

Jane Addams and Hull House: Immigrants, Women, and Peace in the Progressive Era

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I

After the Civil War American society experienced rapid industrialization, remarkable urbanization, and a vast influx of immigrants. By the end of the nineteenth century, these unprecedented social transformations caused a basic conflict between the old frontier spirit and the values of a new urban order. Although the Social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century which held that a person's fortunes reflected his inherent "fitness" for survival was still popular among many Americans, they had to confront loathsome realities that apparently contradicted the theory¹. They saw that laissez-faire policies led to the growth of monopoly and that the recurrent depressions forced even industrious Christians to live a miserable life.

By the turn of the century, the so-called progressive reformers came to think that ignorance, poverty, and even criminality were not the result of inherent moral or genetic failings. Rather, they gradually realized that these problems were the effects of an unhealthy environment and stressed the environment, as opposed to individual character defects, as being at the root of social problems. To save the distressed, therefore, required improvements in the conditions under which they lived. Some urban reformers emphasized the social functions of religion as a cure for social disorders. At the same time, city churches became keenly aware of their declining membership among the working class and responded to the crisis by developing the institutional church in lower-class neighborhoods. By the early twentieth century a powerful movement within

American Christianity, called the Social Gospel, emerged as a strong force in the effort to produce a recovery in the nation's cities. The church progressives hoped to spread the Social Gospel by offering both material aid and spiritual services to the urban poor and "new" immigrants.

On the other hand, in the 1880's and 1890's, borrowing ideas from reform movements in England, groups of earnest young men and women began to establish settlement houses in slums and immigrant neighborhoods. Most of them were greatly influenced by the writings of John Ruskin, professor of fine arts at Oxford and social reformer in England. Ruskin believed that all aspects of society, such as art, religion, and morality were so interrelated that only a healthy society could produce great arts². Jane Addams was one of these young people. After leaving Rockford Female Seminary in 1881, she had been searching for a meaningful life. Addams' aspiration to do something meaningful led her to decide to move into a slum in Chicago. There, with the help of Ellen Gates Starr, she devoted her energies to founding a settlement house called Hull House.

This paper aims to examine Jane Addams' thoughts about the settlement house movement, immigrants, peace, and women's place in American society. Some historians such as Robert H. Wiebe believe that the Progressive movement was significant in the sense that the professional middle class with a new set of social values tried to seek a new order fit for modern, industrial American society³. Considering social work as a new profession, many pioneers of the settlement house movement, who were greatly influenced by John Dewey's pragmatism, were eager to apply the new instruments of social science to their experiments. But my research of the settlements of that time reveals that coupled with the new pragmatic thought, more traditional, conservative values played an important role in implementing the settlement house movement. It would be wrong, however, to consider the settlements as merely a backward-looking movement. Although the initial motives of the activities were based upon traditional social values, the experiment did bring fruit to

later women's liberation movements. To trace the formative years of her thoughts and the influence of her activities on American society, therefore, is to be of great help in reevaluating Jane Addams (1860-1935) and the settlement house movement in the context of women's history. This does not mean, of course, that Jane Addams' thoughts and achievements represent the whole character of the settlement house movement and women workers. Yet her life and thoughts seem to epitomize what early American women settlement workers thought and how they tried to transform their thoughts into action. This attempt to explore Addams' life and thoughts from the perspective of women's history, I hope, could lead to a broader understanding of the settlement-house movement.

II

In January of 1889 Jane Addams and Ellen G. Starr went to Chicago, searching for a neighborhood in which they might put their plans into action. There they tried to found a settlement modeled on Toynbee Hall in London⁴. This story is well known, but what puzzles us is their motives for this bold attempt: how did they decide to undertake such a plan? How did these well-bred, educated women wind up living in the brawling slums of Chicago? In the first place, a close look at Jane Addams' early life will give us some answers to these questions.

