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ROCKFORD FEMALE SEMINARY—AND AFTER

Jane Addams who is . . . albeit matured, still so much a fresh young intellectual of the 'eighties.

HERBERT M. DAVIDSON, 1928

By 1860, the year of Jane Addams' birth, the northernmost tier of counties in Illinois had passed through the pioneer stage and had reached the beginning of economic maturity. The original settlers—called "old settlers" by 1860—were no longer primarily concerned with planting and harvesting crops but were increasingly absorbed in commerce and manufacturing and in the building of railroads, colleges, and libraries. "The crudity and harshness of the pioneers had been subdued to a graciousness and idealism that found a shining example in the later Lincoln. This finer heritage of the pioneer came to Jane Addams, a spirit of mutual aid, of cooperation, of sharing experience, and of experiment for the common good." 1

Although he was a man with no more than a common-school education, John Huy Addams transmitted this fine pioneer heritage to his daughter Laura Jane. John Addams was a successful miller, a large landholder, and a leader in the public affairs of the region. He used part of his wealth to equip the community with cultural facilities. He labored long to make sure that the Chicago and Galena Railroad was not constructed south of the nearby commercial center of Freeport. In 1854 when the Republican party was organized, he ran as a Republican for the state senate, was elected, and served continuously from 1854 to 1870. During the Civil War he helped found, and became president of, a bank in Freeport. John Addams was not simply a man on the make. His political career and his bank career were based on the community's faith in his probity and rectitude. Widowed when Jane was two,

John Addams' deep and frequently stern affection inspired in his children his own devotion to truth and individual conscience.\(^2\)

John Addams' remarriage in 1867 when young Jennie was seven brought a spirited disciplinarian into the Addams household for the first time. Anna Haldeman brought high style and cultural accomplishment—along with two boys, the younger just Jennie's age—to the house at Cedar Creek Mills. Anna H. Addams knew the life of eastern cities. In her high-spirited way, she equipped John Addams' simple home with appurtenances suitable to what she felt was his social position. Mrs. Addams was widely read, and she was what was described in those years as "musically accomplished." She enjoyed fine clothes; she had traveled, and expected her children to enjoy the same advantages. Anna Addams also "could not always control her temper," but her temper alternated with a sweeping tenderness and deep understanding. Young Jennie, accustomed to the unfailing serenity and indulgent love of her father and older sister Mary, must have resented the new discipline.\(^3\)

In 1847 John Addams helped start the first subscription library in the county. The books were located at the Addams household. While not a large library, nor one that contained the scientific exhibits and apparatus usually connected with libraries in more settled parts of the country, the Union Library Company at Cedar Creek Mills gave its members access to a wide range of information. American history and biography predominated. There were books on scattered scientific, religious and ethical, and economic subjects. The library also contained a surprising number of books of special interest to women. Included were Catherine E. Beecher, Treatise on Domestic Economy, Miss Margaret Coxe, Claims of the Country on American Females, Hannah More's Works, Mrs. Sarah Stickney Ellis, Daughters of England and Wives of England.

\(^2\) John Addams was a friend of Lincoln's in the Illinois legislature; there were letters from Lincoln which made personal what has been called the Lincoln ideal. See Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America, the Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities (New York, 1958). Although John Addams' bank was agent for Jay Cooke's Northern Pacific bonds, "we think no one invested in those securities on his advice, so careful and conscientious was he in all business matters." Unidentified newspaper obituary, August 18 [1881], in "Miss Sill's Scrapbook," Rockford College Archives.

\(^3\) Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams as I Knew Her," Reviewer's Library. VII (1936), 4.
and a *Guide to Social Happiness*. Young Jane Addams had easy access to this library and to the large personal collection of her father. John Addams was devoted to books. By offering his children five cents for each of Plutarch’s *Lives* they could report to him, he tried to pass on his cosmopolitan reading tastes. Mrs. Anna Addams recalled later how the family used to enjoy reading modern fiction together.\(^4\)

These resources multiplied many times Jane's formal academic training which the village school in Cedarville provided. There was never any doubt that she would go on to college. John Addams was a trustee of Rockford Female Seminary, which had been chartered in 1847, a year after its brother institution, Beloit College, to serve northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. The seminary and college were founded by Congregational and Presbyterian clergymen who decreed that "moral and religious influence" was to be of prime importance in the schools. In addition, "the standard of mental culture was to be . . . set and maintained at the highest practicable point." \(^5\) Jane's older sisters had the benefit of the seminary's mental culture, and then finished their education by travel in Europe. Her aspirations for schooling in the East at the new Smith College were not strong enough to break this pattern. In the fall of 1877, Jane Addams entered the seminary with some feelings of condescension about its limitations and provinciality. Instead of New England, here she was at the "Mount Holyoke of the West."

As in the case of its eastern namesake, an intense religious spirit embodied in a strong-willed woman dominated the seminary. Anna Peck Sill—like Mary Lyon—always considered herself a missionary, and regarded her educational tasks as the equivalent of service among foreign heathen. \(^6\) Miss Sill was a Connecticut

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4. Printed catalogue for library, Stephenson County Historical Museum; for Plutarch see Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 47; Mrs. Addams was interviewed in "The Girl of Cedar Cliff," *Chicago Record*, June 17, 1915.


6. Anna Peck Sill and Mary Lyon are more directly connected through a shared friendship with Zilpah Grant Bannister, Miss Lyon's earliest teaching partner. Mrs. Bannister made large, and crucial, gifts to Rockford during the seminary's first decade, and organized large support by founding the Board of National Popular Education. See Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College, the Evolution of an Educational Ideal* (New Haven, 1940), p. 123.
Yankee by way of western New York. At the age of fifteen she found her salvation and dedicated her life to the evangelization of the American West. Hearing that a charter had been granted for a school, Miss Sill journeyed to Rockford. She immediately advertised her willingness to teach college preparatory lessons. An entry in her diary for November, 1849, just after she had arrived in Rockford, says, "my desire for usefulness is an unsati-able thirst which increases as the field widens before me." 7

Miss Sill patterned the routine at her seminary on the more famous Mount Holyoke. Students performed most of the domestic chores. Expenses were kept low by having each girl furnish all her own linen and her own table service; food was not lavish and was prepared and served by the students. Board and tuition charges at Rockford were $175 a year, for a clergyman’s daughter $115; fuel, lights, lecture and library fees added $45 to these charges. The catalogue discouraged parents from sending jewelry or expensive clothing with their daughters. These sumptuary restrictions, however, were honored most in the breach. 8

As at Mount Holyoke, the distinguishing feature at Rockford was the religious and moral emphasis. Young ladies at Rockford attended daily chapel, weekly prayer meeting, and Sunday morning worship. Bible recitation was the first recitation of each week. There were regular monthly fast days, an annual prayer week in January (which developed into a revival in 1881), informal evening devotions during the half hour which separated the two evening study periods, and frequent missionary and temperance society meetings. At graduation the baccalaureate sermon was followed, the next evening, by the annual missionary address.

