Beloved Lady

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

But we have not yet really begun to enjoy ourselves. We have not yet had full confidence in the wondrous things these children are learning to do. We have not yet learned to teach them as they should be taught, because we do not yet sufficiently reverence their possibilities.

JANE ADDAMS, 1912

The years from 1900 to 1912 were exciting and expansive ones for Jane Addams. Frustrated in her demands for democratic social reforms at the local level, she and other progressives founded a whole series of national reform organizations. Miss Addams worked for educational reform through the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education; she labored for city playgrounds through the Playground Association of America. She based her demands for educational reform and urban recreation on the idea of culture. The next two chapters describe her conceptions of culture, and the sources of culture, and show how these conceptions supported her criticism of the schools and her demands for recreational facilities in cities. Through these and other national activities Jane Addams became one of "the most famous women" in America.¹ She spoke authoritatively for American women on the whole range of progressive reforms. In 1912 when the Progressives organized yet another of their voluntary reform organizations—this one a political party—Jane Addams became an important participant in the Bull Moose campaign.

Jane Addams' idea of culture changed during the first decade at Hull House in a way similar to the evolution of her ideas about democracy described in the last chapter. This kind of change was characteristic of the nineteenth century, during which the meanings of the terms culture and democracy changed radically. A recent

¹. Lloyd R. Morris, Postscript to Yesterday, America: The Last Fifty Years (New York, 1947), p. 35.
study by Raymond Williams points out how the definition of culture, or cultivation, or civilization, was altered in response to new methods of production, and also "to the new political and social developments, to Democracy."  

Jane Addams' ideas about culture changed as she learned about the new industrial situation and its social consequences in the America of the 1890's.

Her original thinking about the uses and content of culture—as with democracy—originated at Rockford with her reading of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold. These men defined culture as something apart from what they saw around them. Raymond Williams' study begins by examining how the words culture and civilization were defined by these men who were repelled by the mechanistic philosophy of the utilitarians, which they called democracy, and by the materialism of industrial forms. Starting with Carlyle this tradition of social criticism evolved the idea of culture as a separate entity (the body of arts and learning), and also culture as a critical idea, a body of values superior to ordinary values. In this tradition Arnold defined culture as two disparate things: it was "the best which has been thought and said in the world"; and it was at the same time "the study of perfection, . . . a harmonious perfection, developing all sides of our humanity . . . [and] a general perfection, developing all parts of our society."  

These ideals of culture helped to inform and inspire the founding of settlements in England, and Hull House. A settlement, Jane Addams explained in 1890, was an attempt to bring back people of university refinement and cultivation to the sections where working people lived. A settlement disregarded "none of the results of civilization. . . . 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." Miss Addams stressed the absence of refinement, beauty, and order in the Hull House neighborhood. Her ideal of culture was some-


3. Raymond Williams cites this from Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, in his *Culture and Society*, p. 125; emphasis in the original.
thing apart from the industrial environment, absent from and perhaps opposed to the life of her neighbors. This ideal may be taken as her initial reaction to the industrial situation in America in the early 1890's.4

Throughout the first decade at Hull House, Jane Addams sloughed off the aristocratic preconceptions with which her settlement had originally been endowed. In the same manner that she found the source and vitality for a new social democracy in her neighbors, Miss Addams came to find true culture among them. In 1897 she cited Tolstoy's ideas about art to explain her own convictions. She told a settlement audience that "music cannot be real . . . painting is only an affection, unless we do it in the name of and for the mass of men . . . [the settlement claims] that we are not only bringing back to the industrial army the things which they ought always to have had, but that by bringing them back we are going, in the end, to have better music and painting, better literature and a higher type of social life; that a service is rendered to both ends of society." 5

From this beginning Miss Addams came to believe that culture itself had its source in the people, especially the immigrants crowded into American cities. Settlement workers had originally anticipated encountering people more or less unlike themselves, she said. But during the first ten or fifteen years of living in a so-called depressed neighborhood, settlers discovered that their neighbors were "very useful people . . . all kinds of people . . . [who] have in themselves reservoirs of moral power and civic ability. . . ." She told a settlement audience in 1911 that "a new impulse, a new health, a new energy came into the life of the settlement when we began to discover in these crowded and less lovely portions of the city, a certain conservation of historic things, of good music, of artistic handicraft, of those subtle resources of settled society, superior, in Chicago at least, to those which the more prosperous quarters could display." 6 The most

4. Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," p. 11, SCPC.
human qualities, she told a University of Chicago convocation in 1904, were not necessarily those of the cultured and cultivated few. The most human and the best of human culture was " the widespread, the ancient in speech or in behavior, it is the deep, the emotional, the thing much loved by many men, the poetical, the organic, the vital in civilization." The sources of civilization, she said, were primitive domestic customs. Properly interpreted, her neighbors' customs and habits suggested the origins of culture, the " springs, a suggestion of source, a touch of the refinement which adheres to simple things." 

