BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE ADDAMS MANUSCRIPTS

The major resource for this study has been Miss Addams' published writings. Her papers are part of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection (SCPC). For a description of this collection see Ellen Starr Brinton and Hiram Doty (comps.), Guide to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, a Memorial to Jane Addams ("Swarthmore College Library, Peace Collection Publication," No. 1, Swarthmore, Pa., 1947). For Miss Addams' papers see Marjorie Edwards, "Jane Addams Papers—a Brief Description," Social Service Review, XXXVI (June, 1962), 231–2. The papers are fully described in "Check List of the Jane Addams Papers" ("Swarthmore College Peace Collection," mimeographed, undated). This collection originated in a deposit by Miss Addams of material having to do with her work for peace. After her death the rest of her papers were added to this original deposit. The papers are fragmentary, for Jane Addams was not systematic about such matters. Always fearful that the settlement movement would become institutionalized and that settlement workers would become diverted into administration, Miss Addams was most informal in handling "the unmitigable mail of the morning" (Dorothea Moore, "A Day at Hull House," American Journal of Sociology, II [March, 1897], 635). Miss Addams did not have a regular secretary until after 1920, and she did not use a typewriter. She habitually discarded much of the incoming correspondence. Her papers at Swarthmore contain only a few of her replies to the scattered letters she preserved, and some of these are almost indecipherable. When I interviewed Dr. Alice Hamilton in 1961, she recalled the standing joke among Hull House residents that someone might publish a life of Miss Addams but no one would ever publish her life and letters.

The most revealing personal letters in the collection are a long series between Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, her most intimate friend. According to Alice Hamilton, Mary Smith was the "one supremely lovely figure . . . the most universally beloved person" she had ever known (Exploring the Dangerous Trades, the Autobiography of Alice Hamilton, M.D. [Boston, 1943], p. 67). A letter from Ellen Gates Starr to Jane Addams indicates the nature of the relationship between Miss Addams and Mary Rozet Smith: "I think I have always—at any rate for a good many years—been thankful that Mary Smith came to supply what you needed. At all events I thank God that I was never envious of her in any vulgar or ignoble way. I couldn't be of any one so noble and generous and in every way fairminded as she, so humble: really self-depreciating" (Ellen Starr to Jane Addams, April 12, 1935, SCPC). The correspondence at Swarthmore was particularly useful for describing the various preliminaries to the founding of Hull House.

In addition to correspondence, Jane Addams' papers contain about 110,000 newspaper clippings, dated between 1892 and 1935. Unhappily Miss Addams gave many clippings away and used them for various other purposes. The collection, therefore, like her letters, is fragmentary. Miss Addams divided her personal library between Swarthmore and Rockford College. The five hundred books at Swarthmore relate mostly to peace. These few books hardly reflect the enormous amount of reading which Miss Addams did during her lifetime.

The Ellen Gates Starr Papers are in the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College.
Letters between Jane Addams and Miss Starr between 1879 and 1889 are particularly revealing and suggest why these two young ladies were attracted to each other. The letters contain much immature religious searching and fill in many gaps in the correspondence at Swarthmore. Jane Addams' letters to Ellen Starr from Europe and from Baltimore are especially interesting. Letters in 1889 and 1890 help illuminate the founding and early activities at Hull House.

The Stephenson County Historical Museum in Freeport, Illinois, has a most interesting collection of material. Many of the family books from the Addams homestead are in the museum. There is also a library catalogue and some of the books of the Union Library Company, Cedar Creek Mills, which had its headquarters in the Addams household. The museum also has some very interesting letters from Jane Addams to members of her family in the years before 1890. Miss Addams' cash books for the years she was at the seminary are in the museum, along with some other material connected with her stay at Rockford. The hilarious minutes of the Addams family phrenological society, dated from August 21, 1876, to June 11, 1877, and a chart of Jane Addams' personality based on phrenological analysis—she scored very high in firmness and cautiousness, and average in combativeness and spirituality—complete the museum's holdings.

The Rockford College Archives include much memorabilia of the years when Jane Addams attended the institution. The major source of information is a scrapbook started in the early years of the seminary by Miss Sill. All sorts of programs, invitations, schedules, and miscellany are mounted in the scrapbook. Numerous newspaper accounts (mostly undated) of activities, exercises, and speeches at the seminary are included. There are complete files of the seminary catalogue and the Rockford Seminary Magazine. The Frank A. White Papers contain an occasional letter to or from Jane Addams and several reminiscences that mention Miss Addams. A transcript of her academic work and some of her classroom notebooks are also in the archives. Julia Lathrop's papers are deposited in the archives, but they contained little of interest.

RELATED COLLECTIONS

The Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society include a good deal of correspondence from the women at Hull House—Jane Addams, Ellen Gates Starr, Florence Kelley. Most of the letters deal with local affairs in Chicago. The letters establish the close relationship between Lloyd and Jane Addams and show her dependence on him for advice, money, encouragement, and an occasional speech at Hull House.

Lilllian Wald's papers are in the New York Public Library. There were frequent letters between these two settlement leaders, who shared in many projects and wrote frankly to each other. The letters are forthright and lively; the salutations are extremely formal: "Dear Lady"; "Dear Madam"; "My Dear Miss Wald"; "Beloved Lady." Miss Wald finally asked Jane Addams to address her more informally in a letter dated August 14, 1917. There is considerable helpful information in these letters concerning the Progressive party, the American Union against Militarism, and the attempts to influence Wilson in 1915, 1916, and early 1917.

Manuscript collections in two large depositories failed to yield much helpful information for this study. In addition to the Lloyd Papers, I checked other collections at the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Ada James Papers contain nothing of substance. The Louis P. Lochner Papers have an occasionally useful letter during the years between 1915 and 1917. The Edward A. Ross, Zona Gale, and Albion Small collections were of little aid. The Raymond Robbins Papers are disorganized and difficult to use. I have not worked through them. There are
several interesting items concerning Jane Addams in the Richard T. Ely Papers. Jane Addams material in the Julia Grace Wales Papers deals exclusively with the development and refinement of plans for neutral mediation by Miss Wales in the period 1915-7. Mrs. Emmons Blaine’s papers are a part of the McCormick Collection at Wisconsin. The numerous letters, and later records of phone calls, deal almost entirely with financial contributions and other gifts by Mrs. Blaine to Hull House.

The Library of Congress holds a number of collections that were tangentially useful for this study. The widow of Ben B. Lindsey has deposited a large collection of correspondence. Included is an index which is not altogether accurate. There are many letters between Miss Addams and Judge Lindsey, but most of them are routine acknowledgments and arrangements about travel and speeches. The Ray Stannard Baker Papers, especially for the early years when Baker was a Chicago newspaper reporter, provided diverting background information. The Louis F. Post, Clarence Darrow, and Jacob A. Riis Papers were disappointing. All three collections are small. None contained aid for my purposes. Papers deposited in the names of Mary Church Terrell and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge were also outside the focus of this study, although both contain Jane Addams material. I searched the appropriate parts of the papers of Albert J. Beveridge, William Allen White, Booker T. Washington, and Newton D. Baker for insights into the Progressive campaign of 1912. The Ford Peace Plan Papers describe that venture and contain various appeals and greetings to Miss Addams. The Oscar S. Straus Papers contain several letters of no relevance to this study. I have not investigated the deposits of the League of Women Voters of the United States, the National Women’s Trade Union League of America, the National Consumer’s League, nor the National Child Labor Committee, in all of which Jane Addams was an active participant.

The files of the Survey Associates have recently been deposited at the University of Minnesota. The strategy and personnel of many progressive reform movements in the years after 1909 will be illuminated by this material, but I have not consulted it. The National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers permitted me to use their correspondence archives. There are many letters to and from Miss Addams, but most of them deal with organizational matters not germane to this study.

Some of the manuscript collections in the Radcliffe College Women’s Archives contain material about Jane Addams, but very little of relevance to this study. Alice Hamilton’s papers focus on her medical career. There are none of her sharp, wonderfully descriptive letters to match those at Swarthmore. There are some Jane Addams letters in the Anna Howard Shaw, the Leonora O’Reilly, the Harriet Burton Laidlaw, the Eva Whiting White, and Fannie Fern Andrews collections.

Manuscript collections in the Chicago area have some Jane Addams letters, but do not contain any very revealing or interesting material. At the Chicago Historical Society I have consulted the Anne Morgan, Mrs. Potter Palmer, Lorado Taft, and Agnes Nestor collections without finding important data. The Graham Taylor Papers are in the Newberry Library. There is little useful material about Miss Addams in this collection. Included in the manuscript division of the William Rainey Harper Library at the University of Chicago there are some interesting items concerning Miss Addams in the Presidents’ Papers. The Marion Talbot and Robert Herrick collections were less helpful. There are no archives at Hull House. When I visited the settlement in 1960, the only items of historical significance were a double-entry ledger of expenses, a list of donors dated 1890 to 1897, and a minute book of residents’ meetings for 1895-5 and 1896. The file of residents who had lived at Hull House was incomplete. There was no file of the irregular Hull-House Bulletin, Vol. 1-7 (1895-1905/1906), or its successor, the Hull-House
Yearbook (1906/1907 +). The best source of information on Hull House is the Bibliography of College, Social, University and Church Settlements. This bibliography was compiled variously by: M. Katherine Jones, 1st and 2nd editions (Philadelphia, 1893, 1895), John Palmer Gavit, 3rd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1897), and Carolina Wilson Montgomery, 4th and 5th editions (New York, 1900, and Chicago, 1905).

