

JANE ADDAMS:
AN ALCHEMIST SYNTHESIZING THE IDENTITY OF THE IMMIGRANTS
IN HULL HOUSE NEIGHBORHOOD
(1889-1930)

A Master's Thesis

by

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ANKARA

July 2009

To my parents and my witty brother...

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of
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in

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ANKARA

July 2009

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABSTRACT

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Şenkol, Gülşah

M.A., Department of History

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The settlement house movement was an outcome of the necessity for social welfare reform at the local level during the Progressive era. Mostly college educated reformers, these innovative minds aimed at moving to the slums of the great cities, neighboring the lower strata of the society, and therefore providing them the opportunity for personal development through social and cultural programs they initiated.

The scope of this thesis is confined to Hull House, founded in 1889, by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in Chicago. The major concern of the thesis is

narrowed down to a discussion on the nature of the relationship between Hull House and the immigrants in the neighborhood.

Through such a thematic concentration, the thesis aims to explore the role of a settlement house in the incorporation of immigrants to the society.

Key words: Jane Addams, Hull House, Settlement House Movement, Progressive Era, New Immigration, Chicago.

ÖZET

JANE ADDAMS:

HULL HOUSE’A KOMŞU GÖÇMENLERİN KİMLİĞİNİ SENTEZLEYEN

BİR SİMYACI

(1889-1930)

Şenkol, Gülşah

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Tarih Bölümü

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Yerleşim Evi Hareketi, Amerika’nın İlerlemeci döneminde, yerel düzeyde sosyal yardımlaşma reformuna duyulan ihtiyaçtan ortaya çıktı. Genellikle yüksek eğitime sahip olan bu yenilikçi kesim, büyük şehirlerin kırsal alanlarına taşınmayı, toplumun alt tabakasından insanlara komşu olup, önyak oldukları sosyal ve kültürel programlar sayesinde halkın kişisel gelişimi için imkan yaratmayı kendisine amaç edindi.

Bu tezin kapsamı, Jane Addams ve Ellen Gates Starr tarafından 1889’da Chicago’da kurulmuş olan “Hull House” ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Tezin temel

konusu ise Hull House ile etrafındaki göçmen nüfus arasındaki ilişkinin doğası üzerine bir tartışmaya indirgenmiştir.

Bu tarz bir tematik yoğunlaşma ile bu tez bir yerleşim evinin göçmenlerin Amerikan toplumuna dahil olma sürecinde oynadığı rolün incelenmesini hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler; Jane Addams, Hull House, Yerleşim Evi Hareketi, İlerlemeci Dönem, Yeni Göç, Chicago

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“[...] identity, like a bird, needs two wings to fly. We need to know who we are in terms of what we all share as Americans. This makes up the universal wing of identity. But at the same time, our identity is also rooted in the culture of our particular racial or ethnic group. The latter therefore forms the wing of particularism, and to be psychically whole, we must reconcile the two in a kind of dialectical synthesis. To see those as mutually exclusive, as we most often have, is to fly in circles on one wing or, to use yet another metaphor, to sustain a perpetual vibration between the poles of a false antithesis.”¹

1.1 A Brief Historical Background

During the depression of the 1890s, the isolation of the communities that stemmed from rapid industrialization and urbanization was accompanied by a nativist reaction directed against the inundation of eastern and southern European immigrants flowing to the United States. These social and economic problems demanded an interventionist response from the reform minded citizens who were convinced that, “industrialization would not automatically cure its own ills and that purposeful action was required.”² This attribute of interventionism, and even

¹ Everett Helmut Akam, *Transnational America, Cultural Pluralist Thought in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. , 2002), p.2.

² John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change, America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), p.282.

of coercion, was accepted as one of the most distinguishing features of the Progressive era. As Richard McCormick pointed out, “progressive reform, like economic regulation, was based on the recognition of group conflict and on a willingness to intervene in people’s lives to mitigate disharmony.”³ The historians of the Progressive era generally linked this spirit of interventionism to the optimistic attitude of reformers and their faith in bringing order to the society.⁴ The reason for such an optimism stemmed from the reformers’ strong belief in environmental determinism and the malleable nature of the human beings.⁵ If the necessary reforms were provided or if need be imposed, then the social and

³ Richard L. McCormick, “Evaluating the Progressives” from *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era*, (Oxford University Press, Inc., 1986), pp.263-288. Also published in *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, Documents and Essays*, ed. by Leon Fink, (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993), p.319, 324. In his *The Search for Order*, Robert Wiebe defined the progressive era as “the soul searching times,” in order to emphasize the psychological state of the society between the breakdown of the old system and the emergence of the new one; “Americans in a basic sense no longer knew who or where they were. The setting had altered beyond their power to understand it, and within an alien context they had lost themselves.” In other words, the stable, familiar small town community of the seventies, merged with “nationalization, industrialization, mechanization and urbanization [...] which meant dislocation and bewilderment.” Wiebe argued that, in search for “continuity and predictability in a world of endless change,” the decentralized community society of preurban times and the state of informal relations through personal contacts were transformed into a formal, hierarchical urban industrial society controlled by the “new middle class.” See Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 2-43.

⁴ In this period of rapid change, the Progressive historians have not reached a consensus about either the identity of the main actors that triggered this transformation or the underlying factors that necessitated these reforms. Wiebe, who saw the movement as a conscious effort of the newly emerged “pioneer spirited” middle class in search for reestablishing order, Richard Hofstadter concerned Progressivism a conservative, reactionary response of the elites in fear of losing their status. Both writers were challenged by Oliver Zunz in his *Making America Corporate 1870-1920*. Zunz refuted Wiebe’s thesis about the determining role of the middle class and argued that the lower middle class and the ordinary working class al shaped the transformation of the system. However, he agreed with Wiebe in evaluating the Progressive movement as a forward-looking one. Contrary to Richard Hofstadter, Wiebe argued that despite looking backward to restore order, these reformers preferred to bring a new social order for the elimination of chaos; “They had enough sight into their lives to recognize the old ways and old values would no longer suffice. Often confused, they were still the ones with the determination to fight these confusions and mark a new route into the modern world.” See, Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). Also see, Oliver Zunz, *Making America Corporate 1870-1920*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990). Also see, Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in Gilded Age*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

⁴ John C. Burnham, “The Cultural Interpretation of the Progressive Movement” (244-258) in *Conflict & Consensus in Modern American History*, eds, Allen F. Davis, Harold D. Woodman, (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), p.247.

⁵ John C. Burnham, “The Cultural Interpretation of the Progressive Movement” (244-258) in *Conflict & Consensus in Modern American History*, eds, Allen F. Davis, Harold D. Woodman, (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), p.247.

economic disorder in the society would be minimized, thus would restore order leading towards the standardization of the society. Consequently, the amelioration of the conditions in the environment would directly have a transformative effect on its citizens. The settlement house movement found voice in the United States out of this desire to transform the people in the neighborhood where they were located and the settlement workers served as initiators and organizers “that helped to extend the social welfare function of government” at the local level.⁶ Allen Davis defines these reformists as “progressives with a vengeance; unlike some who committed themselves to reform only ideologically, they actually became involved, to the extent of going to live in the slums.”⁷

Although there were seventy-four settlement houses in the United States in 1897⁸, the scope of this thesis is confined to Hull House, one of the most

⁶ Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), p. xi. The spirit of the settlement house movement was explained in the bibliography of settlement houses prepared in 1897; “The philanthropic pity for misfortune, the charitable desire to minister out of plenty to want is often, perhaps usually, the impulse that turns the individual toward the “slum,” but the conviction which grows to be the lasting inspiration of the settlement movement is the sense of unity of interest. The settlement is a great modern protest against the heresy that wealth makes character, that education can establish an aristocracy, that one can rise to a social pinnacle without obligation to those who have contributed to that rise, that men are by nature divided into classes by virtue of what they do and have rather than what they are. Settlement life unites in simple social intercourse men of varied training and thought, permits them to share one another’s knowledge, culture and vigor, and inspires them to use the greater power thus acquired in concerted efforts for the welfare of the community.” *Bibliography of College, Social and University Settlements*, compiled by John Palmer Gavit, Editor of the Commons, Chicago, Illinois for the College Settlement Association, (Cambridge: Co-operative Press, 1897), p.7. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 38)

⁷ Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), p.x.

⁸ According to this bibliography, the settlement house movement spread from Great Britain to Scotland, India and Japan. In 1897, there were four settlement houses in Edinburgh and Glasgow; one in Bombay; one in Kyoto and one in Tokyo. However, as it is clear, the settlement houses in the United States outnumbered them all. *Bibliography of College, Social and University Settlements*, compiled by John Palmer Gavit, Editor of the Commons, Chicago, Illinois for the College Settlement Association, (Cambridge: Co-operative Press, 1897), p.7. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 38) The first settlement house founded in the United States was Neighborhood Guild, which was organized by Stanton Coit in Lower East Side, New York in 1885. Like Addams, Coit took the settlement idea from Toynbee Hall, upon his three months stay in this the pioneer settlement house in London. Almost during the same times Hull House was founded, seven women opened College Settlement in 1889, the first settlement founded by women in New

influential settlement houses founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and her Rockford College mate Ellen Gates Starr in the slums of Chicago.⁹ However, the major concern of the thesis is narrowed down to a discussion on the nature of the relationship between Hull House and the immigrants in the neighborhood. Due to the lack of primary sources that reflect the immigrants' point of view towards Hull House, this relationship is analyzed through Addams' attitude towards those foreigners.¹⁰ Through such a thematic concentration, the thesis aims to explore the role of a settlement house in the incorporation of immigrants to the society, especially in a transformation period when as immigration historian John Higham suggests "[...] the unsolved problems of an industrial, urban culture grew steadily more vexing; and the nativist response became more general more insistent, and more explicitly nationalist."¹¹

As Higham points out, after the 1890s, there was a parallelism between the economic collapse and the social turmoil that turned the immigrants into a source

York. See Allen Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 8-11.

⁹ Born in Cedarville, Illinois, Addams was the eight child of Sarah and John Huy Addams. She lost her mother at the age of two and lived with her father, who was a state senator and an admirer of Abraham Lincoln. Upon his father's wish, who was a trustee at Rockford Institution, she reluctantly went to Rockford College at the age of seventeen. In the Rockford Seminary in 1877, she met Ellen Gates Starr, whose father was a village businessman in Durand, Illinois. Addams graduated as a valedictorian in June, 1881. Upon his father's untimely death at the same year, Addams attended Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, where she could only study for seven months due to her illness in her spine caused by stress and had to stay in Iowa for her treatment. To relax his nerves, Addams traveled to Europe in 1883, yet returned to Cedarville. After a short period of aimlessness, in 1887, Addams joined Ellen Gates Starr in a second journey to Europe, where she had a chance to see Toynbee Hall in the Whitechapel district of London. Upon her return to the United States in June 1888, Addams actualized her idea of founding a settlement house in Chicago with Ellen Gates Starr. See, James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams, A Biography*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). For another recent detailed work on Addams' life from 1860 to 1899, also see Louise W. Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). For a rather brief account, see Robin K. Berson, *Jane Addams: A Biography*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Jane Addams was the moving force behind Hull House policy towards the immigrants, therefore her attitude is used interchangeably to reflect the policy Hull House pursued towards these foreigners in this thesis.

¹¹ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), p.68.

of the society's problems in the eyes of most of the Americans. In this highly debated issue over the status of the immigrants, the nativist and xenophobic approach dominant in the society advocated coercive measures such as restriction of immigration and races through federal regulations.¹² However, the settlement house workers tried to replace this phony image of the immigrants and promoted the idea that if the immigrants were provided with the necessary means, they could have a chance to contribute to the society through sharing their own cultural traditions.

1.2 Historiography

The historiography on the nature of the relationship between Jane Addams of Hull House and the immigrants of the neighborhood has been dominated by the

¹² The restrictionist pressure on the federal government for a more systematic immigration policy gave fruit and the first comprehensive law for national control of immigration enacted in March 3, 1891. According to the provisions of this act, in order to administer all immigration laws, the Bureau of Immigration under the Treasury Department was established. The Act also restricted immigration by "adding to the inadmissible classes persons likely to become public charges, persons suffering from certain contagious disease, felons, persons convicted of other crimes or misdemeanors, polygamists, aliens assisted by others by payment of passage," the act also "forbade the encouragement of immigration by means of advertisement." The Act of March 3, 1893, established boards of special inquiry to decide the admissibility of alien arrivals through adding reporting documents such as marital status, ability to read and write, amount of money in possession that could be used as a basis for exclusion. As a matter of fact, these acts were followed by the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, establishing a federal control to regulate naturalization process. Upon the provisions of this act, the Federal Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was founded, requiring all applicants to have knowledge of English language. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, *Legislation from 1790-1900 and 1901-1940*. Also see, Dorothee Schneider, "Naturalization and United States Citizenship in Two Periods of Mass Migration: 1894-1930, 1965-2000" *Journal of American Ethnic History Fall 2001*, Vol 21, Number 1 (50-83) p.55. Erika Lee tied the reasons for the emergence of the federal immigration law in U.S. in the late 19th century to two major changes in immigration and nationhood; "First, drastic changes in the racial, ethnic, religious and cultural composition of the immigrant population between the 1890s and World War I triggered an explosive xenophobic reaction based on racial and religious prejudice, fears of radicalism, class conflict, and other concerns regarding national identity. Secondly, the growth and expansion of the national state provided the federal government with the administrative capacities to exercise its control over immigration." Erika Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of Field Assessment," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Summer 1999, Vol. 18, Number 4 (pp. 85-115) p. 89.

reductionist approach of the field historians, who were positioned to classify Addams's stance towards foreign colonies under two different labels.¹³ The traditionalist tendency favored the argument that Addams and the programs carried out at Hull House promoted the idea of cultural pluralism in an era dominated by coerced nativism. According to this argument well supported by Allen Davis, Mina Carson and George Cary White, one of the main objects of the Hull House programs, was the advocacy of cultural autonomy for the immigrant populations.¹⁴ This was only possible through encouraging or at least respecting the preservation of immigrants' customs and cultural values of their old countries. Therefore, these traditionalists believed, the settlement houses' major contribution was their celebration of immigrants' gifts to the American culture.

However, both Davis and Carson had a reservation to the idea that settlement houses promoted cultural pluralism, in their argument that the endorsement of cultural pluralism stopped at the point when the immigrants' old inherited habits inhibited the second generation's ability to be adapted to the American society.¹⁵ Hence, if the maintenance of the old traditions, social and cultural belief systems prevented the next generations' adjustment to the society

¹³ In this criticism, reductionism did not possess a specifically pejorative term. The main criticism in the scope of this thesis is directed at the problem of losing the characteristics of the social interaction between the Hull House and the immigrants in the neighborhood, under the influence of different theoretical labels attributed to define Hull House policy towards foreigners. Although using those terms, e.g. cultural pluralism, gradual assimilation, Americanization, can be useful in order to put those discussions in a methodological frame, the multidimensional structure of the relation and the depth of the analysis is lost under the attempt to discuss the issue with reference to those terms. Upon a certain time, the main discussion turns around this terminology, shadowing the constitutive details in a phony dichotomy of terms.

¹⁴ George Cary White contributed to the traditionalist school with his article entitled "Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914," published in 1959. In this article, White neatly argued that "the settlement workers were the pioneers in recognizing and appreciating the positive influence of the pluralistic nature of our culture, and that they were literally the first representatives of the English speaking group purposefully to seek out the alien and to communicate with him on an intimate basis. Out of this friendly intercourse came an appreciation for immigrant heritages and an effort to bridge the gap of ignorance and misunderstanding which then separated the foreign-born from the native-born." George Cary White, "Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914," *Social Science Review*, 33:1/4, 1959. p.55.

¹⁵ Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.109.

by keeping them distant from American values and standards, it would result in social stratification leading to disorder in the society. For that matter Carson emphasized, preserving immigrants' pride and heritage demanded "an ultimately untenable equilibrium between cultural autonomy and social assimilation."¹⁶ However, balancing this equilibrium with a conciliatory approach was not only a difficult process, but it was also contradictory in theory. This contradiction between cultural autonomy and assimilation should be canalized into a coalescence of maintaining the ethnic identity on the one hand yet embracing the American values on the other. According to Davis, the settlement houses unraveled this conflict by promoting immigrants' contribution to the American society through organizing festivals, clubs, art activities, college extension classes that would give them a chance of sharing their identity and make them feel a sense of belongingness, thus would ease their process of acculturation paving the way for assimilation. Therefore, although the traditionalist approach classified Hull House as corroborant of cultural pluralism, it also suggested that the promotion of ethnicity through Hull House programs would help break the sense of isolation deeply felt by the immigrant communities thus would secure their transition to Americanization.

The counter stance taken against this widely accepted argument of the traditionalists, was a revisionist approach developed by Rivka Shpak Lissak, who made a bold claim to unravel "the realities behind the myth created around" Jane Addams.¹⁷ Although Lissak shared the traditionalist approach that Hull House promoted or at least valued immigrant contribution to the American culture, she collided with Davis and Carson in her argument that, the settlement houses did not

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism & Progressives Hull House and the New Immigrants 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 9.

represent a pluralist cultural view of the society. Instead, Lissak firmly supported the theory that, Hull House was “an American institute that sought to integrate individual newcomers of different backgrounds into a cosmopolitan, America-oriented society by breaking down ethnic barriers and ending segregation.”¹⁸ Although, she admitted, Hull House programs did not pressure an undemocratic and coercive way of Americanization upon the immigrant population of the ward, she claimed that, Hull House promoted what she named the “Liberal Progressive concept of assimilation.”¹⁹ The central argument of this concept was that, a rapid and compulsory assimilation policy could have disastrous effects on the immigrant psychology, harming their personal integrity; therefore Lissak believed, Hull House programs aimed at the dissolution of ethnic segregation to break the institutional completeness of immigrants, which would secure a gradual, therefore more human way of assimilation.²⁰

Both the traditionalist and the revisionist approach discussed the interaction of Hull House with the immigrant neighborhoods with an inclination to label the settlement workers in general, Jane Addams in particular, as supporter of either a cultural pluralist or a gradual assimilative pattern. Although, using

¹⁸ Lissak, p.47. Similar to Lissak, Morris Isaiah Berger published his dissertation (1956) on the assimilative motives of the settlement houses from Columbia University back in 1980. Berger concentrated the influence of the movement upon the public education. The author argued that the reason for the transformation of the public education stemmed from two facts; the first one is the pressure from settlement movement “to make the school a center of community life for child and adult” and the pressure from the immigrant, who, facing the problems of being different, “compelled the school to shape a program that would remove the difference.” Berger, Morris Isaiah, *The Settlement, The Immigrant and the Public School, A Study of the Influence of Settlement Movement and the New Migration upon Public Education, 1890-1924* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. ii-iii.

¹⁹ Lissak argued that the relationship between Hull House residents and the University of Chicago professors (John Dewey, George H. Mead from the Department of Philosophy, William I. Thomas from the Department of Sociology) resulted in the formulation of what Lissak called the Liberal Progressive Concept of assimilation. However, her idea was widely criticized by Allen Davis who argued that the Liberal Progressives (Jane Addams, John Dewey, William Thomas, Felix Adler) did not necessarily share the same views regarding immigrants and assimilation, thus labeling them under the same title and “failing to account their differences” blurred Lissak’s vision.

²⁰ Lissak, pp. 30-41.

these terms was quintessential in terms of theorizing the historical facts in retrospective, it also contained a risk of making an anachronistic mistake. More significantly, Addams's attitude towards immigrants was shaped during her daily intercourse with them in the forty years of her settlement work.²¹ Therefore, making generalizations that covered such a long period could be misleading. Besides, this period witnessed not only the transformation of Jane Addams' ideas, but also the transformation of the political and cultural conditions in the United States, which directly or indirectly affected the settlement house view of the immigrants.

On the other hand, the contemporary immigration historians, who could be labeled as post-revisionists, added another perspective to the traditionalist point of view.²² In a common forum composed of Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, the settlement houses were attributed as "the managers of ethnicization seeking to instruct the immigrants as to what in their 'heritage' was valuable and to be preserved and what was unacceptable and to be discarded."²³ According to this group, the settlement houses encouraged the development of ethnicity by espousing to

²¹ Apart from these traditionalist and revisionist poles, Mary Jo Deegan took a more moderate stance towards Addams' view about the immigrants. In her book, Deegan argued that there is a radical transformation in Jane Addams' assessment of immigrants and that her efforts to assimilate immigrants quickly changed into a "cosmopolitan admiration of her neighbors and their right to have their own culture, dress and way of life accepted by American neighbors." For a detailed analysis over the issue, see Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1988), pp. 278-295.

²² These historians and sociologists did not necessarily published a book exclusively on Jane Addams or settlement house movement. Only their reference to Hull House in this forum and their contribution to these discussions made their presence inevitable in the historiography of this topic.

²³ Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A." Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) p. 13. For a pioneer groundbreaking work on the invention of ethnicity and the triumph of constructivism over essentialism, see Fredrick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization*, (Little Brown & Co (T), 1969). For a recent analytical approach to why the process of ethnic group formation produces different outcomes, see, Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 113, Number 4, (January 2008) pp. 970-1022.

immigrants gifts; therefore, helping the immigrants to re-invent their ethnicity, which they believed was a cultural construction in a process of adaptation to the society. In other words, through an active participation in the social and cultural programs initiated by settlement houses, these immigrants raised a collective awareness regarding their ethnic identity.²⁴

The traditionalist, revisionist and the post-revisionist interpretation of the topic could not find a common ground for their arguments. However, it would be safe to argue that in all these years, Addams struggled to keep the personal integrity, autonomy, and self-respect of the immigrants, which she believed was necessary for them to build a strong character. Being an immigrant necessitated developing a “synthesis” of the ethnic and cultural identity that tied them to their old countries, with the new identity that they acquired in the United States. Hull House programs undertook a noteworthy effort to help the immigrant populations during this creolization process.²⁵ As stated by Everett H. Akam, in order to fly, the immigrants had to learn to use their two wings of identity; one representing American identity and the other representing their ethnic identity. Only through a reconciliation of the two into a kind of “dialectical synthesis,” it was possible to

²⁴Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerberi, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.” Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) pp. 4-11. Ewa Morawska also wrote another article concerning the invention of ethnicity created and recreated during the interaction with the host society and other immigrant populations. She described it as “the resilient character of ethnicity,”; “Activated by external conditions, ethnicity is at the same time created, sustained, and used by immigrants themselves as a resource to cope with the environment. Seen in this perspective, the ethnicization of personal identities of personal identities, social bonds, and institutional Networks becomes an important, and sometimes preeminent, mechanism of social and cultural adaptation to the host society.” See, Ewa Morawska, “The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration” (187-241) in *Immigration Reconsidered, History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed. By Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 214.