These ideas of Jane Addams on the relationship between culture and her "primitive" immigrant neighbors had several sources. In the 1890's, she read, and lectured on, academic studies of primitive societies. These studies, the most important of which was Otis Tufton Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, described the development of culture and civilization and emphasized the role of the woman. Mason credited to women the development—among other things—of food plants and plant medicine, most of the aesthetic arts, all the social fabrics of world civilization, the creation and preservation and spread of language, and " the first device ever made by human being for converting rectilinear into circular motion." Mason concluded that " for the highest ideals in civilization, in humanitarianism, education, and government the way was prepared in savagery by mothers and by the female clan group. . . ." The feminist in Jane Addams must have rejoiced at the work of ethnologists such as Mason. Academic studies may have suggested to her the connection between the skills and arts of primitive peoples and the development of culture.

Jane Addams' ideas of primitivism paralleled those of other Progressive thinkers who criticized modern industrial society by recalling primitive culture. Thorstein Veblen, a professor at the

7. Jane Addams, "Recent Immigration, a Field Neglected by the Scholar," *University of Chicago Record*, IX (January, 1905), 279, 280.
8. Otis Tufton Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture* (New York, 1894), pp. 279-80, 284. Miss Addams recommended Mason's book to all students in her extension course at the University of Chicago, see *A Syllabus of a Course of Twelve Lectures, Democracy and Social Ethics, by Jane Addams, A.B.* (n.p., n.d.), SCPC.
University of Chicago after 1894, believed that certain admirable instincts had survived in the industrial workingman. These survivals offered the foundation for a new social order based on science. Modern scientific attitudes were closely related to the instinct of idle curiosity in the "normal man" of preindustrial society, according to Veblen. His description of primitive man was remarkably like Jane Addams' portrait of her immigrant neighbors—peaceful, co-operative, and altruistic. Veblen believed that the forces of industrialism would restore the natural, wholesome, savage traits, traits which were the very sources of civilization.  

Henry D. Lloyd also trusted the forces of industrialism to establish a new civilization embodying older values that had been corrupted. Originally, according to Lloyd, man had been a member of a peaceful, co-operative, family-oriented social group. His history recounted the splintering of these primitive social groups but Lloyd believed, in Professor David Noble's words, that at the same time as industrialism was whirling the individual away from the incomplete co-operative groups which had struggled to sustain civilization, it was hammering out . . . the environment that might spell the total salvation of mankind. . . . Industrialism, urbanism, the technological revolution in communications and transportation were reassembling the fragmented individuals into one tightly-knit worldwide community which would have the qualities of the original family group.

For Lloyd the industrial laborers—like Jane Addams' neighbors—were the most likely supporters of the co-operative commonwealth and the social democracy which he prophesied for America.  

Like these progressives Jane Addams found a criticism of the industrial and materialistic culture of the 1890's in the primitive cultural traits that European peasants brought to the doorsteps

10. Boas and Lovejoy, Primitivism, pp. 214 ff; see also Morton White's discussion of Veblen in Social Thought in America, pp. 76–93. Jane Addams included Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class in the bibliography for her extension course, see A Syllabus of a Course of Twelve Lectures, SCPC.

of Hull House. Unlike these progressives, however, she did not attempt to construct a theory about a primitive cultural ideal, or about the evolution of primitive cultural traits. Miss Addams knew her neighbors, and she knew that they were not altogether virtuous. She did not believe that civilization was simply the revival or restoration of men's oldest instincts. During the war in 1898, for instance, she saw how easily her neighbors lost what she called their thin veneer of civilization. At an anti-imperialist meeting in 1899 Miss Addams referred to a rising crime rate in the Hull House neighborhood as the result of war's brutalizing effects. "Simple people who read of carnage and bloodshed easily receive its suggestions. Habits of self-control which have been slowly and imperfectly acquired quickly break down under the stress . . . the humane instinct which keeps in abeyance the tendency to cruelty . . . gives way, and the barbaric instinct asserts itself." 12 Because she did not attempt to construct a social theory, Miss Addams did not idealize primitive traits and the savage past in the way some other progressives did. But she did find certain suggestions among her immigrant neighbors of a culture truer and finer than that possessed by many Americans.

Miss Addams believed that the chief cultural instrument in America was the public school. As a democrat she looked on the schools as the chief agency for the preservation and extension of American culture. But, she complained, the schools were failing in their task. Like John Dewey, Jane Addams criticized the schools because their culture had "become entirely detached from experience." 13 Her complaints against the schools were based on the educational experiments at Hull House. The Hull House kindergarten, formed during the first fortnight of the settlement's existence, was her earliest educational project. The kindergarten was soon followed by a creche and nursery which also embodied kindergarten ideas and practices. Jane Addams said in her first explanation of Hull House in 1890 that the settlement stood for Friedrich Froebel's definition of education: "deliverance" of the forces of the mind and body.14

Chicago had a flourishing kindergarten movement before Hull House was established. In 1874 Mrs. Alice H. Putnam started a class to study Froebel’s ideas, a class that developed into the Chicago Froebel Association. News of Chicago kindergartens reached Jane Addams at Rockford. Mrs. Putnam and her association—with more than two hundred Chicago women enrolled for instruction—operated from rooms in Hull House from 1894 to 1901. Many other philanthropic institutions in Chicago in the 1890’s had kindergartens. One of the earliest public kindergartens (ca. 1881) was at the Pacific Garden Mission, and there was one at the Armour Mission when Jane Addams and Ellen Starr were observing Chicago philanthropies in early 1889. The Kindergarten Magazine, with Amalie Hofer as editor, was published in Chicago. 15

