Beloved Lady
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We [Americans] do not unite for action because we are not stirred to act at all, [thus] the protective legislation in America is shamefully inadequate . . . it is easy to unite for action people whose hearts have been filled by the fervor of that willing devotion which religion always generates in the human heart, from whatever creed it may be preached.

JANE ADDAMS, 1909

Jane Addams' confidence in the ability of man to master and transform his environment, to bring order and beauty and justice to his social relations reached a climax in 1912. The Progressive party seemed to consolidate reform efforts in which she had participated through many separate organizations. She was drawn into the party, and later into the campaign, by the party's endorsement of woman suffrage and its demands for social and industrial justice. She was also attracted to the party by its flood of optimism, enthusiasm, and moral fervor which persuaded many progressives that their long, separate labors were about to be realized. For Jane Addams, 1912 was the year of greatest hope, and the years immediately after were filled with dissatisfaction.

Although not a militant suffragette, Miss Addams entered national politics because she believed that women needed the franchise. Ever since her Rockford days she had favored woman suffrage, and by 1912 she was convinced that many of women's traditional activities were conducted outside the home as matters of public policy. Political agencies conducted these traditional activities less efficiently and humanely because women could not vote. And women who were cut off from their old jobs of protecting the home, educating children, and humanizing social and industrial relations were becoming social and moral reactionaries.
Jane Addams placed women's votes in the larger context of democratic self-government. She specifically rejected the arguments for woman suffrage based on the doctrine of natural rights. Such arguments were the "traditional women's rights clamor." Arguments from natural rights were "too barren and chilly" to convince men of the twentieth century; they were the "platitudes of our crudest youth." The whole doctrine of inalienable rights was an empty dignity, a "moral romanticism." The twentieth century, she wrote, had found a more passionate democratic creed—the evolutionary idea of human rights gradually won in the process of history itself. It was this idea of democratic self-government as an evolutionary concept that inspired Miss Addams' demands for woman suffrage. The history of self-government was "merely a record of human interests which had become the subject of governmental action, and of the incorporation into the government itself of the classes who represented the new interests. . . ."

Since women's traditional concerns had become the objects of governmental action, it was appropriate to give women the vote. 1

Government in the twentieth century was concerned with large areas of social and economic life, in Miss Addams' analysis, and primitive societies had much to tell modern man about effective governmental organization. If democratic self-government were to be inaugurated by the advanced men of her day, Jane Addams believed that they should conduct the most careful research into "those early organizations of village communities, folk-motes, and mirs, those primary cells of both social and political organization where the people knew no difference between the two, but quite simply met to consider in common discussion all that concerned their common life. They would investigate the craft guilds and artels, which combined government with daily occupation, as did the self-governing university and free town." The idealistic founding fathers of America, the "advanced men" of the eighteenth century, were "unconscious of the compulsions of origins and of the fact that self-government had an origin of its own. . . ." The founders, Miss Addams maintained, had depended on property rights and English law, on "penalties, coercion, com-

pulsion, and remnants of military codes to hold the community together . . . rather than a well-grounded belief in social capacity and in the efficiency of the popular will." ²

Jane Addams blamed the failures of democratic self-government in America—"the shame of the cities"—on the failure of the founders to provide a vehicle for the "vital and genuinely organized expression of the popular will." Government was becoming remote and unreal because it refused to deal with the actual life of the mass of men. The devotion, comradeship, zeal, and esprit de corps that might have been won by government had been absorbed in America by voluntary organizations, because these organizations dealt with the real issues of life. "A government has always received feeble support from its constituents," Miss Addams declared, "as soon as its demands appeared childish or remote. Citizens invariably neglect or abandon civic duty when it no longer embodies their genuine desires."³

The admission of women to the electorate, she thought, would revive democratic self-government. Women would demand that government concern itself with the chief problems of life in the modern city—primitive human-welfare problems—which had traditionally been women's concern. If one could connect these "primordial" problems, "these old maternal anxieties, which are really the basis of family and tribal life, with the candidates who are seeking offices it would never be necessary to scold either man or women for remaining at home on election day."⁴