No indexed manuscript collection at Harvard contains Jane Addams material except the Oswald Garrison Villard Papers, and the letters in it were not important for this study. The William Kent Papers at Yale had several interesting items relating to Miss Addams. The Kent collection is the only relevant one at Yale. At the Columbia University Library, there is material referring to Jane Addams in the Randolph Bourne Papers, the Allan Nevins Papers, and the Lincoln Steffens Papers, but the letters did not prove helpful for this study. Miss Addams is mentioned in interviews in the Columbia Oral History Project by Louis H. Pink, Henry Bruere, William Wilson Cumberland, Stanley Isaacs, Ralph Albertson, and William Prendergast, but none of these recollections were particularly helpful or suggestive. Beside the Lillian Wald Papers, there are other collections with occasional material about Jane Addams in the New York Public Library. I have investigated the A. W. Anthony collection, the Annie Russell collection and the Elizabeth Jordan Papers. The Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer Papers are restricted.

The compilation by the Library of Congress of a National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959-1961 (Ann Arbor, 1962), and a second volume for 1962 (Hamden, Conn., 1964), has made the location of manuscript material immensely easier. Jane Addams material located in the Gilbert Tracy collection in the New Jersey Historical Society and in the William Channing Gannett Papers at the University of Rochester was not relevant to my work. The Richard Henry Edwards and the James Ernest Boyle collections, both in the Cornell University Library Collection of Regional History and University Archives, contained nothing useful for this study.

The Emily Greene Balch Papers and the papers and files of the Woman's Peace party, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. I have consulted them in order to understand how Miss Addams organized and led various reform groups. Among the interesting items in the Balch Papers are the minutes of the meetings at the Henry Street Settlement in 1914 and 1915.

Dr. Alice Hamilton permitted me to visit and talk with her for an afternoon. She very graciously answered my questions and enlightened me on several topics. Jessie Binford, who went to live at Hull House in 1906, also talked with me. I am in her debt for much Hull House lore. Miss Lea Taylor told me about Miss Addams from the vantage of another Chicago settlement. Mrs. Sarah Schaar shared her recollections of Hull House with me and was most cordial and kind. Jordan Cavan, who lived at Hull House during and after World War I, also shared his memories with me. Albert J. Kennedy provided me with his lively interpretation of Miss Addams and recalled her attitudes from his vantage in the 1920's as secretary of the National Federation of Settlements. Mrs. John Allen, James Weber Linn's daughter, was most patient and helpful with all sorts of research questions.

PUBLISHED WRITINGS BY MISS ADDAMS

Jane Addams revealed her ideas most fully in her public writings. After her visit to Tolstoy she resolved to live on the earnings from her speaking and writing,
rather than on the income from farmland she had inherited from her father. Miss Addams found wide opportunities for speaking and publishing. Many magazines requested articles from her. The Macmillan Company was anxious to publish books from her pen. Miss Addams devoted much time and effort to writing, for she was anxious to inform as wide a public as possible about her interests. As a result, she frequently reworked similar material for various occasions, and there is a good deal of repetition in the things she published. The curators at Swarthmore have compiled an incomplete bibliography of Miss Addams' writings based on the material in the Jane Addams Papers. A larger effort is M. Helen Perkins, A Preliminary Checklist for a Bibliography on Jane Addams (Rockford, Ill., 1960). Miss Perkins arranged her bibliography into awkward categories (addresses, then articles, then books) and alphabetized within these categories. In the following bibliography I have tried to list Jane Addams' published writings in chronological order. I have included verbatim transcripts of speeches and addresses, but have excluded newspaper articles which she wrote, even though some of the material in these newspaper articles was not used elsewhere. I have noted duplication where the texts are the same, but this annotation is not exhaustive.

15. "With the Masses," *Advance* (Chicago), XXV (February 18, 1892), 133. This is a revision of number 14.
19. "Objective Value of a Social Settlement," in *ibid.*, pp. 27–56. This is the same as number 16.


22. Address at Western Reserve College for Women, *College Folio*, II (June, 1894), 129-31.


32. Discussion of after-care of convalescent and recovered insane patients, in *ibid.*, pp. 464-6.


37. "Why the Ward Boss Rules," *Outlook*, LVIII (April 2, 1898), 879-82. This is excerpted from number 36.


46. “The Charity Visitor’s Perplexities,” Outlook, LXI (March 11, 1899), 598–600. This is excerpted from number 45.
48. “What Peace Means,” Unity, XLIII (May 4, 1899), 178. This is a reprinting of number 43.
49. “Social Settlement and University Extension,” Review of Reviews, XX (July, 1899), 93. This is excerpted from number 47.
50. “Trade Unions and Public Duty,” Railroad Trainman’s Journal, XVI (December, 1899), 1070–86. This is a reprinting of number 44.
52. “The Hull-House Labor Museum,” Current Literature, XXIX (October, 1900), 423–4. This is excerpted from number 51.
54. The Greatest Menace to Progress. Chicago, 1901. This is a separate publication of number 53.
56. “One Menace to the Century’s Progress,” Unity, XLVII (April 4, 1901), 71–2. This is a reprinting of number 53.
58. First Report of the Labor Museum at Hull-House, Chicago, 1901/1902. Chicago, 1902. This pamphlet is unsigned, but it was reprinted under Miss Addams’ signature. See number 61.
60. Democracy and Social Ethics. New York, 1902. Chapter II is a revision, with additions, of number 45. Chapter III includes excerpts from number 39. Chapter IV is a revision, with additions, of number 27. Chapter V contains some sections originally published in number 44. Chapter VI is a revision of number 30. Chapter VII is a revision, with additions, of number 36.
64. “Newer Ideals of Peace,” Chautauqua Assembly Herald, XXVII (July 8, 1902), 5.
70. Discussion and summary on child labor, in ibid., pp. 546–8.
72. “The Friendship of Settlement Work,” Charities, X (March 28, 1903), 315–6. This is excerpted from number 59.
224  

BIBLIOGRAPHY


75. "Child Labor and Pauperism," *Charities*, XI (October 3, 1903), 300-4. This is a reprinting of number 69.


81. Remarks as chairman of discussion, in *ibid.*, pp. 608-17.


83. "Henry Demarest Lloyd, His Passion for a Better Social Order," *The Commons*, IX (January, 1904), 20-2. This is a reprinting of number 76.

84. "Henry Demarest Lloyd, His Passion for a Better Social Order," in *Chicago Teachers' Federation, Bulletin*, III (January 29, 1904), 1-3. This is a reprinting of number 76.

85. "Educational Methods as They Relate to Labor Unions," *ibid.*, III (March 25, 1904), pp. 1-2. This is excerpted from Chapter VI of number 60.

86. "Humanizing Tendency of Industrial Education," *Chautauquan*, XXXIX (May, 1904), 266-72.


88. "Larger Social Groupings," *ibid.*, XII (June 25, 1904), 675. This is a brief summary of number 80.


97. "Recent Immigration, a Field Neglected by the Scholar," *University of Chicago Record*, IX (January, 1905), 274-84.
98. "Recent Immigration, a Field Neglected by the Scholar," *The Commons*, X (January, 1905), 9-19. This is a reprinting of number 97.
99. "Recent Immigration, a Field Neglected by the Scholar," *Unity*, LIV (January 19, 1905), pp. 328-33. This is a reprinting of number 97.
100. "Recent Immigration," *Education Review*, XXIX (March, 1905), 245-63. This is a reprinting of number 97.
103. "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements," *Social Service*, XI (April, 1905), 38-47. This is excerpted from number 17.
104. "A House Stands on a Busy Street" *The Commons*, X (April, 1905), 225. This is a reprinting of number 101.
108. "Day Nurseries—Do They Foster Parental Irresponsibility?" *Charities and the Commons*, XV (December 30, 1905), 411-2.
120. "Some Childhood Experiences of Jane Addams," *Unity*, LVII (March 1, 1906), 11. This is excerpted from number 118.
121. "Judge Tuley," *Charities and The Commons*, XV (March 3, 1906), 752-3. This is a reprinting of number 116.
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124. "The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women," *Woman's Journal*, XXXVII (April 7, 1906), 53-5. This is a reprinting of number 110.

125. "Woman's Relations to Civic Housekeeping," *Public*, IX (April 28, 1906), 86-7. This is excerpted from number 110.


128. *Newer Ideals of Peace*. New York, 1907. Chapters II and III are revisions, with additions, of number 96 and 97. Chapter V includes material originally published in number 89. Chapter VII is a revision, with additions, of number 110. Chapter VIII includes material originally used in numbers 43 and 97.


132. "National Protection for Children," in *National Child Labor Committee, New York*, Pamphlet, XLVII (1907). This is a reprinting of number 132.

133. "National Protection for Children," in *National Child Labor Committee, New York*, Pamphlet, XLVII (1907). This is a reprinting of number 132.


137. "National Protection for Children," *Annals*, XXIX (January, 1907), 57-60. This is a reprinting of number 132.


139. "Newer Ideals of Peace," *Charities and The Commons*, XVII (January 5, 1907), 399-606. This is a reprinting of Chapter I, number 128.

140. "National Program," *ibid.*, pp. 641-2. This is excerpted from number 132.

141. "How Shall We Approach Industrial Education?" *Educational Bi-Monthly*, I (February, 1907), 183-90. This is a reprinting of number 138.