From any one of these sources Jane Addams may have absorbed Froebel’s ideas about social education. An early historian of the American kindergarten movement, familiar with the Chicago situation, wrote that “the kindergarten has had far more success than any other [institution] in dealing with our foreign people.” This same author asserted, “the settlement may not have intentionally preached the doctrines of Froebel, but it has practiced


15. Bertha Payne Newell, Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America (New York & London, 1924), has a good chapter on Alice Putnam; see also “Evolution of the Kindergarten Idea in Chicago, Mrs. Alice H. Putnam and the Froebel Association,” Kindergarten Magazine, V (June, 1893), 729–33, and “The Chicago Free Kindergarten Association,” ibid., V (June, 1893), 734–8. John D. Hicks, “The Development of Civilization in the Middle West,” in Dixon Ryan Fox (ed.), Sources of Culture in the Middle West, Backgrounds Versus Frontier (New York & London, 1934), pp. 90–91, suggested that “sometimes educational innovations, such, for example, as kindergartens and manual training courses, came to the Middle West directly from abroad.” See Rockford Seminary Magazine, VIII (April, 1880), 101–4 for a report of the Seventh Annual Chicago Reunion. The first sentiment offered after the dinner was “the education for mothers; schools for children, seminaries, colleges, universities for youth, but the kindergarten for mothers.” Annie Howe responded with a short review of Froebel’s kindergarten system. It is interesting that Frank Tracy Carlton used the famous Rockford word in his Education and Industrial Evolution (New York, [1908] 1913), p. 169, when he wrote that “the kindergarten movement is particularly important because it is really the opening wedge of the great movement which is now lifting our educational system to higher and broader planes of usefulness,—usefulness for all classes and ages of students.”
them in every phase of its work . . . in the very settlement itself, one may read the philosophy of the kindergarten writ large." 16

Many Hull House activities were based on the Froebelian idea of self-expression. The shops, the sewing and cooking classes, the music and art schools, and the gymnasium and playground activities all testify to Jane Addams' and Ellen Starr's recognition of the need for varying kinds of self-expression, especially for young people. Their further recognition of this need in adults inspired a whole series of clubs and activities which helped adult immigrants express themselves through manual and fine arts, through athletics, and through intellectual and social activities. Other writers have called attention to the "peculiar unity" between these settlement activities and kindergarten thought and practice. The settlement's aim was to make the immigrant feel at home in America in the same sense that the Froebel kindergarten tried to make the child feel at home in the adult world. 17

Another Chicagoan was impressed with the applicability of Froebel's educational ideas to American problems. "Froebel's recognition of the significance of the native capacities of children," wrote John Dewey, represented "perhaps the most effective single force in modern educational theory. . . ." 18 Dewey and Jane Addams shared their educational ideas and hopes with each other. Miss Addams was connected with Dewey's project, the University of Chicago Laboratory School, where Froebel's educational ideas were central, just as they were to the settlement. 19

The laboratory school's curriculum represented Dewey's reaction to the new forces of industrial civilization in the United States in the 1890's. The curriculum centered on what Dewey called occupations. The children performed typical domestic tasks. They raised crops, cooked food, wove cloth, built, furnished, and decorated a house. These industrial activities were designed to show how history and civilization depended on technology and industrial

19. Dewey explained the ideas that motivated the experiments in the laboratory school in a series of lectures in 1899 which were published as School and Society. See Chapter V, "Froebel's Educational Principles," especially p. 117: "... in a certain sense the school endeavors . . . to carry into effect certain principles which Froebel was perhaps the first consciously to set forth."
processes. Industrial history, according to Dewey, was not merely a materialistic or utilitarian affair. It was a matter of social intelligence, "the record of how man learned to think, to think to some effect, to transform the conditions of life so that life itself became a different thing." It was "an ethical record as well; the account of the conditions which men have patiently wrought out to serve their ends."  

Dewey hypothesized that the child, by re-enacting industrial history, would experience social processes and results on a simple enough level to be able to understand their relationships. Understanding these more simple processes prepared the child to comprehend the complicated society of the contemporary world. Occupations provided "an indispensable instrument of free and active social life." 21 Thus they formed a bridge between the home and the school and integrated the school into the larger world. Occupations were the "instrumentalities through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons." Occupations provided the common spirit and common aims upon which the school, and indeed all social organization, depended. 22

An address by Jane Addams to the National Education Association in 1897 shows the close relationship between Dewey's ideas on education and her own. She described the school as "a social institution, within which a certain concentration of social interests take place, for the purpose of producing certain social results." After citing a definition of the school by Dewey, Miss Addams said that the ultimate aim of education was "to give the child's own experience a social value...." 23 This was particularly important in schools serving immigrant neighborhoods. But it was in just such neighborhoods that the public schools were most deficient. The immediate impact of immigration, she explained to the teachers, was a splintering of family life. "The family

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20. Dewey, School and Society, pp. 152-3. Dewey defined occupation in Democracy and Education, p. 309, as "a continuous activity having a purpose. Education through occupations consequently combines within itself more of the factors conducive to learning than any other method." See also Katharine Elizabeth Dopp, The Place of Industries in Elementary Education (Chicago, 1905), based on the experiences of the laboratory school.


has no social life in any structural form, and can supply none to the child. If he receives it in the school, and gives it to his family, the school would thus become the connector with the organized society about them." Immigrant parents depended on their children to teach them about American culture and to re-establish whatever structure the family took on in America. The child had to act as both social interpreter and social buffer. He could learn these abilities only at school.  