²⁵ The term creolization is used here to indicate “the blending of meanings, perceptions and social patterns” for the immigrants upon their arrival to a new land. Nancy Foner, who used term in her article argued that, the culture of the immigrant group differs from the culture they left behind in their old countries and it is also different from the American culture, it represented a creolization, a blending of both cultures in something new totally new. Nancy Foner, “The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes” *International Migration Review, Special Issue, Immigrant Adaptation and Native Born Responses in the Making of Americans*, Vol.31, Winter 1997, (961-975) p. 977.

preserve one's personal integrity. Hence, Hull House stood in the middle of the immigrant colonies teaching them literally how to fly during its forty years of service.

1.3 Methodology

The main primary source collection that shaped the arguments in this thesis is the Jane Addams Papers Publication (JAPP) Microfilm Collection.²⁶ Mostly, the articles and speeches written and published by Addams in scholarly and popular periodicals opened the door to Addams' mind while discussing her motives in founding a settlement house, her attitude towards the social and cultural problems of immigrants living in the neighborhood and her general perspective towards the issue of immigration.²⁷ However, although the abundance of Addams' writings and books provided an immense source of information to track her mentality, it also created a risk of evaluating Hull House experience with an overemphasis on the influence of Addams in shaping Hull House programs. Although Addams was the driving force behind the settlement house and even soon turned into an icon of the movement, it was as equally important to understand how Hull House was interpreted in the eyes of the ordinary citizens. In order to give a broader idea whether Jane Addams' views were truthfully

²⁶ Jane Addams Papers Publication, Microfilm Collection. (JAPP) (1860-1960) [microform] / Mary Lynn McCree Bryan, editor. Michigan, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984.

²⁷ Most of Addams' articles were published in the *Survey* whose editor was Paul Kellogg, a close friend of Addams. Besides, *the Chicago Tribune*, *The Forum*, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, *Union*, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Proceedings*, *Charities*, *Washington (DC) Herald* and *the American Magazine* spared a lot of space for Addams' articles. The attention of both the local and the national press is an indication of the overwhelming influence of the settlement house movement.

absorbed by the members of the society or not, the articles written and published by other residents of Hull House or the journalists who visited Hull House, in the local newspapers and magazines, were used to provide an outsider perspective to the movement.²⁸

Apart from these writings file in the JAPP collection, the Hull House Association Records, mainly Hull House Year Books that detailed Hull House social and cultural activities, the content of the programs and the nationality of participants on a yearly basis, constituted the main source of this thesis in discussing the implementation of social reforms in a settlement house. In this perspective, the nature of the social interaction between Hull House and the immigrants was tried to be resolved.

Concerning the historical background for the social, cultural and economic conditions of the nineteenth ward in Chicago and the immigrants living in the neighborhood, the social investigations conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were utilized. The most significant among them was Hull House Maps and Papers (1895) conducted by Hull House residents and co-edited by Jane Addams and Florence Kelley. In addition, the annual reports of the Immigrant's Protective League under the direction of Grace Abbott who was also a Hull House resident, the Special Reports of the Commissioner of Labor prepared under the direction of Carroll D. Wright and the researches conducted by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, were used in order to analyze the setting in Hull House neighborhood.

While all these primary documents provide an enormous amount of information regarding the historical background for the foundation of Hull House,

²⁸ These periodicals used in the thesis are; *Unity, the Craftsman, Chantangua, the Charities Review, Godey's Magazine, New England Magazine.*

the ideology behind initiating these social reforms, and the settlement's attitude toward immigrant populations; unfortunately, there is a scarcity of documents providing explicit information showing the immigrants' perspective towards Hull House programs. The only manuscript available is the autobiography of a Jewish girl, whose family immigrated to the United States from Poland in 1892. Hilda Satt Polacheck's *The Story of a Hull House Girl* is the most valuable source that reflected the ideas of an immigrant girl living just a few blocks away from Hull House. In addition, the correspondence files in JAPP included letters written by the immigrants who had stayed at Hull House for a certain period of time upon their arrival to Chicago. These letters although based on their experiences during this temporary stay, were also used in the thesis to provide an insight to immigrant's attitude towards Hull House. Lastly, some of the written responses of the immigrants in Hull House classes and club activities were also available in the collection, such as compositions scripted by immigrant children in response to a question "What kind of a place would you like to live in?" posed by the teachers in the citizenship classes. Although very few in number, these written responses represented the naïve side of the immigrants.

The thesis is composed of five chapters structured thematically. Following the introduction chapter, the second chapter identifies the origins of the settlement idea, deriving its impulse and ideological framework from Toynbee Hall. The main underlying aim of this chapter is to provide a clearer picture about the ethnic diversity of the nineteenth ward in Chicago, which served as a microcosm of the whole nation through a comparison between the ethnic structure of the neighborhoods of Toynbee Hall and Hull House. The next chapter details the main discussion among the traditionalists and the revisionists about Hull House

policy towards the immigrants with specific reference to the determining role of Jane Addams's personal attitude concerning the issue, and thus the realization of her view points through Hull House social and cultural activities. Thus this middle chapter analyzes the dichotomy between both the traditionalists and the revisionists and puts the discussion in an upper frame purified of the extremity of these poles over the matter. Upon a description of the major Hull House programs attended by the immigrants and an analysis of the intent behind initiating these activities, this next chapter examines to what an extent Hull House activities were effective in transforming the neighborhood. The ongoing debate whether Hull House promoted social reform or social control over the immigrants through those programs during the incorporation of the immigrants to the American society is closely examined. The last chapter makes the concluding remarks, connecting the Hull House experience to the contemporary activities of Hull House in the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT HOUSE, A THEORY IN PRACTICE

“[...] without the advance and improvement of the whole no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual condition. The subjective necessity for Social Settlements is identical with the necessity which urges us on toward social and individual salvation.”¹

2.1 Introduction

Founded by two college friends, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in the slums of Chicago in 1889, Hull House represented “an experimental method to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city.”² As Florence Kelley remarked, Hull House was expected to break “the social downdraft [...] that unsocialize a great industrial neighborhood,” and function as a catalyst of reform in an era troubled

¹ Jane Addams "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," 1892 in Philanthropy and Social Progress (1-26) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. p. 26. (Jane Addams Papers Publication, hereafter cited as JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

² Ibid. p.23.

by the ills of industrialization.³ Addams did not recall exactly when the idea of founding a settlement house came to her mind.⁴ However, during one of her visits to Europe, Addams discovered Toynbee Hall, founded by Samuel Barnett in East London. A pioneer settlement house, Toynbee Hall proved to set an example for the basic guiding principles in founding the Hull House; personal work ethnic and the reform activities led by residents. However, although the underlying principles guided Addams and Starr, the ethnic diversity in Chicago slums provided an entirely different picture when compared to the ethnic uniformity of the East End.

The 19th Ward, where the Hull House was founded, was composed of eighteen different ethnic groups who migrated to the United States and the ethnic composition of the ward was constantly changed due to the immigrant rush to the urban areas in the new immigration era.⁵ Therefore, these social and cultural

³ Florance Kelley, "Hull House," *New England Magazine* (July, 1898) University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III. Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, b. Articles about the settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, p.551. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁴ Nevertheless, she admitted that her decision marked a break from what Tolstoy called "the snare of preparation," which meant an end to the "ever-lasting preparation for life" and instead deciding to take initiative, however ill-prepared one might feel. This decision marked the first step of Jane Addams, who would embody the experimental nature of a "pragmatist" in the next forty years of her settlement work at Hull House. Addams was influenced from Tolstoy upon her visit in Russia, yet she found out the phrase "the snare of preparation" many years after their correspondence and admitted that it described the way she felt before she took a decisive action to found the Hull House. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)* (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912), (c.1910) p. 88. In support of this 'pragmatist' view, in an article Addams published in May 1899, she defined the settlement as "an attempt to Express the meaning of life in terms of life itself, in forms of activity." Jane Addams, "A Function of a Social Settlement" *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals 13* (1899 May) (323-345) p. 326. (JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

⁵ The basic guides to the American immigration history in this period include; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), John Higham, *Send These To Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984)., John Bodnar, *The Transplanted, A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985)., Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992)., Roger Daniels "The Immigrant Experience in the Gilded Age," in *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America*, ed. by Charles W. Calhoun, (Wilmington: SR Books, 1996), Keith Fitzgerald, *The Face of the Nation: Immigration, the State, and the National Identity*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996)., Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000)., Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History*, (New York: The Free Press, 1984)

conditions of the ward dictated the framework of Hull House activities, which had to serve the diverse needs of the immigrants, who were not only facing problems of poverty, but also problems of maladjustment to the new environment in an era filled with nativist spirit. Such a multicultural structure with all its problems was like a microcosm of the whole nation. Hull House, which was founded "to provide a center for higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago," carried the burden of finding a permanent solution to the long-lasting immigration problem of the whole nation.⁶

2.2 Toynbee Hall, a Pioneer Settlement & Hull House, a Unique Experiment

The inspiration for Hull House came from Toynbee Hall (1884), named after the death of Arnold Toynbee in 1883, a young tutor at Oxford, who was lamented in his memorial service as a person who possessed a mind which was "constantly troubled in regard to the unequal positions of mankind."⁷ Upon his constant visits to the workingmen clubs in the slums of East London, Toynbee was determined to find a proper and suitable way to share "the benefits of culture and education" with the ordinary workingmen to reduce the undesired effects of this inequality upon the underprivileged and thus believed living among them was

⁶ Hull House Association Charter, Hull House Association Records, 1. Administration of Hull House, Charters By-laws Annual and Corporate Reports, (1895-1930) (JAPP Microfilm, Reel 49)

⁷ Jane Addams, "Address of Miss Addams [on settlement work]." University Settlement Society of New York, Annual Report (1902) [1903]: 51-56. p. 51. (JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

the most convenient way to transmit those benefits, thus to reach his end.⁸ However, his deteriorating health conditions did not permit him to continue his visits and he had to relinquish social work. A little after Toynbee's untimely death at the age of thirty one, Samuel A. Barnett, who had been the vicar of St. Jude's for the last ten years, also a friend of Toynbee and an Oxford graduate himself, developed a new scheme for the implementation of the settlement idea in 1884, in a lecture he delivered at Oxford. Although named after his friend, the impetus for founding the Toynbee Hall was not limited to Toynbee's eagerness to help the ordinary workingmen. In his proposal, Canon Barnett, who believed in the necessity to "to bridge the gulf that industrialism had created between rich and poor, to reduce the mutual suspicion and ignorance of one class for the other", extended Toynbee's idea to meet the needs of the university students as well.⁹ Thus, he proposed to "establish a University Colony in East London where men might live face to face with the actual facts of crowded city life, might gain practice and experience in social questions, and strive to ennoble the lives and improve the material condition of the people."¹⁰ The idea found great support from Oxford and Cambridge, which provided financial assistance, thus Toynbee Hall was founded in 1884 and became a pioneer settlement in East End, in an area Robert Woods called the "nether of London"¹¹.

However, although the beginning of the settlement movement in the United States was inspired by Toynbee Hall, Addams reformulated the theory behind the settlement idea and adapted it in a way that would satisfy the needs of

⁸ Allen F. Davis *Spearheads for Reform; The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914*. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 5-6.

⁹ Davis, p.6.

¹⁰ William Smart, "Toynbee Hall," *Toynbee Hall: A Short Account of the Universities Settlement in East London, with Suggestions For a Similar Work in Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1886): (3-27). p. 4. <http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm>

¹¹ Robert A. Woods, "The Social Awakening in London," *Scribner's Magazine* 11, no. 4 (April 1892): (401-24). p. 402. <http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm>

the dwellers in the slum districts of Chicago.¹² In a speech she gave in 1891, she emphasized the difference behind the initial logic of the two settlement houses and briefly explained that “Toynbee Hall was first projected as an aid and outlet to educated young men. The benefit to East Londoners was then regarded as almost secondary [...],” explicitly implying that, contrary to Toynbee Hall, the common people in the neighborhood, not the educated residents of the settlement, were the primary concern of the Hull House.¹³ Robert Woods was not wrong when he called Toynbee Hall “essentially a transplant of university life at the White Chapel.”¹⁴ However, like in Hull House, gradually these university men, who became the permanent residents of Toynbee Hall, acted as the means or as the

¹² Domenica Barbuto remarked, “The growth and the development of the settlement movement in the United States is entwined with the growth and development of the American city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.” Chicago was one of these rapidly growing cities together with Boston and New York and the settlement houses founded in these cities –Hull House in Chicago, East End in Boston and Neighborhood Guild in New York- were founded “to preserve human dignity in the new urban industrial age.” For a list of and a brief information on the settlement houses and the influential figures in Progressive Era social reforms, see Domenica M. Barbuto, *American Settlement Houses and Progressive Social Reform: An Encyclopedia of the American Settlement Movement*, (Arizona: Oryx Press, 1999), p. viii. In June 14th 1888, Addams wrote a letter to Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman, in which she expressed her enthusiasm for Toynbee Hall upon visiting the settlement in her second tour of Europe with Ellen Gates Starr; “The most interesting thing that I have done in London was a visit to the Toynbee Hall in the East End. It is a community of University men who live there, have their recreating clubs & society all among the poor people yet in the same style they would live in their own circle. It is so free from “professional doing good” so matter of factly sincere and so productive of good results in its classes and libraries that it seems perfectly ideal.” Jane Addams to Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman, June 14, 1888, Haldeman-Julius Family Papers, in JAMC (reel 2-0968-0973), Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois at Chicago. <http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm> Although Hull House was one of the most influential settlement houses in the United States and was considered as the representative of the movement in the United States, there were other settlement houses whose characteristics, mission and vision could differentiate from Hull House’s. There are some scholars who thought Hull House overshadowed the history of settlement movement in the United States and for that reason, provided the history of other settlement house experiences and argued that the prominence of the Hull House –its domination of the settlement house historiography- did not/should not guarantee its “typicality”. Fair as it may, yet this study will issue Hull House’s determining role in the Americanization of the settlement house movement. For a research on “Other Settlement Movement” in Gary, Indiana and Indianapolis, see Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

¹³ Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," December 3, 1891, [address delivered to the Chicago Woman's Club], in JAMC (reel 46-0480-0496), Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois at Chicago. p.7.

<http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm>

¹⁴ Robert A. Woods, "The Social Awakening in London," *Scribner's Magazine* 11, no. 4 (April 1892): (401-24). p. 412. <http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm>

“normal organs” as Jane Addams called them, with the help of whom the poor were able to attain knowledge that would otherwise be lost in their daily struggles.

More significantly, another difference Addams stressed in the same article was the surrounding both settlements were founded in. By comparison, to East London, she referred to the multicultural structure of Chicago, which led the settlement workers to confront a totally different surrounding that “Hull House found no precedent at Toynbee Hall for dealing with this foreign life.”¹⁵ Actually, Hull House was an old residence owned by Charles Hull in 1856, situated where South Halsted Street met Polk Street in Nineteenth Ward, on the West side of Chicago.¹⁶ A magazine published at the time defined the locality as “Little Hell.”¹⁷ Inspired by the mindset behind Toynbee Hall and filled with a desire to work for the social advancement of the neighborhood, Addams took the lease of this mansion from Helen Culver and founded Hull House in the middle of

¹⁵ Jane Addams, "Outgrowths of Toynbee Hall," December 3, 1891, [address delivered to the Chicago Woman's Club], in JAMC (reel 46-0480-0496), Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois at Chicago. p. 13.

<http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm>

¹⁶ Eva H. Brodlique explained the reason why Charles Hull abandoned his residence on South Halsted Street in her article dated 1890: the reason showed parallelism to Addams's argument that instead of taking initiative, the wealthy citizens prefer to leave the neighborhood once it turned out to be a shabby place; “Thirty five years ago a wealthy citizen of Chicago named Hull, built for himself a spacious residence on South Halsted Street. At that time Mr. Hull, no doubt considered that Halsted Street was destined to become the favorite residence avenue of the city. Alas, for his expectations! [...] Halsted Street soon became the rendezvous of the lower classes. Mr. Hull and his family fled; and the old house was rented and gradually sank into ignominy and despair.” Eva H. Brodlique, “A Toynbee Hall Experiment in Chicago” *Chantangua XI* (Sept 1890), Hull House Association Records III: Hull-House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection p.746. (JAPP Microfilm, Reel 53)

¹⁷ “This locality is in the famous Nineteenth Ward, the quality of whose fame may be easily imagined from the title commonly applied to it –“Little Hell.” M.B. Powell, “Hull House” in *Godey's Magazine* (May, 1896) Hull House Association Records III: Hull-House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection (JAPP Microfilm, Reel 53)

Chicago slums.¹⁸ This conscious attempt to locate the settlement in a place dominated by the economically lower strata of the society, resulted in an inevitable and direct confrontation of the Hull House residents with the immigrants, as most of these newly arrivals could only afford living in the tenement houses in slums. Although Chicago Tribune referred to Hull House as “Chicago’s Toynbee Hall” in 1891, the ethnic structure of both settlement neighborhoods presented a totally different picture, which led Hull House experience to become a unique one.

In Toynbee Hall experience, the single problem that Canon Barnett had to consider regarding diversity, was the fact that the large part of the population in East End was comprised of Roman Catholic Irish and Jews. This structure of the neighborhood forced upon Toynbee Hall one of the distinguishing features, which was the “complete rejection of all sectarian bias” in order to reach the poor from all kinds of religious faith.¹⁹ Yet, apart from that, it did not have an overwhelming effect on the activities carried out in Toynbee Hall. However, in Hull House neighborhood, the large part of the population in nineteenth ward was comprised of immigrants of different backgrounds. Not only the external immigration from Europe to the United States reached its peak during the late nineteenth century but also the internal migration from rural areas to the cities played a role in the formation of such a diversified community. Contrary to Toynbee Hall, this multicultural structure of Chicago in the late nineteenth century became a real determining factor in the activities carried out at Hull House. The diversity in the

¹⁸ Charles Hull’s cousin who inherited his money after he died in 1889. Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age, From Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, (New York: New York University Press, 1993), p. 161.

¹⁹ J. Miles, “Toynbee Hall, The Story of a Social and Educational Experiment” Reprinted from “The City & East London Observer,” 27th Feb, 1932, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Series 14 Box 12, Folder: Social Work and Settlements 1929-1935), (1-4) p. 2. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 34).

neighborhood even shaped the settlement idea, transforming the struggle to diminish the disparity between rich and poor in East London slums, into a struggle of the incorporation of the immigrants to the host society in Chicago. Finally, as Paul Kellogg well summarized the difference between both settlement houses; “Transplanted to America, neighborhood work became more flexible and broadened out from its academic matrix. Emphasis shifted from class rapprochement to race relations and mutual adventures in community growth.”²⁰

2.3 Hull House Neighborhood

Hull House was located in the nineteenth ward, which had a population of fifty thousand.²¹ According to Addams’s descriptions of the ward, it had inexpressibly dirty streets, bad street lightening, and miserable paving. Due to the lack of adequate tenement house legislation, the housing conditions in the ward were poor; most of these houses were wooden, yet had no fire escapes, hundreds of them did not have a connection with the street sewer, which paved the way for unhealthy conditions, and due to the financial difficulties, the houses that were originally built for one family, had to be occupied by several. The ward also lacked adequate numbers of schools for children, the factory legislations –in the

²⁰ Paul Kellogg, “Semi-Centennial of the Settlements”, 1932 Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Series 14 Box 12, Folder: Social Work and Settlements 1929-1935) , (30-33) p. 30. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 34)

²¹ For a brief account on the economic and religious structure of Chicago, see Elenor J. Stebner “Chicago in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *The Women of Hull House*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997). For a more detailed account of the industries in Chicago e.g. meat, grain, lumber, see William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991).

sweating system- were unenforced.²² One of the residents in Hull House, Agnes Sinclair Holbrook described the ill conditions of the neighborhood as complementary to Addams's account;

Rear tenements and alleys form the core of the district, and it is there that the densest crowds of the most wretched and destitute congregate. Little idea can be given of the filthy and rotten tenements, the dingy courts and tumble-down sheds, the foul stables and dilapidated outhouses, the broken sewer-pipes, the piles of garbage fairly alive with diseased odors [...]²³

In the middle of such miserable conditions, Hull House stood on Halsted Street which was stuck between stock-yards on the south and ship-building yards on the north and was filled with “shops of butchers and grocers, with dingy and gorgeous saloons, and pretentious establishments for the sale of ready made clothing.”²⁴ However, it was these very miserable conditions that made this location well-matched to found a settlement house. The close interrelation between the individual improvement and the improvement of the social environment entailed an attempt to transform the surrounding first, which in return would have an effect on the individual.

According to Addams, when the neighborhood, which was once a suburb of city, turned out to be a shabby place or surrounded by the lower strata of the society whose way of life differentiated from the former dwellers, “the best people in the neighborhood” decide to move to another place, thus stripping the

²² Jane Addams, “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement” in Philanthropy and Social Progress (27-56) (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893). p. 29. (JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

²³ Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, “Map Notes and Comments” in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), p. 54.

²⁴ Jane Addams, “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement” in Philanthropy and Social Progress (27-56) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. p. 27. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

area of its initiative and leadership.²⁵ Similarly, the older and richer inhabitants of the city left the nineteenth ward, leaving their places to the newly arrived immigrants, who were facing adaptation problems to the society, therefore were ignorant of their civic duties. The ignorance of the immigrants stemmed from many reasons; first of all, due to the multicultural structure of the ward, it was very difficult to form a consensus to struggle for their needs and make a demand; besides the foreign populations even preferred to live in sundered colonies, in order to make a common ground to find a solution to their problems, they had to break those barriers. However, naturally, the communication between different colonies was not that strong. The lack of unity among the immigrant colonies and also the lack of initiation of the public authorities created a vicious circle that settlement houses were meant to break. Jane Addams explained this necessity of an initiation, which was provided by the settlement houses; “The theory underlying American self-government breaks down in a community of ignorant and spiritless citizens [...] it is thus especially incumbent upon a settlement to use its advantage of residence as a local force for civic construction.”²⁶ At this point, a settlement deliberately selects such a neighborhood to fill the vacuum left by those who move out and also provides the initiative on behalf of the ignorant public authorities. However, taking initiative in such a diverse neighborhood was not easy. As she described the multicultural structure of the neighborhood in *Twenty Years at Hull House*;

It once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four more or less distinct foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians: Neopolitans, Sicilians, and Calabrians, with an occasional

²⁵ Jane Addams, “A Function of a Social Settlement” *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals* 13 (1899 May) (323-45) p.355. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

²⁶ Jane Addams, “The Object of a Social Settlement” *Union Signal* 22, March 22, 1896, p.148.