Women needed the experience that political participation brought in order to avoid becoming indifferent to social problems. "For women's voice to be effective in all our enlarged housekeeping, she needs full suffrage; and if she needed it for nothing else, she has claim to share the fullest social civic life for the sake of her own mental development." The denial of the ability to remedy the adverse conditions of city life caused women to lose interest in these conditions. For, as Miss Addams put it, the "ability to perform an obligation comes very largely in proportion as that obligation is conscientiously assumed." Unen-

³. Ibid., p. 427; Jane Addams, "Recent Immigration, a Field Neglected by the Scholar," p. 283.
franchised women increasingly lost touch with new standards and ideals in housekeeping—either individual or municipal housekeeping. The voteless woman was doomed to "moral idleness," an idleness which retarded all kinds of social and political progress.5

Thus Jane Addams regarded woman suffrage as an instrumentality rather than a right. She argued for the ballot by describing how the community might be improved if women could vote. With equal suffrage, women’s homebuilding instincts, their love of order, and their passion for details would be reflected in industrial adjustment and reform.

Those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, . . . are constantly overlooked and slighted by our political institutions. . . . To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. . . . If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, then certainly they have a duty to perform in our American cities.6

For the Bryn Mawr graduating class of 1912, Miss Addams elaborated this argument. The discipline of college training only sharpened women’s desire to oversee the performance of their traditional activities. She listed the special contributions that college women—when enfranchised—could make to the community. A college woman who had specialized in economics would get sweatshop and tenement-house work outlawed, industrial laboring conditions licensed and inspected, minimum-wage boards and maximum-hours legislation for women’s work, the prohibition of night work, the protection of childbearing women, and all the new legislation embodied in employers’ liability acts. A college woman who had specialized in economics would also demand, according to Miss Addams, that labor unions be granted legal status, that free employment bureaus be established, that trade-training be available free, that the liquor traffic be regu-


lated, that industrial arbitration and conciliation apparatus be established, and that scientific management be adopted by industry.

The college woman with scientific training, were she to get the ballot, would want to apply bacteriological tests to the milk supply, to foods, and to the public water supply in order to assure their purity and safety. She would insist on measures to prevent infant mortality and to care for newborn infants—such measures as the prevention of blindness, regulation of midwifery, control of contagious diseases, vaccination and the administration of tetanus antitoxin, care of tuberculosis, and medical supervision of school children. Such college-trained women, Miss Addams suggested, would also want to concern themselves with the sanitation and ventilation of housing, the disposal of wastes, and the prevention of industrial diseases.

The college woman trained in the liberal arts, because she had no ballot, was prevented from getting care for dependent children, pensions for mothers, care for the aged, poor, and homeless, and care for mental defectives. Without the vote, no one listened to her protests about the conditions of jails and penitentiaries, of police stations, or to her suggestions for the gradual elimination of prostitution. The liberal arts graduate would probably concern herself with the extended care of young girls—raising the legal age of consent and establishing juvenile courts. She would, Miss Addams was sure, work for the suppression of gambling, the protection of immigrants, for decent advertising, municipal art, and for more useful public facilities like baths and washhouses.

The college woman who immediately married and established a household needed the franchise most of all, Jane Addams asserted. For without the vote she could take no part in forming the laws regulating marriage and divorce, defining legitimacy, or protecting a married woman's legal rights. She would be unable to influence laws governing nonsupport, exemption and homestead laws which would protect her in case her husband went bankrupt, or laws regarding co-guardianship. Without the ballot the married woman was unable to influence public provision for the education of her children and their recreation—child labor laws, vocational guidance, industrial education, and playgrounds.9

Jane Addams' desire to possess the instrumentality of the ballot gained immediacy and urgency as the need for reform was increasingly acknowledged. By 1912 she believed that the case for these various reforms had been proved, and that the American people, perhaps even a majority of the male voters, were ready to endorse them. Miss Addams' convictions that the time was ripe for a consolidated national effort in the name of reform and for the granting of the most effective instrument toward reform—woman suffrage—drew her into partisan politics.

As an officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and as a well-known advocate of equal suffrage, Jane Addams requested a hearing from the platform committee of the Republican national convention when it met in Chicago in June, 1912. The committee summoned her by telephone one evening and gave her one hour's notice of her scheduled appearance. When Miss Addams arrived somewhat breathlessly, with a hastily gathered group of Chicago suffrage leaders, she was told that she might have five minutes (later extended to seven) and present one speaker... There was confusion and noise in the room and the attention of the committee was distracted. The platform contained no reference to woman suffrage.