Miss Addams criticized the schools because they separated immigrant children from their parents and their parents' culture. At school the children of immigrants learned "contempt for the experiences and languages of their parents. . . ." American school teachers failed to understand that the immigrant family's experience had been "simple out-door activity, and the ideas they have have come directly to them from their struggle with nature. . . ." This primitive kind of struggle bred a deep family devotion. Teachers too often transformed the child into a smug American by developing his powers "in an abstract direction, quite ignoring the fact that his parents have had to do only with tangible things. . . . This cutting into his family loyalty takes away one of [the child's] most conspicuous and valuable traits. . . ."  

In addition to cutting the child off from the culture and affection of his parents, the schools failed to connect him with the industrial culture in which he would almost certainly participate. When the child completed school had he, Jane Addams asked, been given "a consciousness of his social value?" Had the school taught him "to deal more effectively and in a more vital manner with his present life?" Far from doing this, the schools cut their students off from industrial life. "No attempt is made to give a boy . . . any insight into [the factory's] historic significance, or to connect [him] . . . in any intelligible way with the past and future. He has absolutely no consciousness of his social value, and his [industrial] activities become inevitably purely mechanical." To the graduate of the public school industrial labor was tedious drudgery, the senseless manipulation of unrelated materials; once at work the child used "his hands for unknown ends, and his head not at all."  

24. Ibid., p. 106.  
25. Ibid., pp. 107, 105.  
These unhappy results had come about because the schools ignored industrial history. They ignored "the long struggle of man in his attempts to bring natural forces under human control . . . ." Pedagogically, the schools had ignored a dramatic and graphic approach to the child. Shops and factories contained "vivid and striking examples of the high development of the simple tools which [a foreign child's] father still uses, and of the lessening expenditures of human energy." The study of industrial history would integrate work in factories with "that life which means culture and growth." 27 Culture and growth for the child might come if the schools surrendered their concentration on abstract learning, on reading and writing. "If the little Italian lad were supplied [first] . . . with tangible and resistance-offering material upon which to exercise his muscle, he would go bravely to work, and he would probably be ready later to use the symbols of letters and numbers to record and describe what he had done; and might even be incited to the exertion of reading to find out what other people had done." This kind of education would bring "real joy and spontaneity" into the classroom. The school would be changed, and would feel "the pleasure which comes from creative effort, the thrill of production," not just occasionally, but as "the sustaining motive which keeps it going." 28

Jane Addams summarized her criticism by opposing "the isolation of the school from life . . . [which] tends to defeat the very purpose of education." The school needed to provide each child with an understanding of the industrialism in which he would soon participate, and thus some "set-off" from the monotony and dullness of industrial labor. The school was supposed to fill each child's mind with "beautiful images and powers of thought, so that he might be able to do this dull mechanical work, and still live a real life outside of it." 29

The most important development in her educational thought

27. Ibid., p. 109.
28. Ibid., pp. 106-7, 111, 109-10. The democratic theme in Jane Addams thought, discussed in the last chapter, also appears in her educational thought. She believed that the study of industrial history would make the schools more democratic. Such an education would teach each child "to use equally and to honor equally both their heads and hands . . . ." Hateful feelings of class distinction would not grow up in the schools, and no one would distinguish between service to "the commonwealth in the factory or in the legislature." Ibid., p. 109,
29. Ibid., pp. 112, 109-10.
was her rejection of the whole idea that education prepared men for a real life outside the dull monotony of industrial labor. By 1905 she had repudiated any attempt to "find our culture, our religion and our education quite outside" industrialism.\(^{30}\) This change was a result of a new understanding of her neighbors' educational aspirations and hopes and a new understanding of democratic culture. After a decade of thought and experience Miss Addams came to believe that a culture which lay outside industrial work and the forms of industrial civilizations (the kind of culture advocated by Ruskin, Carlyle, and Arnold) could not be a common possession and, therefore, was not useful for a democracy. This reversal in attitude was clearly exhibited in the changing methods and purposes of the adult education effort at Hull House.

In the early days at Hull House college graduates taught classes that attempted to duplicate undergraduate collegiate courses.\(^{31}\) The settlement found eager students for those who wanted to share the culture they had acquired at college. These early educational efforts simply assumed the superiority of the culture that a college education signified. There was something patronizing in Jane Addams' remark that information diffused in a social atmosphere, in a medium of fellowship and good will, could be assimilated by the dullest. This patronizing attitude reflects the initial attitude of the ladies of Hull House toward adult education.\(^{32}\)

By 1897 Miss Addams had reservations about the educational effort at Hull House. "Those of us," she said, "who are working to bring a fuller life to the industrial members of the community, who are looking forward to a time when work shall not be senseless drudgery, but shall contain some self-expression of the worker, sometimes feel the hopelessness of adding evening classes and

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31. These college extension classes preceded the active university extension classes sponsored after 1892 by President William Rainey Harper at the newly reorganized University of Chicago.
32. For Miss Addams' attitudes toward college extension classes and her neighbors who took them, see Jane Addams, "How Would you Uplift the Masses?" *Sunset Club [of Chicago], Yearbook* (1891/1892), pp. 118–21, and Jane Addams, "Hull House, An Effort Toward Social Democracy," pp. 232–4.
social entertainments as a mere frill to a day filled with monotonous and deadening drudgery." A decade later she stated flatly that "the educational efforts of a settlement should not be directed primarily to reproduce the college-type culture but to work out a method and an ideal adapted to adults who spend their time in industrial pursuits."  