Lombard or Venetian. To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Still farther south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French, clannish in spite of their long residence in American, and to the north are many Irish and first-generation Americans.²⁷

It was expected that choosing this site surrounded by foreigners would present an opportunity for the Hull House to launch a variety of activities due to its diverse structure.²⁸ Besides, working in such a neighborhood diversified by foreign colonies would bring another distinct advantage; Addams argued that visiting Europe and witnessing the peasant life of the little villages with their quaint customs and suggestive habits give a sense of completeness to Americans, yet she believed, “We can see the same thing here. There are Bohemians, Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and Arabs in Chicago vainly trying to adjust their peasant life to the life of a large city [...]”²⁹. According to this belief, the colorful patchwork of Europe through all these distinctive cultures could well be witnessed in the United States where all these cultures brought a little bit of their cultural inheritance. Locating Hull House in a neighborhood full of immigrants from different countries would provide an opportunity to witness this richness. However, besides those two advantages, locating Hull House in the middle of foreign colonies would present its own problems. The purpose of the settlement houses was to identify themselves with the neighborhood in order to ameliorate the living conditions of the area and provide the necessary help or advise for those

²⁷ Jane Addams. *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)* (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912), (c.1910) p. 98.

²⁸ Jane Addams, “Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy” *Forum* 14 (226-241) p. 229. (JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

²⁹ Jane Addams, Jane Addams, “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement” in Philanthropy and Social Progress (27-56) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. p. 34. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

people. Yet, different cultures not only had different needs, they also had different point of views regarding the solutions of their problems. Dealing with those complexities of diversity entailed a social investigation.

In this context, three years after Hull House was founded, Addams and the residents at Hull House initiated a project called *Hull House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago Together with Comments and Essays on the Problems Growing out of Social Conditions* and published their findings in 1894. This project was partially an attempt to understand the social, cultural, and economic conditions of the foreign colonies in the neighborhood through first hand observations of the residents of Hull House. Allen Davis asserts that, this project was the essence of the settlement approach to the problems that immigrant communities faced in the cities, which was trying to understand their cultures, ethnic heritages, and belief systems before attempting to find possible solutions.³⁰ When the nativist spirit of the era was taken into consideration, this social investigation free from preconceptions, dogmas or fixed rules of conduct, was a groundbreaking approach.³¹ On the other hand, the social research also represented an attempt to educate the public by putting a mirror to the problems so that as “an enlightened citizenry” they could be mobilized for reform causes, fulfilling “the Progressive Era’s faith in the

³⁰ Davis, p. 85.

³¹ George Herbert Mead, the Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago along with John Dewey –also a student of William James- explained the function of a social settlement in his article; “It is the privilege of social settlement to be a part of its own immediate community, to approach its conditions with no preconceptions, to be the exponents of no dogma or fixed rules of conduct, but to find out what the problems of this community are and as a part of it to help towards their solution.” “The Social Settlements: Its Basis and Function” Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 14, Box 12, Folder: Social Work and Settlements: 1897-1928 p.110. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 34)

efficacy of social science investigation to produce solutions for society's problems."³²

One of the most important contributions of this social investigation was recording the nationality and source of income of the residents in the neighborhood, and the transmission of the data into colorful maps that gave the project its title.³³ Much of the work was conducted by Florence Kelley, a notable Hull House resident since 1891, who was working as a special agent at the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics. After Kelley had prepared an influential report on the sweating system Chicago, she was appointed to a Special Investigation of the Slums of Great Cities in 1893 by Carroll D. Wright, the head of the U.S. Department of Labor.³⁴ Together with Agnes Sinclair Holbrook (also a Hull House resident since 1893) they compiled the Hull House Maps showing the distribution of the nationalities and the wages of the citizens of Nineteenth Ward in detail. According to the results of this three months investigation conducted in each house and tenement, it was concluded that there were people from eighteen different nations in such a small congested section of Chicago. The Italians, Jews of Russian and Polish origin and the Bohemians were the leading groups in number.³⁵ There were also a substantial amount of Irish and Germans in the area; although the German population constituted almost one third of Chicago's population, their concentration in this neighborhood was rather weak. Besides,

³² Rima Lunin Schultz, "Introduction" *Hull House Maps and Papers*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. p. 1. Mina Carson also pointed out that, promoting social investigation as the foundation for rational public policy was one of the settlement movement's distinctive contributions to the social thought. Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 33.

³³ See Hull House Maps in the Appendix H, I, J, K.

³⁴ Rima Lunin Schultz, "Introduction" in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), p. 6.

³⁵ Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, "Map Notes and Comments" in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), p. 60.

there were a small number Chinese, Arabians, Greeks and a few number of Turks and Syrians counted in the neighborhood.³⁶

However, the site was known with its rapidly changing character and a permanent concentration of a certain nationality at a single time was not possible.³⁷ When it came to 1900s for instance, the Greek population of the ward began to increase and in 1908 it reached to such an extent that, upon realization “the immediate neighborhood is becoming Hellenic” Hull House residents in collaboration with League for the Protection of Immigrants, had to make an investigation on the Greeks living in Chicago.³⁸ However, although the concentration of foreign population in the Chicago’s Near West side showed rapid changes, the role *Hull House Maps and Papers* played was not limited to merely presenting the distribution of the immigrants and their wages. But more importantly, it aimed at introducing the immigrants living “in the vicinity of Hull House to a general audience of English-speaking presumably middle-class, educated, and well-meaning U.S. citizens.”³⁹

³⁶ This classification of the nationalities is obscure. It is uncertain which nationalities Agnes Sinclair Holbrook included under the title “Arabian”. Holbrook separated the “Syrians” from “Arabian” group; therefore what she meant could be the “Assyrians”. Moreover, she used the title “Turks” for those who were engaged in various occupations at the Chicago World’s Fair; however, this group was basically the Ottoman subjects, as the title “Turk” referring to a certain Nationality –in today’s nationalistic terms- was not used until the rule of Union and Progress Party in the very last years of Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a better classification would be “Ottoman Turks”.

³⁷ After the Chicago Fire of 1871, the inhabitants of the neighborhood changed and the Irish and German began populating the region, yet Italians and Jews surpassed them in number by 1890s. Natalie Walker, “Chicago Housing Conditions X: Greeks and Italians in the Neighborhood of Hull House” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol XXI November 1915, Number 3, (Research conducted by Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (285-316) p. 286. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 54)

³⁸ Grace Abbott –Director of the League for Protection of Immigrants- based her report on the findings of the investigation on Greeks in Chicago conducted by Hull House.

Grace Abbott, “A Study of the Greeks in Chicago” *American Journal of Sociology* (379-393) Hull House Association Records, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 13a, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, p. 379. (JAPP Microfilm, Reel 54)

³⁹ Rima Lunin Schultz, “Introduction” *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), p. 31. In her book, Maurice Hamington discusses the concept of “embodied care” as the basis of Jane Addams’s philosophy for invoking a “lateral progress” in the society through members who had social responsibility. According to Hamington, “[...] knowledge is

2.4 Americanization of the Settlement House Movement

This diversity in the nineteenth ward served as a microcosm of the whole country in a period of massive migration, thus the Hull House's attempts to initiate interaction with the immigrants in the neighborhood, with all its failures and accomplishments, served as a model for social reform. Robert A. Woods, the founder of the South End House, Boston (1895) explained this picture of the neighborhood as a replica of the nation in 1914;

The neighborhood is large enough to include in essence all the problems of the city, the state, and take nation; and in a constantly increasing number of instances in this county it includes all the fundamental international issues. It is large enough to present these problems in a recognizable community form, with some beginnings of social sentiment and social action with regard to them.⁴⁰

If the problems of the neighborhood mirrored the problems of the nation, then the solutions developed to eliminate those problems could be applied nationwide. With such an idealism, in a series of sessions concerning philanthropy and social progress, Addams delivered two remarkable speeches in the summer school of the Ethical Culture Societies in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1892; "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" and "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement". The former speech, later to be published in *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, outlined the motives "which constitute the subjective pressure toward Social Settlements" in three major points; the first one stemmed from a desire "to make the entire social organism democratic" and "to extend democracy

prerequisite for embodied care because one cannot care for something which one knows nothing". Therefore, *Hull House Maps and Papers* would provide this necessary knowledge that would provoke "embodied care" for the cause of the immigrants. Maurice Hamington, *Embodied Care, Jane Addams, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Feminist Ethnics* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p.99.

⁴⁰ Robert A. Woods, "The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction," *American Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 5 March 1914, (577-91) p. 578.

beyond its political expression.” This most quoted phrase of Addams was referred as the cornerstone of her philosophy. Settlement houses should provide the most basic conditions of living such as; health, education and welfare for the citizens so that they could attain a level eligible for participation in the democratic life. The second stemmed from an impulse “to share the race life, and to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little”. This second impulse was a *sine qua non* in a multicultural society, where different races came together to create *e pluribus unum*. The last one sprang from “a certain renaissance of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects.”⁴¹

The common ground for all these three motives was the necessity “of restoring communication among diverse and isolated groups in society”⁴² for the improvement of all the members regardless of class, race and ethnicity, through social intercourse. In an era of rapid urbanization, massive immigration, and industrialization, which witnessed the transformation of America in the 1890s, such an intercourse was necessary in terms of achieving “progress” in all segments of the society. As Addams stressed in her article published in *Forum* in 1892, the dependence of classes to each other was “reciprocal.”⁴³ Victoria Brown explained this reciprocal relation by arguing that, the necessity for such an intercourse was heightened in the Progressive era, when the transformation of the society in modern industrial life made disparate peoples truly dependent upon one another for survival yet were increasingly isolated from one another by culture

⁴¹ Jane Addams, “The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements,” 1892 in Philanthropy and Social Progress (1-26) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. p. 2. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

⁴² Davis p. 16.

⁴³ Jane Addams, “Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy” *Forum* 14 (226-241) p. 226. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

and wealth.⁴⁴ Therefore, Hull House would serve as a settlement that would supply this social interaction through which the extreme dichotomies among the rich and the poor, among the nativists and the immigrants would be reconciled.

The second speech, “The Objective Value of the Social Settlement”⁴⁵ was a more descriptive speech confined to the foundation of the Hull House, the social and economic conditions of the neighborhood, the residents and the variety of activities carried out in the settlement. The idea of the “social intercourse” in the former speech was renewed as a way of its expression and how this idea was activated through social evenings, clubs or College Extension classes at Hull House, was described in detail. In sum, both speeches played a significant role in the articulation of the idea behind the settlement house movement in the United States and more importantly, in their framing of the different circumstances shaping the Hull House experience, they signified “the final Americanization of the settlement concept.”⁴⁶

2.5 Conclusion

As a final point, in such an ethnically diversified ward, Hull House provided a public sphere, where immigrants of the neighborhood would find an opportunity to express themselves through social contacts with the other people. It was aimed, through these social contacts established in Hull House activities that

⁴⁴ Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 266.

⁴⁵ Jane Addams, “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement” in Philanthropy and Social Progress (27-56) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, writings file, Reel 46)

⁴⁶ Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 267.

the prejudices based on ignorance could be uprooted, so that social improvement could be provided through common understanding. This approach represented the influence of the pragmatist thought on the formulation of the idea and the implementation of the settlement house movement in the United States. John Dewey, one of the most influential figures of American pragmatism, who was also a trustee of Hull House and a close friend of Jane Addams, pointed out the underlying motive for developing this social intercourse;

Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge – a common understanding- like mindedness [...]⁴⁷

According to Addams, the immigrant communities “uprooted” from their lands and facing adaptation problems to the society, could overcome the burden of this maladjustment and could be “transplanted” to the host society, through shared experiences, which would create a social unity to compensate the “problem of neighborhoods splintered by cultural differences and mutual suspicions.”⁴⁸ During its forty years of settlement work, Hull House worked to transplant those foreign neighbors into the American society through providing a public space that would cultivate their differences for the enrichment of the society.

⁴⁷ John Dewey, “Education as a Necessity of Life” (4-14) in *Democracy and Education 1916, John Dewey The Middle Works, 1899-1924, Volume 9*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983. p. 7.

⁴⁸ Carson. p.102.

CHAPTER III:

THE INSTRUMENTAL CHARACTER OF ETHNICITY: HULL HOUSE IMMIGRANTS

A mine of gold, an undiscovered Eldorado of intellect, lies unworked in this great United States. An unused Aladdin's lamp remains on the cobwebbed shelves of the nation, and strangely, no one seems to have discovered the wonders to be evoked by the magic ruh. A new art, a new literature, a broader, deeper spiritual outlook are latent in this country, and yet we go to Europe for our art, our literature, our music and our philosophy. Why? Because we neglect our foreign population.

We must go man-hunting [...] inspired with a spirit of adventure, we must get among the foreigners, learn their customs, ideas, and ways. We must give to them- and they will give to us. Will America rub this magic lamp [...] Will the people go man – hunting?¹

3.1 Introduction

The two quotations by Jane Addams above are taken from a newspaper article published at the *Washington Herald* in 26th of April 1908. They provide a clear insight to Addams' idea about the reciprocal relationship between the immigrants and the American society. The immigrants would contribute to the enrichment of the host society through their cultural reserves and ethnic heritage.

¹ “We Must Go Man-Hunting: A Mine of Undiscovered Wealth in the Immigrant, Declares Miss Addams, Most Noted of Settlement House Workers,” *The Washington Herald*, April 26, 1908, p.11.

Consequently, they would feel more welcomed in this new environment and in response, the Americans would not ignore the immigrants' capacity, instead would aim to learn their old customs, beliefs and values. However, this idea of the cultivation of immigrants' gifts necessitated an enthusiasm and willingness of the Americans, whose incessant persistence to neglect them and their capacity was harshly criticized by Addams;

What we need is an authoritative and comprehensive word concerning the peculiar contribution that each nationality might make to our American civilization. [...] The average American's attitude toward the immigrant has discouraged in him much that is socially valuable to us. In our desire to Americanize the newcomer –to make him like ourselves- we have failed to appreciate, in fact we have made it impossible for the newcomer to contribute his industrial and artistic best. True democracy would suggest that the emigrant be discouraged to give us what he most deeply cherishes in his inheritance. [...] the more we appeal to that sense of responsibility of connectedness with the past, the more effectively we train the newcomer into good citizenship. We must make the emigrant a contributor as well as a recipient in order to safeguard his receptive and assimilative powers, so that they may only take what is best and truest in American civilization.¹

Addams metaphorically promoted the idea of rubbing Aladdin's lamp to discover the wonders of immigrants and to that end, Hull House launched a variety of social and cultural activities that would provide the necessary means to give those immigrants the chance to sharing their customs and ethnic storage. The organization of evening receptions for different immigrant groups, the establishment of Hull House Labor Museum, the initiation of theatrical activities and club programs certainly paved the way for social interaction between the immigrants in the ward and the mainstream society. However, the underlying intent of launching these activities has been widely discussed among the historians in his field. The traditionalist approach held strictly to the argument

¹ Jane Addams, "The Waste of Talent Among the Poor or Our Waste of Nationalities," May 18, 1907, Swarthmore College Peace Collection Jane Addams Papers, Series 13a, Documents IV: Reference Material, B. Reference Supplement, 27. Immigrants, 1907- 1930, p. 4. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 38)

that, Hull House promoted cultural pluralism, giving the immigrants the opportunity of preserving their identity through these activities. On the other hand, the revisionist approach challenged Addams' pluralistic view of the society and instead suggested that, Hull House social and cultural programs were intended to accomplish a gradual assimilation by breaking the institutional completeness of the immigrants through "disintegration and dissolution of ethnically segregation."²

A forum composed of contemporary immigration historians could shed a light on this controversy among the traditionalists and the revisionists. According to these post-revisionist historians, the settlement houses through social services, casework and educational curriculum "were nonetheless managers of ethnicization, seeking to instruct the immigrants as to what in their 'heritage' was valuable and to be preserved and what was unacceptable and to be discarded. By espousing the doctrine of 'immigrant gifts,' they encouraged the development of ethnicity [...]."³ One major contribution of this forum to immigration literature was actually their promotion of the idea that ethnicity is not primordial, namely unchanging or inherent in a group's blood. But rather it is a cultural construction invented and reinvented by the ethnic groups as a response to the changing conditions or realities within the group or the host society. Thus, it is grounded, shaped, and transformed through real life experiences. Therefore, what this forum called "the invention of ethnicity," entailed;

an active participation by the immigrants in defining their group identities and solidarities. The renegotiation of its traditions by the immigrant group presumes a collective awareness and active decision-making as opposed to passive, unconscious individualism of the assimilation model. In inventing

² Lissak, p.41.

³ Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerberi, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A." Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) p. 13.

its ethnicity, the group sought to determine the terms, modes, and outcomes of its accommodation to “others.”⁴

Through social and cultural programs, Hull House attempted to do just that; initiating a collective awareness and active decision-making that would play a determining role in the formation of an immigrant identity. Addams believed a shallow assimilation would harm the personal integrity of the immigrants; therefore, she attached importance to preserving the ethnic identity so that the immigrants could be able to contribute to the society with their maintained distinctive qualities. Such a process would also ease the maladjustment problems stemming from the confrontation of old and new values. Therefore, Hull House initiated these social and cultural activities that helped the foreigners to “(re)invent” their ethnicity in the process of sharing it with the Americans and with the other immigrant groups. As a result of this social interaction, the immigrants were expected to devise a syncretistic attitude towards the old and new values. While preserving their ethnic identity, they were at the same time expected to embrace the new ones.

3.2 Jane Addams’ Attitude towards Immigrants

Soon after the foundation of Hull House, Addams made her position clear towards the issue of immigration. Contrary to the xenophobic stance dominant in the society towards eastern and southern European immigrants, she welcomed the traditions and the distinctive cultural properties that those new arrivals would

⁴ Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerberi, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.” Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) p. 5.

bring to the American society. Rather than trapping herself in a fear of losing what is distinctively “American,” Addams promoted the idea that what is distinctively “American” is this very multicultural pattern formed by the contributions of each immigrant. In a speech she gave in 1905, Addams emphasized that, with the rising immigration, there emerged a growing fear that American society would not be able to assimilate such enormous numbers of immigrant populations, thus would risk losing the “American” traits and characteristics.⁵ This fear was triggered in that period generally called as “the new immigration,” when the immigration flow from western European countries was replaced with the eastern and southern European immigrants, who were dubbed as racially inassimilable and inferior. However, Addams stressed, this amplified fear of the eradication of the American beliefs at the expense of an unprecedented scale of immigration rates, and this “constant cry that American institutions are in danger”⁶ stemmed from American ignorance towards immigrants. In every chance, Addams tried to deconstruct this settled belief and repeated her argument that, although the main source of perturbation was the lack of adjustment to the rapid changes in an industrialized era, instead, the immigrants were regarded as the main cause for those problems;

Naturally, every approach to labor problems in the United States had to do with immigrants who formed the bulk of the wage-earning population, and it is quite likely that Americans were less concerned for the well-being of aliens than they would have been for their own folk. [...] As our cities developed, overcrowded tenements, sweating systems, a high infant death rate, and many other familiar aspect of hastily organized and unregulated industry –all such disorders- became associated in the public mind with the

⁵ Jane Addams, “Recent Immigration Neglected by the Scholar” University of Chicago Record 9, 1905 January (274-284) p. 274. In this speech, Addams addressed to the American citizens sharing the nativist spirit that, it was useless to hypnotize themselves by unreal talk of colonial ideals and patriotic duty toward immigrants. Instead, she believed “a commingling racial habits and national characteristics in the end must rest upon the voluntary balance.” p. 281 (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

⁶ Ibid.

immigrant [...] we childishly found an alibi for all the disturbing problems of the industrial order and put them off on the immigrant.⁷

According to Mina Carson, in a period of rising nativism, this “insistence on viewing the immigrants as the *victim* as much as the *cause* of America’s social and economic troubles” could be regarded as the settlements’ major contribution to the national dialogue on immigration.⁸ Nevertheless, Addams’ harsh criticism of the society’s ignorance towards immigrants, which she believed was the main reason for the blindness behind inadvertently assuming the immigrants to be the source of all problems, had a more iconoclastic effect on the immigration discourse in the early twentieth century. In a speech she gave at the Illinois Conference of Charities (1905), later to be published in *Proceedings*; Addams criticized the general tendency in the society to neglect the history, language and the traditions of the immigrant communities. The most significant message Addams gave in the Conference was that, it was only after the immigrants ravaged by disease and became a menace to the city that a humanitarian, that charitable effort was initiated to take care of their situation.⁹ However, although a philanthropic initiative was necessary for those people who were in desperate need of help, it would be more constructive to meet them in their ordinary occupations or cultivate kind relations with them before they fell into such state of misery. As a matter of fact, Addams evidently implied the role of the settlement houses in establishing such a relationship with the immigrants that would prevent them to be the object of the charitable organizations.

⁷ Jane Addams, “The Social Deterrent of Our National Self-Righteousness: with Correctives Suggested by the Courageous Life of William Penn.” *Friends Intelligencer* 89 (1932 Nov 5), (890-95). University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection. pp. (890-891) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 49)

⁸ Carson, p. 102.

⁹ Jane Addams “The Immigrants and American Charities” *Illinois Conference of Charities, Proceedings* (1905) : (11-18) p. 13. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 49)

Hull House neighborhood was an amalgamation of eighteen different immigrant groups. With the advantage of establishing close “physical proximity to the foreign born,”¹⁰ the residents of Hull House had the opportunity to observe and investigate the problems immigrants faced during their adaptation process to the American society. The resident-led initiation of Hull House could be able to reach the immigrant colonies surrounding themselves, not because of their professionalism in social work, but because of their successful attempt in developing a simple and intimate neighborliness. They were not social workers living in the suburbs of the Chicago city and paying regular visits to the nineteenth ward for social investigation in order to ameliorate their living conditions. Rather, they were living in the slums together with those immigrants, therefore were exposed to the same problems that the population of the ward had to deal with. As Addams stated in 1910, the settlement house workers and the immigrants worked in coalition in their “mutual and sustained efforts in the securing of a neighborhood park, the paving of a street, the closing of a gambling house, or the restoration of a veteran police sergeant.”¹¹ Out of this shared experience and common interests emerged social interaction that tore down the wall of miscommunication between the highly educated residents of Hull House and the common people thus set the necessary ground floor to initiate social reform in the ward. As illustrated by Addams in one of her addresses on the settlement work;

You cannot go into a man’s house with a stern resolution to be a friend to him. The delicate flower of friendship does not grow that way. But you can become identified with the interests of the neighborhood of which he

¹⁰ George Cary White, “Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914”, *Social Service Review*, 33:1/4 (1959: Mar./Dec.) (55-66) p.56.

