the power for peace in the world that we should have wished her to be. She has sometimes let herself drift into the imperialism which is the natural outcome of industrial capitalism in our age. In many ways she is typical of the wildest form of capitalist society, and this has inevitably left its mark on American politics.

But America has at the same time fostered some of the most spirited idealism on earth. It may be that this idealism derives its vigor from the squalor and evil produced by social conditions, in other words from the contrasts within itself. It is certainly an undeniable fact, which must strike anyone who knows the country, that the American nation has an instinctive and profound faith in what the philosophers of 100 or 150 years ago used to call human perfectability, the capacity to become more and more perfect. It is a faith which has provided the foundation for some of our greatest religions and one which has inspired much of the best work for progress. It was proclaimed by Jesus Christ; it inspired the work of men like Emerson and Wergeland.³ To the American mind nothing is impossible. This attitude applies not only to science and technology but to social forms and conditions as well. To an American an ideal is not just a beautiful mirage but a practical reality the

³Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), American essayist and philosopher. Henrik Arnold Wergeland (1808–1845), Norwegian poet, dramatist, and patriot.

implementation of which is every man's duty. American social idealism expresses itself as a burning desire to devote work and life to the construction of a more equitable society, in which men will show each other greater consideration in their mutual relations, will provide stronger protection to the weak, and will offer greater opportunities for the beneficent forces of progress.

Two of the finest representatives of this American idealism are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize today. Both have worked assiduously and for many years to revive the ideal of peace and to rekindle the spirit of peace in their own nation and in the whole of mankind.

In honoring Jane Addams, we also pay tribute to the work which women can do for peace and fraternity among nations. The old concept implied that woman was the source of nearly all sin and strife on earth. Popular tradition and poetry would also have it that women were frequently the cause of the wars waged by kings and nations. I know of only one legend to the contrary, the story of the Sabine women who threw themselves between their Roman fathers and brothers and their Sabine husbands.

In modern times the poets, starting with Goethe, Ibsen, and Bjørnson⁴, have seen women in a different light; in their eyes women reflect the highest and purest moral standards of society. And no man has placed greater faith in the work of women for the cause of peace than did Bjørnson. It is this new position acquired by women in the society of our time, their new independence in relation to men, that gave us reason to anticipate that they would constitute a new force in the work for peace. Bjørnson seemed to see women as bringing "the spirit of calm to the tumult of battle", with the prayer that love should prevail over the passion to kill, and to believe that when women obtained power in society and in the state, the very spirit of war must die.

We must nevertheless acknowledge that women have not altogether fulfilled the hopes we have placed in them. They have allowed too much scope to the old morality of men, the morality of war. In practical politics we have seen too little of that love, that warm maternal feeling which renders murder and war so hateful to every woman. But fortunately we have seen something of this feminine will which revolts against war. Whenever women have organized, they have always included the cause of peace in their program. And Jane Addams combines all the best feminine qualities which will help us to develop peace on earth.

Twice in my life, once more than twenty years ago and now again this year, I have had the pleasure of visiting the institution where she has been carrying on her lifework. In the poorest districts of Chicago, among Polish, Italian, Mexican, and other immigrants, she has established and maintained the vast social organization centered in Hull-House⁵. Here young and old alike, in fact all who ask, receive a

⁴Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German poet and dramatist. Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Norwegian poet and dramatist. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910), Norwegian poet, novelist, and dramatist; recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature for 1903.

⁵See Jane Addams's biography; see at: pp. 195–198.

helping hand whether they wish to educate themselves or to find work. When you meet Miss Addams here—be it in meeting room, workroom, or dining room—you immediately become poignantly aware that she has built a *home* and in it is a *mother* to one and all. She is not one to talk much, but her quiet, greathearted personality inspires confidence and creates an atmosphere of goodwill which instinctively brings out the best in everyone.

From this social work, often carried on among people of different nationalities, it was for her only a natural step to the cause of peace. She has now been its faithful spokesman for nearly a quarter of a century. Little by little, through no attempt to draw attention by her work but simply through the patient self-sacrifice and quiet ardor which she devoted to it, she won an eminent place in the love and esteem of her people. She became the leading woman in the nation, one might almost say its leading citizen. Consequently, the fact that she took a stand for the ideal of peace was of special significance; since millions of men and women looked up to her, she could give a new strength to that ideal among the American people.