Miss Addams made clear the concept of culture she coveted for her neighbors in a speech to the National Education Association in 1908. She reiterated her conviction that the school's superficial and mistaken idea of culture too often separated the immigrant child from his parents. She defined true culture as "a knowledge of those things which have been long cherished by men, the things men have loved because through generations they have softened and interpreted life, and have endowed it with value and meaning." This ideal of culture was the one the schools should be teaching; and this ideal was available to teachers in the beauty and charm of the language, the history, and the traditions which immigrant parents represented. The real business of the school was "to give to each child the beginnings of a culture so wide and deep and universal that he can interpret his own parents and countrymen by a standard which is world-wide and not provincial." The cultural resources of immigrant communities, Jane Addams insisted, were enormous. If teachers could bring the handicrafts and occupations, [the immigrants'] traditions, their folk songs and folk lore, the beautiful stories which every immigrant colony is ready to tell and translate . . . into school as the material from which culture is made and the material upon which culture is based, they would discover that by comparison that which they give them now is a poor meretricious and vulgar thing. Give these children a chance to utilize the historic and industrial material which they see about them and they will begin to have sense of ease in America, a first consciousness of being at home."  

This development in Miss Addams' ideas about culture and its impact on her educational ideals explains Hull House's abandon-
ment of its summer school at Rockford College. Girls from the Hull House neighborhood were invited to a six-week session at Rockford during the years between 1891 and 1901. The program for 1892 scheduled classes in biology and outdoor study, sketching, needlework, singing, gymnastics, English and letter-writing, Venetian art, and physiology and hygiene. There were reading parties which used George Eliot, modern novelists, Greek plays in English translation, and Ruskin and Morris. Although the summer school provoked some opposition from residents of Rockford, who were used to a rather different kind of student than Chicago school teachers and working girls, Miss Addams' decision to end the summer school was probably part of her growing dissatisfaction with attempts to provide college-type culture for the benefit of her neighbors.85

Miss Addams' dissatisfaction with a literary collegiate ideal of education was perhaps stimulated by the exciting educational experiments going on in Chicago in these years. She served on an ad hoc citizens' school committee formed at a mass meeting on April 25, 1893, after the appearance of J. M. Rice's damning article, "The Public Schools of Chicago and St. Paul," in the Forum for April, 1893. This ad hoc committee studied school problems all through the 1890's. Miss Addams' service on this committee brought her into close contact with Colonel Francis Wayland Parker, whose annual battle with a usually hostile Cook County Board of Education over the appropriation for the Cook County Normal School was a continuing struggle on behalf of progressive educational methods. Miss Addams rallied members of Parent-Teachers Associations to testify on behalf of Colonel Parker before the Board of Education. And service on this ad hoc committee kept her in touch with the educational experiments at the University of Chicago.86

More important than these city-wide services in explaining Miss Addams' changing educational interests, however, was a neighborhood project. The Hull House Industrial Museum was the most

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35. The 1892 program is in "Miss Sill's Scrapbook," Rockford College Archives.
important educational experiment with which Jane Addams was associated. In her autobiography, she described the sudden inspiration for the museum when she saw one of her neighbors using an ancient type of spindle. Why not arrange the various spinning methods still being practiced in the Hull House neighborhood into a historical sequence? She did so and soon added pictures of various textile processes, maps of early textile trade routes, charts showing how long each process had been in use, lectures on machinery and materials, and even song recitals about weaving. This began a large series of exhibits soon titled the Hull House Industrial Museum, or the Labor Museum, as it was more popularly called. These exhibits, wrote Jane Addams, graphically demonstrated that "history looked at from the industrial standpoint at once becomes cosmopolitan, and the differences of race and nationality inevitably fall away. In the narrow confines of one room, the Syrian, Slav, Latin, and the Celt, show the continuity of industrial development which went on peacefully year by year among the workers of each nation, heedless of differences in language, religion and political experiences." 38

The Labor Museum had two main purposes. It illustrated the importance and quality of the immigrant's skills and enhanced his prestige in the eyes of his native-born neighbors and Americanized children. At the same time, the museum gave to young people who worked in shops and factories the chance to gain some knowl-


Other departments in the museum, none of which ever achieved the popularity of the textile department, were woodworking, bookbinding, grains, metals, and pottery.