Usefulness is the key word that explains the purpose of this religious activity. Miss Sill defined usefulness as "Christian Mothers and Missionaries for the evangelization of the world."

7. On Miss Sill see Coburn, "Anna Peck Sill, 1852–1884," in Profiles of the Principals and Presidents of Rockford College, pp. 5–8, and Memorials of Anna Peck Sill, First Principal of Rockford Female Seminary, 1849–1889 (Rockford, Ill., 1889). For diary see ibid., p. 16.

8. Rockford Seminary catalogue, 1878–9. As at Mount Holyoke, an hour’s labor was expected from each girl at domestic tasks; those who did not wish to perform these chores were assessed an additional $30 a year. Jane Addams’ expense book for 1879–80, in Rockford College Archives, lists expenditures above the basic $175 of about $100 for books, stationery, travel, elocution lessons, notions, taxidermy instruments and equipment, and missionary and church contributions.
Her zealous interpretation of this creed through her fundamentalist theology explained the constant pressure on unconverted girls. Christian usefulness, "this primitive spiritual purpose," Jane Addams said at Miss Sill’s funeral, was her "life-motive." 9

For Miss Sill, revealed religion was the basis of true moral culture and the Bible the only true test of practical morality. She worked endlessly to inspire a missionary spirit of self-denying benevolence toward all, but especially toward the ignorant and sinful. The great Christian lesson—the purpose of life—Miss Sill held, was to give oneself fully and worthily for the good of others. During Jane Addams’ years at Rockford, the special emphasis was on foreign missionary service.10 But at all times it meant that each girl should "do what she could." As the class of 1881 heard the doctrine, "To the cows that gave us milk, to the hens that laid us eggs, we turn in speechless gratitude. To each of you it may be said, 'she hath done what she could.' " 11

Miss Sill’s rigidity and bluntness sometimes limited her success. Some of the high-spirited girls at Rockford, while conforming outwardly to the religious regimen, felt confined and stultified in this atmosphere. In the chain letter that the class of 1881 circulated after graduation, one of Jane Addams’ classmates wondered how much longer the old cow could last; another described Miss Sill as "that fraud." 12 Jane Addams chafed under the confinement and rigid sense of piety that Miss Sill and her teachers imposed on the life at Rockford. The Rockford Seminary Magazine, the only student publication, assumed a more critical tone during the year that Jane Addams was editor-in-chief. An editorial

10. Of the 282 seminary graduates in 1882, 37 were missionaries and 8 had served with the Freedmen’s Bureau; these totals do not reflect graduates who had married missionaries. See Anna P. Sill, A Letter to Our Old Girls and to Them Only (Chicago, 1882), in "Miss Sill’s Scrapbook," Rockford College Archives. Jane Addams recalled in 1910 how Turkey had been pointed out to her as a promising field for missionary service, see Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 50.
12. The letters from classmates are with Mattie Thomas to Jane Addams, April 27, 1882, Jane Addams Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection; hereafter cited as SCPC.
complained that "our life in Rockford has been rather isolated and unsocial—[so] that the Rockford people have been strangers to us. . . ." Complaints and suggestions were less guarded, the tone of the magazine fresher, after Miss Addams became editor. Her pleas for additional social opportunities must have appealed to her classmates. She was elected president of her class, president of both her literary society and of the union, and she represented the seminary in regional debating. Miss Addams was also valedictorian of her class.

This scholastic attainment gains stature because the curriculum at Rockford was good, according to Professor Thomas Woody, "distinctly better than most seminaries." The aim of the curriculum had always been collegiate, Miss Sill told an alumnae reunion in 1879. The seminary's 1847 charter had empowered the board of trustees to grant the bachelor of arts degree. But Miss Sill opposed adopting the title "college," since "the best ideal then existing of the liberal education of young women" excluded conferring degrees on young ladies. The granting of degrees, she said, "would not be approved by any college president or professor." Miss Sill maintained that young women deserved equal educational advantages with their brothers since they were equally capable of benefiting from a liberal education. "It was not thought, however, that they should have the same curriculum of study, but that which was equal in culture, and it should be adapted to their special responsibilities in life."  

Yet Jane Addams was determined to be a college graduate, with a bachelor's degree, not just a seminary certificate. In 1876 the seminary had instituted a strong collegiate course which made available the mathematics and Greek equal to the qualifications for a B.A. at Beloit. During her four years, Jane Addams fulfilled the necessary requirements for a bachelor's degree. Her studies included four years of German, Latin through Virgil, Cicero, and Tacitus, two years of Greek, history and literature—standard

14. During her junior year Miss Addams handled magazine exchanges. These exchanges provided her with many new ideas for school activities. Innovations sparked by the class of 1881 were a Junior Exhibition, new class parlor regulation like those at Vassar, and ceremonies which duplicated the Vassar "Trig Day."
English authors, Chaucer to Tennyson, and at least one semester of American Literature. She also took algebra, plane and solid geometry and trigonometry, geology, chemistry, mineralogy, and astronomy. Her transcript also records a year of music, great chunks of Bible history, and the senior-year mental and moral philosophy class taught by Miss Sill.