Jane Addams was born on September 6, 1860, in Cedarville, Illinois. There were still frontier surroundings, where Jane Addams led a relatively peaceful, calm life until she went to Rockford at the age of seventeen. Since her mother unfortunately died in 1863 when Jane was three, it was her father, John Addams and his friend, Abraham Lincoln who had a determining influence on young Jane⁵. Jane Addams was never close to her stepmother. It was natural that she usually depended on her father; thus, her father's way of life and thinking had a great influence on her.

John Addams was, as it were, a "prototype pioneer."⁶ As a settler in

pioneer country, he had to plant pine trees and rebuild the grist mill he had bought. He furthermore helped organize the building of a railroad, the Galena & Chicago Union. By 1849, when the township of Cedarville was laid out, he was successful enough to be among Cedarville's most respected citizens. In 1854 John Addams was elected to the State Senate as a Whig. As his career indicates, he epitomized the American success story in the West: he was an independent, honest, and diligent westerner. He never received a bribe and was never offered one⁷. He was called the "king gentleman" of the district. John Addams was a model of the frontiersman.

Jane Addams learned to adore her father as an independent, ingenious man. At the same time, the frontier spirit had a great influence on her later life. Jane Addams wrote later, reflecting upon her frontier life:

The word "settlement," which we have borrowed from London, is apt to grate a little upon American ears. It is not, after all, so long ago that Americans who settled were those who had adventured into a new country, where they were pioneers in the midst of difficult surroundings. The word still implies migrating from one condition of life to another totally unlike it, and against this implication the resident of an American settlement takes alarm⁸.

Although she did not like to acknowledge that America was divided into two worlds—civilized life and wilderness—, after her long years of searching she made up her mind to jump into the new urban frontier to do something challenging⁹.

Another determining influence of her life came from President Abraham Lincoln. Jane's father was Lincoln's friend and one of his strong supporters in Illinois. In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Jane Addams recalls the day when Lincoln died:

To my amazement I found my father in tears, something that I had

never seen before, having assumed, as all children do, that grown-up people never cried. The two flags, my father's tears and his impressive statement that the greatest man in the world had died, constituted my initiation, my baptism, as it were, into the thrilling and solemn interests of a world lying quite outside the two white gate posts¹⁰.

Lincoln and his close friendship with her father taught her the value of democratic society. In later establishing a settlement house, Jane's admiration for Lincoln's efforts to save the democratic republic from collapsing grew into "the desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression."¹¹

At seventeen Jane went to Rockford Female Seminary. By that time she had hardly noticed the wretched life of the "other half," though she knew something of the world beyond peaceful Cedarville from books and conversations. At first she wanted to go to Smith College, where a more exciting, sophisticated world seemed open to her. Her stepmother, however, insisted that girls should be educated as near to home as possible, and promised Jane that her reward for graduation would be a trip to Europe¹². The choice of Rockford inevitably forced Jane Addams to face two serious problems—religion and women's education.

John Addams never joined a church and he never had Jane baptised, though he himself was a Quaker and taught at Sunday school. This attitude towards religion gave Jane the strength to resist the evangelical pressures of Rockford. She confessed to her friend, Ellen G. Starr in a letter that "Christ won't help me in the least, I know it is because I don't appreciate him, . . . I think of him simply as a Jew living hundreds of years ago, . . ."¹³ Surrounded by the atmosphere of Rockford's Christian indoctrination, she agonized over her religious state. She knew that she should believe in Christ, but she could not. She had to find a way to solve the problem. In the end she found a solution in the belief that religion became not a matter of Christian dogma, but of ethics in the

service of all human beings¹⁴. By applying a practical sense of "Christian morality" to religion, she was able to overcome her spiritual crisis in her college days. This humanistic conclusion, however, resulted in closing off church missionary work as a career option¹⁵.

