

When Europe Re-Built the Neighbourhood:  
City Beautiful, Hull-House, and the Emergence of American  
Internationalism, 1890-1920

by

Maureen A. Mahoney

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## ABSTRACT

Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, and Frederic C. Howe were members of a well-educated, white middle-class that burgeoned around the turn-of-the-century in the United States, and they embraced “Progressivism” and pacifism. In the flow of people, ideas, and culture that criss-crossed the North Atlantic, creating the intricate networks that formed an “international consciousness,” Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe were also deeply involved.

In Chicago and Cleveland, however, their encounters with European culture were informed by shifting conventions of gender. At Hull-House in Chicago, Hamilton and Abbott observed the social transformations induced by mass immigration, and were forced to admit their education was not directly relevant. Drawing upon pragmatism and feminism, they learned to emphasize the subjectivity of experience, to view culture as a cooperative balance of diverse values, and to conceive of identity and knowledge as products of social and historic circumstances rather than innate racial or ethnic categories. By using these principles, they came to perceive American and European domestic spaces as two parts of an inclusive community.

In Cleveland, corruption and chaotic growth convinced Howe that reform must be initiated by “public-spirited” men who privileged collective well-being, were familiar with “civilized” European cities, and experimented with reform. Mayor Tom L. Johnson, who tried to reclaim local democracy with tent meetings, three cent fares, public (municipal) ownership of key utilities, amongst other reforms, commissioned architect Daniel H. Burnham to develop the Group Plan (1903), which drew heavily upon Beaux-Arts traditions, before rebuilding downtown. Inspired, Howe returned to Europe to study male civic leadership. The purpose of an international community, as he perceived it, was the unlimited exchange of information between public-spirited men.

Internationalism was therefore gendered. This dissertation argues this happened within American cities where Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe had novel experiences and encountered European people, ideas, and architectural traditions as they were integrated within Chicago and Cleveland during an intense period of trans-Atlantic sharing. By using collective biography to examine the effects of domestic gendered experience on perceptions of internationalism, this dissertation reveals how local and global traditions converged in ways that altered definitions of power, culture, and community at local, national, and international levels.

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## **DEDICATION**

*For Ron, Gerri,  
and Chris*

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## INTRODUCTION

Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, and Frederic C. Howe had certain things in common. They were members of a well-educated, urban, and white middle-class that burgeoned around the turn-of-the-century in the United States of America.<sup>1</sup> Beginning in the 1890s, they passionately embraced political, economic or social reform, including settlement work at Hull-House in Chicago, Illinois, and Goodrich Settlement House in Cleveland, Ohio. When the Great War broke out in 1914 and President Woodrow Wilson announced preparedness and a declaration of war in 1916 and 1917 respectively, they were amongst a small group of left and liberal-left Progressive reformers who agitated for peace. Against the “mob-psychology” and “herd instinct” of war, which Randolph Bourne bitterly delineated, these three protested.<sup>2</sup>

Within the flows of people, ideas, and material culture that criss-crossed the North Atlantic, connecting the cities and towns of Europe and the United States within intricate networks that formed what Daniel Rodgers has called an “international consciousness,” Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe were also involved.<sup>3</sup> As post-graduates, Alice and Fred had, on the

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<sup>1</sup> An urban middle-class was not unknown prior to the late 1800s. Yet, historians have acknowledged that its rapid emergence occurred in tandem with unprecedented industrialization, urban growth, immigration, migration, technological innovation, and professionalization of various professions, clerical, administrative and management in particular. On the urban middle-class prior to 1900, see: Stuart Mack Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge/New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1989). On the relationships between class, culture and society, see: Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (1982; repr., New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (1981; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); James Livingston, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution, 1850-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> Randolph Bourne, “Twilight of Idols,” in *The American Intellectual Tradition*, Vol. II: 1865 to the Present, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 181-187; idem, “The State,” in *The Radical Will: Selected Writings, 1911-1918*, ed. Olaf Hansen (1977; repr., Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 355-396.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 296-297, 324-326; Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 14-18. Akira Iriye has argued that an international consciousness did not arise until after the First World War, although activity amongst international non-governmental organizations that proliferated before 1914 created important transnational networks that laid a

recommendation of their respective professors, traveled to German universities, touring and studying. Although Grace did not have a similar opportunity, her older sister Edith went to London to begin a year of study with Sidney and Beatrice Webb in the fall of 1906. At the University of Chicago, both Abbott sisters studied under Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, who as a young woman had also toured Europe.<sup>4</sup> As Progressive reformers, Alice, Grace and Fred have been counted amongst a loose collection of individuals whose social politics were inspired by Europe.<sup>5</sup> In different ways, these three reformers were emblematic of a transnationalism that burgeoned during a period Rodgers has called the Atlantic Era.

In Chicago and Cleveland, however, their daily encounters with European people, ideas, and culture were informed by shifting conventions of womanhood and manhood. Alice, Grace, and Fred were making sense of an emergent trans-Atlantic community, including their place within it, by drawing on gendered values acquired through personal and professional experiences, and within the dynamic urban settings in which they lived. Women were attending college, learning new ideas and theories, seeking employment, or professional volunteering

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foundation for internationalism. Rodgers's and Dawley's "international consciousness" was therefore more properly conceived of as a "transnational consciousness." While Iriye provides a convincing argument, I tend to agree with Dawley and Rodgers that transnational connections forged between reformers during a time when cities on both sides of the Atlantic appeared to be addressing the same problems and socio-cultural change, allowed them to believe that a global spirit was emerging. Akira Iriye, "The Origins of Global Community" and "The New Internationalism," in *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 2002), chapters 1 and 2; idem, "Global/Transnational Historiography," in *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), Kobo edition, chapter 3, especially 49-50. On international versus transnational history, see also: C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *The American Historical Review* 111, 5 (2006): 1441-1464; Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Learning by Doing: Notes about the Making of the *Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*," *Journal of Modern European History* 6 (2008): 159-180.