142. Memorial address for John A. Davis, *Unity*, LIX (May 30, 1907), 201. This is a reprinting of number 129.


145. "Do We Want Rifle Practice in the Public Schools?" in *Peace Association of Friends, Do We Want Rifle Practice in the Public Schools* (Philadelphia, 1908), pp. 5-6.

151. "The Relation of 'Settlements' and Religion; or, the place of Religion as It May Be Experienced in the Settlement," *Unity*, LX (January 9, 16, 1908), 295-7, 311-3. Jane Addams presided at this discussion which included addresses by Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch and Mary E. McDowell.
152. Address, *Journal of Education*, LXVII (February 13, 1908), 175-6. This is inaccurately excerpted from number 157.
160. Speech at the Abraham Lincoln Center, *Unity*, LXI (July 2, 1908), 280.
161. "The 'Piece-Work' System as a Factor in The Tuberculosis of Wage-Workers," in International Congress on Tuberculosis, *Proceedings*, VI, Section 5 (September, 1908), 139-40. Dr. Alice Hamilton co-authored this article.
162. "Some Reflections on the Failure of the Modern City to Provide Recreation for Young Girls," *Charities and The Commons*, XXI (December 5, 1908), 365-8. This is a reprinting of number 155.
164. *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*. New York, 1909. Chapter I used material which was originally published as number 155. Chapter III includes number 144.
170. "Street Trading," in *ibid.*, CXIV (1909), 8-9. This is a reprinting of number 168.
173. "Street Trading," ibid., pp. 232–3. This is a reprinting of number 168.
176. "Immigrants," ibid., XXII (June 26, 1909), 453–4. This is a reprinting of number 166.
177. "Bad Boy of the Streets," Ladies' Home Journal, XXVI (October, 1909), 17. This is excerpted from Chapter III of number 164.
178. "When Youth Seeks a Mate," ibid., XXVI (November, 1909), 22. This is excerpted from Chapter II of number 164.
183. "Gospel of Recreation," Northwestern Christian Advocate, LVIII (January 5, 1910), 9–10. This is excerpted from Chapter I of number 164.
185. "Autobiographical Notes upon Twenty Years at Hull-House. Early Undertakings at Hull House," ibid., LXX (June, 1910), 192–202. This is a reprinting of Chapter VII of number 180.
186. "Charity and Social Justice," Survey, XXIV (June 11, 1910), 441–9. This is a reprinting of number 181.
190. "Autobiographical Notes upon Twenty Years at Hull-House. Echoes of the Russian Revolution," ibid., LXX (September, 1910), 638–46. This is a reprinting of Chapter XVII of number 180.
194. "What Does Child Labor Reform Cost the Community? " in National Child Labor Committee, New York, Pamphlet, CLV (1911). This is a reprinting of number 193.
195. "Symposium—Child Labor on the Stage," in *ibid.*, CLXV (1911). This is a reprinting of number 192.


204. "A Visit to Tolstoy," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVI (January, 1911), 295-302. This is a reprinting of Chapter XII of number 180.


208. "Child Labor on the Stage," *Annals*, XXXVIII, Supplement (July, 1911), 60-5. This is a reprinting of number 192.

209. "Ten Years Experience in Child Labor Legislation in Illinois," *ibid.*, pp. 144-8. This is a reprinting of number 193.


217. *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*. New York, 1912. Chapter I is a reprinting of number 211. Chapter III is a reprinting of number 212.


221. "Recreation as a Public Function in Urban Communities," *American Journal*
of Sociology, XVII (March, 1912), 615-9. This is a reprinting of number 196.

222. "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil, Chapter V: Social Control," McClure's Magazine, XXXVIII (March, 1912), 592-8. This is a reprinting of Chapter VI of number 217.

223. "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil," Woman's Journal, XLIII (March 16, 1912), 82. This is excerpted from Chapter VI of number 217.


225. "The Church and the Social Evil," Vigilance, XXV (May, 1912), 1-6. This is a reprinting of number 213.

226. "A Challenge to the Contemporary Church," Survey, XXVIII (May 4, 1912), 195-8. This is a reprinting of number 213.


229. "Votes for Women and Other Votes," Survey, XXVIII (June 1, 1912), 367-8.

230. "Votes for Women and Other Votes," Woman's Journal, XLIII (June 15, 1912), 191. This is excerpted from number 229.


232. "The Church and the Social Evil; Christian Responsibility for a Terrible Modern Scourge," Methodist Quarterly Review, LXI (October, 1912), 665-72. This is a reprinting of number 213.


234. "Woman in Politics," Progress, a Progressive Monthly Review, Political Social, Economic, I (November, 1912), 37-40. I have been unable to verify this article.


244. "Why Women Should Vote," in Frances Maule (ed.), Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments and Results (New York, 1913), pp. 139-58. This is a reprinting of number 182.


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252. Jane Addams' page, *ibid.*, XXX (April, 1913), 27.
257. "Solving the Problem of the Unemployed," *ibid.*, XXX (September, 1913), 23.
259. "The Sheltered Woman and the Magdalen," *ibid.*, XXX (November, 1913), 25. This is a revision with additions of number 213.
272. Telegram, *Independent*, LXXVII (March 16, 1914), 366. This is excerpted from number 271.
276. "Passing of the War Virtues," *Craftsman*, XXVII (October, 1914), 79–80. This is excerpted from number 128.
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277. "Need a Woman over Fifty Feel Old?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXXI (October, 1914), 7.
278. "Is the Peace Movement a Failure?" *ibid.*, XXXI (November, 1914), 5.
279. "Larger Aspects of the Woman's Movement," *Annals*, LVI (November, 1914), 1–8. This is a reprinting with slight changes of number 229.
284. "Women and War," in Lucia Ames Mead (ed.), *The Overthrow of the War System* (Boston, 1915), pp. 1–9. This is a reprinting of number 283.
287. "Why Women Should Vote," in Frances M. Bjorkman and Anne G. Porritt (eds.), *Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments and Results* (New York, 1915), pp. 131–50. This is a reprinting of number 182.
288. *Women at The Hague, the International Congress of Women and Its Results*. New York, 1915. This was co-authored by Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton. Miss Addams contributed Chapter III, "The Revolt against War," Chapter IV, "Factors in Continuing the War," and Chapter VII, "Women and Internationalism."
291. "What War Is Destroying," *Advocate of Peace*, LXXVII (March, 1915), 64–5. This is a reprinting of number 289.
292. "Songs for the Hull House Quarter Century," *Survey*, XXXIII (March 6, 1915), 597. This is a reprinting of number 281.
293. Foreword to "War and Social Reconstruction," *ibid.*, p. 603.
294. "Towards the Peace That Shall Last," *ibid.*, Part II, unpaged. This statement is signed also by seventeen others.
295. "Towards the Peace That Shall Last," *Unity*, LXCV (March 25, 1915), 54–7. This is a reprinting with minor changes of number 294.
296. "The President's Address," *Jus Suffragii*, IX (June 1, 1915), 303–4. This is a reprinting of number 283.
298. "Address of Miss Jane Addams, Delivered at Carnegie Hall, Friday, July 9, 1915," *Christian Work*, XCIX (July 31, 1915), 145–8. This is a reprinting of number 297.
301. "The Revolt against War," *Unity*, LXXV (August 5, 1915), 358–63. This is a reprinting of number 297.
308. "The Food of War," *Independent*, LXXXIV (December 13, 1915), 430–1. This is excerpted from Chapter IV of number 288.
317. "Reaction of Simple Women to Trade Union Propaganda," *ibid.*, XXXVI (July 1, 1916), 364–6. This is excerpted from Chapter IV of number 310.
320. "Disturbing Conventions," *Survey*, XXXVII (October 7, 1916), 1–5. This is a reprinting of Chapter III of number 310.
234

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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328. "Are Pacifists Cowards?" Unity, LXXIX (July 19, 1917), 331. This is excerpted from number 326.
330. "Devil Baby at Hull House," in Atlantic Classics, Second Series (Boston, 1918), pp. 52–77. This is a reprinting of number 319.
333. "World's Food and World's Politics," in National Conference of Social Work, Pamphlet, CCXVIII (1918). This is a reprinting of number 331.
335. "World's Food Supply and Woman's Obligation," in General Federation of Women's Clubs, Biennial Convention, XIV (1918), 251–63.
337. "Tolstoy and the Russian Soldiers," Friends' Intelligencer, LXXV (19th First Month 1918), 35–6. This is a reprinting of number 329.
338. "Tolstoy and the Russian Soldiers," Unity, LXXII (January 31, 1918), pp. 344–6. This is a reprinting of number 329.
339. "World's Food Supply and Woman's Obligation," General Federation Magazine, XVII (July, 1918), 11–5. This is a reprinting of number 335.
340. "World's Food Supply and Woman's Obligation," Journal of Home Economics, X (September, 1918), 389–400. This is a reprinting of number 335.
342. Memorial address for Jenkins Lloyd Jones, Unity, LXXXII (November 28, 1918), 148–9.
345. "A Tribute to Mary H. Wilmarth," in Funeral Services for Mary Hawes


349. "After the Lean Years, Impressions of Food Conditions in Germany when Peace Was Signed," Survey, XLII (September 6, 1919), 793–97. The article was co-authored by Dr. Alice Hamilton.

350. "A Tribute (in Memory of Mary H. Wilmath)," in Chicago Women's Club, Bulletin, III (October, 1919), 5–7. This is a revision of number 345.

351. "Report of Jane Addams and Dr. Hamilton to the American Friends' Service Committee on the Situation in Germany," in American Friends' Service Committee, Bulletin, XXV (November, 1919). This is a revision of number 349.