And when the need became more pressing than ever, she inspired American women to work for peace on an international level. We shall always remember as one of the finest and most promising events during the last great war, the gathering of women from all over the world, even from enemy countries, who met to discuss and pursue common action for world peace. The initiative for this conference, which took place at The Hague in April of 1915, came from the Dutch women, and it is only right to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. Aletta Jacobs⁶ who stood at their head. But it was natural that they should ask Miss Addams to come to preside over their conference. From the moment the war broke out, she had launched a propaganda campaign, with the aim of uniting America and the other neutral countries to end the war, and had succeeded in forming a great organization of women to support this program. So it was that she energetically opposed the entry of the United States into the war. She held fast to the ideal of peace even during the difficult hours when other considerations and interests obscured it from her compatriots and drove them into the conflict. Throughout the whole war she toiled for a peace that would not engender a new war, becoming, as she did so, the spokesman for the pacifist women of the world. Sometimes her views were at odds with public opinion both at home and abroad. But she never gave in, and in the end she regained the place of honor she had had before in the hearts of her people. Devotion to a cause always inspires respect, and in her devotion Miss Addams is truly American. This very year she joined with representatives of countries all over the world to call for general disarmament.

In Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the great Columbia University in New York, the Nobel Committee sees a man who shares the qualities of Jane Addams. His work for peace began at about the same time as hers, some twenty-five years

⁶The International Congress of Women, with 1,500 delegates from 12 nations, assembled at The Hague on April 28, 1915, upon the invitation of the Dutch Committee of the International Suffrage Alliance of which Dr. Aletta Jacobs (1849–1929) was a leader.

ago, and it has been distinguished by tireless energy and a zeal almost without parallel. He is one of those men who give themselves completely to anything they undertake, always ready, always willing. Nothing can discourage him or sap his strength. Nothing can disturb the serene smile in his eyes. And his personality is infectious, for he communicates courage, vigor, and confidence to all who work with him. He has a great talent for putting others to work and for finding the right job for the right man. If there be a man who can truly be called American, then Butler is that man: a greathearted worker and a splendid organizer. I have watched him at work at his university and I have seen him preside over a peace conference—wherever he goes, an aura of vitality seems to follow him.

It was another winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Frenchman d'Estournelles de Constant, who drew him into the work for peace and who first oriented his efforts. In 1907 he was elected president of the American branch of the Conciliation Internationale which d'Estournelles himself had founded. While d'Estournelles' chief aim had been reconciliation between France and Germany and between France and England, Butler adopted a much wider program, and, as a result, the American branch rapidly became the most important in the whole organization.

In my opinion it would be difficult to name another peace organization which has persisted in such effective, tenacious, and steady work for the cause of peace as has this American group under the presidency of Butler. With typically American practical common sense, he saw the need to establish this work on a sound economic footing, and it was primarily his influence that prompted Carnegie to establish the very substantial Endowment for International Peace in 1910.⁷ Butler himself became president of one of its sections, that concerned with "intercourse and education", which he finally linked to the American branch of the Conciliation internationale, and later he became head of the Endowment itself. But throughout these years, the kind of work he did remained basically the same.

We can see at once that all this activity has been directed by a man of great knowledge and wide views. He has not confined himself merely to empty generalities but, on the contrary, has raised all the questions which might imperil international peace. He has had experts sent to examine potential causes of war in the Balkans, the Far East, and Mexico, and so has succeeded in compiling invaluable reports on a number of political danger spots. His main concern has always been the gathering of information on all kinds of international conditions and relationships, and his great ambition has been to create an "international mind", the will and the ability to examine every question from an international point of view which never forgets that in any dispute each of the two combatants may have his justification and consequently the right to a fair hearing. He himself has never failed in this obligation, and he has done more than most to draw attention to such a duty in all parts of the world.

⁷Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), American industrialist, who gave \$10,000,000 for the Endowment.

It is also worthy of mention that on one occasion four or five years ago he intervened in an actual situation, securing results that delighted many friends of peace. When Brind made his famous speech in April, 1927, proposing that France and the United States should agree to outlaw war, his appeal found no response in America until Butler took it up and successfully rallied public opinion to it. He himself had discussed the matter with Briand beforehand, and the work he then did⁸ drew America into the negotiations which, in the following year, resulted in what we know as the Kellogg Pact. People may hold differing opinions as to the practical effect of this pact, but it is at least a living proof of the development of the peace idea. It was no more than a just recognition that Briand should send particular words of thanks to Butler on the day the pact was signed. And it is only natural that in addition to Briand himself, two other Nobel Peace Prize winners, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Elihu Root, should have strongly supported Butler's candidacy for this year's prize.