<sup>4</sup> On Edith, see: Lela B. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice: A Biography of Grace and Edith Abbott* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 31-38. James C. Klotter, *The Breckinridges of Kentucky* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 2006), 198-199. Details regarding the experiences of Alice and Grace, and Howe will be discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 86, 277; 63-66, 283, 300; 67-73, 129-139.

opportunities.<sup>6</sup> Industrialization was eradicating men's control over the processes of production just as women were beginning to question authority and press for novel social and political reforms.<sup>7</sup> As they navigated cultural change at home, city residents on both sides of the Atlantic were equally concerned about migration, industrialization, political scandal, and rapid urban growth; and they actively discussed solutions.<sup>8</sup> On the streets of two industrial, Midwestern

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<sup>6</sup> Late in the 1800s, the women's movement was divided by two ideals: the ontological equality of the sexes on the one hand versus recognition of women's distinct nurturing qualities on the other. The latter provided them a unique perspective for social and political reform that would balance the cruelties in a male dominated system that privileged economics and efficiency. On this larger debate, see: Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *The American Historical Review* 89, 3 (1984): 620-647; Maureen Flanagan, "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Women's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era," *The American Historical Review* 95, 4 (1990): 1032-1050; Robyn Muncy, "Origins of Dominion: Hull House, 1890-1910," "A Dominion Materializes: The Children's Bureau, 1903-1917," and "Staffing the Dominion: The School of Social Service Administration," 1903-1910," in *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), chapters 1-3; Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 19-24; Karen Manners Smith, "New Paths to Power, 1890-1920," in *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 353-412; Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Family Claim: 1900," "Domesticating the State: 1901-1912," and "Claiming the Rights of Men: 1912-1929," in *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), chapters 1-3. The opinions of Alice and Grace regarding equality and reform will be discussed in chapters 1 and 3.

<sup>7</sup> Anxiety is a major theme in masculine studies, due largely to Michael Kimmel's work. Some of the more effective applications appear in the work of Gail Bederman and Kristin Hoganson. By combining it with race and gender, and imperial ambitions, respectively, they illustrate how it helped to propel an insatiable desire for unquestionable white-male authority. Michael Kimmel, "The Unmaking of the Self-Made Man at the Turn of the Century" in *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), part two. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1800-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), especially 10-16. Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). Criticism of "crisis" include: Bryce Traister, "Academic Viagra: the Rise of American Masculinity Studies," *American Quarterly* 52, 2 (2000): 274-304; Elahe Haschemi Yekani, *The Privilege of Crisis: Narratives of Masculinities in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Photography, and Film* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2011). Compelling counter-arguments that middle-class, white men "coped" by embracing domesticity, either through scientific theories of parenting or regularity (structural and routine) in the home, have also been offered. Outside the private sphere, they embraced change, rather than feel belittled, by associating modern masculinity with industrial, corporate, or managerial professionalism. Ralph LaRossa, *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 111-128. Paul Michel Taillon, *Good, Reliable, White Men: Railroad Brotherhoods, 1877-1917* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009). Robyn Muncy, "Trustbusting and White Manhood in America, 1898-1914," *American Studies* 38, 2 (1997): 21-42; Mara L. Keire, "The Vice Trust: A Reinterpretation of the White Slavery Scare in the United States, 1907-1917," *Journal of Social History* 35, 1 (2001): 5-41. Camilla M. Stivers, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000). The relevance of gender "anxiety" for understanding Howe's masculinity will be addressed in chapter 2.

<sup>8</sup> On an international moment and its common referents, see: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 2-7.

cities, new gendered ideas were converging with transnational exchange in a way that shaped not only social politics, but perceptions of a burgeoning international community.

At Jane Addams' Hull-House, in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward on Chicago's Near West Side, Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott became active participants in a variety of social settlement initiatives. This work was part of what might be called Chicago's "public sphere," but it brought them face to face with the transformation of American society induced by mass immigration and rapid, unplanned, inner-city development. Part of their involvement required conceding that their training and expertise in medical research and legal studies (respectively) was not as directly relevant within the ward as they had originally assumed. That is, what began as a patrician exercise in the social modification of new Americans ended up forcing Hamilton and Abbott to try and understand how "Old World" culture, economic hardship, and the harsh new reality migrants faced in Chicago, was actually informing immigrants' day-to-day practices. In addition, thanks to Addams' connections to the University of Chicago, Hamilton and Abbott were increasingly aware of the emerging principles of pragmatism and feminism. In the case of the former, both John Dewey and his close friend George Herbert Mead, working with the first-hand experience of Addams, had produced an intellectual critique of reform paternalism. Pragmatism emphasized the subjectivity of experience, and defined culture as a cooperative balance of diverse values and beliefs. Because these aspects of identity and knowledge emerged within specific social and historic circumstances, (male) Anglo-American traditions were not inherently superior. Pragmatism attacked all hierarchies of social power, including those of race and gender,

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Ninkovich has argued it was in the Gilded Age when liberal intellectuals incorporated a cosmopolitan knowledge into mainstream American culture, thus laying the groundwork for later perceptions. However, in the Progressive Era European people and culture were continually being incorporated within everyday life. It follows, that any underlying set of ideas upon which American transnationalism was founded, would also change, causing the latter to adapt in turn. It seems unlikely that Ninkovich intends to arbitrarily impose a cut-off date for the formation of an American transnational epistemology. Yet, the manner in which he constructs and presents his argument does suggest these implications. Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

which made it especially receptive to the feminist claims that emerged from social settlement work. This incipient pluralism allowed both Hamilton and Abbott to recognize that certain needs and rights were universal, including freedom from oppression and exclusion that united individuals regardless of their cultural differences. But for them, this lesson had relevance well beyond the wards of Chicago. By applying pragmatist-feminist principles in their daily engagement with Eastern and Southern Europeans in the American Midwest, they became convinced that trans-Atlantic personal and cultural ties were suturing the world together, as if domestic spaces on *both* sides of the Atlantic formed an extended social arena.<sup>9</sup> This laid the foundations for an inclusive yet flexible internationalism characterized by a celebration of cultural diversity and a concern for individual well-being.