An unusual and famous feature of the seminary that helps to explain how the students thought about themselves and about the role of women was the emphasis on physical education, health, and hygiene. The "Rockford Student Manual"—like the "Mount Holyoke Book of Duties"—provided for an hour of exercise daily. At Rockford there were lectures in hygiene and physiology. After Miss Addams graduated, the seminary used part of its "scanty means" to "put up a gymnasium, elaborate, out of proportion to our other equipment. . . ." The historian of physical education for women noted that the various systems of exercises, calisthenics, and gymnastics appeared at Rockford at the same time, or earlier, than at Mount Holyoke, Vassar, or Smith. Doubtless the gymnastic exercises were conducted in a most decorous manner, since the woolen gym suit was quite cumbersome. And probably the lectures on hygiene and physiology were prim and proper. But the emphasis on physical health, on knowledge about the body, was strong; and at least one writer has found the basis of modern feminism in "a new view of the body, its functions, its needs, its claim upon the world. . . ."

17. Course offerings with texts are in seminary catalogues.
18. Transcript in Rockford College Archives. Miss Sill was anxious that this amount of work should be recognized with the college degree. Jane Addams and a classmate, Helen Harrington, were the first to qualify themselves. Jane Addams wrote her stepbrother, a student at Beloit, that Miss Sill had offered her the degree. Coyly she wrote that Miss Sill "thinks I have refused, but will undoubtedly renew the subject." Jane Addams to George Haldeman, May 8, 1881, Stephenson County Historical Museum. Whether the board of trustees refused Miss Sill's request that they exercise their full powers or whether Miss Addams' coyness discouraged Miss Sill is impossible to determine. At the 1882 graduation, two girls from the class of 1882 received the B.A. degree, then the Misses Addams and Harrington were awarded the degrees for which they had qualified a year earlier.
21. Floyd Dell, Women As World Builders, Studies in Modern Feminism (Chicago, 1913), p. 44. Not all the girls at Rockford were feminists, of course.
Miss Sill's conception of women's role was a conservative one. It was not thought scriptural, she reminisced in 1879 at a Rockford reunion, to let young ladies speak in public. The first year that essays by students were featured at the seminary commencement, Miss Sill appointed a young gentleman to read them. She recalled the protests of the graduating seniors: "Can you loyal ones before me believe that one of the class should so far forget herself as to say 'Well Miss Sill, you and the gentleman may have the anniversary all to yourselves, and send us our diplomas with our dinners in our rooms.' " A description of Mary Lyon's feminism fits Miss Sill's feminism as well. She "never talked much of woman's rights; she said very little, if anything of woman's sphere. But she believed in, and loved to dwell on, the great work a woman may do in the world." In Miss Sill's own words, the "chief glory of the Seminary lies in its Christian ideal. . . ." Its aim is to develop a moral and religious character in accordance with right principles, and to send out cultivated Christian women to the various fields of usefulness. No education can be of great value which does not prepare for the practical duties of home and social life, and is in consonance with the demands of the age in the progress of the evangelization of the world." 22 Thus, concern for woman's duty was interwoven with the religious enthusiasm and training at the seminary. Miss Sill's conservative religious ideas supported her conventional ideas about women's social role.

Miss Sill's certainly about religious matters eluded Jane Addams. In Twenty Years at Hull-House she recalled her singular unresponsiveness to the emotional appeal of religious evangelism and her embarrassment at her teachers' attempts to convert her." She expressed her religious uncertainties in a long series of letters to Ellen Gates Starr, who had been at the seminary for the year

In her commencement paper Miss Kate Louise Turner (1881) scorned the woman who ignored her home and strove for "more avenues to power, more opportunities for employment." A woman who neglected her home in order to reform the world was simply "no more a lady." Kate Turner in unidentified newspaper clipping, "Miss Sill's Scrapbook." Rockford College Archives.

22. In "Report of the Sixth Chicago Reunion," p. 76. In defense of Miss Sill, even at advanced Oberlin it was not considered proper for a woman to address a mixed audience, see Ernest R. Groves, The American Woman, the Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization (New York, 1937), p. 314. On Miss Lyon see Mary Caroline Crawford, The College Girl in America (Boston, 1904), p. 71; Miss Sill's speech quoted in "Report of the Sixth Chicago Reunion," p. 76.

23. Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, pp. 49, 56.
1877–8. In one letter she wrote of trying to get back of all systems of religion, "... back of all of it [religion]—superior to it I almost feel. Back to a great Primal cause—not nature, exactly, but a fostering Mother, a necessity, brooding and watching over all things, above every human passion..." While she searched, she took as her motto "ever be sincere and don't fuss." Several months later after a talk with her favorite teacher, Jane Addams was convinced that the success of one's work depended largely on the resolution of one's religious beliefs. She could never, she wrote Ellen Starr, go ahead and use her best powers until she had decided what her religion was. Until that decision was made, she wrote, I "go ahead building my religion wherever I can find it, from the Bible and observation, from books and people, and in no small degree from Carlyle."

This last letter must have been accompanied with a resolution; for three months later she wrote "I have been trying an experiment[.]. I didn't pray, at least formally, for almost three months, and was shocked to find that I feel no worse for it, I can think about a great many other things that are noble and beautiful, and I feel happy and unconcerned and not in the least morbid... I only feel," she continued revealingly, "that I need religion in a practical sense, that if I could fix myself with my relations to God and the universe, and so be in perfect harmony with nature and deity, I could use my faculties and energy so much better, and could do almost anything." These letters illustrate the rational and practical Jane Addams. A decision about her relations to God and the universe would make her personal life efficient. Such a decision about nature and deity would help discover where her special duty lay.24

Whatever hesitations Jane Addams had about religion, she championed the idea of special work for women. Mrs. Anna H. Addams, interviewed in 1915, recalled these early ambitions of her stepdaughter: "Even as a little child she seemed inclined toward special work of some sort. In fact," Mrs. Addams noted without enthusiasm, "she was anxious for a career..."25 As a student at Rockford, Jane Addams expressed a strong and earnest desire

24. Quotations are from Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, letters dated August 11, 1879, ibid., November 22, 1879, January 29, 1880, respectively, in Starr Papers.
to do something important with her life. She optimistically noted that "woman has gained a new confidence in her possibilities, and a fresher hope in her steady progress... as young women of the nineteenth century, we gladly claim these privileges [sic], and proudly assert our independence... on the other hand we still retain the old idea of womanhood..." Her "intense desire to make something of life" was not rooted in religious ideas as much as in the idea of a special duty and work for women.²⁶