In the case of peace workers such as Butler and Jane Addams, it is often difficult to point to tangible and manifest results of their actions or to particular events in political life with which their names may be associated. Those who set their sights on awakening and educating public opinion cannot expect swift victories of the kind that win popular acclaim. Consequently, it has come about—and perhaps had to come about—that the Peace Prizes have passed over such patient pioneers as these and have gone to statesmen holding governmental positions of authority who had the power to transform efforts for peace into treaties and other political measures.

But a statesman and the policies he represents reflect the social and intellectual conditions of his country. If his work is to endure, it must have a solidly developed foundation. Enterprises for peace such as the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaty, or the Kellogg Pact would have been impossible if they had not been backed by a desire and will for peace on the part of powerful sections of the people in all countries.

Certainly, there are profound forces which shape the progress of society and of the state, forces which inevitably affect what we call peace policy. New interests and new ideals are born which direct nations toward new forms of organization. The idea of international peace and justice can perhaps never attain ultimate victory until our entire society is reconstructed upon a new foundation. Such is the context of progress in all fields of society.

But any new idea which grows and prospers always needs men who can give it a clear and conscious form. Nothing in society ever moves forward of its own momentum; progress must always be sustained by the human thought, human will, and human action to transmute the need into a living social form. We should therefore recognize as a great historic mission the work of all those who help us to see the goal which, willingly or unwillingly, we should make our own, all those

⁸Among other things, Butler stirred up public discussion with the publication of an open letter in the *New York Times* (April 25, 1927).

who help to unite popular thought and public will in positive action for social reconstruction. With every specific idea that they implant in the popular will, they take us another step along the road to the new society.

It is to two such people that we now pay tribute. A long labor, rich in sacrifice offered in the cause of peace, is today honored by the Nobel Prize. Miss Addams and President Butler belong to those who have brought the ideals of peace to life in thousands and thousands of people. They have taught large sections of the population to demand peace from their leaders. They have created forces which will stimulate progress, and all those who aspire to a peaceful society on earth are deeply in their debt.

About the Author



Jane Addams (September 6, 1860–May 21, 1935) won worldwide recognition in the first third of the twentieth century as a pioneer social worker in America, as a feminist, and as an internationalist. She was born in Cedarville, Illinois, the eighth of nine children. Her father was a prosperous miller and local political leader who served for sixteen years as a state senator and fought as an officer in the Civil War; he was a friend of Abraham Lincoln whose letters to him began “My Dear Double D-’ed Addams”. Because of a congenital spinal defect, Jane was not physically vigorous when young nor truly robust even later in life, but her spinal difficulty was remedied by surgery. In

1881 Jane Addams was graduated from the Rockford Female Seminary, the valedictorian of a class of seventeen, but was granted the bachelor’s degree only after the school became accredited the next year as Rockford College for Women. In the course of the next six years she began the study of medicine but left it because of poor health, was hospitalized intermittently, traveled and studied in Europe for twenty-one months, and then spent almost two years in reading and writing and in considering what her future objectives should be. At the age of twenty-seven, during a second tour to Europe with her friend Ellen G. Starr, she visited a settlement house, Toynbee Hall, in London’s East End. This visit helped to finalize the idea then current in her mind, that of opening a similar house in an underprivileged area of Chicago. In 1889 she and Miss Starr leased a large home built by Charles Hull at the corner of Halsted and Polk Streets. The two friends moved in, their purpose, as expressed later, being “to provide a center for a higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago”.

Miss Addams and Miss Starr made speeches about the needs of the neighborhood, raised money, convinced young women of well-to-do families to help, took care of children, nursed the sick, listened to outpourings from troubled people. By its second year of existence, Hull House was host to two thousand people every week. There were kindergarten classes in the morning, club meetings for older

children in the afternoon, and for adults in the evening more clubs or courses in what became virtually a night school. The first facility added to Hull House was an art gallery, the second a public kitchen; then came a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a cooperative boarding club for girls, a book bindery, an art studio, a music school, a drama group, a circulating library, an employment bureau, a labor museum.