The experience of Frederic C. Howe, meanwhile, was different. Howe assumed that orderly, modern reform must be initiated by prominent men, either elected politicians or well-educated professionals, who were familiar with historic urban development in significant European cities. Because the American Gilded Age city was mired in chaos caused by ad hoc industrialism and an ideology of laissez-faire individualism, the ambitions of prominent men would be focused less on personal gain and more on collective well-being. This ethic could be demonstrated either by completing majestic architectural projects that included public buildings and park space or by initiating political reforms that extended the democratic process to “the people,” the producer classes. Architects Daniel H. Burnham of Chicago, and Arnold Brunner and John M. Carrère, both of New York, had the opportunity to demonstrate the power of

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<sup>9</sup> The idea that immigration helped to connect domestic spaces into a larger social arena was first introduced by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc with their ground-breaking work, *Nations Unbound*. The transnational-immigration scholarship it has helped to inspire will be addressed below. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1-22. On imagination and community formation, see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, new ed. (New York: Verso, 2006).

architectural reform for Howe with the “Group Plan” for Cleveland, Burnham’s second City Beautiful project. Inspired by European cities, where public buildings were often grouped around a broad green space, or mall, they recommended that seven buildings be situated along a central axis and open directly onto the mall itself. Using white stone and monumental and neoclassical architecture, and ensuring that the lines, height, scale, and proportion of each building were tightly coordinated, the Plan incorporated Parisian planning and classical imagery within Cleveland’s downtown core. This was an area then dominated architecturally by the dark, rusticated stone then characteristic of the Chicago School, but was also overshadowed by a mixture of heavy industry and brothels.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Neoclassical architecture varies regionally and temporally. Around the turn of the twentieth century in the U.S., it employed the vocabularies of Grecian, Roman, Rococo, and French and Italian Baroque architecture, including elaborately ornamented capitals, and balustrades, pilasters, garlands and other rich sculptural details, and projections and recessions that emphasized the effects of light and shade. An important difference, especially in America, was an emphasis on planar (flat) qualities, rather than sculptural volume. The academic principle of Beaux-Art architecture (and planning) that characterized European neoclassicism, and eventually American, was the clear and logical expression of the functions of buildings. The massive ground story of the McKim Building of the Boston Public Library, for example, housed the book stacks, while the second story was surrounded by symmetrical rounded windows that declaimed its arcade and inner court, and the well-lighted reading room. The same conceptual precepts inspired axial planning and hence the layout of and architecture used for Burnham’s City Beautiful. The first permanent City Beautiful project he developed, which moved it away from the boulevard and naturalistic landscape architecture used in Kansas City by George Kessler, was the McMillan Plan (1901), which called for the expansion and completion of the classical L’Enfant Plan in Washington, D.C. On neoclassical architecture in America, see: Michael J. Lewis, *American Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 182-189. On Kessler, see: William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 99-125.

The seven buildings for Cleveland were: the Federal Building, City Hall, Public Library, Public Auditorium, Cuyahoga County Courthouse, Cleveland Board of Education Building, and Union Station. The latter was not constructed at the northern end of the mall, parallel to Lake Erie, as the architects recommended. Instead it was placed south of Public Square many years later after intense political debate about its location and the union of railroads. On the architects’ recommendations, see: Daniel H. Burnham, Arnold W. Brunner, John M. Carrère, *The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland: Report Made to the Honorable Tom L. Johnson, mayor, and to the Honorable Board of Public Service* (New York: Cheltenham Press, 1903), 1-4. On the history of Terminal Tower, see: Herbert H. Harwood, *Invisible Giants: The Empires of Cleveland’s Van Sweringen Brothers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

Chicago School architecture, also known as Commercial style, refers less to a unified school and more to aesthetic precepts meant to contrast with much of European architecture. Its defining features include the use of steel-frame buildings with masonry cladding, large plate-glass windows, and limited exterior ornamentation. Before 1900, architects like John W. Root and Louis Sullivan incorporated elements of Henry H. Richardson’s Romanesque, especially oversized rusticated stone slabs, usually covering the first story, recessed entrances, and round-headed arches over doorways and windows. After 1900, three-point windows became increasingly common, rather than the rusticated stone and round-headed arches. Daniel M. Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Jay Pridmore and George A. Larson, *Chicago Architecture and Design* (New York:

As well as endorsing these massive structural changes to public space, Howe was enthusiastic about any municipal official who wanted to “reclaim” democracy, which in his terms meant using tax reform and public (municipal) ownership of key utilities to wrest urban decision-making from the hands of corrupt politicians and their corporate patrons. He was inspired especially by Albert Shaw, professor at Johns Hopkins University, Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, and, naturally, architects Burnham, Brunner, and Charles F. McKim, also of New York. Howe took himself on didactic tours of European cities, attracted to the prominent male civic reformers of Glasgow and Düsseldorf, people who had already mastered the application of the urban reforms that had rendered Athens, Florence, and Paris, for example, leading “civilized” cities. Collectively, these Scottish and German men had what Howe called a “big-vision” perspective of their cities and embodied a service ethic, a masculine sense of duty that was invariably referred to as a “public-spirit.”<sup>11</sup> As Howe perceived it, the sharing of information and ideas across nation-state boundaries between these men, as they worked to uplift and civilize their respective cities, constituted the structure and purpose of an international community.