Plans for another political convention held Jane Addams in Chicago into August in 1912. Theodore Roosevelt, deprived of the Republican nomination, allowed a new party to form around his desire to humiliate Taft. Jane Addams was asked to join the Roosevelt party, which seemed to promise considerably more sympathy for many of the causes to which she was committed than any other political organization. She knew Roosevelt stood for woman suffrage because she listened to him—some said convinced him to—endorse equal suffrage publicly for the first time.

8. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony et al. (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York, 1881-1922), V, 705.
9. Jane Addams, "Lessons of the Election," City Club [of Chicago] Bulletin, V (November 27, 1912), 362: "When I found a party that went just about as far as I did, and when, moreover, I was asked to join it—and of course to be 'asked' is always an important element in a woman's career—I was very happy indeed to do so."
10. In March, 1911, according to Hull House lore, Roosevelt visited Hull House and rode with Miss Addams, Charles E. Merriam, and Grace Abbott to a mass meeting of immigrants who had just received their second papers and were therefore entitled to vote. Conversation in the car turned to woman suffrage. Miss Addams opined to the Colonel that "it might work almost as well as manhood suffrage has worked." At the meeting Roosevelt endorsed equal suffrage for the first time.
She also knew that after the Republican convention Roosevelt had seen a special report by the committee on industrial standards of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. The committee had been appointed in 1909, when Jane Addams was elected the first woman president of the conference. Paul U. Kellogg, committee chairman in 1910, explained how the committee furnished a focus and common platform for the agitations conducted separately by groups such as the National Child Labor Committee, the National Consumer's League, the Woman's Trade Union League, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the National Tuberculosis Association. All these organizations were concerned with defining minimum social and industrial standards. The time had come, Kellogg asserted, to frame standards "definite enough so that a public legislator, or a business manager, who disregards these standards may know that he offends as definitely as the man who disobeys generally accepted rules of health or violates the ordinary canons of decency." The committee's report, submitted in 1912, presented not a "declaration of social ideals...[but] the sub-basement floor which we regard as positively the lowest stratum that should be tolerated by a community interested in self-preservation." The report urged minimum-wage boards, a living minimum wage, the eight-hour day, the six-day week, safety and health regulations, the right to a home, abolition of child labor (the minimum age was 16), abolition of sweatshops, and social insurance against sickness, unemployment, industrial accidents, and old age. Kellogg wrote Jane Addams that he had had a session with Roosevelt at Oyster Bay in July. Roosevelt "took over the Cleveland program of standards of life and labor almost bodily, and it was, as you know, incorporated in the Progressive platform."
Miss Addams did indeed know that the report had been incorporated into the Progressive platform, for she was an important member of the party's platform committee. The meetings of this committee were one of the most extraordinary features of this extraordinary convention. Open hearings were scheduled; all delegates, or anyone in Chicago, were invited to appear and offer suggestions. Chester Rowell, editor of the Fresno (California) Republican, wrote eloquently about the direct democracy of this platform-writing process. He described these proceedings of the committee as a "new thing in platform making." Even a cursory glance would convince one that it was "new in its comprehensiveness, new in its definiteness, and new in its sociological tone. . . ."

Another newspaperman gave this picture of the committee:

The whole Progressive Party was made up of enthusiasts, and of course the [platform committee] was similarly composed. Every member of it believed, with the utmost sincerity, in his own proposition. There was only a tattered minimum of possibility of compromise in such a committee. They fought all day . . . and they fought all night. They remained in the committee room, and had their meals brought into them there. They argued and discussed and debated. They wrote out their ideas in a thousand phraseologies. But they could not agree.14


13. After Taft's nomination, a group of Roosevelt intimates was designated to draw up a tentative platform: Gifford Pinchot, William D. Lewis, Chester Rowell, and later George W. Kirchway. In Chicago in August, William Allen White, James R. Garfield, and Charles McCarthy were added. One delegate from each state was elected by the convention. The full committee invited Herbert Knox Smith, George Record, Samuel McC. Lindsay, and Jane Addams to join them.