edge of the material they were constantly handling at work. In time, Jane Addams hoped, they might become conscious of the social and historic connections of the work. In short, the Labor Museum was designed to bring industrial labor and culture together. "A man often cannot understand the machine with which he works," she wrote in summarizing the museum's first year, "because there is no soil out of which such an understanding may grow, and the natural connection of the workshop with culture is entirely lost for him." Making this connection was one of the tasks of education she wrote, citing her friend John Dewey. "Two sound educational principles we may perhaps claim for the labor museum even in this early stage of experiment—first, that it concentrates and dramatizes the inherited resources of a man's occupation, and secondly, that it conceives of education as 'a continuing reconstruction of experience.' More than that the best 'education' cannot do for any of us." 39

Through her experiences with the Labor Museum, Jane Addams settled on the educational reforms through which industry and democratic culture could be united: manual training and industrial education. Workingmen, she explained, came into contact with machinery quite as if it had been newly created—just as some of her Italian neighbors looked on the spinning wheel which they saw for the first time in the Labor Museum as a marvelous new invention. Workers had no notion that "the inventions upon which the factory depends, the instruments which they use, have been slowly worked out by the necessities of the race, have been added to and modified until they have become a social possession and have an aggregate value which time and society alone can give to them." Industrial processes were as much a part of culture as anything else which embodied historic human energy and achievement. The crucial point about the Labor Museum, Miss Addams insisted, was that the people who used machinery had only one way to get a consciousness of historic continuity and human interest in life—that way was through a cultural understanding of the machinery they operated. 40

Miss Addams' autobiographical account of the founding of the Labor Museum stresses the sudden inspiration and lack of

39. Ibid., p. 15.
precedent for it. The inspiration for the museum, acknowledged or not, was the English arts and crafts movement. She especially drew on the description of industrial guilds in the writings of Morris and Ruskin. Jane Addams rejected much of the anti-machine bias in these two writers but joined them in criticizing the increased meretriciousness and vulgarity of industrial products. A direct imitation of these English movements came through the activities of Ellen Gates Starr. In 1897 she and Jane Addams organized the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, "probably the pioneer American society of this nature." The society, which met at Hull House, was never very active, and it gradually merged its enterprises with the Labor Museum.41

A more direct connection with the English movement was Ellen Starr's decision to learn the art of fine bookbinding. In 1900 she spent six months studying and working under T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at Dove's Bindery, the bindery which serviced the Kelmscott Press. When Miss Starr returned, she established a bindery at Hull House. She lived at Hull House until the late 1920's, supporting herself on the profits from her lovely—and expensive—bookbindings.42 From Miss Starr, if from no other source, Miss Addams would certainly have been familiar with the idea—that industrial products reflected the education and moral life of the nation.43

41. Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, pp. 235-45. Carlton, Education and Industrial Evolution, p. 146, gives precedence to the Hull House society. The society published what amounted to an annual report in Commons, III (June, 1898), 4. The society's stated aims were to cultivate in its members, and through them in others, a just sense of beauty; to extend the appreciation of the possible beauty of articles of everyday use; to influence the movement toward manual training and art education; to influence sources of design and decoration; to encourage handicraft among the members; to consider industrial conditions with a view to emancipating the workman from undue subservience to his machine; and to hold exhibitions and maintain centers of propaganda.

42. Wallace Rice, "Miss Starr's Book Bindery," House Beautiful, XII (June, 1902), 13. In Commons, V (June 30, 1900), 21-22, Miss Starr explained that she had grown tired of talking and explaining beautiful things to people living in sordid and ugly places. She had determined to do something. She disclaimed any special talent, but then, she was quoted as saying, "suppose that all the people who had no genius, in the ages when the most beautiful building, carving, bookmaking, silver and smithing, and the like were done, had fallen to talking about the work of past ages, and refused to do any work themselves, how much less we should have now to talk about and to enjoy."

43. Williams, Culture and Society, p. 140: "An essential hypothesis in the development of the idea of culture is that the art of a period is closely and
Miss Starr's decision to establish a bindery and to support herself by bookbinding was not for Jane Addams an adequate answer to the separation of industrial labor and culture. Nor was she satisfied with the once-a-week demonstrations at the Labor Museum. If educated, cultivated producers held the key to a more human, a better, industrial product, Jane Addams felt it was only reasonable to work for an extension of educational opportunities.

In 1905 Miss Addams accepted appointment to the Chicago Board of Education. Her three-year term of service did not alter her educational ideas, but only indicated how difficult it was to win public acceptance for new ideas in education. Caught in a bitter political struggle between two factions on the board, Miss Addams was unable to make any significant impression on the educational policies of the Chicago school system. It was rather through private, voluntary organizations that Miss Addams made her contribution to educational reform.

Miss Addams was one of the founders, in 1904, and one of the active members of the National Child Labor Committee. The committee's original program contained two demands: uniform, compulsory education laws, and uniform restrictive child labor laws. These two aims were usually coupled as mutually necessary and interdependent. Miss Addams related the demands of the committee to her concern for the type of culture which the public schools taught. "Because we are living in an industrial age we must find our culture through that industry," she told the first annual meeting of the committee. She maintained that "the workman himself is the chief industrial asset, and that the intelligent interest necessarily related to the generally prevalent 'way of life,' and further that, in consequence, aesthetic, moral, and social judgements are closely interrelated. Such an hypothesis is now so generally accepted, as a matter of intellectual habit, that it is not always easy to remember that it is, essentially, a product of the intellectual history of the nineteenth century."