Internationalism was therefore gendered. This dissertation argues that its gendering happened within American cities, where Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe had not only novel urban experiences for them personally, but also encountered people, ideas, and architectural traditions unique to Europe that were being rapidly integrated within Chicago and Cleveland during this period of intense trans-Atlantic sharing. By tracing their lives, my research illuminates how

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Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2005); Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); idem, *Chicago, 1910-1929: Building, Planning and Urban Technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

<sup>11</sup> Saunier has used the expression “men of goodwill” to refer to the selfless dedication of men involved in municipal reform and transnational exchange. Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Sketches from the Urban Internationale: Voluntary Societies, International Organizations, and US Foundations at the City’s Bedside, 1900-1960,” *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 25, 2 (1999): 380-403.

gender set the parameters for individual perceptions of an interconnected global context. Although they were not the first or only individuals to travel to Europe to study “superior” approaches to political, urban, architectural, social, and economic reform, as Edward H. Bennett, Daniel H. Burnham, George Hooker, Florence Kelley, Jane Addams, amongst many others, had done the same, Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe were three individuals who became involved in urban reform and trans-Atlantic exchange almost by accident. Leading architects like Burnham and settlement workers like Addams were already convinced that certain European traditions could affect important change in American cities. Moreover, the three slightly less prominent individuals here considered were articulate in explaining how their *international* experience (in American neighbourhoods and European cities) instantiated a specific response to American internationalism during the First World War. Motivated by Daniel Rodgers and Pierre-Yves Saunier, historians have begun to consider how transnational exchange and urban development were related. Yet within this growing body of scholarship, the effects of domestic gendered experience on perceptions of an international spirit and community are not common. Although transnational lives can help to illuminate the cultural systems within historical places, and in this case suggest how said systems were merging, Alice, Grace, and Fred have important implications for our understanding of international history. In Chicago and Cleveland, local and global traditions converged in ways that altered how power and culture were defined at the level of the city, nation-state, and world. But it was not a one-to-one relationship where Progressivism and the disorder of the First World War laid the foundations for Wilsonianism. Rather, the terms international, community, and authority were being re-defined in ways specific to individuals and their concrete historic experiences within genuinely transnational urban places. By using collective biography, the following chapters introduce this nuance by illustrating how within

everyday life, shifting ideas of womanhood and manhood and the incorporation of Old World people and visual cues within American urban reform, created important distinctions within internationalism that goes beyond geopolitics, imperialism, or economics.<sup>12</sup>

Only recently have historians begun to use transnational topics and methods in ways that have not only broadened knowledge of U.S. history, but also how it is written. Although James Kloppenberg was a pioneer for revealing the indebtedness of Progressive thought to European intellectuals, it was not until Daniel Rodgers's *Atlantic Crossings* that historians were convinced of the relevance of the transnational exchange characterizing the Atlantic Era.<sup>13</sup> Once they had laid bare the global history of an American social movement—Rodgers in particular—historians Thomas Bender, Ian Tyrrell, David Thelen have spearheaded efforts to inspire scholarship that

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<sup>12</sup> On transnational lives, see: Martha Hodes, "A Story with an Argument: Writing the Transnational Life of a Sea Captain's Wife," in *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700 - Present*, ed. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 15-26. On local, biographical stories and cultural crossings, which can make the same point, see: Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World," *History and Theory* 50, 2 (2011): 188-202. On war, Progressivism, and Wilsonianism, see: Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy since 1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 66-69. On relationships between gender values, international history and perceptions of power, including systems of power, see: Emily S. Rosenberg, "Gender. A Round Table: Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations," *Journal of American History* 77, 1 (1990): 19-21; idem, "Revisiting Dollar Diplomacy: Narratives of Money and Manliness," *Diplomatic History* 22, 2 (1998): 177-198; Elaine Tyler May, "Commentary: Ideology and Foreign Policy: Culture and Gender in Diplomatic History," and Geoffrey S. Smith, "Commentary: Security, Gender, and the Historical Process," *Diplomatic History* 18, 1 (1994): 71-78, 79-90; Kristin Hoganson, "What's Gender Got to do with It? Gender History as Foreign Relations History," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 304-322. On biography in analysis of gender and international history, see: Frank Costigliola, "Pamela Churchill, Wartime London, and the Making of the Special Relationship," and Robert Dean, "The Personal and the Political: Gender and Sexuality in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* 36, 4 (2012): 753-762, 763-767. On the relevance of transnational cultural exchange for diplomatic history, see: Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*. On the impact of Rodgers' book, despite completed and then ongoing important work on U.S. transnational history, see: Saunier, "Learning by Doing," 159-160.

approached the U.S. less as a hermetically sealed nation-state, and more the product and function of historic global processes.<sup>14</sup>

Rodgers also offers important ways to internationalize the Progressive Era that shirk entirely the limits exceptionalism places on research. *Atlantic Crossings* assumes that for a moment, unprecedented urbanization and industrialization allowed for common referents, mostly those social conditions like poverty and pollution that distressed the middle-classes, to emerge between residents of London, New York, Pittsburgh, Essen, Paris, Washington, London, Berlin, Birmingham, and so on. Rather than “bend to the task of specifying each nation’s distinctive culture,” there is more value in gauging how political agendas were forged in-between nation-states, and permeated borders when traveling reformers came home with new ideas to try. Moreover, if domestic change was to be *of* the world, Progressives had to undergo an intellectual shift, “a suspension of confidence in the peculiar dispensation of the United States from the fate of other nations.”<sup>15</sup> To a point, historian Alan Dawley would perhaps agree. Once reform-minded