352. "Where the Christmas Spirit Will Wane," Life Boat (Hinsdale, Ill.), XXII (December, 1919), 353–6. This is excerpted from number 351.


356. "Immigration: a Field Neglected by the Scholar," in Philip Davis and Bertha Swartz (comps.), Immigration and Americanization (Boston, 1920), pp. 3–22. This is a reprinting of number 97.


359. "Nationalism—a Dogma?" Survey, XLIII (February 7, 1920), 524–6. This is a reprinting of number 344.

360. Speech dedicating the Jenkins Lloyd Jones Chair of English Literature, Unity, LXXXV (May 13, 1920). 170–1.


363. Memorial address for Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, Unity, LXXXV (July 1, 1920), 281.


376. "Disarmament and Life," *Church Militant* (October, 1921, Supplement), pp. lv–lvi. This is a reprinting of number 368.

377. "Disarmament and Life," in National Peace Council, Joint Disarmament Committee, *Disarmament Pamphlet*, II (October, 1921). This is a reprinting of number 368.

378. "The Attack on War," *Christian Century*, XXXVIII (October 13, 1921), 10–12. This is a reprinting of number 368.


381. "Aftermath of the War," *Christian Century*, XXXIX (January 5, 1922), 10–2. Excerpted from number 380, Chapter IX.

382. "Why the League Limps," *ibid.*, XXXIX (January 19, 1922), 71–4. This is excerpted from number 380, Chapter X.

383. "Peace and Bread, II. President Wilson's Policies, III. Personal Reactions during the War," *Survey*, XLVII (January 28, 1922), 659–63. This is excerpted from number 380, Chapters III and IV.


388. "Seconding the Nomination of Roosevelt for President, 1912," in *ibid.*, VIII, 1–2. This is a reprinting of number 216.

389. "In Memory of Henry Lloyd," in *ibid.*, IX, 1–5. This is a reprinting of number 76. Subsequent revised editions of *Modern Eloquence* published in 1928, 1936, and 1941 contain numbers 387, 388, and 389 with the same volume and page numberings.


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"Opening Address," ibid., pp. 1–3. This is a reprinting of number 394.

"Whoso Liveth to Himself," Survey, LI (January 15, 1924), 373. This is a reprinting of number 390.


"Is Woman Suffrage Failing?" Woman Citizen, VIII (April 19, 1924), 15–6.


Introduction, in The Child, the Clinic and the Court, a Group of Papers (New York, 1925), pp. 1–2.

"Impressions of Mexico," in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section, Bulletin, XIV (April/May 1925), unpaged.


Foreword, in Winthrop D. Lane, Military Training in Schools and Colleges in the United States, the Facts and an Interpretation (n.p. [New York], n.d. [1926]), pp. 3–4. The foreword is co-signed by fifty-seven other people.

"The World Court," Republican Woman, III (February, 1926), 7–8.

"My Greetings to the Youth's Companion," Youth's Companion, C (February 4, 1926), 90.

Letter to the editor, Pax International, I (June, 1926), unpaged.

"New Methods of Procedure," ibid., I (August, 1926), unpaged. This is a reprinting of number 404.

"Generous Impulses in Politics," ibid., I (September, 1926), unpaged.

"New Methods of Procedure," Unity, XCVIII (September 6, 1926), 15. This is a reprinting of number 404.

"How Much Social Work Can a Community Afford?" Survey, LVII (November 15, 1926), pp. 199–201. This is a reprinting with minor deletions of number 403.


"The Hopes We Inherit," in Building International Goodwill (New York, 1927), 3–18. This is co-authored by E. G. Balch.


"Chicago's Mayor Turns Censor," Woman Citizen, XII (December, 1927), 15, 39.


420. Foreword, in Howard E. Wilson, Mary McDowell, Neighbor (Chicago, 1928), pp. ix-xi.
427. "What to Do Then," Russian Student, V (September, 1928), 19-22. This is a revision of number 416.
428. "Tolstoy, Prophet of Righteousness," Unity, CII (September 10, 1928), 11-2. This is a reprinting of number 427.
429. "Address to the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, Pax International, III (October, 1928), unpaged. This is a reprinting of number 423.
432. President's Address, in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Congress Report, VI (1929), 13-5.
440. "Opening Speech at Prague Congress," Pax International, IV (September, 1929), unpaged. This is a reprinting of number 432.
441. "Decade of Prohibition," Survey, LXIII (October 1, 1929), 5-10.
442. "Prohibition as Seen from Hull House," Literary Digest, CIII (October 19, 1929), 22-3. This is excerpted from number 441.
446. "Safety in the Home," American Labor Legislation Review, XIX (December, 1929), 409-10. This is excerpted from number 443.
447. "Immigrants under the Quota," Review of Reviews, LXXX (December, 1929), 94-5. This is excerpted from number 444.


455. The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, September 1909 to September 1929, with a Record of a Growing World Consciousness. New York, 1930. Chapter IV includes a reprinting of number 452. Chapter VI includes a reprinting of number 390. Chapter VIII includes a reprinting of number 441. Chapter IX includes a reprinting of number 444. Chapter X includes a reprinting of number 449.


458. "Aspects of the Woman's Movement," Survey, LXIV (August 1, 1930), 384-7. This is a reprinting of Chapter IV of number 455.

459. "Education by the Current Event," ibid., LXIV (September 1, 1930), 461-4. This is a reprinting of Chapter XII of number 455.

460. "Contrasts in a Post-War Generation," ibid., LXV (October 1, 1930), 21-5. This is a reprinting of Chapter VII of number 455.


470. "A Needed Implement to Social Reform," Unitarian Register and Newsletter, CX (June 4, 1931), 464-5.

471. "A Needed Implement in Social Reform," Christian Leader, XXXIV (June 20, 1931), 778-80. This includes the material in number 470.
476. *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent*. New York, 1932. The memorial to Sarah Rozet Smith is a reprinting of number 82. The memorial to Henry Demarest Lloyd is a reprinting with a small deletion of number 76. The memorial to Judge Murray F. Tuley is a reprinting with slight changes of number 116. The memorial to Mary Hawes Wilmarth is an excerpt with many revisions of number 345. The memorial to Canon Samuel A. Barnett uses excerpts from numbers 334 and 362. Chapter XII is a reprinting of number 270.
479. "Social Consequences of the Depression," *Survey*, LXVII (January 1, 1932), 370-1. This is a reprinting of number 466.
480. "Disarm and Have Peace, a Pacifist Plea to End War," *Liberty*, IX (March 12, 1932), 25.
482. "A Great Public Servant, Julia C. Lathrop," *Social Service Review*, VI (June, 1932), 280-5. This is an expanded version of number 481.
491. "Friend and Guide of Social Workers—Ernest Freund," *University of Chicago* Record, XIX (January, 1933), 43-5. This is a reprinting of number 478.
492. "The Social Deterrent of our National Self-Righteousness with Correctives Suggested by the Courageous Life of William Penn," *Survey Graphic*, XXII (February, 1933), 98-101. This is a reprinting with a few deletions of number 484.
493. "Our National Self-Righteousness," University [of Chicago] Magazine, XXVI (November, 1933), 8-10. This is a reprinting with several deletions of number 484.


496. "Is a United Peace Front Desirable?" Survey Graphic, XXIII (February, 1934), 60. This is co-authored by Emily Greene Balch.


498. "Exaggerated Nationalism and International Comity," Survey Graphic, XXIII (April, 1934), 168-70. This is a reprinting of number 495.


501. Statement, in Herman Bernstein, Can We Abolish War? (New York, 1935), pp. 30-1. This is excerpted from number 414.


504. "Julia Lathrop and Outdoor Relief in Chicago, 1893-1894," Social Service Review, IX (March, 1935), 24-33. This is a reprinting of Chapter V, number 503.


508. "Julia Lathrop's Services to the State of Illinois," Social Service Review, IX (June, 1935), 191-211. This is a reprinting of number 503, Chapter VII.


WRITINGS ABOUT JANE ADDAMS: GENERAL

I have already noted my dependence on James Weber Linn, Jane Addams, a Biography (New York & London, 1937), for much of the personal detail which informed this study. No other source approaches Linn's in completeness and thoroughness. Linn self-consciously tried to suppress family pride in his aunt's accomplishments. He decided, perhaps wisely, not to try to estimate Miss Addams'
place in American history, but did the job for which he was best qualified: he described her personality. Jane Addams' niece has left a shorter biography; Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams As I Knew Her," Reviewer's Library, VII [1936], 1–29, is full of sharp insights into Jane Addams' personality. Mrs. Haldeman-Julius was a perceptive and independent author who criticized her aunt's beliefs from her own position as a socialist. In her introduction to the John Harvard library edition of Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. vii–lxxv, Anne Firor Scott emphasizes Jane Addams' life as an example of the changing role of women in America. Mrs. Scott singles out as key elements in Jane Addams' thought "Darwinism, 'experience,' pragmatism, and personal value" (p. xlv). Less valuable than Mrs. Scott's able introduction is Margaret Tims, *Jane Addams of Hull House, 1860–1935, a Centenary Study* (London, 1961). Mrs. Tims, a leader in the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, did not consult manuscript collections in America. She depended too heavily on Miss Addams' two autobiographical accounts. This dependence limits her study to a kind of summary of Miss Addams' own reflections on her life, supplemented by Linn's biography.