Jane Addams described the meetings of the platform committee as a moving religious experience. In the committee, she felt "keenly the uplifting sense of comradeship. . . ." In the convention itself "all dogmas and group egotisms were dropped, or rather, melted down by overwhelming good will and enthusiasm." The convention was "a curious moment of release from inhibitions, . . . reticent men and women . . . [spoke] aloud of their religious and social beliefs, confident that they would be understood. . . . there was a quick understanding of those hidden scruples which we were mysteriously impelled to express." The sound of the convention was "not unlike the psychic uproar which accompanies a great religious conference when the sword of the spirit bursts through its scabbard." The men and women at the Progressive convention were "haunted by the same social compunctions, animated by like hopes, revealing to each other mutual sympathies and memories. . . . For three days together they defined their purposes and harmonized their wills into a gigantic cooperation." 15

Meetings of the platform committee, Miss Addams wrote, were much like meetings of the American Economic Association, the Civil Service Reform League, the American Sociological Society, the Men and Religion Forward Movement, or the National Conference of Charities and Correction. She was confident that reform proposals advocated by these small "cults" were finally going to be tried out as national political programs. Members of voluntary organizations, Miss Addams said, had all experienced the frustration and disappointment of detached and partial effort. The Progressive party offered the opportunity to test the validity and vitality of reform measures on a national scale. 16


16. For "cults" see Jane Addams, "Lessons of the Election," p. 361, Jane Addams, "My Experiences as a Progressive Delegate," McClure's Magazine, XL (November, 1912), 12. The personnel of these voluntary organizations overlapped considerably. In 1912 the American Sociological Society had 600 members, 162 of whom also belonged to the 2,400-member American Economic Association. One hundred and thirty-nine members of the large National Conference of Charities and Correction (3,300 members) belonged to the American Economic Association.
Along with these descriptions of harmony and the achievement of a unified national program of reform, Miss Addams also noted the difficulties of the platform committee sessions. She used her own personal example to describe how difficult it had been for her to "swallow" the platform demand for two new battleships a year and how she opposed the plank endorsing the fortification of the Canal Zone. In justifying her acceptance of the platform, she did not underemphasize her pacifist convictions nor her activities in the peace movement. But, she asserted, deaths from industrial causes far outnumbered the casualties in even the most destructive wars. Fifteen thousand men were killed and half a million men crippled in industry each year in America, she reported. This injury to and loss of life was enough to carry on the American Civil War and the Russo-Japanese War simultaneously. Perhaps, Miss Addams mused, no one could oppose war in her generation "so long as we stultify ourselves by our disregard of the shocking destruction in industry." One had to choose which righteous principles had to wait, she wrote, and "when a choice was presented to me between protesting against the human waste in industry or against the havoc in warfare, the former matter made the more intimate appeal. . . ." 17

In addition to these difficult matters, Miss Addams had to accept Roosevelt's disagreeable decision that the Progressive party in the South would exclude Negroes from all active membership or control. Without power to alter Roosevelt's decision through the platform committee, Jane Addams criticized the convention's action admitting white delegations only from disputed southern states in a statement to newspaper reporters. "Some of us are very much disturbed that this Progressive Party, which stands for human rights, should even appear not to stand for the rights of negroes." The party which championed the cause of the disadvantaged and helpless could not consistently deny "the right of the negro to take part in this movement." Colonel Roosevelt's plans for breaking up the Solid South were "statesmanlike," Miss Addams was quoted as saying, but the rights of Negroes could be

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Four of the 47 delegates at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League in 1912 were also members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

preserved without interfering with these plans and without excluding Negroes. When Roosevelt refused to heed this appeal, Jane Addams returned to the platform committee where she wrote or inspired a draft plank on Negro rights which she urged to be included in the platform. During an all-night session of the committee, the plank was refused. Miss Addams was in deadly earnest; Roosevelt recalled later that "it was on this very matter that Miss Jane Addams came very near leaving the Progressive party. . . ." 18

However difficult it was for Miss Jane Addams to swallow Roosevelt's militarism and however much she regretted his decision to exclude Negroes from the party in the South, the enthusiasm of the platform committee meetings and the acceptance of the plank advocating woman suffrage which she had written persuaded her to second Roosevelt's nomination. Her speech was brief. She said that she was "stirred by the splendid platform" which pledged the party to so many humane causes. The platform represented earnest conviction and high hopes; it pulled upon one's faculties and called "to definite action." 19 Miss Addams