The second important influence on her life during the years of Rockford was the fact that she began to be keenly aware of womanhood and women's education. Throughout her school years she was always conscious of the growing development of Rockford Seminary into a college. Looking back on her young days, she wrote that "the opportunity for our Alma Mater to take her [Rockford's] place in the new movement of full college education for women filled us with enthusiasm, and it became a driving ambition with the undergraduates to share in this new and glorious undertaking.¹⁶" When Jane was selected as one of the participants in the intercollegiate oratorical contest of Illinois, she was somewhat dismayed to feel herself to be "representing not only one school but college women in general.¹⁷"

Thus at Rockford, Jane Addams awoke to a sense of "Christian morality" beyond strict Christian dogma and a sense of women's place in society. Instead of reading the Bible, she read Carlyle, Browning, and Ruskin as well as the Greek and Roman classics. In addition, she became interested in natural science. As early as 1880 she gave a speech on American women at Rockford:

We mean the change which has taken place during the last fifty years in the ambition and aspirations of woman; 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 progress¹⁸.

From the time she left Rockford in June of 1881 until she founded Hull House in 1889, Jane Addams struggled to find something meaningful for her life. Before experiencing the actual urban world, she discussed American women and many problems of urban life with some of her friends. But it still did not give her the drive to turn to the reform movement. Like those of most college students, her plans for the future were yet to be determined. Later she confessed that "during most of that time she was absolutely at sea so far as any moral purpose was concerned, clinging only to the desire to live in a really living world and refusing to be content with a shadowy intellectual or esthetic reflection of it."¹⁹

In October 1881 she entered the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. After remaining there only seven months, however, she returned to Cedarville. Although she had long thought the matter over, her heart was no longer in the profession of medicine. Moreover, the nervous shock of her father's death that summer and unwilling hard work at the Medical College caused her health to break down. The following winter she was completely invalided and felt deeply depressed. When she recovered, she went to Europe to study art and history and explored the great European cities. Especially among her experiences, she was deeply impressed with Toynbee Hall of London's East End. In a sense, these years were a stressful period for her, during which she was searching for meaningful activities, criticizing for herself, and experiencing moments of despair.

Gradually "a good scheme" began to form in her mind. According to her autobiography, watching a Spanish bull fight made her keenly realize the harsher realities of the world in which she lived. Then she felt that her search for meaning would be accomplished only when she took some action²⁰. "The scheme" in April of 1888 was not the founding of a settlement house. Her idea was no clearer than living in a poor neighborhood to do something good for the poor. In 1889 Jane Addams thus went to

Chicago, experimenting with "her scheme" with the help of her friend, Ellen G. Starr.

III

Allen F. Davis, a historian of Progressivism, has claimed that settlements were "spearheads for reform" in the progressive era²¹. But he does not explain well the ideological background on which the settlement house movement was based. What was a settlement house for Jane Addams? What kind of vision did she hold about her settlement house? To understand her true vision we must further examine her thoughts and activities, especially those on education, the immigrant community, and urban politics.

Soon after Jane Addams and Ellen G. Starr established a settlement house in the nineteenth ward of Chicago, they realized that it was crucial to use educational skills and intellectual powers for the spiritual uplift of the poor. During their struggling period they were greatly influenced by John Dewey, then professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. Dewey's instrumentalism, which was the backbone of an organized formulation of his pragmatic thought, appealed to many reform-minded youth. His stress on action and experiment to cope with social problems in industrial society soon became the ideological cornerstone of the settlement workers. Jane Addams maintained that "a settlement is a protest against a restricted view of education."²² At the same time, middle-class young people of that time felt an intense need to put theory into action. Jane Addams said that "[they] responded quickly to the settlement form of activity."²³ In addition to practical activities, such as daily aids to the poor families of their neighborhood, and health and child care, Hull House increasingly sought to bring knowledge and culture into the immigrants' neighborhood. It provided various kinds of seminars and reading classes on subjects from classical novels to labor problems, Jane thought that Plato and Shakespeare were for all mankind and expected her neighbors to enjoy them, and she believed that spiritual as well as material im-

provement was essential for the immigrants²⁴.