The class prophet at Class Day for the class of 1881 reported on some of Jane Addams' other intellectual concerns. She said that Miss Addams had "rebounded at the age of fifteen in Emerson's essays; here she delved and lingered long, and after passing through a scientific infection came to Byron, DeQuincy and Carlyle."²⁷ Emerson appealed to Jane Addams perhaps because he applauded the demise of religious dogma; he rejoiced that religion had finally become morals. She must have found this sentiment congenial. It agreed with her father's example, for his religion was ethical rather than dogmatic, like his hero Mazzini's. And it agreed with her own belief.²⁸

Miss Addams' infection with science is easier to describe. Several members of her family were interested in scientific speculation, especially George Haldeman who took graduate work at the new Johns Hopkins University in the 1880's. While still in his teens George, along with Jane and his mother Mrs. Anna Addams, founded a family phrenological society. The earnest, amusing minutes of the society, dated 1876 and 1877, survive.²⁹ Perhaps from this early taste of science young Jennie Addams caught the "central message of phrenology... that man himself

²⁶. Jane Addams, "Bread-Givers," Rockford Daily Register, April 21, 1880; Dr. Alice Hamilton in an interview in May, 1961, characterized Miss Addams as getting at Rockford her "intense desire to make something of life."
²⁸. John Addams contributed to all four protestant churches in Cedarville and identified most closely with the Quaker meeting. On Mazzini, see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 21. Jane Addams called her father a Unitarian in 1912. On Mazzini, see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 21. Jane Addams called her father a Unitarian in 1912. I have been unable to verify the reference, which appeared in "Woman in Politics," Progress, I (November, 1912), 37-40.
²⁹. Records of the Capenic Phrenological Society, Minutes dated August 21, 1876 to June 11, 1877, in Stephenson County Historical Museum. Article II of the constitution of this family project provided that each member had the privilege of examining any other member's head.
could be brought within the purview of science and mental phenomena could be studied and explained by natural causes. . . .”

In their freshman year at Rockford, Jane Addams and Ellen Starr helped found a scientific society. It sponsored lectures and solicited artifacts and equipment for use at the seminary. The scientific society did not prosper, however. In 1880 it transformed itself into a "club, the sole object of its members being self-improvement. They used mainly as their text-book 'The Popular Science Monthly.' . . .” With her step-brother as her tutor, Jane Addams devoted the summer of her sophomore year to serious study of comparative anatomy. As a junior at the seminary, she took taxidermy lessons and proved her mettle by dealing with a live hawk sent by her father. The six months Jane Addams spent in Philadelphia studying medicine in the winter of 1881–2 also reflected her early interest in science. And in 1882, she gave the seminary one thousand dollars of her inheritance to buy scientific books for the library.

Miss Addams' interest soon turned away from science. Her medical studies, even with experience in taxidermy and preparation in anatomy, were not at all successful. In a letter written late in 1884 to George Haldeman—her one-time tutor in scientific study—she admitted that she was impressed by the dazzling scientific displays she and Mrs. Addams had visited in Philadelphia but declared that she thought "modern science is a trifle esoteric and exoteric in its relation to the world." Her lasting enthusiasm was for the literary rather than the scientific part of

32. On taxidermy, see Rockford Seminary Magazine, VIII (March, 1880), p. 57; on anatomy study see Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, August 11, 1879, Starr Papers. At the class day for Miss Addams' class of 1881, the seminary library was described as having two thousand volumes: 1,999 patent office reports and a volume of intelligence of missionary enterprise, see Rockford Seminary Magazine, IX (July, 1881), p. 210.
33. Jane Addams to George Haldeman, December 19, 1884, SCPC. Some writers have stressed positivism as an influence on Miss Addams' thought—see Merle Curti, "Jane Addams on Human Nature," Journal of the History of Ideas, XXII (April–June, 1961), 243–4, and Linn, Jane Addams, pp. 77, 88–9. It is true that Jane Addams rejected the metaphysical, that she was interested in science, and that she held a practical ideal of knowledge. These similarities with positivism were coincidental rather than systematic.
her education at Rockford. The ideals and interpretations of life that she found in imaginative literature formed the lasting and influential part of her formal education. Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold especially expressed the ideals Miss Addams learned at the seminary. Thus even while enjoying the summer’s study of anatomy she wrote Ellen Starr with obvious satisfaction, “there is something in Carlyle that suits me as no one else does.” 34

Carlyle’s emphasis on duty must have struck a response chord in Jane Addams. Carlyle tried to expose what he considered the great social crime: neglect of duty by the natural leaders of England. Society was helpless, he was sure, unless the natural leaders returned to their duties of leading. Only through each individual performing his responsibilities could society function in the proper way. Doing one’s duty was, according to Carlyle, the first and most important social responsibility.

Miss Addams also read a great deal of Ruskin, "and liked the most abstruse parts the best." 35 Perhaps she found Ruskin’s moralization of social life attractive. Ruskin’s whole critique of the ‘dismal science’ of political economy came down to his assertion that human welfare, justice, is the life of the state. He eloquently indicted the misery and social injustice caused by poverty and the corrupting influence of wealth. Ruskin’s protest insisted on the right of each man to enjoyment in his work, and to ennobling participation in the graces and joys of life. This democracy of ‘the manifold gifts of life’ was balanced, of course, by Ruskin’s constant emphasis on order, subordination, stability, and authority.36

Ruskin also put his faith in the individual doing his duty. He saw no hope for England unless the existing aristocracy would voluntarily reform itself and perform its duty of leading the masses. Ruskin equated modern anarchism and the effects of laissez-faire competition. No one was his brother’s keeper; poverty, social disorganization, and ugliness were the result.

Jane Addams’ resolution not to fuss was an excellent summary

34. Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, August 11, 1879. Starr Papers.
35. Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 47.
36. The citation is from Vida D. Scudder, Social Ideals in English Letters (New York & Boston, [1896] 1910), pp. 175-6. I have used Miss Scudder because she was one of the group who started a college settlement in the East, independently from the Misses Addams and Starr.
of Matthew Arnold’s position. She rejected, like Arnold, both literal inspiration and metaphysical knowledge, and firmly grounded her religion in humanistic ethics. Like Arnold, she conceived of God in terms of man’s moral experience.\textsuperscript{37} Arnold on democracy and culture is almost prophetic of Hull House. He wrote that culture "seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it [culture] uses them itself, freely,—nourished and not bound by them. This is the social idea; and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality."\textsuperscript{38} These English authors whose social idealism Jane Addams absorbed at Rockford were a most important part of her formal intellectual training.