18. Miss Addams is quoted in New York Tribune, August 6, 1912; Theodore Roosevelt to Raymond Robbins, August 12, 1914, in Morrison et al. (eds.), Letters, VII, 801. The struggle over Negroes in the party provoked widespread newspaper comment. Miss Addams was less disturbed about Roosevelt's decision when she wrote to Lillian Wald urging her to join the Bull Moose party: the "Negro situation was really much better than the newspapers make out. . . . On the whole I am sure we are making for social righteousness and I haven't a shadow of regret." See Wald Papers, August 14, 1914 [misdated], New York Public Library. Since Jane Addams had helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the association's magazine, asked her to justify her endorsement and support of a lily-white party, lily-white in the South, at least. Progressives all believed, Jane Addams assured readers of the Crisis, that no man was good enough to vote for another. The Progressives had made the race issue a national rather than a sectional one, and "possibly this is all we can do at the present moment." Jane Addams, "The Progressive Party and the Negro," Crisis, V (November, 1912), 31.

19. Others have described the platform differently. Donald R. Richberg, Tents of the Mighty (New York, 1930), p. 30, said there "was room on that platform for anyone who had seen Peter Pan and believed in fairies." The Nation's "Tatler" wrote in 1916 that "no one human mind could have compassed such a hodgepodge . . . and the leaders of the movement did not hesitate to crack a jest on the fact in private." See Nation, CII (February 3, 1916), 134. An embittered Amos Pinchot said that the platform was a "catch basin"; it has been constructed "on the theory that the more hooks baited, the more fish would be caught." He accused the platform committee of putting in "wordy paragraphs on almost everything, from the shorter catechism to how to build a birchbark canoe." Amos R. Pinchot,
eulogized Roosevelt as one of the few public figures "who has responded to the social appeal." The party needed a "leader of invincible courage, of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and identify himself with the common lot." Thus Miss Addams "heartily" seconded Roosevelt's nomination.  

The *Literary Digest* reported Jane Addams "was easily the most conspicuous figure present, save, of course, one." Judged by the applause, Miss Addams was a close second. When Roosevelt was nominated there was a great cheer. "It was no mild, perfunctory cheer; it was a cheer from Cheersville, one that had been suppressed for six weeks in the bosom of the multitude, and when the people unclasped it, the cheer jumped into joyful proportions and became a real circumstance." But, this same writer recalled twenty-five years later, "not even the Colonel got much more rousing cheers than Jane Addams, when she rose to second his nomination. The Colonel was there on the platform, and I saw his eyes glisten with pride and exultant joy that she was fighting under his banner. I have rarely seen him happier than he was at that moment."  

The end of Miss Addams' speech was the signal for another huge demonstration. A large yellow banner reading "Votes for Women" was thrust into her hands. In attempting to regain her seat with this unwieldy banner, Miss Addams was intercepted by some of the delegates from Oregon who formed a column behind her and started a march through the aisles. Under a


20. Miss Addams' seconding speech was inserted in the U.S., *Congressional Record*, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess., August 12, 1912, XLVIII, Part 12, Appendix, 564-5. Benjamin P. Dewitt, *The Progressive Movement, a Non-Partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (New York, 1915), p. 85 wrote: "The most significant incident connected with Roosevelt's nomination was the seconding speech made by Jane Addams of Chicago. This speech was the entrance of women into national politics in a new sense, and, in addition to giving tremendous impetus to the suffrage movement, drew to the Progressive party the support of thousands of women in those states where women have the right to vote."

21. *Literary Digest*, XLV (August 17, 1912), 244; William Allen White, dispatch for George Adams syndicate, Chicago, August 7, 1912, SCPC, and his *Autobiography*, p. 484; Jacob Riis was reported as saying that the "name of Jane Addams . . . brought forth almost as much applause as the mention of Colonel Roosevelt's name." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 24, 1912.
headline "Uproar Stirred by Jane Addams," the Chicago Tribune reported the next day that "women in the audience stood up waving their handkerchiefs and screaming approval. The women delegates joined the procession and delegations from several states participated." 22

Miss Addams actively campaigned for the Progressive party. During October and the first week in November she traveled more than 7,500 miles to address Progressive rallies. From October 1 to 17, she was in Wisconsin, Michigan twice, the New York City area, Indiana, and back to Chicago. From October 20 to November 5, she was in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Colorado, Kansas again (at the importunity of William Allen White), and back to Chicago on election day. Miss Addams was responsible for making her own engagements and travel arrangements for her speaking tour, which, like the others that constituted the Progressive campaign, lacked firm central direction or co-ordination.