Perhaps the most characteristic of Jane Addams' attempts to infuse culture into the immigrants' community was the Hull House Labor Museum. What she tried to do in the museum was to make the immigrants value their long neglected skills brought with them from Europe, and to bridge the generation gap between the immigrant children and their parents. Influenced by John Ruskin's thought, Jane Addams and Ellen G. Starr believed that art was an expression of the life of a society and was only healthy when the society creating it was healthy²⁵. This belief was also given force by John Dewey who encouraged and kept in contact with Jane Addams. Strongly supported by these thoughts, she asserted a new version of environmentalism. While the traditional view of the environment was usually considered as the given and natural one, Jane Addams and her fellows took the environment to be a social one. When they saw immigrants and their hard life close up from day to day, they became convinced that the poor immigrants were not mere deficient specimens of economic man. To them it appeared that the new environment, which people were making for the immigrants and their children, prevented them from cultivating and nourishing their natural instincts²⁶. This notion led the settlement workers living in impoverished areas of the city to support movements for constructing public parks and play grounds.

On the other hand, Robert Woods, head resident of South End House in Boston, seems to have had a different kind of view of the neighborhood. Comparing Wood's view of the neighborhood with Addams' would be helpful in getting a clearer understanding of Jane Addams's place in the settlement house movement. Woods founded the South End House in 1891, when immigration and industrialization were bringing about Boston's rapid economic and demographic growth and dismantling the city's ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Influenced by the rising Anglo-Saxon concept of nationalism in American society, Woods disliked the impersonal, anonymity and heterogeneity of big cities, and longed to restore traditional social harmony and amiable face-to-face relationships²⁷. Of

course, Jane Addams also hoped for social harmony through the creation of "a reciprocal relation" of social classes. However, her view of the neighborhood sharply differed from Woods'.

Robert Woods preached revival of the neighborhood. He maintained that in an age when industrialism and immigration made the city spread out at a remarkably rapid rate, some unit smaller than the city but larger than the family would be necessary to revive public morality, virtue, and good government²⁸. He urged for "the recovery of the parish." Later Woods wrote:

Neighborhood fellowship, without in the least lowering the value of any special loyalty of culture, tradition, or faith, can penetrate and surround them all as radium can carry its ray through apparently solid objects. This constitutes the marvelous power of the neighborhood idea and its surpassing adaptability to our political and moral needs. The neighborhood is thus the first unit of measurement for the progress of the Kingdom of God; and it stands ready to the hand of every local church²⁹.

He thus hoped to create "hundreds of democratic villages" to cope with various problems in the disordered industrial society³⁰. For Woods the primary goal of restoring communal harmony was rather conservative and resulted from nostalgic feelings for the small New England town familiar to Boston's leadership³¹. Moreover, he thought that the "new" immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe should be Americanized as soon as possible. To him Americanization meant the assimilation of the new immigrants into Anglo-American civilization represented by the New England tradition. He was particularly embarrassed by a vast influx of newly arrived immigrants into Boston at the turn of the century. Frustrated by this situation, Woods regarded new immigrants "as an inferior breed of peasants in whom the human light had all but gone out," and could not help proposing the restriction of numbers of immigrants entering

the country³². At one conference, when Woods insisted ardently on his idea of neighborhood revival, Jane Addams became annoyed and disagreed with his idea. She bluntly said, "Mr. Woods, I do not believe in geographical salvation."³³ Denying Woods' narrow, dogmatic definition of Americanization, Jane Addams maintained that "the application of a collective judgement in regard to aliens in the United States is particularly stupid."³⁴ She urged American people to be patient enough to understand the inner life of the immigrants and their great diversity. And she went on to say that the Americans would never succeed very well in Americanizing the new immigrants until they had tried to do so in "wider channels" and their conception of nationalism had been transformed from "a dogma of the eighteenth century" to "the evolutionary conception of the twentieth century."³⁵