For Jane Addams the period after graduation, from 1881 to 1889, was one of unhappiness, nervous crisis and depression, and of European travel "in search of a good time and this general idea of culture which [in] some way never commanded my full respect."\textsuperscript{39} These years were filled with repeated attempts to define a purpose for her life. The imperatives learned at Rockford of woman’s duty and of usefulness shadowed these eight years.

John Addams’ death in August, 1881, deeply depressed his daughter. She wrote to Ellen Gates Starr in September, 1881, that her father’s death was "the greatest sorrow that can ever come to me." His death had utterly confused her "moral purposes"; it had rendered her "purposeless and without ambition."\textsuperscript{40} After a start at medical study in Philadelphia in the winter of 1881–2, she returned to Cedarville. No records exist for the next half year which she spent bedridden after an operation by her doctor brother-in-law, Dr. Harry Haldeman. (Jane Addams’ sister, Alice, had married her stepbrother.) Dr. Haldeman performed an operation to correct a slight curvature of the spine, the

\textsuperscript{38} Miss Scudder quoted these sentences from Arnold’s \textit{Anarchy and Culture} in her \textit{Social Ideals in English Letters}, p. 256. Jane Addams was increasingly interested in Arnold after seminary. She devoted the first half of her memorial address for Miss Sill in 1889 to the inspiring example of Arnold at Eton and at Christ Church, and traced the results in the founding of Toynbee Hall. See her "Rockford Seminary Endowment," pp. 70–72.
\textsuperscript{39} Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, August 12, 1883, Starr Papers.
\textsuperscript{40} Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, September 3, 1881, Starr Papers.
result of a childhood case of spinal tuberculosis. Jane Addams always talked of this period as involving mental recovery, as well as physical recovery from an extremely painful operation. She was ashamed, she apologized to Ellen Starr, "to show even to my good friends against what lassitude, melancholy and general crookedness I was struggling." She had emerged from her six-month seclusion, so she hoped, with a fresh hold on life and endeavor.41

The following months seemed to produce no real improvement. As her sense of isolation and uncertainty deepened and as the months of nervous depression continued, Jane Addams returned to religious speculation. Perhaps Ellen Starr's example was also influential in this new interest in religion. Miss Starr's decision to join the Episcopal church in July, 1883, was the occasion for Jane Addams to ask how she might also come to join the church. "My experiences of late have shown me the absolute necessity of the protection and dependence on Christ, his method and secret, as Matthew Arnold put it. . . . The good men and books I used to depend on will no longer answer."42

The same letter gave Ellen Starr the information that "it seems quite essential for the establishment of my health and temper [?] that I have a radical change and so I have accepted the advice given to every exhausted American, 'go abroad.'" The next twenty-seven months, spent in European travel with her stepmother, were passed in quite ordinary ways. Mrs. Addams and her daughter lived in pensions, took language lessons, toured galleries, and attended concerts and operas. The tour was leisurely, for, as Jane Addams wrote home, "I do not approve of doing any one thing to such an extent that no time or spirit remains for the gentler offices of life. . . ." These months with her stepmother failed to solve any of her problems and doubts. From Paris in June, 1884, she wrote to Ellen Starr—who had just been con-

41. Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, January 7, 1883, Starr Papers. The operation, named Baumscheidtmus, after its German inventor, involved injecting irritant into the tissue with needle punctures. The scarred tissue then contracted to pull the spine straight. Interview, Dr. Alice Hamilton, 1961. A. L. Bowen, "The World Is Better That This Woman Lives," New Age Illustrated, XI (November, 1927), 27, quotes Miss Addams as saying "during my first year in medical school [1881–2], however, I was stricken with a nervous affliction which compelled me to abandon my studies."

42. Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, July 11, 1883, Starr Papers.
 affirmed in the Episcopal church—"I am afraid that I was almost as unsettled and perplexed [on the Sunday you were confirmed] as in the days when we were 'estimable young ladies.'" On Palm Sunday, 1885, when again in Paris, she wrote, "I believe more and more in keeping the events, the facts of Christ's life before us and letting the philosophy go." This trip to Europe seemed to have solved none of Jane Addams' confusions and uncertainties.43

The winters of 1885–6 and 1886–7 were spent in Baltimore where Jane and Mrs. Addams visited George Haldeman, who was doing graduate work at The Johns Hopkins University. These winters were apparently extremely trying for Miss Addams. Mrs. Addams was promoting marriage between her son and Jane. In addition, her stepmother attempted to "launch" her in Baltimore society, an effort which Jane found very distasteful. She wrote her sister from Baltimore that she used to believe that adapting yourself to another person was simply a matter of the will, but she was beginning to find that there were persons to whom she could not adapt herself. The attempt was making her more and more nervous. Letters from these two winters confirm Miss Addams' later recollection that in Baltimore she reached "the nadir of my nervous depression and sense of maladjustment." 44

The only thing that aroused her enthusiasm was her participation in city charities. Baltimore had an unusually up-to-date charity organization in the 1880's. Students and faculty from the new university participated in it and Miss Addams might have been introduced quite naturally to various city charities through her Hopkins friendships. She wrote her sister of spending Christmas afternoon at a "little colored orphan asylum [Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, 519 West Biddle Street] I have grown quite interested in. They take little colored girls and help them until they are 15, training them to be good servants, the children themselves expecting to be that. . . . I heartily approve of the scheme." She also frequently visited a sewing school in East Baltimore and an industrial arts school. These gentle philanthropic errands did not burden her, nor did her nervous distraction prevent her from taking a keen interest in various charitable activi-

43. Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, July 11, 1883, March 9, 1884, June 22, 1884, March 30, Palm Sunday, 1885, Starr Papers.
44. Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman. [January, 1887?], Deloach Deposit, SCPC; Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 77.
ties. "I have been investigating city charities this winter," she wrote enigmatically to her sister, "and have come to some rather curious conclusions." 45 She did not find any clear idea of duty while she and Mrs. Addams were in Baltimore.