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<sup>14</sup> Bender’s important collection, *Rethinking American History*, derived from papers given at conferences at the Villa La Pietra in Florence, Italy, inspired wider debate regarding not only the obstacles scholars would face, but what changes to graduate teaching, applied methodologies, research, and historiography would be involved as international and/or global approaches to U.S. history were employed. Other scholars, meanwhile, highlight potential areas of research as possible ways to conceptualize the U.S. as a product and function of global processes. Bender, “Introduction: Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives,” Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, “Where in the World is America? The History of the United States in the Global Age,” Marilyn B. Young, “The Age of Global Power,” Ian Tyrrell, “Beyond the View from Euro-America: Environment, Settler Societies, and the Internationalization of American History,” Rob Kroes, “American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End,” in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 1-21, 63-99, 274-294, 168-191, 295-313. Much like Bender, David P. Thelen has worked to initiate conversation amongst historians, particularly U.S. citizens, on the practice of American history, so to broaden debate, research, and methodologies. His aspiration is to render contemporaneous debate relevant for scholars of the U.S., regardless of citizenship, by moving beyond internally focused traditions. David P. Thelen, “Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History,” *The Journal of American History* 79, 2 (1992): 432-462; idem, “The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History,” *The Journal of American History* 86, 3 (1999): 965-975. Bender followed his efforts to inspire others by retelling parts of the core narrative of American history as events embedded within larger global processes. Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America’s Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006). For similar effort, see: Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 2-7, quotes taken from 2, 4. See also: Daniel T. Rodgers, “Exceptionalism,” in *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past*, ed. Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood (Princeton:

Americans had absorbed the lessons offered by their European counterparts, they embraced the resulting spirit of internationalism as a sign of a modern, prosperous, and peaceful world committed to “blueprints for progress.”<sup>16</sup> He cautions, however, that a new collaborative internationalism may *not* have required Progressives to alter their faith in American exceptionalism. Despite their best intentions, Howe included, their initiatives sometimes carried an imperialist strain.<sup>17</sup>

Urban historians have given less attention to the consequences when Old World visual cues and people were incorporated within American cities. Although scholars certainly acknowledge the Parisian origins of City Beautiful, for example, they tend to privilege the aspirations of architect Daniel H. Burnham, a pervasive reform impulse, or the White City at the Chicago World’s Fair of 1893.<sup>18</sup> Whether the choices made by architects and politicians reflected

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Princeton University Press, 1998), 21-24; Thomas L. Haskell, “Taking Exception to Exceptionalism,” review of *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, by Daniel T. Rodgers, *Reviews in American History* 28, 1 (2000): 151-166.

<sup>16</sup> Dawley, *Changing the World*, 15.

<sup>17</sup> One of the first debates inspired by transnational methodologies was exceptionalism. In a seminal essay, Ian Tyrrell argues transnationalism could provide a way to either historicize exceptionalism or build a historiography in its absence. Michael McGerr, however, uses Randolph Bourne’s ground breaking essay from 1916, “Trans-National America” to remind Tyrrell that transnationalism and exceptionalism are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Eric Rauchway and Alan Dawley each push McGerr’s point. With *Blessed Among Nations*, the former argues that immigration, lax economic regulation, and geographic isolation allowed the U.S. to use globalizing trends to repackage and reaffirm its distinct superiority, while Dawley shows how domestic and international reform were two sides of the same coin amongst Progressives. The source of their ideas did not alter assumptions regarding their nation’s global position. More recently, Marcus Gräser has reminded historians that transnational approaches can never level the differences between nation-states at any time. Arguing that transnationalism nullifies exceptionalism, is not only idealistic, but misses the larger significance of the arguments being made by scholars like Tyrrell, Bender, and Rodgers. Ian Tyrrell, “American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History,” *The American Historical Review* 96, 4 (1991): 1031-1055; Michael McGerr, “The Price of the ‘New Transnational History,’” *The American Historical Review* 96, 4 (1991): 1056-1067; Ian Tyrrell, “Ian Tyrrell Responds,” *The American Historical Review* 96, 4 (1991): 1068-1072. Eric Rauchway, *Blessed Among Nations: How the World Made America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Dawley, “Empire and Reform,” in *Changing the World*, chapter 3. Marcus Gräser, “World History in a Nation-State: The Transnational Disposition in Historical Writing in the United States,” trans. Axel Jansen *The Journal of American History* 95, 4 (2009):1038-1052. For an extensive overview of the debates regarding exceptionalism in transnational and international history, see: Ian Tyrrell, “Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice,” *Journal of Global History* 4, 3 (2009): 453-474. The scholarship on Progressivism and imperialism is vast. It will be addressed in chapter 6.

<sup>18</sup> The “White City” refers to the site of the World’s Fair: Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893. It is known as the White City because most of the buildings were designed using classical architecture and clad in white stucco. More importantly, it also introduced to American society axial planning, coordinated scale and proportions,

or informed individuals' actual awareness of Paris, has largely been overlooked.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, while inspiration for Hull-House came from Toynbee Hall in London, only a few historians have considered its ties to a larger global context, created through immigration and regular visits from European reformers and intellectuals.<sup>20</sup>

Despite this, urban historians have begun to embrace the transnational turn in important ways.<sup>21</sup> Architecture, housing, infrastructure, and city planning inspired a great deal of activity

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and a central park-like space that anchored the orientation of main buildings. In this case, it was called the Court of Honor.