I have used several accounts of American progressive reform. Two contemporary books remain valuable. William English Walling, *Progressivism—and after* (New York, 1914), and Benjamin P. DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement, a Non-Partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (New York, 1915), are both perceptive and useful statements. For excitement and enthusiasm, Eric F. Goldman's *Rendezvous with Destiny, a History of Modern American Reform* (New York, 1952) is difficult to match. Charles A. Madison, *Critics and Crusaders, a Century of American Protest* (New York, 1959), is tame and predictable by comparison. Madison's treatment of Randolph Bourne is better


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Series” (New York, 1958), are most helpful. I have depended on both volumes in specific detail and in matters of interpretation of progressivism. My ideas about progressivism have also been broadened by Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and Progressive Era, 1910-1917, “New American Nation Series” (New York, 1954), and the volumes of his uncompleted Wilson (Princeton, 1947—). The two volumes in a “Chicago History of American Civilization,” Samuel P. Hays, Response to Industrialism 1885–1914 (Chicago, 1957), and William E. Leuchtenburg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932 (Chicago, 1958), are nicely handled summaries. Leuchtenburg’s study gains luster by the pedestrian quality of John D. Hicks’s treatment of the same material in his The Republican Ascendancy 1921–1933, “New American Nation Series” (New York, 1960). Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has made many interesting suggestions about progressivism in the first volume of his Age of Roosevelt, The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933 (Boston, 1957). Schlesinger suggests how the continuity between two reform impulses of 1912 and 1933 was especially the work of social workers, a theme argued in convincing detail by Clarke A. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, American Social Service and Social Action, 1918–1933 (Minneapolis, 1963). Finally Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), was useful in several ways. His sympathetic account of Vida D. Scudder’s career suggested interesting parallels with that of Ellen G. Starr, and his treatment of Robert A. Woods made me realize how different the settlement houses in Boston were from those in Chicago.

These secondary accounts need to be supplemented with the autobiographies of leading progressives. Jane Addams’ two autobiographic volumes, the first a classic, are only part of a much larger literature which reveals a great deal about its authors. The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1913); Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography (New York, 1913); The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York, 1946); Brand Whitlock, Forty Years of It (New York, 1914); and LaFollette’s Autobiography, a personal narrative of political experiences (Madison [1913] 1960); all are of this genre. The autobiographies of settlement workers, while not as famous as these, were of great use to this study. See Vida Dutton Scudder, On Journey (New York, 1937); Lillian D. Wald, Windows on Henry Street (Boston, 1936); and two wonderful accounts by Alice Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades, and The Autobiography of Alice Hamilton, M.D. (Boston, 1943). Florence Kelley started an autobiography which appeared as “My Philadelphia,” Survey, LVII (October 1, 1926), 7–11, 50–7; “When Co-Education Was Young,” ibid., LVII (February 1, 1927), 557–61, 600–2; “My Monitor,” ibid., LVIII (April 1, 1927), 31–5; “I Go to Work,” ibid., LVIII (June 1, 1927), 271–4, 301. These fragments should be supplemented by Josephine Goldmark, Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley’s Life Story (Urbana, 1953). Eleanor H. Woods’ memoir of her husband, Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy (Boston & New York, 1929), imitates its subject by being stuffy and is most valuable for the letters it includes, many of which are now lost. Mary Heaton Vorse, A Footnote to Folly, Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse (New York, 1935), also contained some useful information. There is a great richness of printed source material for understanding how progressives imagined themselves as reformers.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I have not exhausted the available resources on the situation in Chicago. But I have tried to place Jane Addams in the local context at Halstead and Polk Streets and to describe local events when they were appropriate to the story I wanted to tell. I have not tried to write a history of Hull House or Hull House
activities. The materials for a history of Chicago are enormously complex, especially for a historian interested in the interaction of immigrant and midwestern cultures. Bessie Louise Pierce has published three volumes in her History of Chicago (New York, 1937-57), which bring her narrative to 1893. Miss Pierce has delayed dealing with Hull House until her next volume, but her third volume, subtitled The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893, describes the background in a broad and reliable fashion. I have depended on her book heavily. Chester M. Destler, American Radicalism, 1865-1900, Essays and Documents, "Connecticut College Monographs," No. 3 (New London, 1946), contains several helpful chapters on the Chicago situation in the 1890's. Bernard Duffy, The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters (East Lansing, 1954), describes Chicago's genteel culture and the ferment and excitement of the city's cultural life in the late 1890's and early years of this century. For treatments of Jane Addams as a Chicagoan see Louise deKoven Bowen, Baymeath (n.p., 1934), and Growing up with a City (New York, 1926), and Edward Wagenknecht, Chicago, "Centers of Civilization Series" (Norman, Okla., 1964). The most understanding and entertaining account of the Chicago context of Jane Addams' activities is Francis Hackett, "Hull House—A Souvenir," Survey, LIV (June 1, 1925), 275-80. See also Edith Abbott's memoirs which were most helpful for the period 1908-21, in Social Service Review, XXIV (September-December, 1950), 374-94, 493-518, and her "Grace Abbott and Hull House" and "Hull House of Jane Addams," ibid., XXVI (September, 1952), 334-8. Other articles that are especially revealing of the Chicago situation are Bertha Damaris Knobbe, "When Jane Addams Was Young, Some Incidents in the Early Life of the First Citizen of Chicago and the Founder of Hull House That Have Hitherto Been Unpublished." Woman's World (Chicago) XXXI (January, 1915), 7-8. Henry B. Fuller, "The Upward Movement in Chicago," Atlantic Monthly, LXXX (October, 1897), 534-47 is the best example of mugwump reform in Chicago. Three memoirs contain valuable information on the Chicago situation: Graham Taylor, Pioneering on Social Frontiers (Chicago, 1930); Louis P. Lochner, Always the Unexpected, A Book of Reminiscences (New York, 1956); and Robert Morss Lovett, All Our Years, the Autobiography of Robert Morss Lovett (New York, 1958). Finally I should like to credit Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, who in The American Spirit, a Study of the Idea of Civilization in the United States (New York, 1942), developed so forcefully a theme which has been my concern in this study.

CHAPTER II: ROCKFORD FEMALE SEMINARY—AND AFTER

For an introduction to the Illinois of Jane Addams' youth see Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America, the Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities (New York 1958). Tangential, but occasionally useful for my study, were Dixon Ryan Fox (ed.), Sources of Culture in the Middle West, Backgrounds Versus Frontier (New York & London, 1934), and John D. Davies, Phrenology, Fad and Science, a 19th Century American Crusade (New Haven, 1955).

The standard work on women's education is Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (2 vols.; New York & Lancaster, Penn., 1929). Professor Woody's book is an encyclopedia of information which he managed to subdue. He emphasized the importance of physical education. Mary Caroline Crawford, The College Girl in America (Boston, 1904), is useful for its description of college customs and its emphasis on the special value of the college woman "to the world as an exponent of culture. The future of American culture depends on the women." This same emphasis is extended in suggestive ways by Louise Schutz Boas, Woman's Education Begins, the Rise of Women's
Colleges (Norton, Mass., 1935), and Marion Talbot, The Education of Women (Chicago, 1910). Mrs. Talbot, who was dean of women at the University of Chicago, also wrote, with Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry, The History of the American Association of University Women, 1881–1931 (Boston & New York, 1931), which is a valuable study of how college women regarded themselves. Anna Peck Sill patterned Rockford Seminary on Mary Lyon’s Mount Holyoke. There are two good studies of the Massachusetts model. Sara D. (Locke) Stowe, History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Massachusetts during its First Half Century, 1837–1887 (Springfield, Mass., 1887), is a wonderfully dated description of the earnest life of duty and piety at the seminary. Arthur C. Cole, A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College, the Evolution of an Educational Ideal (New Haven, 1940), is a more modern and sober treatment. Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women (New York, 1959), was not useful for my purposes.

More especially on Rockford, Edward Dwight Eaton, Historical Sketches of Beloit College (New York, 1928), describes the sponsorship of Rockford and Beloit by transplanted New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement (Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education,” No. 543; New York, 1932), describes the supporting role of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the West. Royal Brunson Way, The Rock River Valley, Its History, Traditions, Legends and Charms . . . (3 vols.; Chicago, 1926), is full of detail about the early days at the seminary. The centennial study commissioned by Rockford College, Profiles of the Principals of Rockford Seminary and Presidents of Rockford College, 1847–1947 (Rockford, 1947), is an uneven series of essays. Sally Lou Coburn’s essay on “Anna Peck Sill, 1852–1884,” is adequate, but a more racy account is in the memorial booklet, Memorials of Anna Peck Sill, First Principal of Rockford Female Seminary 1847–1889 (Rockford, 1889). Two books helped me understand the religious enthusiasm at Rockford: Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Nineteenth Century America (New York & Nashville, 1957), and Whitney R. Cross, The Burned Over District, the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850 (Ithaca, 1950). The Cross study was especially relevant since Miss Sill grew up and “found her salvation” in the area and during the years about which he wrote.