For these appearances, she composed a basic speech which she varied only slightly during the campaign. In it she argued for the various social and industrial reforms and for woman suffrage. She reviewed for her audiences the platform demands for legislation to prevent industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, and involuntary unemployment. The platform further called for minimum safety and health standards through the exercise of public authority, including federal control over interstate commerce and the taxing power. The prohibition of child labor, minimum-wage standards for women and a general prohibition of night work, and the eight-hour day for women were also demanded. Progressives pledged themselves to institute a six-day week for all wage earners, and the eight-hour day in continuous (twenty-four-hour-a-day) industries. The platform also included planks seeking the abolition of convict contract labor and the application of prisoners' earnings to support their dependent families. Publicity for hours, wages, and conditions of labor was urged, plus the establishment of a Department of Labor. In addition the Progressive platform called for "standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the

22. Chicago Tribune, August 8, 1912.
families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community; the protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use. . . .” And Jane Addams assured audiences across the country that “by the test of my own experience I can confirm the need for almost every one of the social and economic measures advocated by the Progressive party. . . .” 

Women were vitally interested in these social and economic questions, Miss Addams insisted in her campaign speeches. Drawing on her own experiences, she pointed out that she had entered partisan politics because the line between politics and philanthropy was constantly shifting. She had long been concerned with repairing the evil effects of child labor, sweatshop conditions, economic depression, and destitute old age.

In joining a political party I merely followed the various philanthropic undertakings which this party’s platform had declared to be matters for political action. I cannot see that I am doing any differently than when I went before the Illinois legislature. . . . I am working for the same thing that I was working for then, only another and wider and more efficient instrument has been offered me.

The best instrument for these reforms, Miss Addams reiterated, was woman suffrage. Politics would be “infinitely benefited if women were taking a natural and legitimate share in the development and in the administration of governmental activities.” Women who had started welfare services frequently saw them languish and fail when taken over by the government. These women needed the ballot to protect useful services. Also, many “beneficent measures”—and here she frequently summed up several platform planks—remained unenacted because voteless women could not insist that the state provide them.24

23. The platform also contained a mild endorsement of the unionization of labor: “We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress.” On platform see George Henry Payne, Birth of a New Party. . . . (n. p., 1912), pp. 307–8.

24. Miss Addams subscribed to a clipping service. The clippings for October and November, 1912, contain the speeches which I have drawn on, at SCPC. Quotations are from Jane Addams’ page, Ladies’ Home Journal, XXX (January, 1913), 25; Jane Addams, statement, New York Tribune, September 28, 1912;
Jane Addams campaigned more energetically for the Progressive platform than for the Progressive candidate. She responded to a reporter’s question whether it was the platform alone in which she was interested: "It is the platform we women care about, the platform which embodies so much that we desire. But with a platform there must be candidates, and we are very glad," she added with a smile, "to have so distinguished a man to lead our cause." Miss Addams certainly wanted the party to go farther than Roosevelt did. Teddy Roosevelt, in responding to one of Gifford Pinchot’s many letters complaining about the conservatism of party chairman George Perkins, wrote that "on the [Progressive party] platform I disagreed with him [Perkins] much less than I disagreed, for instance, with such high-minded people as McCarthy of Wisconsin and Jane Addams." In 1930, Miss Addams recalled that "in spite of our belief in our leader, I was there, and I think the same was true of many others, because the platform expressed the social hopes so long ignored by the politicians; although we appreciated to the full our good fortune in securing on their behalf the magnetic personality of the distinguished candidate." 25

Jane Addams campaigned not so much to elect Theodore Roosevelt as to publicize certain principles. A political campaign, she wrote in October, 1912, was "but an intensified method of propaganda. . . ." The day following the election, the erstwhile campaigner was quoted as saying she

had expected from the beginning that Mr. Wilson would be the next President of the United States. The candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt and the principles enunciated in the Progressive platform afforded the opportunity for giving wide publicity to the necessity for social and industrial reforms, and it is my belief that Mr. Wilson as President . . . will give heed to the necessities of the people as they have been made so plainly apparent. . . . I am not disappointed in the result. It is my expectation and belief that Mr. Wilson will give the country a wise and capable administration.