<sup>19</sup> On Burnham, see: Kristen Schaffer, "Daniel H. Burnham: Urban Ideals and the 'Plan of Chicago,'" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1993); idem, "Fabric of City Life: The Social Agenda in Burnham's Draft of the *Plan of Chicago*," introduction to Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, ed. Charles Moore (1909; repr., Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), v-xvi; Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007). On reform impulse, see: Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 77-174; Wilson, "The Glory, Destruction, and Meaning of the City Beautiful Movement," in *The City Beautiful Movement*, chapter 13. On the Chicago World's Fair, see: John William Reys, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 497-597. Alternatively, Gillette uses the McMillan Plan of 1901 to help demonstrate how racial and class inequalities, and notions of federal power were engendered within local planning practises, socially dividing the city. In an early chapter, Gillette therefore suggests a connection between this outcome and the Parisian political context of the Haussmannian plans that inspired the American architects. Howard Gillette, Jr., *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 88-108.

<sup>20</sup> Scholars tend to isolate Hull-House and transnationalism to Jane Addams' cosmopolitan democratic ethic. In addition to the literature cited below, see: Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation*, 164. For a recent exception, see: Stefan Köngeter, "Organizational Portrait: Transnational Roots of the Settlement Movement-The Example of St. Christopher House in Toronto, Canada," *Transnational Social Review—A Social Work Journal* 2, 2 (2012): 43-45.

<sup>21</sup> At the 2012 biennial conference for the Urban History Association, for example, upwards of thirteen panels addressed transnational topics and methodologies. By comparison, in 2010 there was only one panel dedicated to transnationalism. Ongoing work in this vein frames borderland cities as transnational nodes. Andrew K. Sandoval-Strausz, "Viewpoint: Latino Vernaculars and the Emerging National Landscape," *Buildings and Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 20, 1 (2013): 1-18. Other scholars have presented urban tourism as a form of transnationalism. David Gilbert and Claire Hancock, "New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893-1939," *Journal of Urban History* 33, 1 (2006): 77-107; Robin Bachin, "Travel, Tourism, and Urban Growth in Greater Miami: A Digital Archive," University of Miami, <http://scholar.library.miami.edu/miamidigital> (accessed January 20, 2013). Planning and architectural historians have made important contributions, as well. Examples include: Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford/New York: Blackwell, 1988), 188-217; Cynthia R. Field, Isabelle Gournay, and Thomas P. Somma, ed., *Paris on the Potomac: The French Influence on the Architecture and Art of Washington, D.C.* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); Richard Guy Wilson, "American Renaissance: Charles Follen McKim and the Aesthetic Ideal," in *The National Mall: Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core*, ed. Cynthia R. Field, James F. Cooper, and Nathan Glazer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 27-40.

Taking the opposite view, Rydell has shown how Americans involved in various World's Fairs used European design to express nationalistic imperial ambitions. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also: Andrew

amongst reformers. Whether they were professional architects, municipal politicians, or social workers, reform-minded individuals debated these subjects and, at times, spearheaded changes to the built environment. This has left behind a rich body of publications, conference papers, debate proceedings, renderings, amongst other document sources. Using the concept “intercultural transfer,” Thomas Adam uses these sources to delineate how “foreign” ideas circulated from one city to the next. Often it began when an American was inspired by a situation in another city, such as social housing in Glasgow, and subsequently integrated it within their local context by “domesticating” it while maintaining the “foreignness” of the idea. Thereafter, another tourist or student would discover this foreign idea and begin anew the process of borrowing and domestication. Drawing together examples of transfer between Britain, Germany, Canada, and the U.S. regarding social housing, philanthropy, and cultural institutions, Adam is able to structure “the entangled and interconnected histories of urban communities” to show how city residents created a transnational chain of ideas.<sup>22</sup>

Pierre-Yves Saunier has contributed significantly to this debate by assuming that common referents of the international moment were discussed amongst particular people, thereby creating the “urban *internationale*.”<sup>23</sup> This community of professionals, which included architects, engineers, government officials, lawyers, academics, and tireless philanthropists who lived and worked in European and American cities, would circulate ideas amongst themselves at conferences, during tours, through correspondence, and in countless publications. Over time, a

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Heath, Andrew Sandoval-Strausz, Michael Adas, and Thomas Bender, “NeoAmericanist Forums: Imperial Cityscapes: Urban History and Empire in the United States,” *NeoAmericanist* 5, 1 (2010): [neoamericanist.org/imperial-cityscapes](http://neoamericanist.org/imperial-cityscapes).

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), quote taken from 3, 3-12. See also: Adam, *Intercultural Transfers and the Making of the Modern World, 1800-2000: Sources and Contexts* (London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>23</sup> Saunier, “Sketches from the Urban Internationale,” 380–403; idem “La toile municipale aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles: un panorama transnational vu d’Europe,” *Urban History Review/Revue d’Histoire Urbaine* XXXIV, 2 (2006), 163–176.

collegial and congenial spirit developed amongst members, allowing different municipal ideas to permeate the nation-state.<sup>24</sup> Internationalism therefore emerged from trans-Atlantic dialogues regarding such technicalities as street grades, taxation, and cornices.

More importantly, Saunier's urban *internationale* offers a way to critically examine how information was disseminated "in between cities," and to what effect.<sup>25</sup> While historicizing globalization both challenges and enriches the work done by global city scholars, the capacity to contextualize a "transnational municipal moment" has inspired a new body of historical scholarship.<sup>26</sup> The balance of power between nations, for example, has affected how ideas were transferred. In Singapore, which prides itself for creating a modern landscape without unnecessary social displacement, housing policies had actually been imposed by American advisors. Their leadership was embraced and the results celebrated thanks in large part to a British colonial heritage, which had normalized asymmetrical relationships between east and west and influenced Singaporeans' perceptions of what a modern city was supposed to be.<sup>27</sup> As others have shown, empire, race, economics, and mayoral ambitions also influenced why

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<sup>24</sup> Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Atlantic Crosser: John Nolen and the Urban Internationale," *Planning History* 21, 1 (1999): 23-31; idem, "Sketches from the Urban Internationale," 380-403.