¹¹ Jane Addams, “Autobiographical Notes upon Twenty Years at Hull House: The Resources of Immigrant” *American Magazine* 70 (1910 Aug): (494-505) p. 503. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47.)

is a part. You find yourself working shoulder to shoulder with the man who lives next door because you cannot obtain certain much desired results without his cooperation, and friendship springs most naturally in comradeship and identity of interests.¹²

3.3 Value of the Immigrant

In one of her addresses on the settlement work, Addams mentioned that; “The foreigner has vast reserves of tradition and historic consciousness which root back in all parts of Europe and which would supply a background which we very much lack in American cities.”¹³ Later, in her small piece published in *Washington Herald* in 1908, Addams also emphasized, the spiritual and the social value of the immigrant had not been discovered; “This country, which has virtually no indigenous art and which has been forced to borrow or import from the older countries, should seize this vital source lying fit to its hand, to enrich its older importations.”¹⁴ As it was clear in both statements, Addams did not regard immigrants’ cultural reserves as a distraction from the society’s highly praised norms, instead she celebrated and welcomed their contribution and even argued that the host society had a right to demand the immigrants to “Project a little of the historic and romantic into prosaic quarters of American cities.”¹⁵

Nevertheless, the push and pull factors of immigration in this period was financially oriented. These eastern and southern European immigrants, who came

¹² Jane Addams, “Address of Jane Addams on Settlement Work” *University Settlement Society of New York, Annual Report 1902*. pp. (51-56) p.55. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

¹³ Ibid., p.54.

¹⁴ Jane Addams, “Value of the Immigrant” *Washington Herald*, 1908 April 5, p.7. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

¹⁵ Jane Addams, “Hull House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy” *Forum* 14 (pp. 226-241) p. 232. October, 1892 (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

to seek for job in an industrialized nation, were not only confronting economic problems, but they also had to confront the ill treatment of the host society who were pressuring the federal government to take restrictive measures to limit immigration rates, so that competition in the job front due to the unskilled immigration labor would be lessened. In such a hostile environment, Addams warned, benefiting from immigrant's sources was not possible;

But their spiritual value, their picturesqueness, their social value, their industrial significance are dependent upon their cohesiveness, their exclusion of the superficial influences of the new country which robs them of the best of their inheritance and gives them the worst of their acquisition [...].¹⁶

Therefore, in order to provide the necessary conditions that would give the immigrants a chance to express themselves in their own way, Addams initiated social and cultural programs at Hull House, through which the disoriented foreign population of the ward would develop social interaction with the neighborhood and would not feel themselves threatened by the nativist spirit of the era. This would lead to a mutually beneficial process, in which the immigrants would like to contribute to the ward with their history, culture, art, and the Americans would have the opportunity to meet and know them better. Carson illustrates that point in her belief that, the settlement folk based their philosophy on their faith in the ideal society where private and public interests were identical and the only method to attain that goal was their embodiment of the belief that social progress should be cooperative and consensual.¹⁷

In a speech she gave on the neighborhood improvement, in a National Conference of Charities, Addams mentioned that, if any group of simple or

¹⁶ Jane Addams, "Value of the Immigrant" *Washington Herald*, 1908 April 5, p.7. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

¹⁷ Carson, p. 121.

uncultivated people were given the means, some line of interest or any opportunity that could connect them to hope for future, the power and the artistic ability that the group could develop amazed them.¹⁸ What Hull House did was to supply this opportunity to the immigrants so that rather than leading a life under social and economic oppression, they would feel themselves more welcomed. Because, Addams believed, if these people were welcomed upon the basis of the resources they represented and the contributions they brought, then they would develop a sense of ease in America, leading to “a first consciousness of being at home.”¹⁹

3.4 Hull House Social and Cultural Programs

“[...] nothing bridges differences so completely as do the arts, which are traditionally the most potent agents for making a universal appeal, and which we have cultivated at Hull House from the beginning.”²⁰

3.4.1 Hull House Labor Museum, 1900.

The most representative example of the initiation towards making the immigrants feel at home was the establishment of the Hull House Labor Museum in 1900. In the Italian colony immediately west of Hull House, there were old

¹⁸ Jane Addams, “Neighborhood Improvement” National Conference of Charities and Convention, also published in Proceedings (1904): (456-58) p.458. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

¹⁹ Jane Addams, “The Public House and the Immigrant Child” National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses 46 (1908): (99-102) p. 102 (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

²⁰ Jane Addams, “Autobiographical Notes upon Twenty Years at Hull House: The Resources of Immigrant” *American Magazine* 70 (1910 Aug): (494-505) p. 503. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

women, who knew how to use the primitive forms of spindle and distaff. These talented grannies, mostly could not speak English, were the ones most severely affected by maladjustment to the new society. Addams stated the impetus behind founding the Labor Museum grew from an impulse to “graphically illustrate the development of textile manufacture”²¹ with the help of these women, who would find an opportunity to express themselves in their work. Addams believed that a lively Museum²² where these women come to spin together would visualize the historical evolution of the industrial developments. She criticized the workingmen, who used the machinery in the factories without any knowledge that each generation worked with the contribution of the former ones had made and transmitted to the next generation.²³ Therefore, such a Labor Museum, where the primitive forms of industrialized machines were presented, would give these workers an idea about the material they were constantly handling by making them more picturesque. Naturally, the underlying aim was erasing the ill effects of swift mechanization on the factory workers. Closely related with this, the Hull House Labor Museum would provide the opportunity to look at the larger picture in order to prove that “industry develops similarly among the workers of each nation, heedless of differences in language, religion, and political experiences.”²⁴

²¹ Jane Addams, “First Report of a Labor House Museum at Hull House” March 13, 1902. (Also published in *Unity*) p.1. Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, Organizations and Endeavors (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

²² Jane Addams explained the reason why they preferred to name the organization as “Hull House Labor Museum”; “the word museum was purposely used in preference to the word school, both because the latter is distasteful to grown-up people from its association with childish tasks, and because the word museum still retains some fascination of the show.” Marion Foster Wasburne, “A Labor Museum” *The Craftsman Vol VI*, no.6 Sept. 1904, pp. (272-273) University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

²³ Jane Addams, “First Outline of a Labor House Museum at Hull House, Chicago” p. 7. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Anita McCormick Blaine Papers, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, Organizations and Endeavors (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

²⁴ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)*, (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912 (c.1910)), pp. (235-237)

Thus, Addams believed, from the immigrants' perspective, it would bridge the gap between Europe and The United States, by creating a sense of relation.

Inasmuch as closing the gap between the raw material and the finished product, the Hull House Labor Museum had one more significant contribution; to help the immigrant women who were facing maladjustment problems to the new environment and closing the gap between these immigrant women and their children.²⁵ In a Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor on the Italians in Chicago (1897), one of the areas investigated was directed to the question whether these immigrants stopped pursuing their old habits that they were involved in Italy. As a result of the answers to the inquiry whether they spun in Italy, out of 834 families reporting, 636 of them replied in the affirmative. However, out of 895 families, 7 responded that they continued spinning in the United States, less than 1 percent of them.²⁶ Abandoning a tradition not only meant losing a sense of identity strongly tied to the old habits, but it also meant the beginning of a sense of uselessness these women deeply felt. Yet, giving them a chance to use and exhibit their talent at Hull House Labor Museum would give them the lost opportunity of attaining the position in the community to which their previous life and training entitled them.²⁷ Addams was responsive to the restlessness of these immigrants. In the first outline of the Labor Museum, she stressed that the

²⁵ Christopher Lasch argued that Addams's strong emphasis to the gap between the generations as a principal theme of her writings stemmed from her own communication problems with her stepmother Ann Haldeman. (p.37) For more information about the conflict between Addams and Haldeman, see Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type*, (New York: Norton&Company, Inc., 1986).

²⁶ Ninth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, "The Italians in Chicago: A Social and Economic Study" p. 43. Prepared under the Direction of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897. University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III: Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, F. Investigation and Research: Selected Materials (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 54)

²⁷ Jane Addams, "First Report of a Labor House Museum at Hull House" March 13, 1902. (Also published in *Unity*) pp.1-2. Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, Organizations and Endeavors (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

children or relatively the younger ones in the Italian families looked down upon their parents and sometimes were ashamed of them. This was partially to the fact that “undue stress is put upon the reading and speaking English in the schools,” partially because they believed a rise in the social scale could only be achieved by a professional position rather than handcrafts, yet mostly because these “simpler Italians” who possessed these skills were dubbed as “uncouth” and “un-American.”²⁸

Therefore, in order to give these immigrants an opportunity to use their skill and eliminate their sense of uselessness and alienation from the society, Hull House Labor Museum opened its doors every Saturday evening beginning in November 1900.²⁹ The core participants were five women of Syrian, Greek, Italian, Russian, and Irish origin.³⁰ Yet, in two years, the participation increased and the Museum opened six different departments in addition to the textiles; woods, book-binding, grains, metals and pottery.³¹ As time passed, the Labor Museum began fulfilling its mission to “mitigate the divisive impact of the American society on the immigrant family by offering itself as a mediator between parent and child.”³² Addams recalled a certain Italian girl named Angelina, who was participating in the cooking class, in the same building that

²⁸ “First Outline of a Labor House Museum at Hull House, Chicago” p. 3. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Anita McCormick Blaine Papers, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, Organizations and Endeavors (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

²⁹ Another reason Donna Gabaccia stressed was that, there was a patronizing element in Jane Addams and other settlement house workers in opening Hull House Labor Museum. According to Gabaccia, they were worried that “the immigrant mothers –enticed by the mass-produced wonders of the American market-place- would otherwise abandon arts and crafts as inferior.” Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, & Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820-1990*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 116.

³⁰ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)*, (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912 (c.1910). pp. (235-237)

³¹ Jane Addams, “First Report of a Labor House Museum at Hull House” March 13, 1902. (Also published in *Unity*) p.13, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, Organizations and Endeavors (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

³² Mina Carson, p.109.

her mother attended Hull House Labor Museum exhibition. Yet she preferred to use the other entrance in order not be identified with her mother, who wore “a kerchief over her head, uncouth boots, and short petticoats.”³³ However, her underestimation of her mother was replaced with an admiration, after Angelina discovered how her mother’s spinning was highly praised. After she asked Jane Addams for confirmation, Addams found the opportunity to describe to her the beauty of the Italian village her mother was from and stressed the difficulty of exchanging that life with a two-room tenement house. Addams advised her that “it was most unfair to judge her by these things alone, and that while she must depend on her daughter to learn the new ways, she also had a right to expect her daughter to know something of the old ways.”³⁴ As Oscar Handlin pointed out, the second generation was an unstable element in the immigrant societies due to the fact that they did not have a fixed place, standing between the culture of their families and the American culture.³⁵ Hull House Labor Museum aimed to stabilize the second generation’s stance in the society, so that it would break the chain of maladjustment.

The local press also paid attention to the wide success this innovative program gained in such a short period of time. *The Commons*, (1902) a monthly record in Chicago, named the initiative as “Museum of Industrial Evolution”³⁶ In *The Craftsman*, (1904) Marion Foster wrote her experiences in the aftermath of her visit to the Labor Museum, which she embraced as a change of mental attitude

³³ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)*, (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912 (c.1910). p. 244.

³⁴ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)*, (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912 (c.1910). p.245.

³⁵ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted, The Epic History of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* Boston: Little, Brown Company, 1990. p.238.

³⁶ Jessie Luther, “The Labor Museum at Hull House” *The Commons*, Number 70, Vol. VII., Chicago May, 1902. p.2. (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

“from common desire to make money into a desire to make useful things.”³⁷ Upon having some informal discussion with some of the sewing women and witnessing the troubles they managed to overcome as immigrants, Foster realized that the Museum represented how these immigrants became the victim and the survivor of the miserable conditions of their past.³⁸ Three years after the printing of this article, *The Craftsman* published another one prepared by Mertice Buck, who appraised the Hull House Labor Museum as an “experiment” to solve the problem of helping foreigners who came to United States, equipped with a knowledge of some handicraft, and found the chance of applying their knowledge to afford them a means of livelihood. Thus, the Hull House Labor Museum, not only gave the immigrants an opportunity to express themselves in their craft, but it also provided them with a source of income. In relation with that, the article hinted with sympathy, some of these immigrant women working at the Museum regarded performing their artisanship as primarily a means of supplying their needs, rather than regarding it as an opportunity to share their culture and identity, due to their financial difficulties.³⁹ Yet, providing the means to compensate those difficulties would make them self-supportive, and this financial security would provide the emotional relief necessary to taste the enthusiasm of sharing one’s own culture. This was expected to be the main contribution of Hull House Labor Museum, Addams concluded.

³⁷ Marion Foster Wasburne, “A Labor Museum” *The Craftsman* Vol VI:, no.6 September, 1904. p.371. University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

³⁸ Wasburne, p. 379.

³⁹ Mertice Maccree Buck, “Hull House Labor Museum, Where Women are Thought Spinning and Weaving and Also the History of These Industries” *The Craftsman* Vol. XIII no.7, November, 1907, p. 229. (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 51)

3.4.2 Hull House Theatre

The theatrical activities carried on Hull House were regarded as a chance for the immigrants to introduce their identity to the Americans through stage and also criticize the host society for their lack of knowledge about immigrants' culture. This constituted one of the most significant contributions of these activities in terms of creating a self-awareness and self-judgment regarding their ignorance toward the immigrant population. Addams recalled the effect a Greek play produced by Greeks of the Chicago Colony of fruit dealers in scene from the Return of Ulysses on themselves, and stated that the Americans discovered the entire Greek colony was familiar with Homer and most of them were familiar with Homeric lines. In her self-criticism, Addams stated that;

One man confided that he always said his prayers before the rehearsal, hoping that he might show forth "the glory and honor of Greece to ignorant Americans who knew nothing of the ancient world." We sometimes express our minds quite freely about foreigners, but we take very little pains to find out what they think of us, and the Picture they draw is by no means flattering. A Settlement should be able to reveal the two sets of people to each other and not devote all its energies to philanthropic doings and tricks of education.⁴⁰

Greeks and Italians were the two colonies that benefited most from this opportunity for self-expression through drama; however, even they staged quite a few numbers of plays. Below is a list of plays performed by the foreign colonies in the Hull House neighborhood.

⁴⁰ Jane Addams, "Address of Jane Addams on Settlement Work" University Settlement Society of New York, Annual Report 1902. pp. (51-56) p.54. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

Nationality	Name of Play	Author	Number
Greek Plays	Ajax Galatea Ypsilontis Shepherd Girl Gulpho	Sophocles - Peresiades Peresiades	4
Italian Plays	Figli dell' Emigrato 'O Scarfaliotto or Il <i>(The Children of the Emigrant)</i> Divorzio di Don Felice <i>(The Divorce of Don Felice)</i> Conte Capone <i>(Kont Capone)</i> Il Lupo di Mare <i>(The Sea Wolf)</i> Vita 'e Napole <i>(Neopolitan Life)</i>	Signor Frederico Amato (An Italian living in the neighborhood)	5
Russian Plays	Plays usually dealing with Russian Revolution, no name provided.	-	Half a dozen plays during winter, yet the number is obscure.
Lettish Plays	Similar in character to those given in Russian, no other information provided.	-	-
Yiddish Plays	Money and Life	Gordon	Unknown
Lithuanian Plays	-	-	4
Hungarian Plays	-	-	1
Bohemian Plays	-	-	2

Source: Hull House Association Records, Hull House Year Books 1906-1925, JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

According to Rivka Shpak Lissak, Hull House's cultural policies replicating it in the drama activities reflected the assimilatory aims of Hull House residents. In her criticism of the Hull House leaders, Lissak argued that ideologically the leaders opposed preserving and cultivating the immigrant cultures, thus made no attempt to devise systematic programs to teach the

immigrant children the culture of their ancestors. In order to support her argument, Lissak provided the statistical data and stated that 60 percent of the plays performed by the Hull House Players were written by native born Americans, 30 percent of the plays were written by English playwrights and 10 percent were written by west European playwrights, she added that, the Hull House Players performed only two plays, whose content was the issue of immigration.⁴¹ The plays listed in the table above were the plays initiated by the members of the immigrant clubs who rented Hull House theatre hall to perform their acts in their own tongues. Counting on this fact, Lissak argued that the initiation to perform a foreign play was not launched by the Hull House leaders and the Hull House Players, but rather it was initiated by the immigrants themselves.⁴² However, encouraging those immigrants to perform their own acts and providing the conditions, such as the stage, was itself a sign of the support, sympathy, and appreciation of the leaders felt for those immigrants. Some of the foreign groups that used Hull House theatre hall to perform their plays were, De Leon Mexican Troupe, Roma Liberty Club, Mourad Armenian Dramatic

⁴¹ Lissak stated that, one of these two plays was written by a Russian Jewish girl and dealt with the adjustment problems of the Jewish community in the Hull House neighborhood. The other one was the widely known Zangwill's *The Melting Pot*, 1908. Lissak pp. 45-46. Zangwill was an English Jew, who adopted the term "Melting Pot" to describe the fusion of all immigrants in the United States to create a new American identity in the play. This new also necessitated abandoning the cultural of the native lands for these immigrants. This theme is pursued in the play through its protagonist David, a Russian Jewish immigrant who became a proud American abandoning the cultural traits of his old country. While Theodore Roosevelt enthusiastically applauded the success of the play, Jane Addams criticized that immigrants should not abandon their past to become Americans and it was their old cultural values and traditions that made the immigrant contribution to the American society. Abandoning them meant a loss of identity. For a brief summary of the play see, Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, (Stephen Thernstrom, ed. Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 38. For Theodore Roosevelt's attitude towards the play, see Gary Gerstle, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Divided Character of American Nationalism," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No.3, The Nation and Beyond Transnational Perspectives on United States History: A Special Issue (Dec., 1999) p. 1298. For a discussion of Jane Addams' view of the play, see Guy Szuberla, "Zangwill's Melting Pot Plays Chicago," *MELUS, The Society for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States*, Vol. 20, No.3, History and Memory, (Autumn, 1995) pp. 13-14.

⁴² Ibid.

Association, Lithuanian Dramatic Chorus, Irish Students League, Italian Socialist Branch, and Hebrew Dramatic League.⁴³

In all these discussions over the intent of the Hull House leaders in launching and encouraging theatre, the real contribution of these activities was neglected. The most significant effect of the theatre was to create dynamism and a social platform where the players came together to discuss their motives in staging that play. Through their discussions, drama provided those immigrants a solid ground for representation of their beliefs in a concrete play, putting their ideas in shape on stage. This message-oriented feature of theatre was the best tool for immigrant societies in transmitting their experiences and ideology to the members of their own colonies and the other people in the neighborhood.

3.4.3 Hull House Ethnic Reception and Social Clubs

In addition to drama, the clubs and social activities mostly participated by the immigrant colonies, were effective at Hull House.⁴⁴ The social activities were mainly composed of dances and parties organized at Hull House to provide a social break for the immigrants whose only concern was to gain subsistence. In the early years, Hull House prepared weekly receptions for immigrants of French, German and Italian origins, where the language of the participants were spoken, the national songs and dances were performed and the national speeches and

⁴³ Hull House Year Book 1921, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, p.34. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁴⁴ In Hull House Year Book of 1906-1907, it was stated that nine thousand people came to Hull House each week during the winter months, either as members of an organization, club, or as parts of an audience. There is no information regarding the numbers of the outside participants, therefore, it is a high possibility that this total number is exaggerated. Hull House Year Book, September 1, 1906-1907, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records (p.6) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

recitations were given.⁴⁵ In the later years, relatively bigger organizations were initiated. St Patrick's Cotillion, the annual dance given for the Irish immigrants in the neighborhood, Mardi Gras, a *Ballo Mascherato Italiano* for the Italian immigrants' and the Young People's Parties organized regularly by the Women's Club were the social activities intended to bring the foreign colonies together once a year. However, these activities also functioned as a tool to acquaint the immigrants with the other club programs organized at Hull House.⁴⁶

These club programs initiated at Hull House covered a variety of activities that suited the immigrants' interests; the clubs prepared recreational activities, performed theatrical plays, arranged literature discussions, organized evening parties and sometimes they united under a common cause such as helping the other immigrant communities who were facing problems during their interval or raising funds for them. According to Hull House Association Records, the clubs ranged in membership from at least ten to fifteen to several hundred, yet in general, they had 20-25 members attending the activities on a regular basis.⁴⁷

In 1890s, the program of the Hull House clubs mainly focused on economic and social questions.⁴⁸ The most influential ones that even took the press' attention were the Working People's Social Science Club (WPSSC) and the Jane's Club. The WPSSC met under the direction of Jane Addams and Ellen Starr on Wednesdays to discuss the problems of the workers such as; "Eight Hour

⁴⁵ Eva H. Brodlique "A Toynbee Hall Experiment in Chicago" Chantaguan XI, (September, 1890), Hull House Association Records, III. Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), p.747. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁴⁶ Hull House Year Book 1916, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53) p. 33.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Although Hull House provided other services such as Sewing School, Cooking Classes, Free Kindergarten and Day Nursery, Gymnasium, Hull House Coffee House and Kitchen, such activities are not included in the scope of this thesis.

Movement,” “Strikes,” “Profit Sharing,” and “Domestic Labor.”⁴⁹ The Jane Club, on the other hand was a “cooperating board club for working girls” who were the weak spot in making a demand from the employers for better working conditions due to their lack of knowledge and inability in collective bargaining methods.⁵⁰ The other clubs whose programs concentrated on social and economic problems in this period were; “The Chicago Question Club or the Single Tax Club, the Eight Hour Club, the Bindery Girls’ Union and the Nineteenth Ward Improvement Club.”⁵¹ However, after 1900s, the clubs established a remarkable variety of activities.