44. For various interpretations and descriptions of the school board troubles, see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, pp. 328-39, and Linn, Jane Addams, pp. 224-37. Allen F. Davis, "Raymond Robbins: the Settlement Worker as Municipal Reformer," Social Service Review, XXXIII (June, 1959), 140, says that Miss Addams was fearful of losing subscriptions for Hull House and refused to take a forthright stand on some issues because of this fear.

45. Woods and Kennedy, The Settlement Horizon, pp. 186-8, suggests that this national committee originated in a child labor committee formed by settlement workers in 1902 with Robert Hunter, head resident of University Settlement in New York City, as chairman.
of skilled men, that power of self-direction and co-operation which is only possible among the free and educated, should be the committee’s foremost concern.” An extension of the years of education was necessary, Miss Addams said, not only that the child might secure the training and fiber which would later make his participation in industry effective, but also that the child’s mind might be trained to take final possession of the machines he would guide and feed. Premature industrial participation, Miss Addams charged, permanently destroyed the “free labor quality” of the producer; it destroyed his powers of originality, invention, and self-direction. Child labor sapped the vitality that carried a person through many years of life. Sending children to work unprepared was “imperilling our civilization.” 46

To help meet this peril, Jane Addams helped found another voluntary organization, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. This organization, founded in 1906, “came as close as any in the years before 1917 to being an association for the advancement of progressive education.” 47 It was a rather mixed group, concentrated in the East, and made up of professional educators, industrialists and capitalists, conservative labor leaders, and social workers. The society held widely publicized meetings, commissioned studies, supported traveling lecturers, and actively lobbied—primarily in the cause of industrial education, but also for the whole spectrum of progressive educational reforms. The society’s lobbying efforts were rewarded in 1917 with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, which provided federal subsidies for vocational education in secondary schools. 48

Attempts to agree on the purposes and methods of industrial education filled the society’s first years. The organization early endorsed the necessity of publicly supported industrial education and agreed that the secondary school was the level at which its interest lay. Aside from these two agreements, however, there was little unity among the members. Some in the association supported industrial education as the best source of cheap, nonunion

47. Cremin, Transformation of the School, p. 88.
labor. Trade-union leaders attempted to control the society because they saw how unregulated industrial education could destroy the apprenticeship system and union control of craft training. For some professional educators, industrial education was merely a pedagogical device which would make the public schools more attractive and interesting to children. Other educators saw in industrial training a new democratic center for the common school curriculum which would help make the schools truer community social centers.

Jane Addams used the term industrial education in the liberal rather than vocational sense. By industrial education she meant general training in the history of industrial processes. She was not willing to agree, she told a meeting of the society, that industrial education is one thing, and cultural education is of necessity quite another. Modern industry embodies tremendous human activities, inventions, constructive imaginations and records of devotion. Every factory filled with complicated machines has in it the possibilities of enormous cultural value if educators have the ability to bring out the long history, the human as well as the mechanical development, which it represents. Properly developed, industrial education might furnish deep insights into human culture.

Miss Addams continued to dwell on the relation between culture and the forces of modern industrialism and insisted that only cultivated, educated producers could manufacture a superior industrial product. She came to believe, in addition, that the people themselves possessed the culture to transform industrialism. Her example was German. That nation's technological superiority came from German educators' truer understanding of what culture was. The Grimm brothers first found in simple people a tremendous human power, a reservoir of charm and beauty and art—all those things which make life worth living. From that time,

49. In this usage Miss Addams followed the lead of one of the pioneers in the American movement for industrial education, C. M. Woodward, who used the phrase to designate studies which shall impart a culture as truly liberal as the traditional classic or preprofessional training. See his Manual Training in Education (London, 1890), p. 27. In School and Society, p. 133, Dewey wrote that whenever the mastery of certain tools, or the production of certain objects, is made the primary end of manual training, the educational value was lost.

German educators and statesmen have assumed more and more, that it is their business to uncover and develop that power, and to utilize and protect that source of cultivation which lies in the people themselves.” 51

American educators had been too timid to seize upon the industrial situation and extract its enormous educational value. This lack of courage and initiative “failed to fit the child for an intelligent and conscious participation in industrial life . . . [and the] lack of properly educated men was reflected in the industrial development itself.” Education became unreal and far-fetched; industry became ruthless and materialistic. It was “the duty of the state to teach the child to dominate his machine by understanding it. He must know what the machine is about . . . .” Jane Addams was confident that industrial education would “enable the workman to master his machine with his mind as well as his hand, and to supplement the daily grind of the factory with some spiritual power which will humanize and lift the workman . . . .” 52

Miss Addams never precisely described the way in which industrial education could prepare the worker to master his machine. Nor did she join in the disputes about pedagogical methods which, along with other professional educational matters, soon dominated the proceedings of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. She did, however, suggest the broad background on which the pedagogy of industrial education should be based. Industrial education had to conform with and utilize the basic instincts of the child, especially the instinct of workmanship. It was, she noted, a child’s “instinct and pleasure to exercise all his faculties and to make discoveries in the world around him . . . .” The chief business of the teacher was “merely to direct his [the child’s] activity and to feed his insatiable curiosity” by relating the child to his surroundings.53