Between these trying winters, Jane Addams was baptized and joined the Cedarville Presbyterian Church. Six months before, she had written to Ellen Starr, "I am always floundering when I deal with religious nomenclature or sensations simply because my religious life has been so small:—for many years it was my ambition to reach my father's moral requirements, and now when I am needing something more, I find myself approaching a crisis. . . ." 46 It was the crisis of duty undefined. Her search for a satisfying intellectual and emotional basis for vocational duty was not fulfilled by random study and occasional charitable activity. Rockford canons of duty and usefulness, even stripped of their evangelicalism, demanded a positive contribution to the world. These demands were all the more imperative for a well-bred young lady without a family and home to serve. Perhaps involvement in charity work sharpened these questions. As in a previous crisis Jane Addams turned to religion. She recalled in 1910 that joining the church involved "little assent to dogma or miracle," but simply affirmed her belief in humanitarian and cosmopolitan solidarity, in the unity of society.47 She hoped that membership in the church might illuminate her desire to make something of life.

She was able to define her purpose during a second European trip in 1887–8. This time she was accompanied not by Mrs. Addams but by school friends, among them Ellen Starr. The purpose of the trip was partly therapeutic and recreational, to escape the pressures of Cedarville and Baltimore, and partly

45. Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, December 28, 1886, January 22, 1887, Deloach Deposit, SCPC. One can only speculate about these conclusions, and whether or not Jane Addams attended the Baltimore Conference on Charities, April 15–16, 1887. There Professor Herbert Baxter Adams described and praised the latest English attempts at charity, including Toynbee Hall. See p. 19, Appendix, Report of a Conference on Charities and on Other Subjects Pertaining to the Prevention of Suffering, Pauperism and Other Crime (Baltimore, 1887).

46. Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, December 6, 1885, Starr Papers. Jane Addams had attended the Unitarian church in Baltimore because, she said, the Unitarian minister was the city's best, and "the sermon is more to me than the service." See Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, February 7, 1886, Starr Papers.

47. Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, pp. 78, 79.
academic—to collect reproductions for the art collections at Rockford Seminary and at the art school in Chicago where Miss Starr taught. Perhaps a third purpose was for Jane Addams to continue her study of urban philanthropies, since she equipped herself with an introduction to a London clergyman who was active in that city's charities and was a member of the Toynbee Hall Circle. During this trip Jane Addams saw the vocational opening for which she had searched so long. The basic idea was rooted in an old family story. When she was six, riding with her father through a poorer section of Freeport which had many small houses, Jane had said that when she was big she would live in a big house among such small houses. This childish fantasy was one of John Addams' favorite jests. He delighted in regaling visitors to the Addams home with her plans. It was an often repeated family joke at her expense. But it came to have new meaning and relevance during this second tour of Europe.

While they were in Spain, the young ladies attended a bull fight. Disgusted by the brutality, Jane Addams' companions left early. But Miss Addams remained, held by a sense of "vivid associations of an historic survival" in the stylized spectacle before her. She had, she later recalled, the feeling "that this was the last survival of all the glories of the amphitheatre, . . . [or medieval] knights of a tournament, or . . . a slightly armed gladiator facing his martyrdom. . . ." Confronted with the disapproval of her companions, Jane Addams agreed that her behavior was shameful. Her indifference, upon reflection, revealed selfish indulgence; she had excused idleness in travel and study as preparation for no concrete end. She was postponing and, therefore, deserting her duty. To assuage these feelings of guilt, she asked Ellen Starr to join her in settling in a less-favored neighborhood of a city. Her plan was probably little more at this first telling in 1888 than a desire to live among less-favored people where she might perform useful services for her neighbors.


49. Letter from E. A. Berry to Kansas City Star, 1935, SCPC, tells how he, as a guest in the Addams household in the late 1870's, heard John Addams tell this story about his daughter's future plans.

With Ellen Starr’s tentative agreement, Jane Addams left the rest of the party and went to London. For six weeks she studied philanthropic efforts in the London slums, especially the first settlement, Toynbee Hall. We have the word of the wife of the warden of Toynbee Hall that Miss Addams was recognized as a “great soul.” Perhaps for that reason, Canon and Mrs. Samuel A. Barnett “took pains to show her much and tell her more.” In addition to Toynbee Hall, Jane Addams studied the “People’s Palace,” and efforts at adult education like the University Extension Lectures and the Workingman’s College.

Toynbee Hall reflected the personality of Samuel A. Barnett. Canon Barnett did not originate the idea of university men living in poor districts, but he provided the encouragement and setting which endowed the idea with permanence. In 1872 Barnett had been appointed vicar of St. Jude’s parish in Whitechapel, a section of London’s East End. With his wife Henrietta, he undertook striking innovations in his parish ministry. Canon Barnett early concluded that almsgiving destroyed the character of the poor. “He saw, without a shade of reservation from pity, that a man’s soul was more important than a man’s suffering. . . . It was spiritual murder so to act as to nullify for [a man] . . . the results of his own actions.” He coveted for every Englishman more nearly equal opportunity, an equal chance for a healthy life, and the enjoyment of the best gifts of the age. The Barnetts turned the St. Jude’s vicarage into a center not for the distribution of alms, but for the restored parish library, for flower shows and art exhibits, concerts, classes, and for a social life which introduced the men and women of Whitechapel to Londoners of all social classes.

Canon Barnett’s experience in London’s East End showed him the large needs and opportunities for social and political leadership in a working-class neighborhood. Aristocratic responsibility to provide this leadership was the theme of men like Ruskin and Arnold, whom Jane Addams had read at Rockford, and who had

51. [Dame Henrietta Octavia Barnett], *Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends by His Wife* (London, [1918] 1921), p. 422. Dame Henrietta was a regal lady who demanded a good deal of attention and flattery from her friends. She was known in America as “the wife of Toynbee Hall.”


been associated with Oxford University. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that the example of St. Jude's in London caught the attention of men at Oxford. Arnold Toynbee, a lecturer at Balliol, made the direct connection between Oxford undergraduates and Canon Barnett. Toynbee's enthusiasm in Ruskin's famous road-building project—an attempt to show the Oxford undergraduate the dignity of the hardest kind of manual labor—brought him Ruskin's close friendship. Toynbee attempted to live on the same scale as a workingman in Whitechapel during the long vacation in 1875. At that time he joined workingman's clubs, visited the schools, studied the local organization of charities, and in general co-operated with Barnett.