Name of the Club	A Short Description	Nationality
Greek Educational Association (1908)	The Association had 625 members. Gave classes in English and Mathematics, had a Greek library used as a reading and study room by its members. They formed a corps of cadets, which gave a drill in a meeting of the Association, patriotic Greek and American songs were rendered under the Greek band in the city. In 1910, the Association also celebrated the anniversary of Greek independence. (1828)	Greek

⁴⁹ Eva H. Brodlique “A Toynbee Hall Experiment in Chicago” *Chautauquan XI*, (September, 1890), p.747., Also see, Alice Miller “Hull House” *The Charities Review I*, (February, 1892) p.170. Hull House Association Records, III. Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁵⁰ James Weber Linn, *Jane Addams, A Biography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 124-125

⁵¹ Isabel Eaton, “Hull House and Some of Its Distinctive Features” *The Smith College Monthly*, April 1894, Vol. 1., No.7., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III. Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., (1890-1930), p. 6. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

Greek Ladies' Charitable Association	The Association had 50 members, meeting monthly at Hull House. They discussed the needs of their own countrymen living in the ward.	Greek
The Greek Women's Social Club	The Club had 25 members, meeting weekly. English instruction courses, were followed by dancing and singing.	Greek
The Italian Circolo	Meeting weekly in the drawing room for social intercourse. Organized balls in Bowen Hall.	Italian
Societa di Beneficienza Delle Donne Italine (1908)	Organized by philanthropic ladies of the Italian Colony and held benefit entertainments.	Italian
The Russian Social Economic Club (1908)	Organized by a number of Russian immigrants, had 100 members. Lectures on American history, politics, industry are given in Russian language. The main purpose was promoting Americanization.	Russian
Greek-American Athletic Club	Founded for sports, yet lost it members owing to the return of some its members to Greece to participate in the Balkan War.	Greek & American
School of Citizenship (1906)	To help immigrants to secure citizenship papers.	
Monday Literature Class (1913)	The class had 15 members, meeting weekly to discuss literature.	Jewish Italian Irish German
Kismet Club (1914)	Meeting weekly, the club has voluntarily laid emphasis on parliamentary law.	Jewish
Mexican Fiesta (1925)	The Club met in the dining room weekly, with an attendance of more than 15.	Mexican
A Relief Society for Russian Exiles	Meeting weekly, the group aimed to raise funds for Siberian exiles.	Russian
The Germania Lodge of Good Templers	Meeting weekly for upholding the cause of temperance in the ward.	German
Pallas Literary Club	Meeting weekly, the group discussed literature, mainly modern drama.	Jewish

Source: (Hull House Year Books 1906-1925, JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53,)

According to Lissak, these social activities and the club system served as a laboratory for social and cultural assimilation like the theatrical activities did. She formulated the Hull House policies towards the immigrant groups under the label of “segregation within integration.” According to this policy, in the early years of their arrival, the immigrants naturally preferred to remain in their own segregated communities, where they would feel “most secure within their own cultural milieu [...]”⁵² However, Lissak argued, the settlement houses intended to acquaint these immigrants with the new environment during this early stage of their arrival, so that this temporary segregation would not lead to “a permanent perpetuation of ethnic differences.” According to Lissak, Hull House aimed to eliminate the risk of such a permanent segregation, thus encouraged the immigrants to integrate to the host society. Therefore, Lissak concluded that the Hull House was not an institution that promoted cultural pluralism. Instead, it “sought to integrate individual newcomers of different backgrounds into a cosmopolitan, America-oriented society by breaking down ethnic barriers and ending segregation.”⁵³

In order to prove this point, Lissak classified Hull House club activities under three periodical terms; at the initial stage, Hull House prepared the ethnic receptions or celebrations like St Patrick’s Cotillion and Mardi Gras. These activities were organized to attract the immigrants to the Hull House so that the residents would have a chance to encourage the immigrants to participate in the club activities. Such a plan would secure a social and cultural assimilation on the individual level, through artificially separating them from their own ethnic groups. The club activities at this beginning stage thus were ethnically mixed and the content of the programs were lectures and readings aiming to indoctrinate the

⁵² Lissak, p.39.

⁵³ Ibid., p.47.

principles of American democracy and citizenship, and to teach English and American literature.⁵⁴ However, the reason for launching ethnically mixed clubs did not stem from a predetermined plan to segregate the immigrants from their own kin thus to gradually strip them of their cultural heritage. Rather during these first three years, the Hull House began to represent itself in the neighborhood and the number of immigrants who were eager to participate in its activities did not constitute enough number to form a club or organize a social event. Lissak believed, from 1892 to 1906, there was an intermediate stage, when Hull House decided to found ethnic clubs for each specific immigrant groups, yet the programs still served for teaching English and promoting American values. However, in a weekly program of evening clubs and activities in 1895, Hull House offered German, Latin, Italian and French language classes besides English and in addition to the lectures on citizenship and American literature, the Hull House also welcomed university professors who gave their speeches on variety of topics from Greece to Japan, from India to the People of the Slavic World.⁵⁵ Therefore, although some of the lecture topics or activities gratified the American values and promoted a good citizenship, they were also planned to educate the attendants based on their own needs and wishes. John Higham also stressed that teaching English or giving civic classes was not the primary aim of the Hull House;

They [Hull House residents] laid no special emphasis on English and civic classes. They tried to bind together and complete a neighborhood, not to

⁵⁴ Lissak, p.42.

⁵⁵ See Hull House Association Records, Course of Lectures at Hull House (1903-1904), University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection; see, Evening Clubs and Classes, October Term, 1895, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, also see, Evening Clubs and Classes, January 15, 1895, Afternoon Clubs and Classes, January 15, 1895, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 50)

make a nation. On the whole they did more to sustain the immigrant's respect for his old culture than to urge him forward into the new one.⁵⁶

The last stage, Lissak argued was an outcome of the residents' "growing understanding of immigrant cultures and communities" in 1907. Due to the fact that the immigrant communities began to lose interest in Hull House Programs, the immigrants were encouraged to facilitate their own independent organizations and rented Hull House rooms to organize the socio-cultural activities. Thus at this third stage, the programs were ethnically segregated, yet promoted both the ethnic and American values.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, contrary to what Lissak argued, in the table that listed the Hull House clubs during that period, there listed at least four ethnically mixed clubs. Therefore, rather than a carefully consciously planned club policy, Hull House residents attached importance to the demand of the immigrants in the neighborhood in their judgment to form an ethnically segregated or an ethnically mixed club. Yet, Lissak insisted that, the ethnic components of the programs were a tool;

The ethnic features of Hull House programs were thus a vehicle for the creation of conditions necessary for cultural transformation, that is, the disintegration and dissolution of ethnic segregation, and incorporation of newcomers into the general society upon equal terms.⁵⁸

However, it is not that easy to make a reasonable classification that would help keep the track of the intention of Hull House residents in launching these social activities in a forty years period of time. There are basically two main obstacles that preclude such a categorization; first of all, the immigrant population of the ward, consequently, the needs and characteristics of the foreigners were in a constant change, that prevented the Hull House residents to pursue a steady and

⁵⁶ Higham, John, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), p.236.

⁵⁷ Lissak, p.42.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

permanent policy in initiating those activities. Secondly, while some of these social activities were launched by Hull House residents, especially in the later years, some were initiated by the immigrant populations themselves. Although a certain amount of instruction or at least encouragement triggered by the residents was present, it did not create a formative effect on the activities to the extent that would shape its content. Besides, the social clubs were mostly self-governing groups organized and met under the direction of leaders appointed by Social Clubs Committee. Especially after 1914, the leaders of most clubs were the students who were assigned in fieldwork from the Recreation Department of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.⁵⁹ Therefore, the determining affect that the personal features of the numerous leaders had on these activities, presented another complication.

3.5 Conclusion

*“What is American? Rather than positing a hegemonic Anglo-American core culture, this conceptualization entertains the notion that what is distinctively American has been itself a product of this synergistic encounter of multiple peoples and cultures [...]”*⁶⁰

In conclusion, however misleading the results it may lead to, the literature on the Hull House relationship with the immigrants in the neighborhood was

⁵⁹ Hull House Year Book 1916, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53) p. 33.

⁶⁰ Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerberi, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.” Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) p. 32.

dominated by the prevailing tendency to classify Hull House policies pursuing either a cultural pluralist pattern or a gradual assimilative pattern. Nevertheless, the settlement house workers in general, Jane Addams in particular, did not implement a predetermined, consciously or insidiously planned strategy that would promote either assimilation or permanent segregation of the immigrant communities, while they were initiating these Hull House programs. Instead, Addams promoted the incorporation of the immigrants to the host society without letting them be exposed to the adaptation problems and losing their personal integrity so that they could contribute to the American society with their own distinctive qualities. According to George Cary White, Addams;

[...] did not agree with the idea that ethnic differences were automatically disappearing, nor did she see any justification for the fear that this civilization was being imperiled by the coming of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. She believed that the fundamental problem created by immigration was that of finding a new basis for unity in a heterogeneous society and of conserving Old World traits that would add elements of strength and beauty to American life. There was, in her judgment, no reason for expecting that out of the diversified elements of the population there would eventually develop a consciousness of homogeneity founded upon a common fund of historical experience and a uniformity of belief and behavior. Accepting the fact of a pluralistic culture, she insisted that the sense of community had to be based upon similarities but upon an acceptance of differences, “a respect for variety.”⁶¹

In a speech she gave at Atlanta University over the advantages and disadvantages of a broken inheritance in 1908, Addams stressed that, while the lack of a tradition and habits could have an advantage in terms of leading to an easier and more swift process of benefiting from the opportunities that the new conditions offered, on the other hand, lacking the restraints of the traditions could also create a disadvantage in terms of vulnerability to manipulation and

⁶¹ George Cary White, “Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914”, *Social Service Review*, 33:1/4 (1959: Mar./Dec.) (55-66) p.58.

deception.⁶² Therefore, in her denial of a shallow assimilation model, Addams supported the view that the immigrants should not lose their own identity and heritage, which she believed was the only way of enriching the American society. Especially, for the younger generations, Addams stressed the significance of understanding the past life that their families had lived in their old countries first, without trying to learn the American standard.⁶³ According to Addams, these younger immigrants could be able to make a “synthesis” out of their old traditions and habits with the new ones;

To make a synthesis between the difference that confronts you in two given situations is certainly an opportunity for the development of character; that tendency of the emotional life which, instead of being oppressed by the old loyalties, insists that it shall encompass the new as well.⁶⁴

For that reason, Hull House initiated these social and cultural programs varying from Hull House Labor Museum to the theatrical performances, from the social activities such as dances, parties to club programs during its forty years of settlement service. Through these activities, the immigrants could be able to preserve their own identity but at the same time understand the American culture without being exposed to the pejorative effects of maladjustment to the society. With the help of these activities, Hull House also ensured social interaction, which Addams believed was a mutually beneficiary process that helped the immigrants

⁶² Jane Addams, “Advantages and Disadvantages of a Broken Inheritance.” Atlanta University, Bulletin, no. 183 (1908 Jun): p(1-2) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

⁶³ Addams referred to a possible friction that may emerge between the immigrant children and their families in this same piece; “If an Italian family lives next door to an American family and the Italian girl begins by comparing her affairs with the affairs of her neighbors next door, she is almost sure to fall into a very unfair attitude towards her own parents.” Jane Addams, “Advantages and Disadvantages of a Broken Inheritance.” Atlanta University, Bulletin, no. 183 (1908 Jun): p(1-2) (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

⁶⁴ Jane Addams, “Social Attitudes and Character.” In Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education, , Building Character: Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Character Development, February, 1928, pp. 291-95. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. p. 295. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 48)

share their culture and also helped the Americans realize the potential of the immigrants who would be expected to contribute to the American society. The contemporary immigration historians explained this necessity for immigrant contribution in a common forum; “Thus each immigrant group could contribute its own special qualities to this peoplehood, indeed had a duty to do so. It followed that in order to perform this duty, a group had to protect, cultivate, and promote its qualities long enough to enable them to be absorbed.”⁶⁵

To sum up, Hull House promoted neither a blind assimilation nor an unconditional respect for the maintenance of permanent segregation communities that established no kind of social interaction with the host society. The initiation of either ethnically segregated or ethnically mixed social and cultural activities were not a part of divine plan to form a melting pot or a salad bowl. Rather, these programs were intended to create a ground for social intercourse between the new arrivals and the old residents. According to George White, the lack of social interaction for the foreign born would result in “isolation from the broader community and its social and cultural resources” and for the native born it would foster an inclination to regard the immigrant only as a laborer or a factory worker and “an inability to appreciate his long reserves of experience.”⁶⁶ Therefore, Hull House provided this social interaction that would eventually benefit to both sides. On the one hand, it would help the immigrants to preserve their identity in this transition process from their old countries to this new environment, so that they and their children would not suffer the ill effects of a shallow Americanization. Only those immigrants, who could accomplish to devise a syncretism between

⁶⁵ Kathleen Neils Conzen, Davis A. Gerberi, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.” Forum, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 1992. (3-42) p. 11.

⁶⁶ George Cary White, “Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914”, *Social Service Review*, 33:1/4 (1959: Mar./Dec.) (55-66) p.58.

the old values and the new ones, could be able to contribute to the society. On the other hand, it would help the Americans to understand the capacity of those immigrant communities so that they would welcome their contribution to the society.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A SETTLEMENT HOUSE: LOCALLY AND NATION-WIDE

*Shall America be slower than the European powers to protect its industrial citizens, and shall we continue to allow sturdy immigrants slowly to deteriorate because, having crossed the sea, according to our democratic theory they do not need protection?*¹

*The service for the individual immigrant, including the protection upon arrival and the prevention of exploitation and other assistance to adjustment, is designed not only that the high ideals of America which the individual immigrant brings with him may not be lost in his first contact with the American community, but also to obtain the information on which our program of sympathetic and constructive Americanization may be kept vital to the moment.*²

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the scope of the influence on Hull House in two levels; its effect on the transformation of its immediate neighborhood and its effect on the national debates surrounding immigration. Although, Hull House was mostly referred to as the castle of social welfare and one of the leading

¹ Jane Addams, "Protect Our Immigrants is Jane Addams' Plea," *New York Evening Mail*, 1912 September 28, p.3. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

² Helen Campell, "The Immigrant and the War," Ninth Annual Report of the Immigrant's Protective League, For the Year Ending December 31st, 1917. University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, p.26. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52)

settlement houses in the movement, the limits of its effectiveness on the immigrants, who generally preferred to remain in their own segregated communities, has been a controversial issue among the historians. This ongoing debate is also interrelated with the discussion whether Hull House promoted social reform or imposed social control upon the immigrants through its programs, investigations or its support of the new legislations, e.g. housing reform, child labor, consumption of alcohol. In this chapter, this imposition of social control mechanism is analyzed as a determining factor in arousing interest among the immigrants towards Hull House. The chapter concludes with a discussion over the far reaching role Hull House played in the nation, despite the limits to influence its instant neighborhood.

4.2 The Local Influence of Hull House: Social Reform or Social Control?

The life span of the settlement work at Hull House covered forty years of social welfare work. During this long period, Hull House not only initiated social investigations regarding the ethnic composition and the economic stratification of the neighborhood, but also encouraged the immigrants to attend Hull House social and cultural programs. More significantly, these reformers united with their neighbors in their daily struggle for the amelioration of the living conditions in the nineteenth ward. In Hull House Association Records, the data concerning the numbers of the immigrants who participated in those programs on a weekly or yearly basis revealed that the immigrants were quite attracted to Hull House

activities.³ However, unfortunately, it is uncertain whether the numbers in these records reflected the reality. According to Allen Davis, Hull House appealed to a small minority of the immigrants community, furthermore, the religious or ethnic clubs peculiar to each immigrant nation in the ward, had much more influence on these people than Hull House did. “A Catholic church a few blocks from Hull-House” Davis writes, “Jewish club down the street from Henry Street Settlement probably had a greater impact on the neighborhood, and on the majority of immigrants, than did the settlements.”⁴ Unfortunately, the scarcity of primary documents that reflected the immigrants’ point of view regarding the influence of Hull House leaves these issues highly debatable.

Davis also stresses another controversial issue. He assumes the reforms encouraged by the settlement houses was actually a social control mechanism, in other words, Hull House attempted to transform the neighborhood through imposition of certain standards such as in housing conditions or child labor. For that matter, Davis argues that Hull House embodied the role of “upper-class paternalism,” towards the immigrants, therefore, the residents found in themselves the right to interfere or control the immigrants’ lives.⁵ Jane Addams referred to

³ According to Hull House Year Books, during the winter months, nine thousand people came to Hull House, either as a member of one organization or as a part of an audience. Hull House Year Book, September 1, 1906-1907, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, p.6. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁴ Davis. p xxi

⁵ According to Davis, the settlement house workers promoted social justice and social control at the same time, without seeing a contradiction between the two. However, he in his interpretation of Hull House he still believed that this social welfare work represented more of a social reform than of a social control. Davis. p. xxii. Richard McCormick also discussed the same relationship between social justice and social control; “Weighing the relative gains made by progressives for social justice and social control is a significant problem in historical interpretation. But it is equally important to recognize that most reforms and reformers expressed both goals. There was scarcely any social change that was not advocated, often sincerely, as a means of bringing justice. Yet, in practice, almost every progressive reform gave added control to those who implemented it.” See, Richard L. McCormick, “Evaluating the Progressives,” *From The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* by Richard L. McCormick, pp. 263-88, (Oxford University Press, Inc., 1986), also in *Major Problems in the*

this role of paternalism Hull House played in the eyes of its neighbors and resembled its role to a “big brother”; “One function of the Settlement to its neighborhood somewhat resembles that of the big brother whose mere presence on the play-ground protects the little one from the bullies.”⁶

In point of fact, the foundation of the Immigrants’ Protective League was an illustration of this paternalistic role Hull House embodied during its settlement activities.⁷ Although it seemed the League and Hull House were two different organizations, they were inseparable entities as they worked in cooperation in all the investigations of the immigrant colonies. Jane Addams served as the Vice President of the League and Grace Abbott, who was a permanent Hull House resident, served as the Director. As its name suggested, the major incentive of the League was the care and the protection of the immigrants and there were two different motives for that. The first one stemmed from a feeling of sympathy with the helplessness of the immigrant in their new environment, the second one stemmed from the reflex effect of this protection created in the society. According to the League, this reflex effect meant that, the failure of the providing a minimum of protection would inevitably lead to “the increase in preventable crime and dependency and the loss of idealism.”⁸

Gilded Age and the Progressive Era: Documents and Essays Ed. By Leon Fink, (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993), p. 325.

⁶ Jane Addams, “Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy” *Forum* 14 (226-241) p. 239. (JAPP Microfilm, writings file, Reel 46)

⁷ The Immigrants’ Protective League was first organized as a Committee of the Women’s Trade Union League organized in 1907. The aim of the Committee was visiting the newly arrived immigrant women and girls and meeting their needs. Later the Committee took the initiative in the formation of the Immigrants’ Protective League and extended its activities to the immigrant men as well. “Eleven Years of Community Service: A Summary of the Work of the Immigrants’ Protective League,” January 1920, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, p.2. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52)

⁸ *Fourth Annual Report of the Immigrant’s Protective League, For the Year Ending January 1st, 1913.*, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, p.9. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52)

One of the most requisite areas in which the immigrants needed protection was securing jobs. Addams believed that, when the immigrants were searching for a job, they often exhibited symptoms of a disordered mind.⁹ According to Grace Abbott, because of their ignorance of English and the necessity for finding an immediate employment, most of the immigrants were vulnerable to be manipulated by the employment agents in the labor market. Abbott argued that especially Poles, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Italians bitterly complained of the treatment they received in the hands of these employment agencies. Therefore, the League in cooperation with Hull House assisted those groups whose struggle would not be sufficient to solve these problems. According to Abbott,

The immigrants themselves are powerless to correct these evils. Last April when the agents were demanding \$12 and \$15 for jobs, we assisted the Bulgarians in arranging a protest meeting and trying to effect an organization which could deal directly with the railroad. About 1200 men crowded into Bowen Hall at Hull House.¹⁰

The other working areas of the League covered; the care for the arriving immigrants, e.g. finding lost baggage, finding destination addresses or providing temporary shelter; receiving the names of the immigrant children of compulsory education age from the Commissioner at Ellis Island to enroll them at schools; and controlling the immigrant banks which received money from the immigrants for safekeeping or transmission abroad.¹¹

⁹ Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), p.37.

¹⁰ Grace Abbott –Director-, The League for the Protection of Immigrants Annual Report 1909-1910, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull-House as Meeting Place and Headquarters, 16. Immigrants' Protective League, n.d. 1909-1928 p.28. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52) Jane Addams served as the Vice-President of the League and Hull House residents have always been represented on the Board of the Immigrant's Protective League. Immigrant's Protective League Records, For Hull House Year Book, 3.3.1928. University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52)

¹¹ *Fourth Annual Report of the Immigrant's Protective League*, For the Year Ending January 1st, 1913., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (JAPP

However, Davis believed that at some points such a paternalistic attitude towards the immigrants did not produce the expected results. According to his theory, while promoting the middle class values, these social reformers failed to understand the ethnic customs and the needs of the immigrants such as the consumption of alcohol, child labor, or living in uncluttered rooms in tenement houses.¹² Although the settlement workers respected the necessities of immigrants based on their cultural heritage, they imposed the implementation of social legislations even if it meant the violation of immigrants' beliefs or basic needs.¹³

One of this most highly debated areas concerning social control was housing conditions. According to the Report on Housing Conditions prepared by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the large percentage of the houses in the nineteenth ward was not in good repair. Most of the houses had damp walls and their roofs leaked, causing not only discomfort but also deteriorating the health conditions. The landlords were also refusing to make even the most necessary repairs leaving the poor tenants in a miserable condition. In addition, there was also a density of population in such a small-congested area. The report criticized Chicago for being criminally negligent in providing decent houses for the growing numbers of its immigrants and concluded that the community living in the neighborhood should demand for the enforcement of the housing legislation and should also insist on a housing code which would make the existence of these

Microfilm Collection, Reel 52) pp.10-19. The League argued that these services for the immigrants had to be provided by the federal authorities; yet until such work was undertaken the League endeavored itself to enter such assistance as they seemed practical. *Fifth Annual Report of the Immigrant's Protective League*, For the Year Ending January 1st, 1914, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52) p.7.

¹² Davis, p. xxi.