The discussion of the Progressive platform, with its demands for social and industrial justice, was a political novelty, according to Jane Addams. "At moments we believed that we were witnessing a new pioneering of the human spirit, that we were in all humility inaugurating an exploration into the moral resources of our fellow citizens." Miss Addams assured politicians that the campaign would "not only enlarge our concept of truth, but... give it a chance to become humanized and vital." Politics, like philosophy, was "not sufficient unto itself," she said quoting William James. Politics, especially progressive politics, had to plunge "eagerly into reality, into science, into life, there to be refreshed and rejuvenated." 26

Thus Miss Addams believed that the Progressive campaign was successful even though Roosevelt was defeated, because it had created great enthusiasm for reform. This was "the last lesson of the campaign... the enormous amount of enthusiasm... to grapple with the social questions." Jane Addams' name was especially associated with one expression of this Progressive enthusiasm. Many Progressive rallies featured the singing of a Jane Addams Chorus, which was designed to duplicate the enthusiasm of the Progressive nominating convention. The singing and noise at that Chicago convention had in it "something inspired; spiritual, almost uncanny. It caught one by the throat." 27 To achieve this inspiring noise on the hustings the Progressive National Committee published a special edition of its "Progressive Battle Hymns" for use of these choruses under the title "Jane Addams Songbook (10¢)." 28

This excitement was admirable because it had been attached

28. These choruses were all female, usually had a large number of voices, sometimes over a thousand. The standard garb for their appearances at Progressive rallies was a plain, full-length, white dress. The songbook included hymns, popular songs, and campaign songs. In the last category were "Roosevelt" to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland," "We Stand at Armageddon" to the tune of "The Warin' of the Green." Hymns included "God for Us," "Work for the Night Is Coming," and an adaptation of "Follow, Follow, We Will Follow Jesus," to "Follow, Follow, We Will Follow Roosevelt," copy of "Jane Addams Songbook (10¢)" at SCPC.
to the cause of reform, Miss Addams stated. "There is a tremendous advantage in numbers when it comes to enthusiasm, good-will and humanitarian zeal, and if we could only direct the moral energy of which this country possesses so much into the same channels at the same time, there is almost nothing we could not accomplish." And this was what the Progressive campaign had started. The overwhelming enthusiasm of the campaign seemed to indicate a breaking down of the lines that formerly separated the religious, the political, the philanthropic and the civic interests, so that for the moment they were merged." 29

This extraordinarily exciting campaign represented the optimistic climax of Jane Addams’ hopes for reform. In 1912 she was "quite sure" that if the public discussed and understood reform plans they would quickly be put into operation." Certain difficulties and dissatisfactions, however, soon undermined her high confidence. She was to find the years 1913 and 1914 gloomy indeed when compared with the exaltation of October and November, 1912. Miss Addams was never able to regain the confidence and enthusiasm of the Progressive campaign.

Jane Addams left Chicago in February, 1913, for six months in Europe, where she attended an international suffrage meeting in Budapest as part of her vacation. Back at Hull House she found that the prosperity of the campaign year had ended and hard times had returned. Thirty-six years later Edith Abbott recalled Miss Addams' reaction to this neighborhood crisis of unemployment: "'I don't know what to do and haven't even a law to propose as a remedy,' Miss Addams said in her confession of failure." The fund that Hull House secured to pay for work—mostly street cleaning, as in 1893—was infinitesimal. 30

Economic failure was coupled with disintegration of political hopes. The Progressive party had organized elaborate research and educational departments after November, 1912, and Jane Addams had associated herself with these enterprises. But efforts to form a Progressive bloc in Congress were unsuccessful, and this deprived the party of any very effective influence on national legislation. The Progressives were badly split over the problems of leadership and philosophy. Many of them wanted to go farther

CLIMAX AND DISSATISFACTIONS

and faster than Roosevelt and his Wall Street friend, George Perkins. Roosevelt was in poor health and was unable or unwilling to give much direction to party affairs. Disaffected Progressives continued to bicker with him over his retention of Perkins as party chairman. John Kingsbury wrote Miss Addams three weeks before she left the country quoting one of the disgruntled Progressives: "The Colonel has become suspicious of the whole social worker crowd except Jane Addams, and he is afraid of her, and we must depend on her to save the situation." 31 The "situation" in the Progressive party rapidly disintegrated and with it went the hopes for a transformed politics.