Just before his death in March, 1884, Toynbee gave a series of lectures on the industrial revolution and on Henry George's ideas. His soul, Jane Addams wrote later, "was perplexed over the masses of inarticulate workmen who came so heavily to hear him . . . they were not organized socially . . . Their ideas of mutual responsibility and need of association were . . . unformed and simple . . . Men of ability and refinement, of social power, of university education, stayed away from them." Toynbee's lecture fragments are the best formulation of his ideals of social duty and responsibility which were based directly on religious conviction. Toynbee was an idealist, almost a transcendentalist in his faith. But idealism such as his, so one of his biographers reported, "could only justify its existence by energetic devotion to the good of mankind. . . . He would not be behind the Positivists in the service of men, because he embraced that service for the love of God." Like Canon Barnett, Toynbee saw how the absence of leadership in the poorer districts had allowed local government to fall into disrepair until the low and vicious set the tone of community life. Guilt at the desertion of duty by those who had been trained to lead—just what Jane Addams felt in 1888—impelled Toynbee to take up his residence in Whitechapel. His last speech is a good example of this guilt.

54. Arnold was professor of poetry from 1857 to 1867. Ruskin was professor of fine arts from 1870 to 1878 and for the year 1883-4.
55. For a description of the lasting effects of Toynbee's personal example see G. N. Clark, The Idea of the Industrial Revolution (Glasgow, 1953), Chap. I.
56. Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," typescript of address to Chicago Woman's Club, 1890, p. 3, SCPC.
We—the middle-class, I mean, not merely the very rich—we have neglected you [the workingman]; instead of justice we have offered you charity, and instead of sympathy we have offered you hard and unreal advice; but I think we are changing. If you would only believe it and trust us, I think that many of us would spend our lives in your service. You have—I say it clearly and advisedly—you have to forgive us, for we have wronged you; we have sinned against you grievously . . . [but] whether you will forgive us or not—we will serve you, we will devote our lives to your service, and we cannot do more. . . . We are willing to give up something much dearer than fame and social position. We are willing to give up the life we care for, the life with books and with those we love.  

Toynbee Hall embodied similar motives. As first projected, Jane Addams wrote later, Toynbee Hall provided "an aid and outlet to educated young men. The benefit to East Londoners was then regarded as almost secondary."  

The main difficulty in poor neighborhoods, the founders of Toynbee Hall believed, was that the people there "have few friends and helpers who can study and relieve their difficulties, few points of contact with the best thoughts and aspirations of their age, few educated, public-spirited residents, such as elsewhere in England uphold the tone of Local Life and enforce the efficiency of Local Self-Government."  

In 1888, the year Jane Addams visited Toynbee Hall, the fifteen residents—all university graduates—were involved in various local activities. Six were managers in elementary schools; six conducted evening classes. Four men served on committees of the local Charity Organization Society. One was a Guardian of the Poor, an elective office. Nine residents were members of various East London clubs. Two were almoners for the Society for the Relief of Distress. Five residents were working with the Children's County Holiday Fund, a special interest of Mrs. Barnett. As this enumeration makes clear, participation in local government

and in clubs and classes was the major activity of Toynbee Hall residents.61

The strongest motive for residing at Toynbee Hall was religious. Of the original fourteen men at the hall, five went into the church or were already clergymen. The historian of Toynbee Hall wrote that "Christian Socialism was in one form or another, the most actively expressed philosophy." There were daily morning prayers at Toynbee Hall for those who cared to attend. Canon Barnett believed that religion was the only support the settlement needed; religion was "the one force which can turn the various and often antagonistic classes into fellow workers, making our great cities good for the habitation of both rich and poor." Barnett summed up his social philosophy when he wrote that "the problem of society seems to be at root a religious problem." 62 Yet Toynbee Hall was not an Episcopalian mission. Barnett never confused his job as vicar at St. Jude's with his position as warden of Toynbee Hall. The settlement offered no public religious exercise nor religious instruction. Canon Barnett insisted that the settlement must not compete with the functions and duties of the church. And although most of the residents identified themselves with the church, there was no corporate identification. Jane Addams must have noticed this absence of dogmatic or sectarian identification combined with deep religious concern, for these were the reasons she had joined the church months earlier.63

"A Settlement's distinguishing feature." Barnett wrote twenty-five years after Toynbee Hall opened. "is the absence of programme, and the presence of men and women who recognize the

61. [Barnett], Canon Barnett, p. 484. Later political office replaced participation in settlement activities which were turned over to nonresidents. Picht, Toynbee Hall, p. 96, said that residency at Toynbee Hall became an easy and convenient way for university men to prepare themselves for civil service careers without much emphasis on neighborhood service.


63. The lack of corporate religious identifications for Toynbee Hall was unusual among English settlements and brought accusation of irreligion. Edward Cummings, "University Settlements," Quarterly Journal of Economics, VI (April, 1892), 257-79, rehearses how a rival settlement, Oxford House, was founded for the Oxford students who felt Toynbee irreligious. Octavia Hill broke with the Barnett's over Toynbee Hall's lack of religion; for the Barnett's side. see [Barnett], Canon Barnett, p. 421. See also "'Settlements' or 'Missions,'" in Barnett Towards Social Reform, pp. 274-87.
obligations of citizenship." The insistence upon no program reflects the fear of institutions that characterized much settlement thought. Barnett maintained that the central principle of the work at Toynbee Hall should be "One by One." He believed that only friendship between man and man could have any lasting effect. Residents expended much worry to keep the atmosphere and activities at the hall simple and personal so that no organization should come between resident and neighbor. The settlement, according to the Barnettts, was a "protest against . . . the substitution of philanthropic machinery for human hands and personal knowledge"; "institutions are prejudicial to strength of character. Progress, everyone knows, depends on individual effort. . . ." 64 Similar statements by English settlement pioneers could be multiplied many times.