¹³ David Hollinger criticized "cultural defense" mechanism used order to justify the disapproved acts by the society's norms; "I have a different culture, so I can beat my wife." David A. Hollinger, "National Solidarity at the End of the Twentieth Century; Reflections on the United States and Liberal Nationalism," *The Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol.84, No.2, September 1997. p. 563.

conditions illegal. Witnessing those conditions, Addams referred to this necessity for the enforcement of housing regulations in one her speeches she gave in 1905;

A Greek-American who slaughters sheep in a tenement-house yard on the basis of the Homeric tradition, can be made to see the effect of the impoverished shambles of his neighbors' health and the right of the city to prohibit him, only as he perceived the development of city government upon its most modern basis.¹⁴

Addams' idea of housing reform was closely connected with the Progressives' belief in environmental determinism. As Roy Lubove argued in his book, housing reformers "placed an excessive faith in the potency of a changed physical environment."¹⁵ Lubove remarked that, slums were not merely a concentration of poor housing conditions, but rather were a way of life. As a noteworthy percentage of the immigrants' residence in the United States was temporary in the late nineteenth century, they did not concern the conditions in which they lived in such a short period of time. As their plan was returning to their own country after making a sufficient amount of money, these transient sojourners remained deaf to the efforts such as housing reform, which would transform their lives.¹⁶ However, their resistance to change was unacceptable in

¹⁴ Jane Addams, Recent Immigration: A Field Neglected by the Scholar," University of Chicago Record 9, January, 1905 (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46) p. 277. Addams also discussed how the traditional activities carried out in tenement houses created unhealthy conditions; "The most obvious faults were those connected with the congested housing of the immigrant population, nine tenths of them from the country, who carried on all sorts of traditional activities in the crowded tenements. That a group of Greeks should be permitted to slaughter sheep in a basement, that Italian women should be allowed to sort over rags collected from the city dumps, not only within the city limits but in a court swarming with little children, that immigrant bakers should continue unmolested to bake bread for their neighbors in unspeakably filthy spaces under the pavement, appeared incredible to visitors accustomed to careful city regulations." Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House with Autobiographical Notes (1860-1935)*, (New York: The McMillan Company, 1912 (c.1910).p. 295.

¹⁵ Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City 1890-1917*, (New York: University of Pittsburgh, 1962), p.47. Lubove also argued that industrialization and immigration has disintegrated the homogeneity of urban society and the reformers believed that the tenement system, which was a product of a "complex process of acculturation to an urban, increasingly industrialized society," thwarted any possibilities of reintegration. (pp.20-47)

¹⁶ Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City 1890-1917*, (New York: University of Pittsburgh, 1962), p.47.

the eyes of the settlement house workers, who tried to ameliorate the housing conditions so that it would elevate the living standards of the immigrants. As John Whiteclay argued, the profession of social welfare work as an outgrowth of the settlement house movement “departed from the nineteenth century reform emphasis on saving the individuals. It focused instead on changing the environment [...]” which in turn would obviously create a transformative effect on the individuals.¹⁷

In addition to housing, the child labor issue was another controversy between the immigrant families and the Hull House residents. Most of the illiterate immigrant families had to send their children to work in the factories to provide a source of income. According to the report on the wage-earning children of Chicago prepared by Florence Kelley and Alzine P. Stevens, the main problem concerning the child labor in Chicago was that the industries in Illinois e.g. wood, metal and food industries, were essentially men’s trades. The overload of work in such kind of industries was not suitable for the employment of the children, in contrast with spinning and weaving of silk, where the children workers were regarded essential. However, the report clarified that, despite those conditions, principally the children of Italians, Bohemians and Germans were “sent to work by their parents out of sheer excess of thrift, perhaps in order to pay off a mortgage upon some tenement house.”¹⁸

According to Kelley and Stevens, the prohibition of child labor was a humanitarian measure. Their solution for the prevention of child labor rested in the enforcement of school attendance to the age of sixteen or at least fixing

¹⁷ John Whiteclay II, *The Tyranny of Change, America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982)., p.151.

¹⁸ Florence Kelley and Alzina P. Stevens, State Inspector and Assistant Inspector of Workshops and Factories for Illinois, “Wage-Earning Children,” in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Urbana and Chicago:University of Illinois Press, 2007), p.85.

minimum age for work at sixteen. They also proposed factory inspectors and truant officers charged with removing the children from their working places to be placed in schools.¹⁹ However, most of the immigrant families had to count on their children, whose malleable nature made their adaptation to the society easier than their parents. For instance, the Italian parents counted upon their children's ability to learn the English language and the American customs before themselves, therefore their children acted as "buffers between them and Chicago, resulting in a certain almost pathetic dependence of the family upon the child."²⁰ In this respect, the enforcement of child labor laws would strip these families' source of income; however, the settlement house workers argued that such compulsory regulations would prove to be long-term solutions. In one of her speeches, Jane Addams expressed the difficulty of the immigrant parents faced in understanding the burden of working conditions on their children;

The enforcement of adequate child-labor laws offers unending opportunity for better citizenship, founded not upon theory but on action. An Italian or Bohemian parent who has worked in the fields from babyhood finds it difficult to understand that the long and monotonous work in factories in which his child engages is much more exigent than the intermittent outdoor labor required from him; that the need for education for his child is a matter of vital importance to his adopted city, which has enacted definite, well-considered legislation in regard to it. Some of the most enthusiastic supporters of child-labor legislation and compulsory education laws are those parents who sacrifice old world tradition, as well as the much needed earnings of their young children because of loyalty to the laws of their adopted country.²¹

Another dispute representative of the social control mechanism the settlement house workers attempted to impose on the immigrants was the consumption of alcohol. Especially, in the Greek and the Irish culture, the

¹⁹ Florence Kelley and Alzina P. Stevens, State Inspector and Assistant Inspector of Workshops and Factories for Illinois, "Wage-Earning Children," in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, (Urbana and Chicago:University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp.87-89.

²⁰ Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), p.82.

²¹ Jane Addams, "Recent Immigration: A Field Neglected by the Scholar," University of Chicago Record 9, January, 1905, p. 277 (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

consumption of alcohol was very common. However, the Hull House workers were conservative about this issue and thought that it might have a deteriorating influence on the younger generation. For instance, in a letter sent by Jane Addams to Carter H. Harrison in 1911, Addams expressed her wish to close a Greek bar because it stood opposite to Hull House Boys' Club. Although she showed her respect for Greek customs, Addams insisted on the closure of this bar;

I can quite see that we must appear to be inconsistent in regard to the Greek saloon directly opposite to the (Boys') Club. The undertaking was represented to us as a restaurant to be connected with a Hotel. We know, of course, that the Greeks always drink liquor with their meals and it seemed to us to be quite unreasonable to attempt to interfere with a well established foreign custom. While the sign bears the words "Restaurant and Saloon" and the door has the word "Hotel" painted over it, it is in all respects a bona fide saloon with a stand-up bar and the rest is the paraphernalia.²²

However, in all these issues of child labor, housing conditions and the consumption of alcohol, the initiation of social reform intrinsically entailed the imposition of social control. The reason for using the phrase "social control" with pejorative connotations was actually a criticism directed against the paternalistic nature of the Hull House programs, which stripped the immigrants of their own cultural values in order to reform them in perfect conformity with the American standards. Such a criticism that Hull House promoted assimilation of the immigrants through social control is misleading. Encouraging the immigrants to live in better housing conditions or prohibition of child labor under harsh working conditions was not assimilation, but a promotion of healthier living conditions. If the nineteenth ward had not been populated by the foreign colonies but rather underprivileged native Americans, the settlement workers would have tried to impose the same regulations.

²² Jane Addams to Carter H. Harrison, Nov 10, 1911, Chicago IL, Newberry Library, Carter H.Harrison IV Papers. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Correspondence File, Reel 2)

Although Davis did not refer to a cause and effect relationship between the paternalism and the lack of interest towards Hull House, making such a connection would be safe. Although there were exceptions, it was perfectly natural for the immigrants to prefer remaining in their own ethnically segregated communities during the early days of their arrival. The immigrants were not willing to conciliate their cultural traits or needs for the sake of American middle class values and life style. Addams admitted that; sometimes it became very difficult to develop a relationship with the immigrants on the basis of a common understanding and she believed most of the time, the mere enforcement of the existing laws caused those controversies;

I recall a continuous warfare against local landlords, who would move wrecks of old houses as a nucleus for new ones in order to evade the provisions of the building code, and a certain Italian neighbor who was so filled with bitterness because his new rear tenement was discovered to be illegal that it was quite impossible to make him understand that the good health of the tenants was in any wise as important as his undisturbed rents.²³

Lastly, although there exists a risk that these numbers of the immigrants who participated in Hull House programs may be a bit exaggerated and therefore misleading, the fact that some of these programs were initiated upon the immigrants' request cannot be disregarded. More significantly, although the influence of Hull House in the neighborhood could be limited, the influence it created in the national debates over the issue of immigration proved to be much more far-reaching. Especially, through Jane Addams, the movement found voice

²³ Jane Addams, "Autobiographical Notes upon Twenty years at Hull-House: The Resources of the Immigrant." *American Magazine* 70 (1910 Aug) : 494-505. Swarthmore College Peace Collection Jane Addams Papers Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47) p.500. "This inevitable misunderstanding was also developed in connection with the attempt on the part of Hull-House residents to prohibit the sale of cocaine to minors. This brought the House into sharp conflict with many druggists, and especially with an Italian living on the edge of the neighborhood, who finally came with a committee of his fellow countrymen to see what Hull-House wanted of him." p.500.

and her speeches reflect their attitude towards the immigration problem of the United States provided a solid stance against the restrictionists' platform. This contribution to the immigration debates could be regarded as the major influence of Hull House.

4.3 The Nation-Wide Influence of Hull House

The early years of the settlement work at Hull House overlapped with the tensest discussions over the demand for federal regulation of immigration. The nativist pressure and the restrictionist impulse compelled the federal government to implement a national control of the immigration policy, which resulted in the first comprehensive law for national control of immigration enacted in March 3, 1891.²⁴ Under the provisions of this act, the Bureau of Immigration under the Treasury Department was established. The extension of power to federal officials to regulate and inspect the immigrants was followed by the Act of March 3, 1893, which established the boards of special inquiry to decide the admissibility of alien arrivals.

According to John Higham, the Republican Party provided the main vehicle for restrictionist sentiment. Although the party never monopolized or

²⁴ According to John Higham, the act of 1891 did not attempt to reduce the numbers of immigrants, rather the main aim of the act was to "strengthen the loose controls established in the previous decade." First of all, the act solved the conflicting division of authority between the states and the federal government, giving the whole job of inspection and regulation of immigrants in the hands of the federal officials. Secondly, the act added additional categories to exclude the immigrants; such as exclusion of polygamists. Most importantly, the act issued the deportation of aliens who entered illegally or had public charges, besides if the immigrants were rejected by inspectors, the act also compelled the steamships to carry them back to their own countries. See John Higham, *Send These To Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 40-41.

committed itself wholly to the movements, Higham argued, it supplied the principal leaders, e.g. William E. Chandler, who played a determining role in the course of events. Chandler, who was “a veteran Republican stalwart from New Hampshire, took charge of the Senate’s first standing committee on immigration and together with a House committee, launched a determined drive for stiffer controls.”²⁵ The most significant role that Chandler played during this process was his promotion of passing a literacy test for the immigrants and for that sake, he helped Henry Cabot Lodge, who was the most influential figure behind this new regulation intended to “minister to Anglo-Saxon sensibilities.”²⁶ In a speech he made in a Congressional session in 1896, Lodge expressed his fear that the new immigration flow during the last twenty years involved Russians, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, Greeks and Asiatics, which he believed would create a “great and perilous change” in the very fabric of American race and would spoil the “definiteness of national character.”²⁷ In order to justify his argument, Lodge pointed out the parallelism between illiteracy and the slum population, explicitly implying that, “the criminals, paupers, and juvenile delinquents of foreign birth or parentage” constituted the larger proportion of the illiterate foreigners, therefore should be excluded.²⁸ Lodge was not alone in his promotion of a literacy test. The Immigration Restriction League (1894) was the biggest supporter of passing this literacy test.

Although the literacy test passed the Congress, President Grover Cleveland vetoed the Immigration Bill of 1897. The reasons for his veto reflected the points

²⁵ See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1935*, (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press), 1988. pp. 98-101.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁷ Henry Cabot Lodge, Extract from a speech of Senator Lodge in *Congressional Record* (March 16, 1896), 54th Congress, 1st session, pp. 2817-20. in *Immigration Select Documents and Case Records*, by Edith Abbott, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924. pp. 196-198.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

made in other presidential vetoes issued by President Taft and Wilson respectively. In his opposition to Lodge's argument that a literacy test was inevitable for the protection of American population from degeneration, President Cleveland stated that;

I cannot believe that we would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who can read and write in any language twenty five words of our Constitution. In my opinion it is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work, than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control, who can not only read and write but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the literate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult. Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers. They are rather victims of educated agitator. [...] If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes rather than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly instead of making illiteracy for the pretext for exclusion to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint cannot be alleged.²⁹

All these measures proposed by the restrictionists represented “the logical out growth of a reformism that sought ‘scientific’ answers to social problems.”³⁰

²⁹ President Grover Cleveland, Extract from message of President Grover Cleveland, returning the House of Representatives, without approval, the Immigration Bill of 1897, which provided a literacy test for the admission of aliens (U.S. 54th. Congress, 2nd session, Senate Doc. No. 185). p.200. In a letter sent by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to President Taft, the similar justification against the literacy test was stated; “The people who come from the countries named are frequently illiterate because opportunities have been denied them. [...] Frequently the attempt to learn to read and write the language of the particular people is discouraged by the Government, and these immigrants in coming to our shores are really striving to free themselves from the conditions under which they have been compelled to live.” Secretary Nagel, Extract from a letter from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to President Taft. (U.S. 62d Congress, 3r session, Senate Doc. No. 1087), p. 212. In his Veto Message (1915) President Woodrow Wilson's excuses for veto complemented the previous messages; “In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.” Woodrow Wilson, President Wilson's First Veto Message of 1915, United States 63d Congress, 3d session, House Doc. No. 1527, p.214. in *Immigration Select Documents and Case Records*, by Edith Abbott, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 194.

³⁰ Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, “History of Prejudice and Discrimination” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, (Stephen Thernstrom, ed. Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 844. The article also suggested the reason how the Houses of Congress overrode Wilson's veto on the eve of U.S. entry into World War I was also related with the Congress itself, who added up to the popularization of nativist movement through the Dillingham Commission's Report of 1910. The artificial separation of the ethnicity and the

Witnessing all these developments, Jane Addams directed her criticisms at every chance and her leading role in the settlement house movement turned Addams into a representation of the antagonist movement against those restrictionists. In her article “Pen and Book as Tests of Character,” Addams argued that literacy is “neither a test of character nor of ability; it is merely an index of the educational system of the community in which a man has been reared.”³¹ Addams referred to the discriminatory regulations of such a literacy test, which would work in favor of the city man against the country man. In response to Lodge’s argument that there was an oversupply of unskilled laborers and the literacy test would eliminate a certain number, Addams pointed out that some of those unskilled laborers were the educated immigrants who were facing adjustment problems to the society;

We recall an Italian editor, a Greek professor, a Russian medical student, an Armenian Master of Arts, for whom it was impossible to obtain anything but manual work which they finally undertook in bitterness of spirit and with insufficiency of muscle. A settlement constantly sees the deterioration of highly educated foreigners under the strain of maladjustment, in marked contrast to the often rapid increase of the families of illiterate immigrants.³²

As discussed in the first and the second chapters, Addams argued that until the problems that stemmed from a rapid industrialization process were eliminated, the immigrant would always be blamed for the troubles that the community was responsible for.³³ Addams believed the Progressive Party under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt provided an alternative platform to be the cure for those

geographic origins of the immigrant flow under the titles “new” and “old,” the Commission strengthened the idea that the new immigrants were racially inassimilable. p.844.

³¹ Jane Addams, “Pen and Book as Tests of Character,” *Survey* 29, January 4, 1913, p.419. (JAPP Writings File, Reel 47)

³² “One of the most gifted boys ever connected with Hull-House, who is now a rising man in his profession and in the civic life of Chicago, is the son of immigrant parents who can neither read nor write [...]” Jane Addams, “Pen and Book as Tests of Character,” *Survey* 29, January 4, 1913, p.419. (JAPP Writings File, Reel 47)

³³ Jane Addams, “Pen and Book as Tests of Character,” *Survey* 29, January 4, 1913, p.419. (JAPP Writings File, Reel 47)

problems.³⁴ In her speech “Progressive Party and the Protection of the Immigrant,” Addams expressed her faith in the Progressive Party, which she believed would pledge itself “to legislation which shall in time mitigate the industrial evils of America,” and added, “We are convinced that the new party affords the most direct method of obtaining these higher standards of life and labor, without which our nation is sinking below those maintained in Europe.”³⁵ Addams acknowledged that philanthropic social reforms were not sufficient to fight against the industrial evils of America e.g. child labor, oversupply of work, therefore decided to take an active role in politics under the Progressive Party Platform.³⁶

However, although Addams supported the Progressive Party’s commitment to relieve suffering in the society through social reforms, Addams

³⁴ In one of his addresses, Theodore Roosevelt defined who a Progressive is; “Every man is to that extent a Progressive if he stands for any form of social justice, whether it be securing power protection for factory girls against dangerous machinery, for securing a proper limitation of hours of labor for women and children in industry, for securing a proper legitimation of hours of labor for women and children in industry, for securing proper living conditions for those who dwell in the thickly crowded regions of our great cities, for helping, so far as legislation can help, all the conditions of work and life for wage-workers in great centers of industry, or for helping by the action both of the National and State Governments, [...] to increase the opportunities to give the best possible expression of their social life.” Theodore Roosevelt, “What A Progressive is.” Address at Louisville, Ky., April 3, 1912., in Theodore Roosevelt, Volume XVII, Social Justice and Popular Rule: Essays, Addresses, Public Statements Relating to the Progressive Movement (1910-1916) New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926. p.180. For the same reasons, Addams praised the role the Progressive Party; “It is not surprising therefore that many of the people had long been working for social legislation, at once identified themselves with the Progressive Party. ‘Born of the people’s hard necessities,’ it was organized to consider great human needs, and to recommend well-trying legislation for their relief.” See Jane Addams, “The Steps by Which I Became a Progressive.” (1912 Sep-Oct) (210-214) Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47) p. IV. For a secondary literature on the role of Theodore Roosevelt as a spiritual force behind the Progressive Era, see George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960).

³⁵ Jane Addams, “The Progressive Party and the Protection of the Immigrant.” Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3. 1912 (August, September) p.1. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

³⁶ Jane Addams participated in The National Child Labor Committee and the League for Labor Legislation, she believed in the necessity to organize and pull together detached groups in different states that would create a more effective political tool in social reform with the help and backing of federal Government itself. See Jane Addams, “The Steps by Which I Became a Progressive.” (1912 Sep-Oct) (210-214) Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, p. IV. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

and Theodore Roosevelt had many diverse views concerning foreign policy and the issue of immigration.³⁷ During his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt advocated the necessity to secure a more rigid inspection of the immigrants upon their arrival and keep out “all violent and disorderly people, all people of bad character; the incompetent, the lazy, the vicious, the physically unfit, defective, or degenerate [...]”.³⁸ Roosevelt supported the exclusion of all those immigrants to build a strong national character; “the stocks out of which American citizenship is to be built should be strong and healthy, sound in body, mind and character.”³⁹ However, Addams was much more interested in the immigrants upon their arrival. Rather than making a distinction between the immigrants of strong and weak character, Addams believed in every single immigrant’s capacity to contribute to

³⁷ Addams as a pacifist could not stand Roosevelt’s decision to build two battleships a year. She also criticized Roosevelt’s decision to refuse the seating of Black Republicans from several southern states in the Progressive Party’ Convention. In his article “Social Workers and the Progressive Party,” Allen Davis argued that, the social workers supported the Progressive Party not because of Roosevelt, but because of the social and industrial planks of the Progressive party platform. Davis explained that a committee of social workers appointed at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1909, played an important role in drafting the social and industrial planks of the party platform. Jane Addams was elected as the President of the organization. According to this draft entitled “Social Standards for Industry,” these social workers demanded “an eight-hour day in continuous twenty four hour industries, a six-day week for all, the abolition of tenement manufacture, the improvement of housing conditions, the prohibition of child labor under sixteen, and the careful regulation of employment for women.” Allen F. Davis, “The Social Workers and the Progressive Party, 1912-1916,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol.69, No.3 (Apr., 1964), pp. 673-674.

³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, “Immigration,” in *Theodore Roosevelt, Volume XV, State Papers as Governor and President (1899-1909)* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), p.320. Roosevelt summarized the main points of a immigration policy; First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation [...] through system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigrant ports [...] Secondly, “to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all the anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. [...] Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough Money to ensure a decent start under American conditions.” Theodore Roosevelt, “Immigration,” in *Theodore Roosevelt, Volume XV, State Papers as Governor and President (1899-1909)* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), p.96.

³⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, “Immigration,” in *Theodore Roosevelt, Volume XV, State Papers as Governor and President (1899-1909)* New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926. pp. 95-96. For a discussion over the the growing confidence in American national identity, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues, The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

American society if they were provided with the necessary means. In one of the speeches in a National Conference of Charities and Correction, in 1904, Addams confirmed this faith in the immigrants;

We should find in any group of simple, uncultivated people that if they are given some line of interest, given something which connects itself with their daily life and their hope for the future, we are amazed at the power and the artistic ability which such a group can develop.⁴⁰

In his book *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*, Thomas Dyer argued that, Theodore Roosevelt was unfairly accused of nativism. According to Dyer, Roosevelt believed that if the old-stock Americans could remain strong enough to be able to absorb the new immigrants, this could solve the immigration problems of the nation. Dyer explained that Roosevelt's promotion of a restrictionist attitude towards the Japanese immigrants also stemmed from his belief that "the predominantly white population of the United States would be unable to absorb or assimilate Orientals" due to the racial differences that cannot be unnoticed.⁴¹ Despite what Theodore Roosevelt argued, Addams believed that the Japanese, like very other immigrant groups, could be adapted to the American society. Addams pointed out that, adaptation was not a matter of cultural traits but rather was related with the opportunities the new environment would provide. She added that, the Japanese were making every determined effort to be able to adapt to the new environment.⁴²

⁴⁰ Jane Addams, "Neighborhood Improvement," National Conference of Charities and Correction, Proceedings (1904), p.458. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

⁴¹ Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), p. 123, p. 135.