Other aspects of Rockford can be appreciated through Dorothy S. Ainsworth, The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women, as Illustrated by Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Elmira, Goucher, Mills, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Rockford, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and Wells (New York, 1930), and Vida D. Scudder, Social Ideals in English Letters (New York & Boston [1896] 1910). Miss Scudder was almost exactly Miss Addams' contemporary. Miss Scudder's career at Smith and then Oxford and her founding of a college settlement in New York City in 1889 make her book important in understanding what literary ideals the humanitarians found in the standard English authors. I found insight on Mazzini, William Morris, and Ralph Waldo Emerson in a book by Jane Addams' friend, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Mazzini and Other Essays (New York, 1910). In addition to Miss Scudder’s work I have consulted Frederick William Roe, The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin (New York, 1921); James L. Halliday, Mr. Carlyle My Patient, a Psychosomatic Biography (New York, 1950); John A. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer (Boston, 1898); John Henry Raleigh, Matthew Arnold and American Culture ("University of California Publications, English Studies," No. 17; Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1957), and William Robbins, The Ethical


CHAPTER III: HULL HOUSE—THE FIRST DECADE

There are several books that explained the English settlement movement to Americans. Loomis' volume, Modern Cities, has already been cited. Stanton Coit, who had lived at Toynbee Hall, wrote Neighborhood Guilds: an Instrument for Social Reform (London, 1891). Robert A. Woods, also a resident at Toynbee Hall, returned to Boston in 1891 and described the whole London charitable picture in English Social Movements (New York, 1891). Jane Addams frequently referred those who asked for background information to Woods' book.

The American pioneers in settlement work gathered at Plymouth, Mass., in the summer of 1892, and seven speeches delivered there were published as Philanthropy and Social Progress (New York, 1893). A revealing speech delivered there, not included in the volume, is V. D. Scudder, "The Place of University Settlements, II;"

Part of the vitality of the settlement approach was its dissatisfaction with organized charitable effort at the end of the nineteenth century. Robert H. Bremner, *From the Depths, the Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1936), is an excellent account of how philanthropy was organized and the various tensions within this organization. This is also the theme of his more general *American Philanthropy* ("Chicago History of American Civilization"; Chicago, 1960). A valuable source work on these matters is Amos G. Warner, *American Charities, a Study in Philanthropy and Economics* (New York, 1894), a book that Jane Addams occasionally cited in her writings. Two studies of more conservative philanthropies are C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York, 1951), and Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States, a Study of American Philanthropy* (New York, 1922). The most interesting settlement men and women became suspicious of the various city charity organization societies. The grounds for their suspicions are commented upon in Marvin E. Gettleman, "Charity and Social Classes in the United States, 1874–1900," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XXII (1963), 313–29, 417–26. Evidence that the suspicion was mutual is found in Mary E. Richmond's pithy "Discussion of 'Settlement Work,'" *Charities Review*, IV (June, 1895), 462–3.

There is no good history of the development of social work. Two memoirs are basic, but neither pretends to be a systematic account: Graham Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* (Chicago, 1930), and Edward T. Devine, *When Social Work Was Young* (New York, 1939). On a more specialized topic see Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work* (New York, 1932). Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work, 1874–1956* (New York, 1957), is an account based solely on the published proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, later the National Conference of Social Work, and presently the National Conference on Social Welfare. In addition to desultory reading in these proceedings, I have read the settlement periodical *The Commons* (April, 1896–October, 1905). It was published in Chicago by Graham Taylor who had ambitions to make his settlement's paper the national spokesman for the settlement movement. *The Commons* contains much local news as well as important national settlement news. I have not read the complete files of its successors. I have collected and used all available issues of the irregular *Hull House Bulletin*, 1896–1905/1906, and its successor the *Hull House Yearbook*, 1906/1907.

retained her early piety and was converted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1920. On Miss Starr see Eleanor Grace Clark, "Ellen Gates Starr, O.S.B., 1859–1940, Life of the Co-founder of Hull House," Commonweal, XXXI (March 15, 1940), 444–7. I am indebted to Jill Conway for suggesting that there was light on the kind of high-powered relationships which some of these women had with each other in K. A. McKenzie, Edith Simcox and George Eliot (Oxford, 1961). I asked Dr. Alice Hamilton whether there were erotic elements in these relationships. She told me that my question measured the distance between her generation and my own. Women of her generation would never have imagined female homosexuality as a basis for this kind of friendship, she said, and there was none of it in the settlement movement.

There are materials available to reconstruct the early history of Hull House, but they are scattered. The most helpful articles were some early newspaper stories: Eva Bright, "Work of Two Women," unidentified newspaper clipping in S. Alice Haldeman's Scrapbook in the Ellen Gates Starr Papers. See also Miss Mora Mants, "Two Women's Work," Chicago Tribune, May 19, 1890, p. 1, col. 7; "Pictures for the Poor," Chicago Inter-Ocean, June 21, 1891, p. 7, col. 6; and "Hull House Kitchen," ibid., August 24, 1893, p. 8, col. 3. Two magazine articles before the settlement opened are revealing: Lelia G. Bedell, "A Chicago Toynbee Hall," Woman's Journal, XX (May 25, 1889), 162, was written by the woman who later came to talk to neighborhood women about physiology and hygiene; and Mary H. Porter, "A Home on Halstead Street," Advance, XXIII (July 11, 1889), 500.


The most colorful entry into Chicago history in the 1890's is through William T. Strad's scarlet narrative If Christ Came to Chicago, a Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer (Chicago, 1894). The academic entry is through Charles Edward Merriam, Chicago, a More Intimate View of Urban Politics (New York, 1929). The most powerful women's organization has been described in Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome (comps.), Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club for the First Forty Years of Its Organization, 1876–1916 (Chicago, 1916). R. S. Baker perceptively described attempts by those at Hull House to deal with their corrupt alderman in his "Hull House and the Ward Boss," Outlook, LVIII (March 26, 1898), 769–71. The women at the settlement doubtless wrote "The Aldermanic Campaign," Hull House Bulletin, III (April–May, 1898), 4. The ultimate withdrawal of the alderman is recorded in "'Johnny' Powers Turns His Back on Chicago," Chicago Record-Herald, May
BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER IV: EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT


Important for Parker, Dewey, and Jane Addams was the kindergarten movement, and the educational philosophy of Froebel that underlay it. Two books in 1908 illustrated the connection between kindergartens and other aspects of progressive educational thought. Nina C. Vandewalker, The Kindergarten in American Education (New York, 1908), and Susan E. Blow, Educational Issues in the Kindergarten, Vol. 58 in "International Education Service," ed., William Torrey Harris (New York, 1908). The Kindergarten Magazine was published in Chicago and was filled with information on the local situation. Among the most helpful articles were two unsigned articles: "Evolution of the Kindergarten Idea in Chicago, Mrs. Alice H. Putnam and the Froebel Association," Kindergarten Magazine, V (June, 1893), 729–733, and "The Chicago Free Kindergarten Association," ibid., 734–738. See also Nina C. Vandewalker, "The Kindergarten in the Chicago School System," ibid., IX (May, 1897), 679–686, and Mary Jean Miller, "Account of the Chicago Kindergarten Club," ibid., X (November, 1897), 203. Another article of interest, because it reports on James Addams' visit to Dr. Montessori's school in Rome, was Bertha Payne Newell's chapter on Alice H. Putnam in Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America (New York & London, 1924).


In Youth, Hall insists that "we really retain only the knowledge we apply (p. 33), and devotes two chapters to industrial education and manual training. Dewey formulated the idea in different words but industrial education was an important reform of early progressive educators. I read through the Bulletin of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education for the years 1907–18.


Information on the school board troubles is difficult to find. I read the printed report of the Chicago Board of Education which shed practically no light on the disputes. The minutes may contain more information, but I have not tried to locate and read them. Louis F. Post, one of the school board members who was purged and later won reinstatement through the courts, edited *The Public*, a single-tax journal. I read Volumes VIII, IX, and X, finding a good deal of information on the issues and actors, even if from a biased point of view. Chicago newspapers, notably the *Tribune*, were parties to legal actions brought by the school board, and their reports were exuberantly inaccurate. I have not been able to consult a file of the Chicago Teachers Federation *Bulletin* which might contain additional information on these matters. George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York, 1928), deals cursorily with events before 1920. Allen F. Davis, "Raymond Robbins: the Settlement Worker as Municipal Reformer," *Social Service Review*, XXXIII (June, 1959), 131-41, deals briefly with Robbins' part in the matter.

**Chapter V: Urban Recreation**

Two books persuaded me that play was a topic worth investigating and might shed light on other aspects of Jane Addams' thought. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens, a Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955), first published in 1944, is a brilliant attempt to derive civilization from play forms. Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games* (Glencoe, 1961), attempts to broaden the categories that Huizinga employed and to organize the vast variety of games into a simple typology.

There are several standard surveys of recreation and physical education in America, including Wilbur P. Brown and Elmer D. Mitchell, *The Theory of
Organized Play, Its Nature and Significance (New York, 1923); and E. A. Rice, History of Physical Education (New York [1958] 1926). Both have been kept up to date by more recent editions which incorporate the substance of these editions. Martin H. and Esther S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation, a Study of Leisure and Recreation in Their Sociological Aspects (New York, 1936), contains a helpful review of theories of play from the point of view of social psychologists in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Charles K. Brightbill, Man and Leisure, a Philosophy of Recreation (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961), is a textbook with much insight.