<sup>25</sup> Geographers have also used Saunier's ideas of circulation and urban networks to understand cities as groups of territorial and relational geographies, and how policy making has been implicated. Examples include: Jennifer Robinson, "The Spaces of Circulating Knowledge: City Strategies and Global Urban Governmentality," Kevin Ward, "Policies in Motion and in Place: The Case of Business Improvement Districts," in *Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*, ed. Eugene McCann and Kevin Ward (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 15-40, 71-96; Nick Clark, "Urban Policy Mobility, Anti-Politics, and Histories of the Transnational Municipal Movement," *Progress in Human Geography* 36, 1 (2012): 25-43.

<sup>26</sup> Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Global City: Take 2; A View from Urban History," Shane Ewen, "Lost in Translation? Mapping, Molding, and Managing the Transnational Municipal Moment," in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000*, ed. Pierre-Yves Saunier and Share Ewen (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 3-4, 173-174. The global city network scholarship is vast. Examples of important work includes: Saskia Sassen, ed., *Global Networks, Linked Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Jonathan V. Beaverstock, Richard G. Smith, and Peter Taylor, "World-city Network: A New Metageography?" in *The Global Cities Reader*, ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 96-103; Anthony D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (London/New York: Routledge, 1990); idem, *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>27</sup> Nancy H. Kwak, "Selling the City-State: Planning and Housing in Singapore, 1945-1990," in *Another Global City*, ed. Saunier and Share Ewen, 85-100.

connections formed between cities, and how individuals on both ends of the exchange perceived the international system.<sup>28</sup>

In this respect, Frederic Howe can be counted as a member of the urban *internationale*.<sup>29</sup> But he studied paternal male leadership as much as he did architecture. Because scholars of municipal transnationalism have asked fewer questions about gender, I interrogate whether certain masculine ideals bolstered the appeal of certain cities for Howe, effecting what ideas he brought back to the U.S. Why, for example, was he so drawn to elected officials in Glasgow and Düsseldorf? And what do these choices tell us about his perceptions of an international community? Did these values and experiences inform his actions during and after the Great War? And so we must also pay close attention to masculinity. As a new sub-field, transnational masculinity is partially a reaction to R.W. Connell's article "Masculinities and Globalization." Building on her concept "hegemonic masculinity," she argues that certain normative discourses have been implicated within postcolonial power relations, mass media, and capitalism. Particular masculine images have not only dominated these international processes and agencies, but have become "embedded in them ... becom[ing] global standards." Using business executives, she extends globalizing masculinity beyond politics to show how the impersonal, egocentric, and elegant man, familiar with management theory and most comfortable in a tailored suit, resonates internationally as a symbol of authority.<sup>30</sup> Although poignant, Connell's global businessman has been criticized for relying too heavily on the assumption that he occupies a universally

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<sup>28</sup> Kwak, "Selling the City-State," Nora Lafi, "Mediterranean Connections: The Circulation of Municipal Knowledge and Practices during the Ottoman Reforms, c. 1830-1910," Yon Hsu, "The Municipal Making of Transnational Networks: A Case Study of Montreal's Twinning with Shanghai," Jonathan Soffer, "Mayor Edward I. Koch and New York's Municipal Foreign Policy, 1977-1990," in *Another Global City*, ed. Saunier and Ewen, 85-100, 35-50, 135-152, 119-134.

<sup>29</sup> Saunier, "Atlantic Crosser," 30.

<sup>30</sup> R.W. Connell, "Masculinities and Globalization," *Men and Masculinities* 1, 1 (1998): 8, 11, see also: 2-23. Again in 2005, Connell argued that this persona continues to exist and to accrue authority transnationally. R.W. Connell and Julian Wood, "Globalization and Business Masculinities," *Men and Masculinities* 7, 4 (2005): 347-364.

recognized position of power. Moreover, if his leadership is accepted across localities, her concept also suggests that certain masculine values not only characterize a global context, but are disconnected from those that emerge within different locales.<sup>31</sup> Howe was not only attracted to Scottish and German municipal officials; he revered and emulated Wilson only after he had spent much of his career in a transnational context of public service. It seems possible that certain masculine images have a global cache because individuals like Howe understood them in relation to personal urban experiences in America and Europe. Rather than rely on static or structural conceptions of gendered culture, I assume an effective relationship exists between individual, city, national and transnational narratives of male leadership.

The global dynamics of womanhood, sisterhood, and feminism have been well-established.<sup>32</sup> Yet, within U.S. transnational debates, they have also been overlooked.<sup>33</sup> This is curious given Leila Rupp's widely regarded work on the International Congress of Women (ICW), established in 1888, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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<sup>31</sup> Christine Beasley, "Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalizing World," *Men and Masculinities* 11, 1 (2008): 90-99; Juanita Elias and Christine Beasley, "Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalization: 'Transnational Business Masculinities' and Beyond," *Globalizations* 6, 2 (2009): 281-296. On local manhood, national politics, and contradictory narratives of national-international masculinity, see: Dorinne Kondo, "Fabricating Masculinity: Gender, Race, and Nation in a Transnational Frame," in *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnationalism Feminisms, and the State*, ed. Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón, and Mino Moallem (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 296-319. A forthcoming collection on transnationalism and masculinity pushes these efforts further by engaging with imagination and symbolism; the sex trade; war and militarism; nationalism; politics; as well as more well-known subjects including corporations and economics. Jeff Hearn, Marina Blagojević, and Katherine Harrison, ed., *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming 2013).