The new pedagogy of industrial education was also to be built on certain social interests of the child. Truancy and quitting school at the legal age of fourteen were primarily the result of the schools’ unwillingness to capitalize on the boy’s natural interest

52. Ibid.
and desires, Miss Addams said. At about age fourteen boys demanded that what they did in school should have some direct bearing on earning money, on their being men. Many boys (and also girls) would doubtless remain in school, she continued, were they and their families convinced that the remaining school years had a direct bearing on future wage-earning. The mistake in modern education was that it had "failed to see that this impulse to get ready to play the part of a man and earn money is a worthy educational impulse, quite as suggestive in its line of interest to the educator as the other things are, upon which education has founded itself...." "Study the child," Jane Addams summarized her remarks on pedagogy, "and give him the things he so earnestly desires." 54

Miss Addams had good precedent for appealing to the child's instinct as the foundation of the new pedagogy. 55 But these instincts needed guidance and nurture. She suggested that educational methods and techniques which would properly develop a child's instincts were being established in charitable work with abnormal children. Working to restore delinquent and psychopathic children provided insights into the processes by which all children learned self-direction and self-control. She cited the placement of orphans in foster homes, where standards of child nurture could be studied and established with some degree of accuracy. Agencies placing orphaned children could gradually


55. Scientists like G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey described culture as a natural, almost unguided, automatic development of the instincts of children. From psychological investigations in his laboratory at The Johns Hopkins University after 1882 (Dewey was at The Hopkins in these years), Hall concluded that school teachers, the "guardians of the young [...] should strive first of all to keep out of nature's way, and to prevent harm, and should merit the proud title of defenders of the happiness and rights of children. They should feel profoundly that childhood, as it comes fresh from the hand of God, is not corrupt, but illustrates the survival of the most consummate thing in the world; they should be convinced that there is nothing else so worthy of life, reverence, and service as the body and soul of the growing child." G. Stanley Hall, "The Ideal School as Based on Child Study," Forum, XXXII (1901-2), 24-5. John Dewey in Democracy and Education, p. 52, quoted Emerson favorably "'Respect the child, respect him to the end. . . . stop off his uproar, fooling and horseplay; keep his nature and arm it with knowledge in the very direction in which it points.'"
discover the prerequisites of care and sympathy necessary for the child's proper development. Thus charitable agencies could learn, through their work with orphans and delinquents, what was necessary for normal education and growth. Care of the feeblest, based on "the primitive emotion of compassion," held suggestions for a new pedagogy which would train and guide a child's natural instincts, and prepare him for industrial life.\footnote{Miss Addams was convinced that children who had the benefits of this new kind of education would bring about a new integration of culture and industry. Her optimistic enthusiasm that a child's instincts of workmanship and creativity would flourish under the new education reached a kind of climax in 1912. Educators must look to the children themselves, she recommended to the social-work guild, for the "beginnings of a new life, something much more positive, much more beautiful, much more all-embracing than anything we have yet dealt with. . . ." By 1912 Jane Addams was confident that a child's instincts, with the little guidance of newer educational methods, would create a truly democratic industrial culture in America. In her enthusiasm for such a prospect, Miss Addams glorified the natural instincts of the child.}

Self-expression—the old Froebelian emphasis—was the most important emphasis in Miss Addams' optimistic hopes in 1912. "Self-expression is being so rapidly developed, is being so cleverly fostered in all our public schools" that it had to alter both the schools and American social life. This idea, that the child himself was the source of culture and art, was—as Lawrence Cremin has said—a Copernican revolution for the schools. Jane Addams

\footnote{Jane Addams, "Child at the Point of Greatest Pressure," in National Conference of Charities and Correction, Proceedings (1912), pp. 26-30.}

\footnote{Jane Addams, "Democracy and Social Ethics," in Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart (eds.), Cyclopaedia of American Government (New York, 1914), p. 564. Woods and Kennedy, in The Settlement Horizon, pp. 270-1, state that the first psychopathic clinic for juvenile criminals, like the idea of a juvenile court, was pioneered by Hull House residents. The Chicago Board of Education established in 1899 a Department of Child-Study and Pedagogic Investigation. Headed by two of Dewey's students, this department concentrated on identifying children with physical and mental defects. The number of special classes and schools for the deaf, dumb, blind, crippled, or mentally retarded expanded rapidly. Tostberg, "Educational Ferment in Chicago," pp. 196-7, asserts that Chicago was the leader in providing such facilities.}

\footnote{Jane Addams, "Child at the Point of Greatest Pressure," pp. 26-7.}
meant it in just this revolutionary sense. If the child were given opportunity to grow and adapt himself, he would "sweep away our little attempts at charity and correction.... We have not yet really begun to enjoy ourselves. We have not yet had full confidence in the wondrous things these children are learning to do. We have not yet learned to teach them as they should be taught, because we do not yet sufficiently reverence their possibilities." 58

This confidence in the wonderful cultural possibilities of children's instincts characterized Miss Addams' educational thought in the years before World War I. Having worked long and earnestly for educational reform, especially for industrial education, Miss Addams believed that youth's wonderful striving for strength, beauty, and self-development, if unhindered, would reconcile and elevate culture and industrial life.