This "absence of programme" should not obscure certain specific aims that underlay the multiform activities of Toynbee Hall. "The establishment of the settlement," Barnett wrote, "is the work of those who believe that the gifts of modern times are good; that culture is gain, not loss; that cleanliness is better than dirt, beauty better than ugliness, knowledge better than ignorance. . . ." Barnett asserted that those in the settlement would "lay open the way to the enjoyment of beauty, of art, of travel. We would nationalize luxury." 65

Jane Addams was particularly attracted by this emphasis on culture and art, and on the need for the extension of such culture. She later singled out this feature of the Toynbee Hall program to explain the motives behind settlements. The Toynbee settlement, she said, "disregards none of the results of civilization, casts aside nothing that the modern man considers beautiful or goodly. It rather stands for the fittings of a cultivated, well-ordered life, and the surroundings which are suggestive of participation in the best of the past." She was also attracted by the wide definition given to culture at Toynbee Hall. Perhaps recalling the Rockford emphasis on physical education she told a Chicago audience that "it would be unfair to Englishmen to omit [from her description] the cricketing clubs, the tennis clubs, the athletic life of all kinds which centers about Toynbee Hall." 66

64. [Barnett], Canon Barnett, p. 184; Barnett, Towards Social Reform, pp. 286, 260, 118.
66. Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," pp. 11, 10. SCPC.
Canon Barnett told all visitors about his educational hopes for Toynbee Hall. Jane Addams must have heard him describe how the hall might become the nucleus of a great people’s university. Barnett envisioned the Toynbee Hall quadrangle surrounded by colleges committed to the education of the workingman. After all, he said, had not Oxford and Cambridge originated in the Middle Ages in this way? His vision was sustained by a broad conception of the function and purpose of education. For Canon Barnett, education was not merely academic or utilitarian; it was “the cultivation of personality through contact with what is excellent in human achievement.” Jane Addams told later how impressed she was with the “tact and training, [and] love of learning” of the settlement’s educational program. She had marveled at the liberation and “deliverance” such education brought to those who had “been allowed to remain undeveloped and whose faculties are inert and sterile.”

Jane Addams understood how the social activities at Toynbee Hall expressed these educational ideals. The settlement emphasized “the social side of teaching, not only for the pleasure it gives, but that it may make learning possible. Intellectual life requires for its expansion and manifestation, the influence and assimilation of the interests and affections . . . .” Learning, Miss Addams said following Canon Barnett, “has to be diffused in a social atmosphere.” There were classes at Toynbee Hall on literally hundreds of subjects—usually taught by nonresidents, paid or volunteer. There were clubs and societies without any formal academic purpose, and there were the athletic clubs. In addition, concerts, special lectures, exhibits, and art displays filled the Toynbee calendar. There were also frequent entertainments, which attempted to introduce East and West London people to each other. The intention was “to provide a meeting place where, simply and naturally, without conventional restraint and wearying etiquette, people may come to know each other’s characters, thoughts, and beliefs.” But far from the anticipated simplicity and naturalness, many Toynbee Hall social affairs were characterized by the most painful artificiality and restraint. The sudden

breaking down of class barriers bred snobbery rather than correcting it. One irreverent resident labeled these social efforts "tea-cum-service-cum-politico-economic-religious punch and Judy shows." Toynbee Hall became the scene for a lot of "slumming without tears"; visiting and partying with the poor became modish and fashionable.  

Character, not social activities or social reform, was the highest aim of Toynbee Hall. The moral qualities of character concerned Canon Barnett most, and the activities at the settlement were shaped to emphasize and cultivate moral qualities. Color-blind himself, Canon Barnett delighted in lecturing and "explaining" the pictures to crowds at the annual Whitechapel art exhibit. "Secretly he regretted," wrote a resident who became director of the Tate Gallery, "that all pictures could not be ethical allegories. . . ." Jane Addams appreciated the Canon's concern for character and understood how he used the art displays for this purpose. She explained to an audience in Chicago two years later that settlements would "at least, keep fine pictures with a didactic value from being shut up in rich men's houses, and put them into popular galleries, as Toynbee Hall and the People's Palace had done."  

The "People's Palace" was a large philanthropic institute in East London. The philanthropic trust that constructed and operated the buildings had its offices in Toynbee Hall. The buildings were opened in October, 1887. Facilities included a large library, a gymnasium and pool, industrial workshops, club rooms, and a large meeting hall. Fees were charged for classes and for some exhibits and concerts. In its first year, more than one and a half million people used the buildings, the majority of whom were

68. Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," p. 9, SCPC; Pimlott, Toynbee Hall, pp. 73, 75; [Barnett], Canon Barnett, p. 157.
70. Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," p. 11, SCPC. Barnett's stress on moralism prevented Toynbee Hall from attracting the more adventurous and spirited university men after 1900. The Canon's individualism impeded his appreciation and co-operation with men whose methods and ideals were more social, like the Fabians and labor unionists. After 1900 Toynbee Hall felt the cooling of enthusiasm which was willing to take unlimited interest in the individual without asking "whether it would not be more productive to give one's time to reforms of administration, by which thousands could be helped." See Picht, Toynbee Hall, p. 98.
between sixteen and twenty-five years old. There was no specific religious work done, and no special Sabattarian restrictions. 71

Jane Addams also learned about the university extension movement during her trip to London. In 1867, James Stuart, a Cambridge don, started delivering systematic lectures in northern England. His lectures attracted school teachers and workingmen. These were sanctioned as the equivalent of lectures given at Cambridge by that University in 1873 and by Oxford in 1878. The movement was advanced by the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, founded in 1876. The year following Miss Addams' visit more than four hundred courses of local lectures were being offered to forty-one thousand men and women. Toynbee Hall, with its well-stocked library and reading rooms, and its connections with the universities, gave "a large place to university extension lectures . . . some of the most learned and eloquent men in England have lecture courses there," Jane Addams explained in 1890. The London Workingmen's College, another popular adult-education enterprise that she learned about, originated in lectures given by Frederick Denison Maurice in 1854 and developed into an organized college when Maurice established a series of classes to help educate the London working classes. Lecturers donated their services. 72

All of these examples of how to deal with urban disorganization were the object of Jane Addams' attention in 1888. They formed the background of what came to be Hull House. But like so many European inspirations, they did not cross the Atlantic unaltered.

71. The most prominent Sabbath rule at Toynbee Hall prohibited tennis. Albert Shaw, "London Polytechnics and People's Palaces," Century, XL (June, 1890), 163-82. See also Robert A. Woods, English Social Movements (New York, 1891). Woods returned from London where he studied the same activities Jane Addams did to found Andover House, a settlement in Boston.