While Robert Woods based his vision on pre-industrial, more orderly New England life, Jane Addams' view came from the frontier of Cedarville. As I have already mentioned, strongly influenced by her father's virtuous pioneer activism and President Lincoln's faith in democracy, Jane also viewed the settlement as a means to restore the wholesome relationships of ethnically or class divided communities in the highly capitalistic, industrial society. However, her vision was not a confined one like Woods', but was rather a universal one. She realized that tightly-knitted town meeting democracy was becoming impossible even in a small town, and that the application of that notion to the cities could never solve the real social problems which were brought about by a vast influx of various immigrants and by the exploitation of them in urban industry. Rather, Jane thought that it was the independent, simple, and honest way of life of the frontier that would heal the social diseases of modern American society. In her words, "to make the entire social organism democratic" was "the Subjective Necessity for Social Settlement."³⁶

The different attitudes of the two thinkers towards the social settlements resulted in a disagreement about the issue of the restriction of the immigrants. With the onset of World War I, the problem of Americanizing

the immigrants and the debate over restriction forced settlement workers to reexamine the immigrants' role in American culture. Clinging to his Anglo-American assimilationist view, Robert Woods soon joined in the formation of the Immigration Restriction League³⁷. During wartime he became an ardent patriot, and called on the Boston settlement houses to cooperate in encouraging army enlistments³⁸. On the other hand, under the direction of Grace Abbott, Jane Addams and other Hull House residents set out to organize the Immigrant Protective League in Chicago in 1908. With the outbreak of World War I, Jane devoted her energies to organizing and publicizing the peace movement and continued to do so even after the entry of the United States into the war in 1917. As a result, her popularity and high reputation sharply declined³⁹. What made her risk her established social position by supporting the immigrants and peace?

From the first days of establishing Hull House, Jane Addams turned her eyes not to native-born residents in Chicago, but rather to the immigrants and their families struggling to survive in their neighborhood⁴⁰. As early as 1889, more than 70 percent of Chicago's population were foreign-born. Although the other 30 percent were classed as "American," many were second-generation Europeans⁴¹. In addition, class conflicts made Chicago one of the most strike-prone cities in the country. Faced with this situation, Jane Addams tried to reduce these class barriers and build "a bridge between European and American experiences in such way as to give them both more meaning and a sense of relation."⁴² Through the experiences of travelling in Europe, she came to respect the venerable cultures of the Old World and to understand the cultural diversity in the world. She hoped that "immigrant colonies might yield to our American life something very valuable, if their resources were intelligently studied and developed"⁴³.

The most notable of her views on immigrants was the broad perception of the immigrants' problems. Addams came to the conclusion that immigration restriction would never lead to a solution of the social

ills of American society. Moreover, it was important for her to help immigrants cope with harsh realities. She observed that "the working-men are not organized socially; although living in crowded tenement houses, they are living without a corresponding social contact."⁴⁴ To be brief, she was convinced that to solve the immigrants' problems the entire social organism, not merely a select segment of it, should be reformed. Although she herself later admitted her political innocence, Addams, inspired by this notion of "good society" but also influenced by Florence Kelley—an articulate feminist reformer—increasingly turned to political and economic reforms.

In 1893, a severe economic depression occurred. The troubled times made such activities as fund-raising and job-hunting more difficult. Political tensions added to these problems. Local party leaders and ward bosses were at best reluctant to share their influence and support. They saw Hull House as interfering with their patronage power, and they used their political pressure to curtail the settlement activities. In spite of these multiple discouraging factors, Hull House managed to pull through.

The arrival of Florence Kelley, a former Marxist and translator of Engels with a degree in economics from Zurich, brought to Hull House the radical, realistic conviction that "what the American poor needed was not more art but more food."⁴⁵ Thus, through the leadership of Florence Kelley and the first-hand experiences in Hull House, the outlook of Jane Addams and other social workers was gradually broadened from limited social activities such as improving sanitary conditions. They began to deal with economic and political tasks such as protecting immigrant workers from the insecurities of injury and from the miseries of inadequate pay and long working hours. And above all, they learned more about politics—the need of political reforms to solve various social problems—through the battle against Johnny Powers, the nineteenth ward's boss⁴⁶. These experiences sharpened their political awareness.