I discovered that the more specialized literature on play reveals a great deal about general movements in American thought. A wider spectrum of intellectuals than I had supposed analyzed and described play. The most helpful treatment of play for this study was in William James, Principles of Psychology (n.p. [1890] 1950). Karl Groos, The Play of Animals (New York, 1898), developed James’s description of the play instinct. His more sophisticated The Play of Man (New York, 1901), argued that “play makes it possible to dispense to a certain degree with specialized hereditary mechanism by fixing and increasing acquired adapt-
ations” (p. 395). In addition to James and his followers, G. Stanley Hall published a widely accepted interpretation of play. For his most systematic treatment see his Adolescence, I, 202–36. Luther Gulick, a pioneer in developing the athletic emphasis in the Y.M.C.A., worked in Springfield, Mass., and contributed to Hall’s researches in nearby Worcester. See Luther Gulick, “Psychological, Pedagogical, and Religious Aspects of Group Games,” Pedagogical Seminary, II (March, 1899), 135–51; and his, “Interest in Relation to Muscular Exercise,” American Physical Education Review, VII (June, 1902), 57–65; and a collection of his essay fragments published posthumously, A Philosophy of Play (New York, 1920). One of Hall’s students, who directed the city playgrounds in Pittsburgh, gave a full exposition to Hall’s position; see George Ellsworth Johnson, Education by Play and Games (Boston, 1907). W. I. Thomas, who was on the faculty of the University of Chicago, treated play in “The Gaming Instinct,” American Journal of Sociology, VI (1900–1), 750–63, as a psychic reaction (p. 751), the objects of which differed through history. The most complete treatment of the play instinct is in Edwin Asbury Kirkpatrick, Fundamentals of Child Study (New York, 1903).


In addition to these diverse treatments of play, a number of men have used a theory of play to try to prove certain convictions they believed to have been true. Prince Kropotkin, Ethics, Origin and Development, trans., Louis S. Friedland and Joseph R. Peroshinkoff (New York, 1924), interpreted play as a part of the social instinct toward mutual aid and mutual sympathy in which he rooted progress, justice, and morality. Kropotkin’s picture hung in Miss Addams’ Hull House office along with those of Tolstoy, Lincoln, Henry George, Savonarola, Altgeld,


I read the early *Proceedings* and *Yearbooks* of the Playground Association of America and the first six volumes of the Association's magazine, *Playground*. On the founding of the Association, see H. S. Curtis, "How It Began," *Recreation*, XXV (May, 1931), 71, 106; and Chapter VI of Ethel Josephine Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick* (Teachers' College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education No. 635; New York, 1935).


CHAPTER VI: CLIMAX AND DISSATISFACTIONS: THE PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

The two best studies of feminism are Ernest R. Groves, *The American Woman, the Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization* (New York, 1937); and Eric John Dingwald, *The American Woman* (New York, 1956), the latter equipped with a helpful bibliography.
Women who have written about their changing role have concentrated on the contest to win the suffrage. Thus we have a wealth of studies of this particular effort. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony et al. (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester & New York, 1881-1922), is the standard work which others have mined for information. Abbie Graham, Ladies in Revolt (New York, 1934), contains nothing original. Two studies adopt a larger focus and attempt to relate the changing economic and social situation to women's claims for the vote. Inez Haynes Irwin, Angels and Amazons (Garden City, 1933), is a lively account which toward the end tends to become merely a listing of names. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), like the Irwin volume, concentrates on the suffrage struggle and fails to illuminate how other forces were promoting more important changes in women's role in American life.

More specialized studies that helped me understand the earnestness of this topic to contemporaries of Miss Addams included Lester F. Ward, "Our Better Halves," Forum, VI (November, 1888), 266-75; and his Psychic Factors in Civilization (Boston [1892] 1906), in the latter of which Ward asserts that "from the standpoint of nature, and according to the normal processes of evolution, the female is the principal sex and constitutes the main trunk of development . . ." (p. 87). Otis Tufton Mason, Woman's Share in Primitive Culture (New York, 1894), emphasizes women's predominance in the prehistory of civilization. William I. Thomas, in his Sex and Society, Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex (Boston, 1907), gave a full and suggestive statement of some of the insights in Thorstein Veblen's picture of the American woman in his brilliant Theory of the Leisure Class, an Economic Study of Institutions (New York, 1899). Mason, Thomas, and Veblen were all colleagues at the University of Chicago. Another Chicagoan, Lloyd Dell, who taught a class in English literature at Hull House in 1909 and 1910, has an interesting chapter contrasting the militant Emmeline Pankhurst with Jane Addams' passion for conciliation in his Women As World Builders, Studies in Modern Feminism (Chicago, 1913). Jessie Taft, The Woman Movement from the Point of View of Social Consciousness (Chicago, 1915), shows how Jane Addams' ideas were drawn on and related by associates and friends. Her contemporary, Ida M. Tarbell, perceptively analyzed the changing social demands on her generation in The Business of Being a Woman (New York, 1919). A long time Hull House resident wrote the report on women for President Hoover's Research Committee on Recent Social Trends. Sophonisha P. Breckenridge, Women in the Twentieth Century, A Study of Their Political, Social and Economic Activities (New York, 1933), is written by a member of the second generation in the settlement movement, but is clearly informed by the attitudes of the pioneering generation. The best bibliography of feminism, although weighted toward women as military figures, is in Mary R. Beard, Woman as a Force in History, a Study in Traditions and Realities (New York, 1946).

One of the most important areas in which Americans were prepared for the social justice demand of the Progressive party was municipal reform. In the cities, especially Midwestern cities, Americans gained experience with socialism. On the development of these services and the defense of them in the name of social democracy refer to the previously cited Lincoln Steffens' Autobiography; Brand Whitlock, Forty Years of It; and to Russel B. Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics (East Lansing, Mich., 1959). In addition Tom L. Johnson, My Story is revealing on Cleveland. On Toledo, and the really remarkable mayor there, see Brand Whitlock, "'Golden Rule' Jones," World's Work, VIII (September, 1904), 5308-11, and Ernest Crosby, "Golden Rule Jones, the Late Mayor of Toledo," Craftsman, VII (February, March, 1905), 530-47, 679-88. Charles Zueblin, a
professor of sociology at the University of Chicago by way of settlement work summarized these developments in *American Municipal Progress* (New York, 1916). For a thorough treatment of various experiments in public ownership see Frank Parsons, *The City for the People, or the Municipalization of the City Government and of Local Franchises* (Philadelphia, n.d.). Richard T. Ely's little *The Coming City* (New York, 1902), is an easy introduction to many of these movements. Delos F. Wilcox, *The American City, a Problem in Democracy* (New York, 1905), covers the whole range of municipal reforms. Frederick C. Howe, *The City the Hope of Democracy* (New York, 1906), argued persuasively for a rebirth of democracy, which he believed demanded "co-operative effort to relieve the costs which city life entails. We already see this manifest in many forms, in our school libraries, parks, playgrounds, kindergartens . . ." (p. 7). Approaching the problem from this background, I am not persuaded that Morton and Lucia White, in *The Intellectual Versus the City, from Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), have described American attitudes toward the city in their full complexity. They have certainly misread and garbled Jane Addams' attitude.

The year 1912 was one of great excitement. Fifty years later the accounts of the Progressive amalgam exude enthusiasm and earnestness. Richard Hofstadter remarks in his *Age of Reform, from Bryan to F.D.R.*, that "the Progressive mind was characteristically a journalistic mind . . ." (p. 185). Certainly the journalists at the Progressive convention produced some extraordinary material. William Allen White wrote glowing reports for papers served by George Mathew Adams. Even the Chicago Tribune relented from its usual practice of depicting Miss Addams as a sentimental but dangerous fool. Periodicals also printed glowing articles: Herbert Knox Smith, "The Progressive Party," *Yale Review, n.s., II* (October, 1912), 18-32; Chester H. Rowell, "The Building of the Progressive Platform," *California Outlook, XIII* (August 17, 1912), 5-6; William Menkel, "The Progressives at Chicago," *Review of Reviews, XLVI* (September, 1912), 310-7; and the useful Richard Harding Davis, "The Men at Armageddon," *Colliers, XLIX* (August 24, 1912). Not all reports were favorable of course. An anonymous editor for *The Argonaut* (San Francisco), LXXI (August 31, 1912), 131, wrote: "Miss Jane Addams, sitting with closed eyes, rapt and ecstatic, at the Chicago convention must have been a sight in which the pathetic and the absurd struggled for mastery. Human faith and enthusiasm are edifying spectacles, even when they degenerate, as they usually do, into credulity and emotionalism, and credulity and emotionalism may be described as Miss Addams' long suit if we may be allowed the use of so worldly an expression. . . . We can only marvel at the faith that is still able to invest a political platform, and a particularly raw and sordid one, with all the sanctities of a divine revelation. Even Mr. Roosevelt must have smiled at the sight of Miss Addams with the bait—all of it—in her mouth. It was undeniably good fishing." For an accurate, if partisan, account see William Jennings Bryan, *A Tale of Two Conventions, Being an Account of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions of June 1912, with an Outline of the Progressive National Convention of August of the Same Year* (New York, 1912).


**CHAPTER VII: NEUTRALITY**

Woodrow Wilson and the British Liberals (New Haven, 1958), describes Wilson's debt to various Europeans. By concentrating on Wilson, Martin failed to describe the other Americans who championed these liberal peace ideals. I found Martin's bibliographic essay particularly helpful. English liberals summarized their peace hopes in Charles R. Buxton (ed.), Towards a Lasting Settlement (London, 1915). Included in this volume was A. Maude Royden's "War and the Woman's Movement." The American response to these essays can be found in Randolph S. Bourne (ed.), Towards an Enduring Peace, a Symposium of Peace Proposals and Programs, 1914-1916 (New York, n.d. [1916]). For a similar later statement see Emily Green Balch's Approaches to the Great Settlement (New York, 1918), which is mainly a collection of documents, especially Socialist and labor protests and suggestions.