⁴² Jane Addams, "The Background of Oriental Exclusion," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 14, Box 7, Folder: Immigration, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 32) p. 4. Jane Addams was right in her assessment of the Japanese as due to their successful adaptation to the American society, the Japanese would be labeled as the "model minority" in the 1960s. Addams also made a parallelism between welcoming the Japanese immigrants and the peace in the Pacific; "The repeal of the section of the Immigration Law excluding aliens not eligible for citizenship would admit to this country only 100 Japanese, 150 Chinese and 100 East

Addams also criticized the Progressive Party and Roosevelt in their imposition of federal regulations to reject the unfit immigrants at Ellis Island. In her speech “The Progressive Party and the Protection of the Immigrant, Addams pointed out the failures of federal regulations in the immigration issue; “Our federal government, so quick to reject the unfit immigrant at the point of entry, has no machinery for directing the fit into localities where steady labor is in demand and where agricultural skill is sorely needed.”⁴³ Instead Addams proposed, the Progressive Party had to postulate a body of people in every state who understood the value of the immigrant rather than swiftly sending him back across the Atlantic depleted, which Addams believed was “a sorry advertisement for the land of opportunity to which he had so buoyantly set sail.”⁴⁴

However, despite the differences Addams continued supporting Roosevelt and the Progressive Party.⁴⁵ According to Mina Carson, although Addams and

Indians. Would not their admission be a small price to pay for international justice? [...] Were we to give them what we demand in Asia, we would have their fleets in our harbors, their marines on our soil, their money taking from us the control of our national resources. If we can modify our attitude toward the East, the United States will no longer be regarded with fear and suspicion by her Oriental neighbors, and the peace of the Pacific will be assured.” Jane Addams, “The Background of Oriental Exclusion,” Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 14, Box 7, Folder: Immigration, pp. 4-6. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 32)

⁴³ In the rest of the speech, Addams illustrated the failures of the Progressive Party; “At Hull House I have known immigrants massed in tenement houses, twenty four men in a room ten by fourteen who were idle and helpless for many months, although Chicago is a great labor market, whence thousands of men are annually sent out in groups to work upon the railroads of our country which Italians are building in America as the Roman legions once built the great basic roads of Europe. [...] Quite recently fifty-two Bulgarians, forty-nine men, two women and a baby, were sent by an employment agency from Chicago to Arkansas to work on a railroad, to find when they arrived that but seven men and one woman cook were required. The forty-two men, after pooling their money for a railroad ticket for the remaining woman and the baby walked back to Chicago only to be told that there was plenty of work in Missouri, less than a hundred miles from the place they had left, which they might have upon the payment of another fee and money for transportation. Quite naturally they refused to leave Chicago again where they could at least shelter with their countrymen, but certainly the Progressive party is justified “to favor governmental action to encourage distribution of immigrants.” Jane Addams, “The Progressive Party and the Protection of the Immigrant,” Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

⁴⁴ Jane Addams, “The Progressive Party and the Protection of the Immigrant,” Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 47)

⁴⁵ In her speech for seconding the nomination of Roosevelt, Addams defined him as “one of the few men in our public life who has responded to the social appeal, who has caught the significance

Roosevelt differed ideologically, they both leaned toward' the relief in the possibility of social change as they both feared social upheaval and preferred a reconciliation of ideas for the sake of preserving social order.⁴⁶ In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt appointed the President's Commission on Naturalization, in order to reform the naturalization requirements under federal auspices. As a result of the research conducted by the Committee, the main inclination was to strengthen the role of the federal government in naturalization procedures.⁴⁷ The outcome of the research was the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, which established the Federal Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization to regulate naturalization process.⁴⁸ Upon the passing of the law, most of the immigrants faced difficulty in meeting the requirements and completing the necessary papers. For that matter, Hull House established free classes in naturalization and citizenship. The immigrants showed a great interest in those classes, although other organizations

of the modern movement. Because of that, because the programme will require a leader of invincible courage, of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and to identify himself with the common lot." Speech of Jane Addams Seconding the Nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, Document No 112, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, Documents, V. Organization Files, A. Organizations 136. Progressive Party, 1912-1914, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 42) In response Roosevelt wrote Addams a letter praising women suffrage in 1912, "I prized your action, not only because of what you are and stand for, but because of what it symbolized for the new movement. In this great national convention, starting the new party, women have thereby been shown to have their place to fill precisely as men have, and on an absolute equality. [...] I am for woman suffrage, the Progressive Party is for woman suffrage and I believe within half a dozen years we shall have no one in the United States against it." TR to JA, Cleveland, August 8, 1912. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 3, Documents, V. Organization Files, A. Organizations 136. Progressive Party, 1912-1914, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 42)

⁴⁶ Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.147.

⁴⁷ Dorothee Schneider, "Naturalization and United States Citizenship in Two Periods of Mass Migration: 1894-1930, 1965-2000" *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Fall 2001, Vol. 21, Number 1, p.55.

⁴⁸ According to the provisions, the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906 combined the immigration and naturalization functions of the federal government and made knowledge of English a requirement for naturalization. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, *Legislation from 1901-1940*, p.1. The naturalization process had three steps; "the filing of a declaration of intention [first papers], the filing of a petition for naturalization under the applicant's signature [second papers], and a hearing on the petition which would grant or deny the certificate of naturalized citizenship [final papers]. Reed Ueda, "Naturalization and Citizenship," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephen Thernstrom, ed. (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 744.

such as Y.M.C.A. were holding similar classes, Hull House received application not only from the immediate neighborhood but also from all over the city.⁴⁹

In 1912, Jane Addams made a radical move and proposed a change in the Naturalization Act. In a letter she sent Gino C. Speranza, Addams expressed her regret stemming from the fact that the immigrants were obliged to foreswear their allegiance to their native land. Addams expressed her worry that if this obligation was not removed, the more patriotic immigrants would refuse to become American citizens. In order to support her argument, Addams added that, out of 30.000 Greeks in Chicago, less than 3000 became naturalized, others refused. In the same letter, Addams added an enclosure written by Mary E. Reynolds to Jane Addams, summarizing the root of the problem;

I found this reluctance to forswear allegiance to the land of his birth in those young men who seemed most intelligent and most capable of grasping our economic problems. [...] I recall one unusually interesting, intelligent young Greek who was very anxious to become a citizen, as he said "of America", but when he came to that line in his application for his first paper which required him to foreswear his allegiance to his own country and king, he stopped. No amount of argument on the part of his countrymen could move him. He summed it all up by saying: "I am Greek; if my country needs me, I must go; I cannot belong to America. I will be good, I will keep the laws, but when Greece needs me, I go."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ School of Citizenship Classes, Hull House Year Book, January 1, 1916, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, p.15. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53) In Hull House School of Citizenship, the participants were asked to answer the question, "what kind of home, and what kind of life I should have?" The answers revealed that the immigrants were not quite adapted to the American society and were still missing their old countries. One of the immigrants replied; "If I had money enough (a few thousand dollars would be sufficient, I would go to a farm somewhere in the United States and I would stay there for a year to learn farming. Then I would go directly to my native country. [...] I would make some repairs on my old house in order to make it more comfortable [...]" Another immigrant girl named Carmella Guastaferré wrote that, "I should like to have a nice looking house with a garden like I had it at my old home in Italy." Hull-House School of Citizenship, 1924-1925, Hull House Association Records, p.15. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 50)

⁵⁰ Jane Addams to Gino C. Speranza, Mar 28, 1912, Chicago IL, New York Public Library, Gino Speranza Papers, also see Enclosure, Mary E. Reynolds to Jane Addams, Mar 25, 1912, Chicago, IL, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 4)

Addams' attempt for a change in the Naturalization Act proved to be unsuccessful, yet at the very least, it pointed out to the resistance of the immigrant populations who kept strong bonds to their native land. By proposing the removal of this provision, Addams expressed both her respect and her appreciation to the bond between the immigrants and their native lands. Immigrants with such loyalty to their old countries would also prove themselves good, loyal American citizens as well.

4.3.1 Education of the Immigrants

In addition to her stance against the literacy test and against Theodore Roosevelt's classification of immigrants and the humiliating exclusion of immigrants through federal inspectors, and the Naturalization Act, another significant contribution Jane Addams made to the national debates over immigration was her advocacy of a reform in the educational system. The main opposition Addams directed against the educational system was the teachers, who tried to impose the adoption of American values, disregarding the immigrants' own cultural and historical background. In one of her speeches to the National Educational Association back in 1897, Addams referred to such kind of teachers especially in the primary grades;

Too often the teacher's conception of her duty is to transform him into an American of a somewhat snug and comfortable type, and she insists that the boy's powers must at once be developed in an abstract direction, quite ignoring the fact that his parents have had to do only with tangible things. She has little idea of the development of Italian life. Her outlook is national and not racial, and she fails, therefore, not only in knowledge of,

but also in respect for, the child and his parents. She quite honestly estimates the child upon an American basis.⁵¹

After a decade passed, Addams was still repeating the same criticisms. To use her wording, Addams believed that the educational system in the United States had a stupid way to Americanize the immigrants. She advocated that, if the educational system would be successful among the foreigners, it had to bring out the relationship between those immigrants and their past.⁵² In this same piece, Addams illustrated her point with a teacher, who did not let an Italian boy tell about Garibaldi, but rather encouraged him to talk about George Washington. Thus Addams concluded;

What the teacher needs is a historic background, a more cosmopolitan culture; she must meet the children on a common ground. While teaching him English she is perhaps cutting from under his feet his most precious heritage, the love of his parents for the greatmen and the traditions of their country.⁵³

Therefore, in order to compensate for the mistakes of the public education, Hull House initiated College Extension courses based on the plan of University Extension Course in England. The College graduates from University of Michigan, Toronto, Yale, Chicago and Rockford came to Hull House in the evenings to give classes on varied topics; literature, economy, psychology, culture

⁵¹ Jane Addams, "Foreign Born Children in Primary Grades," National Educational Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses 36, 1897, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46) p.107.

⁵² In his book, Robert M. Crunden narrates an event that played a significant role in Addams' strong emphasis for the necessity of learning people's past, their experiences or the social context they were brought up. According to Crunden's account, Addams advised a shipping clerk to apply for the jobs available on the drainage canals, upon learning that he had lost his job. Although the man replied that he got used to working indoors and did not think such a job was suitable for him, he took Addams' suggestion. However, he caught pneumonia and died in a week. The author provided no date for the event but argued that Addams attached more importance to people's backgrounds after that experience. See, Robert M. Crunden, "A Hull-House of the Mind," in *Ministers of Reform: The Progressive's Achievement in American Civilization 1889-1920*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1982). p.66.

⁵³ Jane Addams, "Remarks on immigrant children and the public schools," American Education 9, (March 1906) Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Adams Papers Series 11, p. 416. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel 46)

of different nations, history of art, biology, painting. Each term was composed of ten to twelve weeks and the participants had to pay a nominal fee of one dollar for each term. The student fees were also used for the expenses connected with the classes such as textbooks or reference materials. The average weekly participant number was one hundred and eighty.⁵⁴ Through College Extension courses, the students who were forced to abandon their historical and cultural background in public schools, found a platform to discuss every topic without prejudice.

4.4 Conclusion

As an immigrant coming to this country three years ago, I want to thank you for the help I received at Hull House. [...] When I came to America, mentally and physically dull, I passed through the bitter experiences of every immigrant. I had studied many things at home in Alcase-Lorraine but very soon I lost faith in my knowledge, and like many foreigners I realized more and more that there was but one trade I knew thoroughly –the trade which had been forced upon me in the military camps, the trade of the gun. [...] If my countrymen could have seen at the Christmas exercises at Hull-House the little negro boy beside the Mexicans and Italians, all singing together, they would ask “Why has my youth been poisoned? Why did we have to live through hunger, disease, constant yellow fear of death?” when children of all colors can sing to the same Lord of Peace, at Hull House.⁵⁵

The quotation above was from a letter sent to Jane Addams from an immigrant named Oscar Ludmann dated 1931, who showed his respect for the

⁵⁴ Eva R. Brodlique, “A Toynbee Hall Experiment in Chicago,” *Chantangua XI*, Sept 1890, p. 747. Also see, “Hull House,” *The Charities Review I*, Feb 1892, pp.170-171, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III. Hull-House Association Records, III. Hull House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, E. Miscellaneous Publications, 2. Bibliographies and Articles About the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, b. Articles about the Settlement, n.d., 1890-1930, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

⁵⁵ Oscar Ludmann to Jane Addams, May 21, 1931, Chicago, IL, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Jane Addams Papers, Series 1, Supplement, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Correspondence File, Reel 4)

help he received at Hull House. Unfortunately, apart from such letters of appreciation and Hilda Satt Polacheck's autobiography, the scarcity of immigrant accounts prevented the historians to make bold remarks regarding the effect Hull House created on its immigrant neighborhoods. Polacheck was a young Jewish girl who came to Chicago from Poland with her family in 1892. They settled just a few blocks away from Hull House and she wrote her vivid expressions regarding Hull House and Jane Addams. As she taught English at Hull House three times a week, Polacheck's accounts were also significant in terms of providing an insider's point of view. In her autobiography, Polacheck drew a rather positive assessment of Hull House. However, as Betty Bergland also pointed out, Polacheck also admitted that, Jane Addams was perhaps too optimistic about her image of the world. Polacheck criticized Addams' idea for the betterment of the world if the necessary economic conditions would prevail and concluded that; "We still have poverty; we still have slums; we still have injustice; we still have discrimination."⁵⁶ On the other hand, Davis also points out that, the influence of Hull House was limited in the neighborhood as the immigrant populations preferred to remain in their own segregated communities. Lack of interest could also be tied to the Hull House social control mechanism in initiating social reforms. Immigrants, Davis argues, refrained from being imposed on by the social reform regulations dictated by Hull House residents.

However, although there are diverse views concerning the limits of the influence of Hull House in the neighborhood, it would be safe to conclude that

⁵⁶ Hilda Satt Polacheck, *I Came A Stranger: The Story of a Hull House Girl*, ed. By Dena J. Polacheck Epstein, (Urbana and Chicago:University of Illinois Press, 1991), p.104. For a detailed discussion over Polacheck's accounts, see Betty, Bergland, "Ideology, Ethnicity, and the Gendered Subjects: Reading Immigrant Women's Autobiographies" pp. 101-123, in *Seeking Common Ground, Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States*, ed. By Donna Gabaccia, (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992).

Hull House could be able to intervene in these people's lives either through social investigations or through the social and cultural activities. Although some of the immigrants preferred not to be involved in Hull House activities, they became a source for social investigations of Hull House. The social intercourse between Hull House and the immigrants in the neighborhood cannot be disregarded. Moreover, the role Hull House played on the national discussions over immigration was as equally important as the role it played in its immediate neighborhood. Hull House managed to create this effect through the speeches of Jane Addams, who used every chance to share her ideas based on her experiences with the immigrants at Hull House. She countered the restrictionist and nativist movement from Hull House, which acted as a solid base and a visual representation of her own ideas. With this role, she created an opposite platform that balanced the nativist views. Therefore, through Addams' accounts, Hull House extended its influence from its neighborhood to the whole country.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

If an American were to visit this neighborhood on the night of Good Friday [...] and watch at midnight the solemn procession of Greek men march down the street carrying their burning candles and chanting hymns, he would probably feel as though he were no longer in America, but after a moment's reflection he would say that this could be no place but America for the procession was headed by eight burly Irish American policemen and along the walks were "Americans" of Polish, Italian, Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, and Puritan ancestry watching with mingled reverence and curiosity this celebration of Good Friday, while those who marched were homesick and mourning because "this was not like the Tripolis."¹

Hull House was American because it was international, and because it perceived that the nationalism of each immigrant was a treasure, a talent, which gave him a special value for the United States.²

The first quotation above is taken from the Report of the League for the Protection of Immigrants on Greeks in Chicago prepared by the Director, Grace Abbott in 1908. Abbott described a night of a Good Friday in the nineteenth ward attended by the immigrants living in the neighborhood. Such a description of the streets filled with Greek, Irish, Polish, Italian, Russian, Jewish and Lithuanian immigrants provides a good illustration of the multicultural structure of the slums

¹ Grace Abbott, "A Study of Greeks in Chicago," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1908, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III:Hull-House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, F. Investigation and Research Selected Materials, 20. Greeks in Chicago, p.381. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 54)

² Francis Hackett, "Hull House – A Souvenir," *Survey* (June 1, 1925) University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, p. 278. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 53)

Hull House was founded in 1889. Abbott's statement "this could be no place but America," represented a celebration of different ethnic groups that entitled the United States to the label, "a nation of immigrants."³ And the nineteenth ward, which was a home for immigrants from eighteen different countries, was a microcosm of the ethnic composition of the nation in the late nineteenth century.

Founded in such a diversified neighborhood, the relationship of the Hull House residents with the foreign colonies was not only a simple social interaction between an ordinary settlement house and the immigrant communities surrounding it. On the contrary, in an era of new immigration challenged by antagonism towards the new arrivals, Hull House's pluralistic policy served as a laboratory for the incorporation of immigrants to the host society. For that matter, every step Jane Addams and other settlement house workers took, represented a possible solution to solve the nation's long lasted immigration problem.

In its most concise sense, Grace Abbott formulated the Hull House policy towards the immigrants as an attempt to assist the foreigner adjusting to his new

³ Although there emerged a variety of terms to label this multiethnic structure, Americans have defined themselves as a "nation of immigrants." In a seminar she gave in New York, Donna R. Gabaccia posed the question, why the United States is alone in defining itself as "a nation of immigrants," while other nations such as United Arab Emirates or Switzerland, who have as much foreign population as United States does not. Gabaccia provided her explanation that; ironically this label was invented in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era (1870-1930), when "racialized exclusions and debates about exclusion of first Chinese and then the newer immigrants from southern and eastern Europe" was present. Gabaccia clarified her point in her argument that, the definition of the nation of immigrants carried a variety of associations in the late nineteenth century and most of them had a pejorative meaning and was used in order to justify the exclusion of the Chinese and the southern and eastern European immigrants and the emancipated slaves from its meaning. Although Donna R. Gabaccia has stressed a significant point in opening this discussion and I do share her point, her comparison of the United States with the United Arab Emirates or Switzerland is a reductionist approach in the sense that, the immigrants in these countries are mostly composed of unqualified workers, who have come to find a temporary job and then return their own countries. Especially, United Arab Emirates does not have a policy of naturalizing these people. As a matter of fact, such a comparison can be misleading; however, this does not affect Gabaccia's righteousness in her major point. For a discussion over this case, see Donna R. Gabaccia, "Nation of Immigrants: Do Words Matter?" in NY Immigration Seminar. Also Gabaccia is currently preparing a book on this topic with the help of Russell Sage Foundation. See, http://www.russellsage.org/programs/main/immigration/gabaccia_r___donna

environment “with the least possible loss to himself and the community [...]”⁴

As Abbott pointed out, Hull House programs had two attainable goals; one concerning the immigrants, the other concerning the host society. Firstly, Hull House gave those immigrants an opportunity for self-expression through participation in social and cultural activities. Through this social intercourse, Jane Addams believed, the immigrants found the chance to share their own cultural inheritance and traditions, thus broke the pejorative effects that social isolation and maladjustment during the early days of their incorporation to the American society.⁵ Secondly, these social reformers promoted the idea that every immigrant had a gift to contribute to the American society and making such a contribution necessitated a mental integrity of the immigrants least damaged by maladjustment problems. Therefore, as Abbott mentioned, Hull House served as a leverage that helped immigrants preserve their ethnic identity and mental health so that they could contribute to the society unharmed by the problems of this transition period. The settlement workers tried to achieve this aim through social and cultural programs initiated at Hull House, e.g. Hull House Labor Museum, theatrical performances, reception and party organizations and club activities. On the other hand, the more the Americans learned about the cultures of the immigrants, the

⁴ Grace Abbott, League For Protection of Immigrants, Annual Report 1909-1910, University of Illinois At Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull House as Meeting Place and Headquarters, 16. Immigrants’ Protective League, n.d. 1909-1928, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 52) p.31.

⁵ Eliot Barkan explained the term “incorporation” in his book. Here, the word is used exactly with the same meaning; “Incorporation therefore involves ever widening circles of contact and interaction and frequently begins in job settings and then moves outward to informal and less structured encounters, such as in schools, sports, and religious institutions, as well as on to foods and observance of holidays. Over time this process of incorporation (if not thwarted, aborted, or encountering resistance) may come to include social and institutional connections through membership in non ethnic organizations, attendance at pan-ethnic activities or festivals of other ethnic or mainstream groups, political participation (or at least voting), and social interactions leading to inter-ethnic dating and marriage.” Eliot R. Barkan, “Immigration, Incorporation, Assimilation, and the Limits of Transnationalism” in *Immigration, Incorporation, Transnationalism*, Elliott R. Barkan ed. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), p.4.

more they celebrated immigrants' gifts.⁶ This would help break the nativist and the restrictionist attitude that stemmed from blind ignorance towards the immigrants. Those programs initiated by Hull House were not the only means to break such ignorance of the common people. The speeches and articles of Jane Addams as a strong public figure, strengthened their arguments and helped form a counter platform against influential politicians such as Henry Cabot Lodge and William Chandler, who supported a strong nativism.

The historians representing the traditionalist and the revisionist approaches, such as Allen Davis, Mina Carson, Rivka Shpak Lissak, evaluated the nature of the relationship between Hull House and the immigrants through varying labels, e.g. cultural pluralism, Americanization or gradual assimilation.⁷

⁶ Addams explained that the American misperception of Greeks stemmed from ignorance to their culture; "The average American expecting every Greek to have the beauty of an Apollo and the ability of a Pericles, and regarding only sensational newspaper accounts of some crime he may or may not have committed, concludes that the race has degenerated and constitutes a most undesirable addition to our population. This is manifestly unfair. The Greek immigrant should be accepted for what he is worth in modern society. And we should inquire not only as to his moral standards, his capacity for self-governemnt and his economic value but, equally important, whether his development in these directions is being promoted or retarded by the treatment he received in the United States." Grace Abbott, "A Study of Greeks in Chicago," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1908, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association Records, III: Hull-House Investigations, Publications and Documentation, F. Investigation and Research Selected Materials, 20. Greeks in Chicago, p.382. (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 54)

⁷ According to Donna Gabaccia, since Hector St. John de Crevecoeur posed the question "What is an American?" in 1787, the immigration literature in American history has been dominated by the "Crevecoeurian theme of making Americans." Donna R. Gabaccia, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of the Immigrant Historians," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 84, No.2, September 1997, p. 574. In both scholarly and unscholarly works, there emerged a variety of terms intended to name the United States' ethnic structure; After Zangwill's play "The Melting Pot," in 1908, Horace Kallen wrote an article "Democracy Versus Melting Pot" and published it in the *Nation* in 1915. Kallen proposed that, like every instrument that had a distinctive voice in an orchestra, each "ethnic group may be the natural instrument, its temper and culture must be its theme and its melody and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all may make the symphony of civilization." Horace Kallen, "Democracy Versus Melting Pot" in *Immigration: An American Dilemma: Problems in American Civilization*, (D.C.: Heath and Company, 1953), p.34. In a year, Randolph Bourne published his article "Trans-national America" in *Atlantic Monthly*, and criticized this melting pot theory, which he believed was melting the different races into Anglo-Saxon race. Instead Bourne offered preservation of distinctive qualities and argued that America must be trans-nationality, "a weaving back and forth, with the other lands, of many threads of all sizes and colors." Bourne even proposed some form of dual citizenship back in 1916. Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly*, 118 (July, 1916) also published in "Cultural Pluralism: Randolph Bourne's Vision of America as a Confederate of Distinct Peoples," *Identity, Community and Pluralism in American Life*, eds. William C. Fischer, Davis A. Gerber, Jorge M.