Such politically inspired beliefs also led the social workers to depend upon themselves. By this time, Jane Addams had begun to develop a

rudimentary understanding of women's place in human history, the forces which had produced it, and some possibilities for changing it. The settlement was less the place for educated, middle-class women to apply their knowledge towards the improvement of society than a place where they interacted with one another and gained force from mutual discussions and concrete activities. They realized that through the settlement activities they could deal with the problems created by industrialization, urbanization, and huge numbers of immigrants.

IV

Throughout the life of Jane Addams, her unshaken humanitarian attitudes towards immigrants, urban problems, and peace were closely related to her view of women. What view did she hold of women? How was her view of women connected with the settlement movement? After the Civil War many colleges for women—for example, Vassar in 1861, Wellesley in 1870, and Smith in 1871—began to be established. College education thus brought a large number of women students into national intellectual life in the 1890s and early 1900s, and this fostered not only a new awareness of problems about women, but also the expansion of women's roles⁴⁷. Many of the women students gradually came to think that they should pursue active and socially beneficial careers, but American society provided no such outlet for them. It was at this time that Addams entered Rockford Seminary where the dominant ethos was the domestic piety tradition. Rockford's motto was "to develop moral and religious character in accordance with right principles, that it may send out cultivated Christian women in the various fields of usefulness."⁴⁸ Thus, most of Jane Addams' classmates became either good mothers or missionaries.

Did Jane Addams completely reject both of these roles, then? Some historians like Staughton Lynd have emphasized her life as one of a radical reformer⁴⁹. Looking at her accomplishments in American society, one may well consider her as one of the notable protagonists in "the Age

of Reform.” The close reading of her letters and writings suggests, however, that her vision of the ideal American society still reflected Rockford’s dominant ethos, an ethos closely linked to Victorian standards of femininity. As Robert A. Woods never could break away from the nostalgia for small, homogeneous New England society, Jane Addams could not shake off the Victorian values of femininity. In 1910 she wrote:

... Woman’s traditional function has been to make her dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally cooperating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?⁵⁰

Addams had won confidence that education could contribute to the activation of female spirits, but her vision was always to be contained within the narrow confines of women’s traditional sphere⁵¹.

In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Jane Addams warned her readers that “women, rightly confident of their household and family integrity and holding to their own code of morals, fail to see the household in its social aspect.⁵²” Further, she asserted that it was a time to introduce women’s virtue into the disordered industrial society. By doing so, she believed, socially isolated women could be connected and ethical society could be reorganized “in line with associated effort.⁵³” To Jane Addams, the closing of the frontier in the 1890s did not mean the release of women from the old ideal of the self-sufficient household, but rather the opportunity to apply the traditional women’s virtue to a disordered world. She considered the confused urban society as a new frontier and tried to infuse the domestic piety tradition into society.

In the late nineteenth century, the tendency to limit families and the invention of labor-saving devices freed women from doing household

chores and allowed them to work and enjoy more leisure hours out of the home⁵⁴. In fact, many young women started to work for a company and came in contact with the outside world which had been preserved for men. Thus, the unmistakable fact that working-class women were a significant part of the labor force made Addams realize much more the necessity of women's voice in social and political spheres. It was in the depression of 1893 that she began to redefine her assumptions about American democracy. Then Addams could not help thinking about female suffrage in the larger context of the whole democratic movement⁵⁵. She declared that "it was necessary that woman should extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety."⁵⁶ She furthermore thought that in an industrial city many working women were being dehumanized and that the government was increasingly acting the mother role for its citizen by trying to cope with such urban problems as better housing, public health, and education of the immigrants. She believed, therefore, that in such a society "the judgement of women is most necessary" and that they must regain their old functions in society; hence, women must participate in a government that was taking in the role of mother⁵⁷. Thus Jane Addams claimed that women should have the vote precisely because they would be moral, tender mothers for both government and society; unlike militant men, women could help heal the evils of the corrupted, disordered industrial society. In brief, women's nurturing, patient and passive characteristics seemed to her essential to cope with social problems⁵⁸.