As her reputation grew, Miss Addams was drawn into larger fields of civic responsibility. In 1905 she was appointed to Chicago's Board of Education and subsequently made chairman of the School Management Committee; in 1908 she participated in the founding of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and in the next year became the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. In her own area of Chicago she led investigations on midwifery, narcotics consumption, milk supplies, and sanitary conditions, even going so far as to accept the official post of garbage inspector of the Nineteenth Ward, at an annual salary of a thousand dollars. In 1910 she received the first honorary degree ever awarded to a woman by Yale University.

Jane Addams was an ardent feminist by philosophy. In those days before women's suffrage she believed that women should make their voices heard in legislation and therefore should have the right to vote, but more comprehensively, she thought that women should generate aspirations and search out opportunities to realize them.

For her own aspiration to rid the world of war, Jane Addams created opportunities or seized those offered to her to advance the cause. In 1906 she gave a course of lectures at the University of Wisconsin summer session which she published the next year as a book, *Newer Ideals of Peace*. She spoke for peace in 1913 at a ceremony commemorating the building of the Peace Palace at The Hague and in the next two years, as a lecturer sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, spoke against America's entry into the First World War. In January, 1915, she accepted the chairmanship of the Women's Peace Party, an American organization, and four months later the presidency of the International Congress of Women convened at The Hague largely upon the initiative of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, a Dutch suffragist leader of many and varied talents. When this congress later founded the organization called the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Jane Addams served as president until 1929, as presiding officer of its six international conferences in those years, and as honorary president for the remainder of her life.

Publicly opposed to America's entry into the war, Miss Addams was attacked in the press and expelled from the Daughters of the American Revolution, but she found an outlet for her humanitarian impulses as an assistant to Herbert Hoover in providing relief supplies of food to the women and children of the enemy nations, the story of which she told in her book *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922).

After sustaining a heart attack in 1926, Miss Addams never fully regained her health. Indeed, she was being admitted to a Baltimore hospital on the very day, December 10, 1931, that the Nobel Peace Prize was being awarded to her in Oslo. She died in 1935 three days after an operation revealed unsuspected cancer. The funeral service was held in the courtyard of Hull House.

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*Miss Addams did not deliver a Nobel lecture. Hospitalized at the time of the award ceremony in December, 1931, she later notified the Nobel Committee in April of

1932 that her doctors had decided it would be unwise for her to go abroad.

1. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, p. 112.

From *Nobel Lectures, Peace 1926–1950*, Editor Frederick W. Haberman, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1972. This autobiography/biography was written at the time of the award and first published in the book series *Les Prix Nobel*. It was later edited and republished in *Nobel Lectures*. To cite this document, always state the source as shown above.

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About the Editor



Dr. Patricia M. Shields is a Professor in the Department of Political Science of Texas State University. She received her BA in Economics from the University of Maryland College Park (1973). She further pursued her study in Economics at Ohio State University by earning a Masters of Arts (1975) and finished her educational pursuit with a Ph.D. in Public Administration (1977). She began teaching at Texas State in 1978 and received tenure in 1984. Since her Texas State career began, she has received many awards for excellence in teaching such as the National Association for Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Leslie A Whittington Excellence in Teaching Award (2002),

The Texas State Presidential Award for Excellence in Teaching (2001), the Texas State Faculty Senate, Everette Swinney Teaching Award (2010) as well as the Professor of the Year Award from the Central Texas Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration (2006). She has taught 10 graduate and undergraduate courses including statistics, public finance, public policy, public sector economics and research methods. Currently she focuses on the MPA Program capstone process and has supervised over 400 Applied Research Projects, many of which have won national and regional awards. She has published over 60 articles and book chapters in subjects such as public pricing, cut back management, privatization, the sunset review process, military recruitment, conscription, women in the military, military families, expeditionary and peacekeeping forces, positive peace, and military bureaucracies. She is most well-known for applying the philosophy of pragmatism to public administration and research methods in public administration. It was in this literature that she found the works of Jane Addams and Addams's link to public administration. She has also published two books *Step by Step: Building a Research Paper* and *A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management* (with Nandhini Rangarajan) and an edited book *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Military Studies* (with Joseph Soeters and Sebastiaan Rietjens). In 1984 she won the Texas State Presidential Seminar research award and in 2007 she won the *Public*

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