Although it is significant to use these terms in order to put those discussions in a methodological frame, the multidimensional structure of the relation between the immigrants and Hull House can be lost under the attempt to discuss the issue with reference to those terms. Upon a certain time, the main discussion turns around this terminology, shadowing the constitutive details in a phony dichotomy of terms. Therefore, the main criticism in the scope of this thesis is directed at the problem of losing the varying dimensions of the social interaction between Hull House and the immigrants in the neighborhood through a single categorization.

Simply, the settlement house workers represented the Progressive faith in the strength of the individual to accomplish anything if (s)he was given the necessary means to give birth to his capacity. As it was stated in the greetings from the National Federation of Settlements in the fortieth anniversary of Hull House, in 1929,

This willingness of the Hull House group to let the facts speak for themselves, not to warp them by any kind of prejudice, nor to neglect the contribution which any minority group, or the social radical, or the basic girl and boy might make to the understanding of life and the creation of something better, has been one of the glories of American culture.⁸

Guitart, Maxine S. Seller, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.19. In addition to these discussions over the ethnic composition and identity of the United States in the early twentieth century, added new ones in 1990s. Lawrence Fuchs published *the American Kaleidoscope*. Fuchs argued the most accurately descriptive metaphor that explained the dynamics of ethnicity was American Kaleidoscope, by which he meant “complex and varied, changing form, pattern, color... continually shifting from one set of relations to another; apidly changing.” Lawrence Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope. Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*, (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), p.276. On the other hand, David Hollinger proposed “post-ethnicity” in 2000. Post-ethnicity proposed elimination of ethnic affiliation of each person. Instead, proposed voluntary prescribed affiliations and appreciates multiple identities, recognizes the constructed character of ethno-racial groups; “A Post-ethnic perspective challenges the right of one’s grandfather or grandmother to determine primary identity.” David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America, Beyond Multiculturalism*, (NY: Basic Books, 2000), p.116. This variety of labels in this incessant debate over the nature of American ethnic composition not only reflects the diversity of opinions, but it also reflects a strong tendency to find a common title that would unite the people’s opinion during this nation-building process. Therefore, although the usage of these terms is necessary to theorize these discussions under different labels, it is also an indication of the urge to create a consensus about the ethnic structure of the American society.

⁸ “Greetings from the National Federation of Settlements at the Fortieth Anniversary of Hull House”, University of Minnesota, Social Welfare History Archives, National Federation of Settlement Papers, 1929, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull-House Activities & Events, A.

Today, Jane Addams Hull House Association is carrying on Addams' legacy and advocates similar social welfare reform programs for the underserved people of Chicago. As stated in their mission, the Association, "provides child care, domestic violence counseling and prevention, economic development, family services, job training, literacy training, senior services, foster care, independent living, and housing assistance for 60,000 children, families and community members each year in communities in and around Chicago."⁹ Although the services it now provides seem consistent with the Hull House of the late nineteenth century, due to the demographical change of the area, the activities were now shaped to answer the needs of the African-Americans. According to the race/ethnicity demographics of the people the Association is currently serving, 65 percent of them are African-Americans, making them the majority in the neighborhood. 18 percent of them are Hispanics, 13 percent of them are Caucasians, the remaining four percent encompasses Asians, native Americans, Arabs and Pacific Islanders.¹⁰ The Association continues to be the representative of the social reform centers of the Progressive era and keeps "Jane Addams' simple mission of neighbors helping neighbors," as one of Chicago's oldest and largest human and social service agencies.

General Events, Gatherings and Celebrations, n.d., 1895-1935, (JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel 50)

⁹ Jane Addams Hull House Association, <http://www.hullhouse.org/>

¹⁰ Jane Addams Hull House Association, Whom We Serve: Race/Ethnicity Demographics, <http://www.hullhouse.org/>, for images of the historical evolution of Hull House, see Peggy Glowachki and Julia Hendry, *Images of America: Hull House*, (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2004).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Jane Addams, [ca, 1913?]



Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

APPENDIX B: Hull House, Smith Hall, view north on South Halsted.



Source: Hull House, Smith Hall, view north on South Halsted, DN-0056251, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago Historical Society, 1910.
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/ichihtml/cdnhome.html>

APPENDIX C: Hull House, Chicago, Illinois, postmarked 1910.



Source: Hull House, Chicago, Illinois, postmarked 1910, The History and Architecture of Chicago, Illinois in A Tour of the City in Vintage Postcards Collection, <http://patsabin.com/illinois/> .

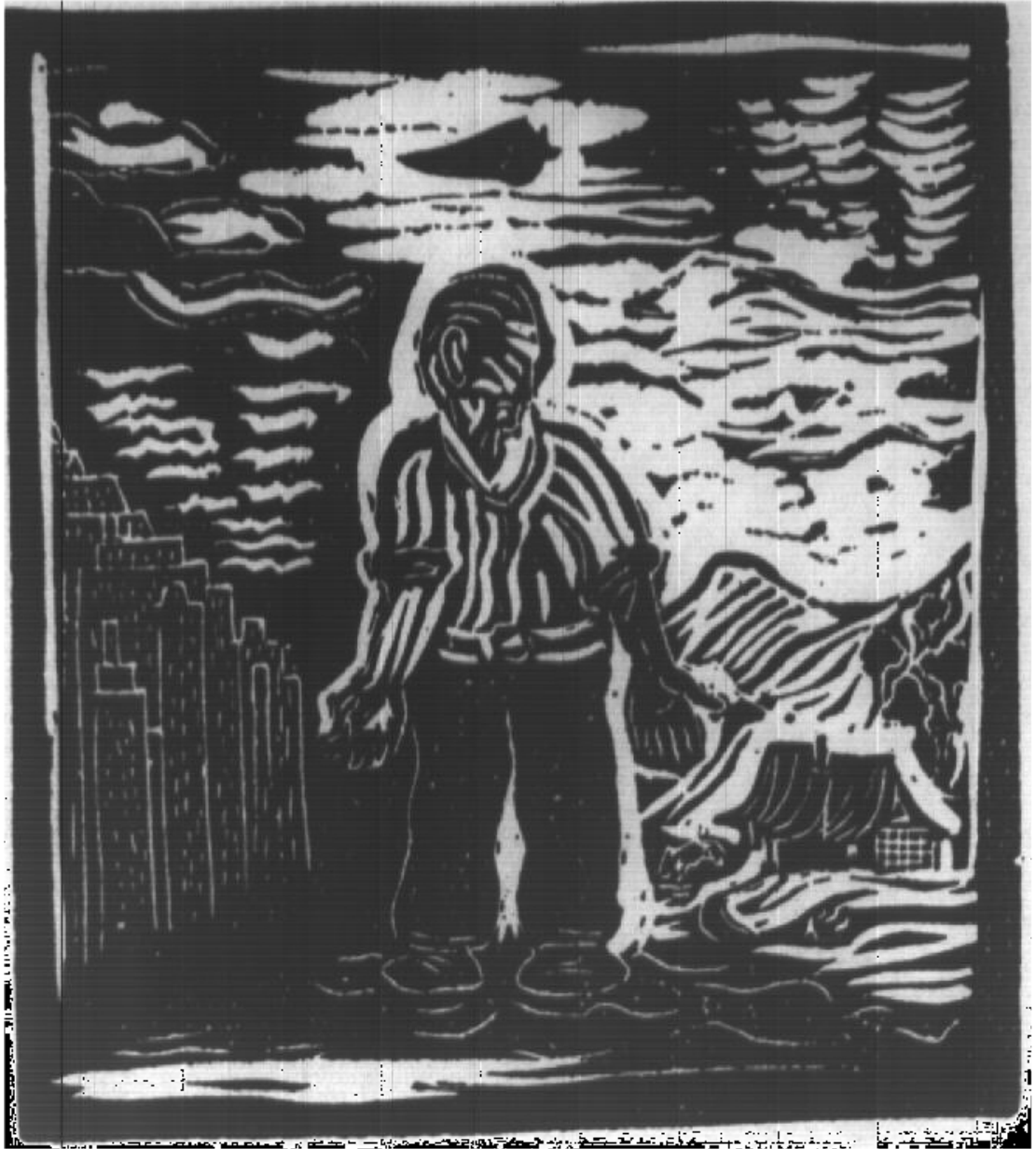
APPENDIX D: Miss Jane Addams holding a women garment, sitting between a loom and a spinning wheel in a room.



Source: Miss Jane Addams holding a women garment, sitting between a loom and a spinning wheel in a room, DN-0084134, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago Historical Society, 1927.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/ichihtml/cdnhome.html>

APPENDIX E: “*The Immigrant*, the immigrant coming from peace and simplicity of a sunny country, finds himself in the great industrial city with only his hands to win his way, to speak for his bread. At Hull House since 1889, he has found the friendship which has given him guidance, understanding and citizenship.”



Source: H.H. Giles, “The Immigrant,” Fortieth Anniversary of Hull House, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAPP Microfilm Collection, Reel No.50.

APPENDIX F: “Favors Immigration: Jane Addams Thinks Fusion of Blood Necessary for Greatness of U.S.”

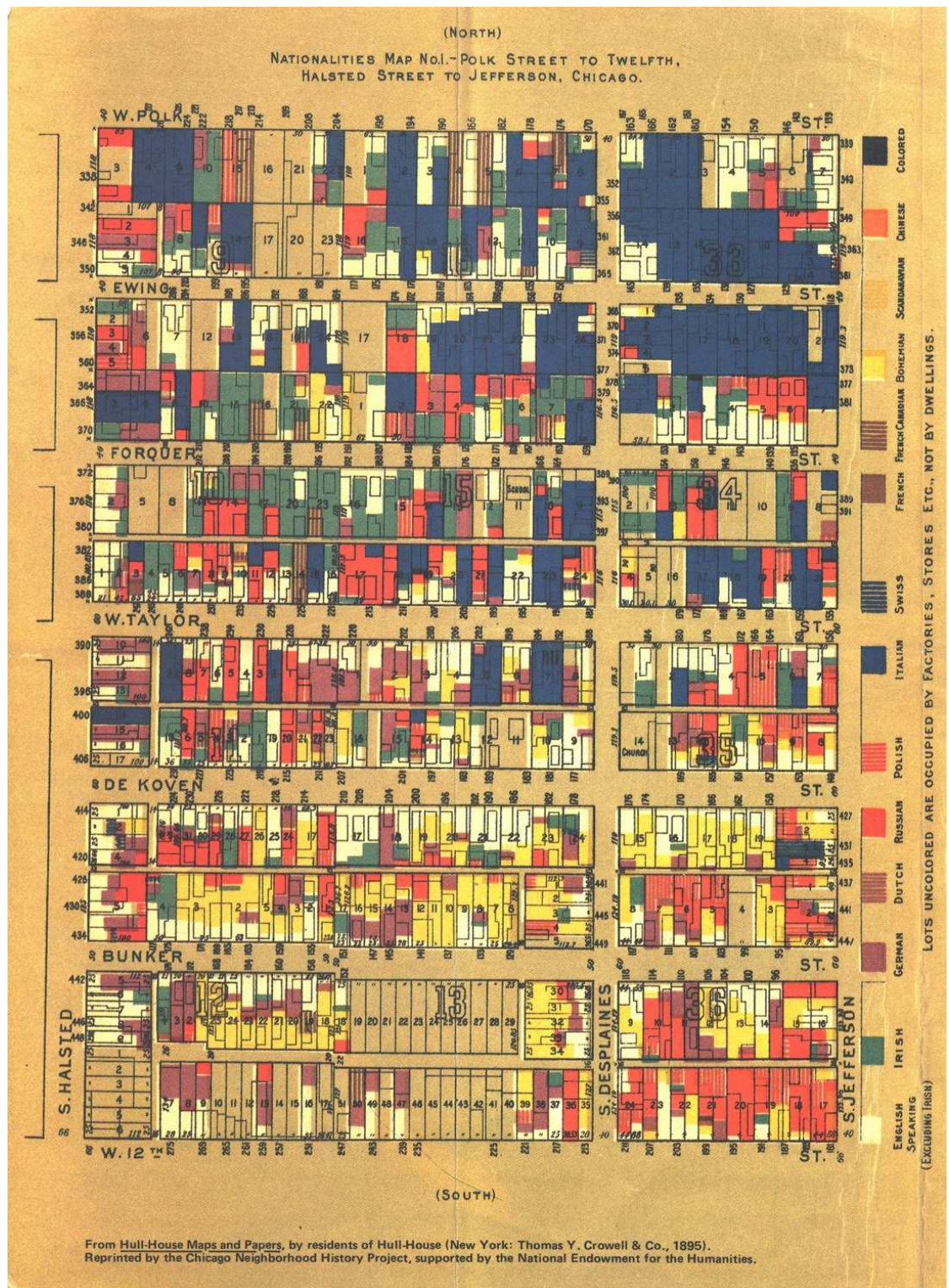


Source: “Favors Immigration: Jane Addams Thinks Fusion of Blood Necessary for Greatness of U.S.” (Interview by Frank Cipriani) Martins Ferry (OH) Daily Times, 1929, November 28, p.10. JAPP Microfilm Collection, Writings File, Reel No. 48.

[illegible]

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APPENDIX H: Nationalities Map No.1.



Source: *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, by residents of Hull-House, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895). Reprinted by the Chicago Neighborhood History Project, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

(NORTH)

NATIONALITIES MAP No.2: POLK STREET TO TWELFTH,
JEFFERSON STREET TO BEACH, CHICAGO.

ENGLISH
SPANISH
(EXCLUDING IRISH)

IRISH

GERMAN

RUSSIAN

TURK

POLISH

ITALIAN

SWISS

FRENCH

FRENCH-CAHOQUIAN

BOSNIAN

SLOVAKIAN

CHINESE

ARMENIAN

LOTS UNOCCUPIED ARE OCCUPIED BY FACTORIES, STORES ETC., NOT BY DWELLINGS.

W. POLK ST.
E. W. N. C. ST.
FOUR FOUR ST.
OPENED BY ORDINANCE
DE KOVEN ST.
BUNKER ST.
JEFFERSON ST.
W. 12 TH.
S. CLINTON ST.
S. CAL ST.

ST.
ST.
ST.
ST.
ST.
ST.
ST.

CHICAGO & ALTON R.R. & QUINCY R.R.
CHICAGO R.V.
PITTSBURGH FORT WAYNE
BEACH

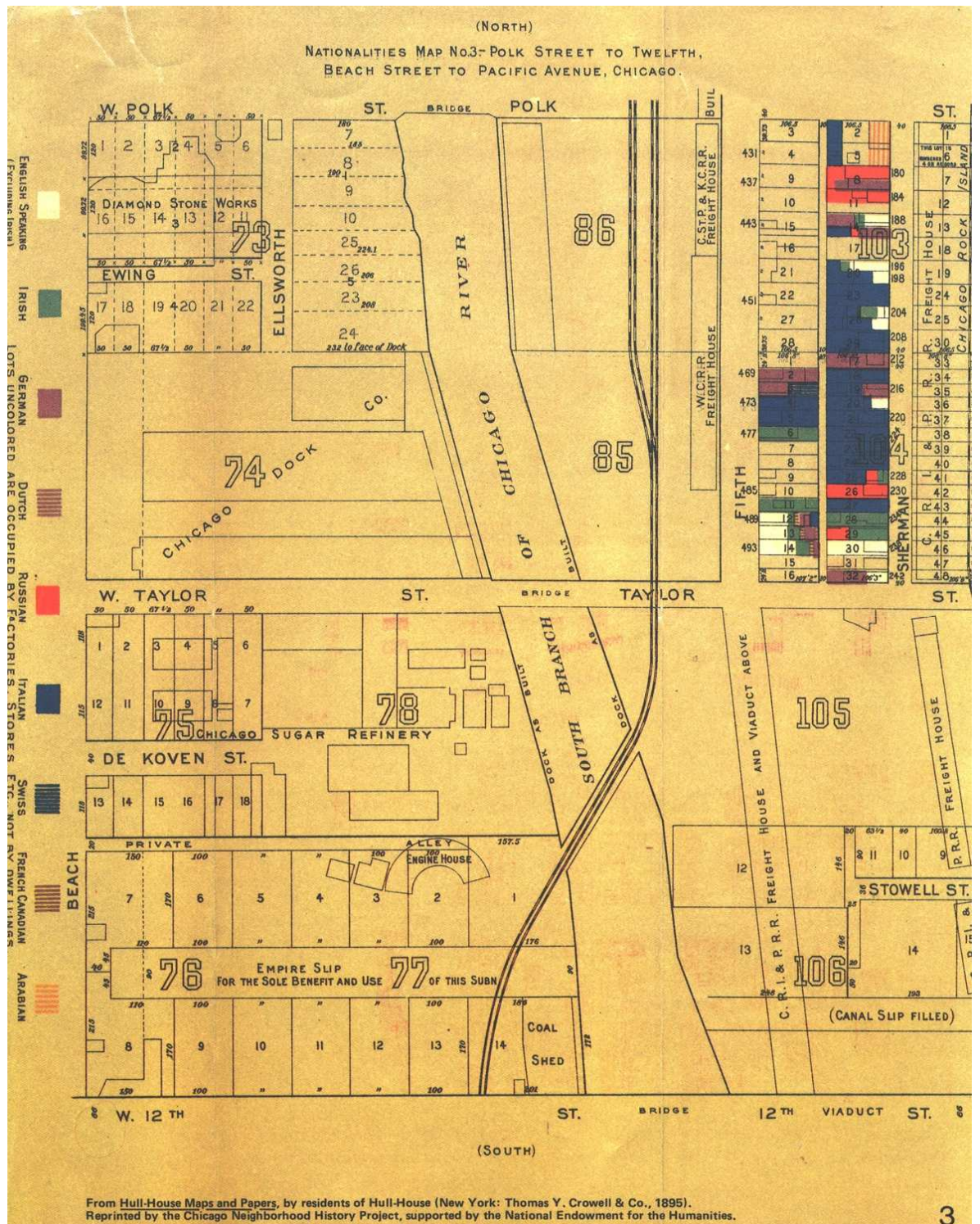
(SOUTH)

From Hull-House Maps and Papers, by residents of Hull-House (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895).
Reprinted by the Chicago Neighborhood History Project, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

2

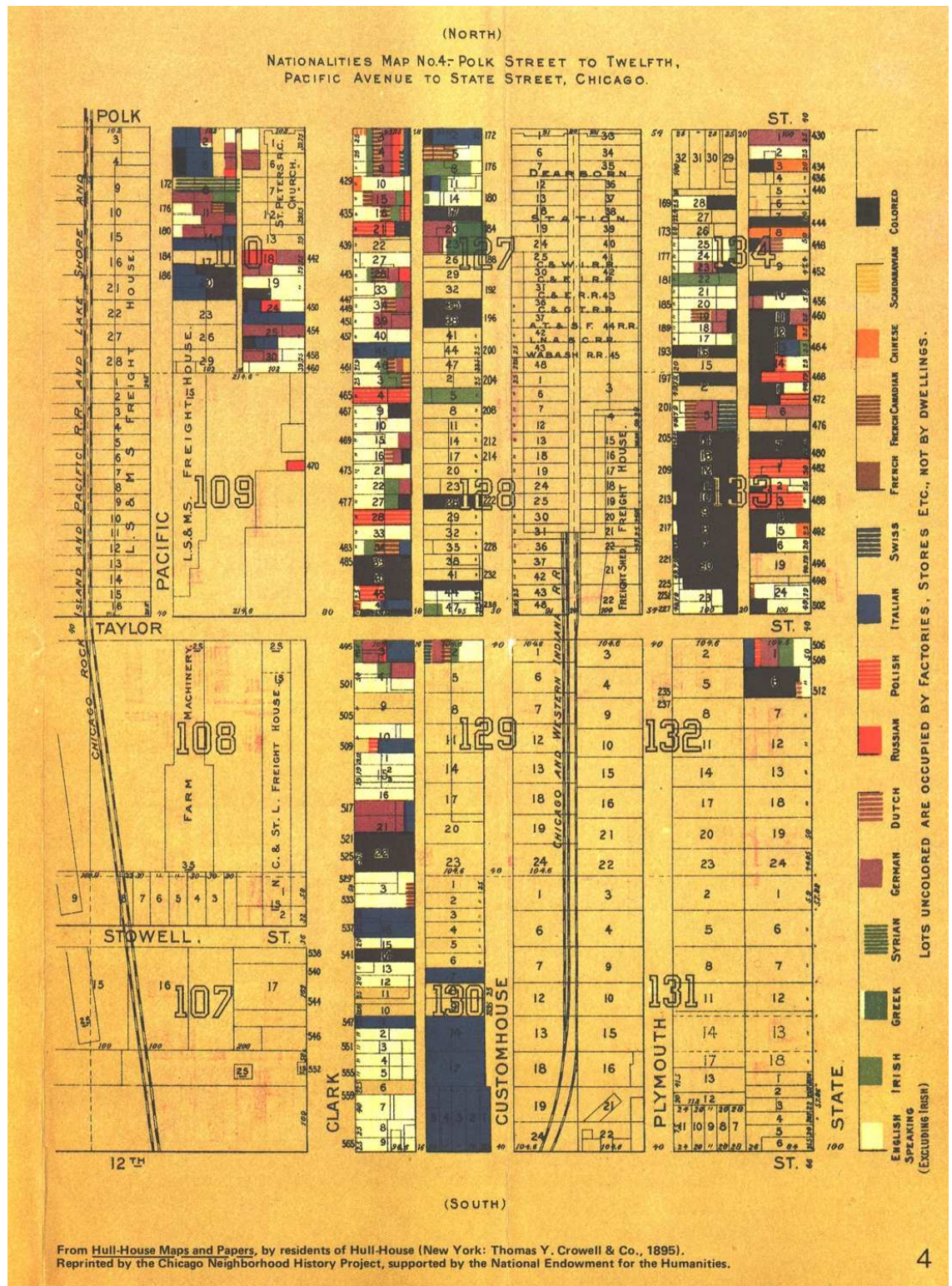
110

APPENDIX J: Nationalities Map No.3.



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APPENDIX K: Nationalities Map No.4.



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