When the First World War broke out, Addams tried to apply the notion of women's virtue to the problem of war and developed the belief that it was the natural role of women to lead the world in the eradication of violence and that women were the natural protectors of human beings⁵⁹. Believing that the female spirit of nurturing was opposed to the male spirit of militarism, Addams set about organizing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. But her pacifism soon aroused

acute criticism. The impact of World War I on American intellectuals was so great that even Liberal Progressives split over Wilson's decision to enter the war. John Dewey, who shared many political and social values with Jane Addams, finally supported the war. Criticizing the dominance of irresponsible *laissez-faire* ideology in industrial America, Dewey claimed that belief in *laissez-faire* coupled with social Darwinism was a "vicious and demoralizing ethic." This doctrine, he believed, produced a pernicious idea about social progress: the "widespread belief that each of us, as individuals and as classes, might safely and complacently devote ourselves to increasing our own possessions, material, intellectual, and artistic, because progress is inevitable anyhow.⁶⁰" He thought that no matter how brutal war might be, it would awaken Americans and rescue them from such a wrong and selfish dream. On the other hand, despite many intellectuals' enthusiastic support for the war, Addams' belief in America's non-military intervention was firm; she actively participated in the Woman's Peace Party program and the International Congress of Women at The Hague in 1915⁶¹. Also, she urged Americans to try their best to discover "an adequate moral basis for a new relationship between nations.⁶²" She appealed to the audience at The Hague:

War itself destroys democracy wherever it thrives and tends to entrench militarism. If the object of the war is to down militarism, it must be clear that the very prolongation of the war entrenches the military ideal not only in Russia and Germany, but in the more democratic nations as well⁶³.

As we have seen so far, Jane Addams' view of women cannot always be considered progressive. Rather, it was conservative or even nostalgic. It was this notion that became the backbone of her settlement house movement. Her idea of motherhood and family extended out of the home and into first the neighborhood of Hull House, then the city, the nation, and finally the world⁶⁴. To Addams, in other words, Hull House was

a home place to spread the domestic value all over the world. Thus, it seemed to her that the immigrants were all her children. The ward boss was a devil to corrupt her children, and war was a detestable event which destroyed immigrants' social relations and created more problems than it solved.

From an ideological point of view, it might be proper to say that the social settlement was less a "spearhead for reform" than a "fortress for Victorian values." To be sure, the activities of Jane Addams and other Hull House residents helped reevaluate women's roles in early twentieth-century America. However, they succeeded in doing so by magnifying traditional domestic values. In this light, the values on which they founded their activities were not always compatible with those necessary for true women's liberation, as it was later defined by the feminist movement in the 1960s⁶⁵. Nonetheless, the experiments of Hull House did play a significant role in the development of the women's movement. They were doubtlessly an important step to later women's liberation efforts in the sense that women realized their usefulness in helping reform the industrial society and orient the future course of American history. And above all, Jane Addams' career became the object of admiration for all young ambitious women of later generations. Moreover, the settlement workers faced up to many women's problems through their broad activities, discussed them seriously with one another, and reconsidered their place in American society. It was these valuable experiences that became a legacy for the coming liberation movement.

Notes

- 1 For an excellent discussion on the rise and fall of social Darwinism in America, see Donald Fleming, "Social Darwinism," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), pp. 123-146.
- 2 Allen Freeman Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 4.
- 3 See particularly Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order, 1877-1920* (New