I have depended heavily on Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party ("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Vol. LVII; Baltimore, 1939). It is a full and measured account, not careful of accuracy, and full of exaggeration, but nevertheless of considerable value as a document. The New York (State) Legislature, Joint Committee Investigating Sedition Activities, Revolutionary Radicalism—Its History, Purpose and Tactics, with an Exposition and Discussion of the Steps Being Taken to Curb It (4 vols., Albany, 1920), is the report of the Lusk Committee, which raided an office in New York City and published many of the letters they seized in this report.

On the special neutral strategy of a mediation conference see Walter I. Trattner, "Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace," Wisconsin Magazine of History, XLIV (Spring, 1961), 203-13. Although opposed to the women's plans editorially, the New York Times covered The Hague congress fully and described their activities accurately and in detail. For especially relevant material see an interview of Jane Addams by Edward Marshall, "War's Debasement of Women," New York Times Magazine, May 2, 1915, pp. 3-4, and another interview reported in the Times of May 14, 1915, in which Miss Addams commented on the Lusitania by urging her country "to be the one great nation to keep clear of the war. When this terrible conflict is over all Europe, indeed, all the world, will look to America to act as a balance in the readjustment of the relations of the nations." See also a perceptive interview by Edward Marshall, "Jane Addams Points the Way to Peace," New York Times Magazine, July 11, 1915, pp. 4-5. The Woman's Peace party position is defended briefly against Theodore Roosevelt's labels of "base and silly" by Gertrude M. Pinchot in a letter to the editor of the New York Times, December 22, 1915, p. 8, col. 6. The best reports of The Hague congress and Jane Addams' subsequent trip presenting the congress resolutions are Mary Chamberlain, "The Women at The Hague," Survey, XXXIV (June 5, 1915), 219-22; and Alice Hamilton, "At the War Capitols, Miss Addams' Journey," ibid., XXXIV (August 7, 1915), 417-22, 433-6.

The best account of the Ford peace ship is Louis P. Lochner, America's Don Quixote, Henry Ford's Attempt to Save Europe (London, 1924); the American edition is titled Henry Ford—America's Don Quixote (New York, 1925). Lochner's fair-minded treatment supplements Robert Morss Lovett, "Apostles of World Unity, IV Jane Addams," World Unity Magazine, I (January, 1928), 261-6, in which Lovett, a long-time friend of Miss Addams, writes that the Ford venture
“may have been a gesture so futile as to be ridiculous—still it was a movement of generous faith at a time when more responsible politicians were afraid to act. No one suffered by it except the participants. In any case, the peacemakers at Versailles have no license to cast their stones at the peacemakers of The Hague and Stockholm” (p. 264).

Chapter VIII: The War Years and After

The suspension of activities by many of the established peace societies after America’s declaration of war is told in Edson Leon Whitney, The American Peace Society, a Centennial History (Washington, 1928); and in Ruhl J. Bartlett, The League to Enforce Peace (Chapel Hill, 1944). The latter study also describes how that organization was seduced into supporting the Lodge amendments to the League Covenant. Emerson Hough, The Web, the Authorized History of the American Protective League (Chicago, 1919), is a boastful account of another kind of organization that flourished during the months when America was at war. The collapse of an organized peace effort and the intensification of demands for national unity represented by the American Protective League provide a background to Arno J. Mayer, Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917-1918 (New Haven, 1959), which describes Wilson changing war aims after February, 1917. Randolph Bourne, Untimely Papers, ed. James Oppenheim (New York, 1918), is a moving collection of the essays Bourne wrote in 1917-8, bitterly prophesying the kind of failure and collapse that the exertions and demands of the war spirit would produce in America and in Europe. Bourne argued that the consequences of America’s entry into the war clearly contradicted the reasons President Wilson advanced for entering the war. A speedy end of the war by negotiation, before Germany was exhausted and her morale destroyed, was most likely to nurture democratic impulses. “A Germany forced to be democratic under the tutelage of a watchful and victorious Entente would indeed be a constant menace to the peace of Europe” (p. 84). For another characteristic reaction to the war and the months immediately after see Walter Weyl, Tired Radicals and Other Papers (New York, 1921). H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War, 1917-1918 (Madison, 1957), is a useful account of radical and pacifist activity during the war. For helpful examples of the changing climate of opinion toward pacifists see Vida D. Scudder, “The Doubting Pacifist,” Yale Review, VI (July, 1917), 738-51; and The Tattler, “Notes from the Capitol, Jane Addams,” The Nation, CII (February 3, 1916), 134, which reported that “Miss Addams is still, except for a certain surface hardening, due to contact with the larger world outside, the same vivid and interesting personality as in her comparative youth (in the Progressive campaign). What she has lost in the intensity of her appeal appears to have been sacrificed in an endeavor to do too much in too many alien and untried fields, with its incidental diffusion of her native force.”

Ida Clyde Clarke, American Women and the World War (New York & London, 1918), describes the Committee on Women’s Defense Work of the Council of National Defense, through which most American women were organized for war work. The chapter on Illinois includes many Hull House workers and supporters, and especially praises their Americanization drive, without mentioning Jane Addams. Donald Johnson, Challenge to American Freedoms, World War I and the Rise of the American Civil Liberties Union (Lexington, Ky., 1963), is a straightforward account of the Union’s origins in the group of social workers and friends who first met at the Henry Street Settlement in 1914. Jane Addams’ attitude toward war work is described in an enlightening interview with the editor of the Boston Herald, June 14, 1926, p. 16, col. 3.
A good history of relief efforts in Europe is Frank M. Surface and Raymond L. Bland, *American Food in the World War and Reconstruction Period, Operations of the Organizations Under the Directions of Herbert Hoover, 1914 to 1924* (Stanford, 1931). From the armistice until a formal peace treaty was signed the U.S. Congress refused any food to be sent to former enemies; the Quakers moved into Germany, however. See Mary Hoxie Jones, *Swords into Ploughshares, an Account of the American Friends' Service Committee, 1917–1937* (New York, 1937). These efforts have also been nicely summarized in Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad, a History* (New Brunswick, 1963).

**CHAPTER IX: PACIFISM**

Two periodical articles suggest new ways to understand the confusion of the 1920's, a confusion that has been reflected in studies of the decade: Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (1956–7), 405–27; and Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" *American Historical Review*, LXIV (1959), 833–51.

The traumatic opening of the decade is best recorded in the concise but unexciting *Red Scare, a Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920* (Minneapolis, 1955), by Robert K. Murray. Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer, Politician* (New York & London, 1963), deals with the scare and the raids, and it apportions blame heavily on Palmer and also on J. Edgar Hoover. Norman Hapgood (ed.), *Professional Patriots, an Exposure of the Personalities, Methods and Objectives Involved in the Organized Effort to Exploit Patriotic Impulses in these United States During and After the Late War* (New York, 1927), discusses the relations between various organizations and the connections of these groups with the military, big business, organized labor, and education.


The best insights into the range of pacifism in the 1920's and early 1930's are in the pacifist magazine *The World Tomorrow*, and in Devere Allen's discursive and disorganized *The Fight for Peace* (New York, 1930). The essays, especially Reinhold Niebuhr's "The Use of Force," in Devere Allen (ed.), *Pacifism in the Modern World* (Garden City, 1929), are also valuable because they indicate the
wide spectrum of pacifism between the wars. Allen's voluminous papers were deposited at Swarthmore too late to be of use in my study.


Three studies had more direct relevance to this study. In 1945 Jane Addams' *Peace and Bread in Time of War* was republished with an introductory essay by John Dewey in which he distinguished between two methods and attitudes toward peace. Dewey contrasted the traditional political-legal attitude with its emphasis on force with the method Miss Addams had described in her 1922 book, methods formed to care for human needs. Herbert W. Schneider invited a number of prominent philosophers to comment on this distinction and on Jane Addams' denigration of the political-legal methods, in "Discussion of the Theory of International Relations," *Journal of Philosophy*, XLII (August 30, 1945), 477-97. David A. Swope has written a useful study in his "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section, 1919-1941" (unpublished Honors' thesis, Harvard University, 1963). The League's Washington lobbyist has left some lively memoirs which concentrate on her remarkable career after 1925: Dorothy Detzer, *Appointment on the Hill* (New York, 1948).


Especially important for understanding Jane Addams' pacifism is Alymer Maude's eyewitness account of "A Talk with Jane Addams and Count Tolstoy," *Humane Review*, III (October, 1902), 203-18. One of Jane Addams' fellow Chicagoans was also influenced by Tolstoy's theory of nonresistance. Clarence Darrow, *Resist Not Evil* (Chicago, 1903), although slanted toward the problem of judicial punishment, describes certain alternatives to force. William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," was first delivered in altered form at the 1904 Universal Peace Congress which Jane Addams attended. On Gandhi, see Roman Roland, "Mahatma Gandhi," *Century Magazine*, CVII (December, 1923, January, February, 1924), 163-81, 389-405, 590-604, for a popular treatment; and Gandhi's own *An Autobiography, the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston, 1957), which first appeared serially in English in the magazine *Young India* during 1928 and 1929.

Personal descriptions of Miss Addams' pacifism are not numerous. An early statement is Ella W. Peattie, "Women of the Hour, No. 1, Jane Addams," *Harper's Bazaar*, XXXVIII (October, 1904), 1004-8, and the very perceptive Dorothy Detzer, "Memories of Jane Addams," *Fellowship*, IV (September, 1938), 4-5.

For a good description of the last years which Jane Addams lived at Hull House see "Hull House in 1932" in Edmund Wilson, *The American Earthquake, a Documentary of the Twenties and Thirties* (Garden City, 1958), pp. 447-64.