Thrown back from efforts at reform through a national political party, Miss Addams might have resumed her highly successful neighborhood work at Hull House. But in this area, also, she found certain dissatisfaction creeping in after the high enthusiasm of the Bull Moose campaign. The settlements were coming under increasingly strong attack in these years as outmoded instruments of neighborhood improvement and the settlement movement was losing much of its early vitality. Miss Addams had consistently maintained that the settlement was a place for experiment, not an administrative agency. Settlement workers had always asserted that public provision for social services was preferable to private support. "It is better that a public building, like a school, become a center of a neighborhood, than a quasi-private building like a settlement," Miss Addams had written in 1906. "Hull House has always held its activities lightly, as it were, in the hollow of its hands, ready to give them over to whomsoever would carry them on properly. . . ." As if in response to these statements, the voters of Illinois in 1911 allowed the Chicago school board to open Chicago schools as social centers. Two years later, twenty-four schools were opened, and fifteen more were added by 1916. Old friends of the settlements like John Dewey felt that schools should replace the settlements

31. For a good description of the collapse of the Progressive party, see George E. Mowry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement (Madison, 1946), pp. 284-303. John Kingsbury to Jane Addams, January 12, 1913, SCPC. Roosevelt wired Miss Addams, February 4, 1913, "Understand you will be in New York on the twelfth if so it is very important that you should be at the [Progressive party's] Lincoln dinner as a guest. I am afraid that your absence from the dinner were you in New York would give rise to serious misunderstanding. Earnestly hope you will be at the dinner if only for a short time." At SCPC.
because in the latter something was done for the public "by people who are better off financially than they are. But giving a community facilities that it lacks for special classes and recreation through the public school puts the work on a different basis." The few public schools that were being operated as settlements illustrated, Dewey wrote, that "the schoolhouse is the natural and logical social center in the neighborhood. . . ." Other agencies in Chicago were by 1913 providing many services originated by the settlements. The Chicago park districts furnished better recreation facilities than settlements could afford. The public schools had made increased provision for vocational and manual training, and they had made a start in providing art and music education.

The settlement movement by 1912 had worn out many of its original purposes. Addressing the National Conference of Charities and Correction in that year, Jane Addams urged members of the social work guild to discover new challenges.

Certainly we have reached the point that we will not allow anyone to die if he can be saved, . . . but are we clear as to the end in view? Having obtained that, what shall we do next? Because it is after all a negative thing to make over a quarter of a city, . . . in order merely to keep children alive. It is well so far as it goes, but it is not after all sufficient, and we look about to see the next step, the one beyond the mere negative salvation of human life.  

Nor had the settlements, Miss Addams mused, been getting their full share of eager young people. Had the student volunteer movement or the socialists drawn off the young college students who used to come to the settlements, she wondered? "Whereas, in the early 'nineties we felt as if we had been in the van, . . . in


1910 it came to pass that we were beginning to be looked upon as among the conservative agencies in the community, at least some of the young people felt that we were slow, and were not keeping up with the procession." 34

What Jane Addams missed among younger social workers was the spontaneity, the direct emotional response, the enthusiasm of the earlier years. Instead of the enthusiasm of the Progressive campaign which united reform impulses, she saw a growing professionalism which dissipated reform energy. In lobbying for federal support for industrial education, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education increasingly concerned itself with the establishment and definition of professional teaching goals, a task in which Jane Addams had little desire to participate. As Lawrence Cremin notes, "as professionalism moved inexorably forward, fewer men and women like Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, Theodore Roosevelt, and Walter Hines Page concerned themselves directly with educational reform. . . ." 35 In 1909 the Playground Association of America published a tentative normal course of play in order to establish professional standards for the training of playground leaders. The question of whether school authorities or a special park board should control city parks, and similar questions, increasingly absorbed the association's time and effort. Professionalization seemed to Jane Addams to divide reform and to kill the emotional sources for reform enthusiasm.

These discouragements, however, were as nothing compared to the incredible news that war had broken out in Europe in the summer of 1914. This seemingly impossible cataclysm jarred Jane Addams as did no other event in her mature years. Her personal response to the war came on top of these recent discouragements. Miss Addams was soon totally absorbed in the problems of war and peace.