- York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
- 4 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), pp. 89-90.
 - 5 J. O. C. Phillips, "The Education of Jane Addams," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1974 14(1): pp. 50-51.
 - 6 Anne Firor Scott, "Jane Addams and the City," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 43 (winter 1967), p. 54.
 - 7 Margaret Tims, *Jane Addams of Hull House* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961), pp. 17-18.
 - 8 Jane Addams, "A Function of the Social Settlement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 13 (1899), in Lasch, ed., *Social Thought of Jane Addams*, p. 184.
 - 9 Jill Conway, "Jane Addams: An American Heroine," *Daedalus*, 1964 93(2): p. 766.
 - 10 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 23.
 - 11 Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1893), in Lasch, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 29.
 - 12 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 43.
 - 13 Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, 11 August, 1879, in Lasch, ed., *Social Thought of Jane Addams*, p. 3.
 - 14 Daniel Levine, *Jane Addams and the Liberal Tradition* (Madison; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971), pp. 19-21.
 - 15 J. O. C. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
 - 16 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 53-54.
 - 17 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, p. 55.
 - 18 Jane Addams, "Bread Givers" (1880), in *Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 103.
 - 19 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, p. 64.
 - 20 Amme F. Scott, "Jane Addams and the City," *op. cit.*, p. 55.
 - 21 See Allen F. Davis, *Spearhead for Reform*, pp. 3-25.
 - 22 Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, in Lasch, ed., *Social Thought of Jane Addams*, p. 35.
 - 23 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, p. 40.
 - 24 Staughton Lynd, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," *Commentary*, 1961 32 (1): p. 56.
 - 25 Helen L. Horowitz, "Varieties of Cultural Experience of Jane Addams' Chicago," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1974 14 (1): p. 76.
 - 26 Daniel Levine, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
 - 27 Edward S. Shapiro, "Robert A. Woods and the Settlement House Impulse," *Social Service Review*, 1978 52 (2): p. 218.
 - 28 Allen F. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76; and see particularly Robert A. Woods, *The Neighborhood in Nation-Building* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), chapters V and XII.

- 29 Robert A. Wood, *The Neighborhood in Nation-Building: The Running Comment of Thirty Years at the South End House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), p. 136.
- 30 David Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925: changing conceptions of the slum and the ghetto* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1989), p. 129.
- 31 Edward S. Shapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Shapiro's interpretation here is not very fresh. Allen F. Davis already pointed out Woods' view of the settlement as a limited, nostalgic one in his *Spearheads for Reform*. It is important to note, however, that Shapiro puts more emphasis on a New England background of Woods' vision.
- 32 David Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 33 Allen F. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 34 Jane Addams, "Americanization," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. 14 (1920), p. 212.
- 35 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, p. 213.
- 36 Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, in Lasch, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
- 37 Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 4-5.
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- 39 Jill Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 776-777.
- 40 Helen L. Horowitz, "Varieties of Cultural Experience of Jane Addams' Chicago," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1974 14 (1): p. 72.
- 41 James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935), p. 235.
- 42 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 235-236.
- 43 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, p. 246.
- 44 Jane Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, in Lasch, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 45 J. O. C. Phillips, "The Education of Jane Addams," *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 46 Daniel Levine, *op. cit.*, p. 75-79; For a good summary by a Japanese scholar on Addams' confrontation with the ward boss, see Hiroshi Tsunematsu, "Kaikakusha Jane Addams," *Shirin*, 1978 61 (2): pp. 66-99.
- 47 Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974), p. 4.
- 48 J. O. C. Phillips, "the Education of Jane Addams," *op. cit.* p. 50.
- 49 See Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963* (New York: Knopf, 1965); Staughton Lynd, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," *op. cit.*, pp. 54-59.
- 50 Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote" (1910), in *Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader*, p. 107.

- 51 J. C. O. Phillips, "The Education of Jane Addams," *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- 52 Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), p. 103.
- 53 Jane Addams, *ibid.*, pp. 135-136.
- 54 For a good case study on working women and their leisure in New York City, for example, see Kathy L. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: working women and leisure in turn-of-the-century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple U. P., 1986).
- 55 Jill Conway, "Jane Addams: An American Heroine," *op. cit.*, p. 774.
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- 60 John Dewey, "Progress" in Jo Ann Boydston ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899-1924*, vol. 10: 1916-1917 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), p. 238.
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- 63 Jane Addams, "The Women's Congress at The Hague" (1915), in *Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader*, p. 273.
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