<sup>32</sup> These literatures are vast. For the author, influential works include: Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop* 5 (1978): 9-65, reprinted in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87-151; Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "Common Themes, Different Contexts: Third World Women and Feminism," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Ann Russo, Lourdes Torres, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 314-327; Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> Exceptions include: Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism: The United States, Japan and Japanese Immigrant Communities in California, 1859-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Jørn Brøndal, "Women's Place in a New World: Scandinavian-American Visions, 1850-1900," in *Transnational America: Contours of Modern US Culture*, ed. Russell Duncan and Clara Juncker (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2004), 173-188.

(WILPF), renamed in 1919.<sup>34</sup> By focusing on the organizational structures female members established, she illustrates how a global consciousness emerged amongst them. At least in principle, such international nongovernmental organizations included as members women of “whatever race, nativity, or creed.” Members also distributed publications, attended conferences, debated resolutions, and participated in their local chapters. By 1919, for example, certain members of WILPF had even come to share certain ideas regarding the elimination of the causes of war, self-determination, guaranteed freedom, and universal well-being, allowing members to identify with a feminist peace. Although this caused a split with international suffragists, who felt the nation-state better protected their political rights, others like Emily Greene Balch developed a new sense of global citizenship, as Kristin Gwinn explains.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, as Akira Iriye has argued, organizations like the ICW and WILPF, helped to lay the foundations for a global community, suggesting that Balch was not the only American woman who felt this way.<sup>36</sup>

So I ask the question: what about Alice and Grace? Did traveling to Europe on behalf of feminist-pacifist ideals enrich the sense of connectedness they had developed prior to 1914? Impoverished immigrants had allowed them to imagine that personal experiences and cultural integration had bound Europe and America together. Did these gatherings of middle- and upper-class women, during such a violent, unlimited war, persuade them that international activity should be exclusive to educated professionals? Or did their European travels after 1914 enrich

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<sup>34</sup> Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). See also: Rupp, “Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888-1945,” *American Historical Review* 99, 5 (1994), 1571-1600, reprinted in *Globalizing Feminisms, 1789-1945*, ed. Karen Offen (London: Routledge: 2010), 139-152.

<sup>35</sup> Kristen E. Gwinn, *Emily Greene Balch: The Long Road to Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 83.

<sup>36</sup> Iriye, *Global Community*, 19-20.

In addition to the work here cited, see also: Jo Vellacott, “Feminist Consciousness and the First World War,” *History Workshop* 23 (Spring 1987), 81-101; idem, “A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: The Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,” *Women's History Review* 2, 1 (1993), 23-56.

the perceptions that they had developed earlier, allowing them to expand a trans-Atlantic community by adding individuals with different backgrounds and experiences?

It was not only educated white Americans of the higher classes that crossed the North Atlantic. Millions of individuals were coming to the U.S. since immigration was relatively unrestricted from the late 1800s to 1914.<sup>37</sup> By importing their beliefs to America and by sending home letters containing money, gossip, travel plans, and advice, families and communities straddled oceanic divides. In the mid-1990s, Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc argued these actions allowed those traveling and those at home to believe they were partaking in a single social experience. If allegiance to Old Glory varied from one immigrant to the next, their daily efforts to connect with loved ones enjoined the domestic spaces of America and Europe together, as if they comprised a larger social arena.<sup>38</sup> Garvey Lundy, Ewa Morawska, Donna R. Gabaccia, Daniel Soyer, amongst others, use this powerful argument to contextualize immigrant communities, as well as the new lived reality for men and women at various stages of migration, illuminating the structure, complexity, and heterogeneity of diaspora communities.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

<sup>38</sup> Basch et al, *Nations Unbound*, 1-51.

<sup>39</sup> The transnational immigration, including scholars inspired by *Nations Unbound* is vast. For the author, important examples include: Joan Saverino, "Mapping Memories in Stone: Italians and the Transformation of a Philadelphia Landscape," Garvey F. Lundy, "Philadelphia's Haitian Community: Transnationalism and Unity in the Formation of Identity," Mary Johnson Osirim, "The New African Diaspora: Transnationalism and Transformation in Philadelphia," in *Global Philadelphia: Immigrant Communities Old and New*, ed. Ayumi Takenaka and Mary Johnson Osirim (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 52-76, 201-225, 226-252; Ewa Morawska, "Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization: A Comparison of this Great Wave and the Last," in *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspective on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, ed. Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 175-212; Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); idem and Franca Iacovetta, ed., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Daniel Soyer, "Transnationalism and Americanization in East European Jewish Immigrant Public Life," in *Imagining the American Jewish Community*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (Lebanon: Brandeis University Press, 2007), 47-66; Nancy Foner, "From Ellis Island to JFK: Transnational Ties," in *American Dreaming, Global Realities: Rethinking U.S. Immigration History*, ed. Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruiz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 530-547; idem, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage

Most reformers who criss-crossed the Atlantic focused their work and their consciousness on immigrants. This included, of course, Addams who expected Hull-House residents like Alice and Grace to become entangled within the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, and Fred Howe who worked at Ellis Island from 1914-1918. Yet, there is little overlap between the literatures inspired by *Nations Unbound* and *Atlantic Crossings*. By playing the biographies of Alice and Grace off that of Fred, the following chapters highlight the different ways pragmatist-feminism and public-spirited masculinity influenced how they understood the social changes caused by immigration.

Because I argue that transnational *experience* and internationalism can be more fully contextualized and examined using domestic gendered values, this dissertation uses transnational scholarship, broadly conceived, in diverse ways. Although an international moment undoubtedly characterized the Atlantic Era, much like Dawley, Kwak, Kondo, Beasley, and Hoganson, I assume the relationship between the cultures of Chicago and Cleveland, and the international system were neither straightforward nor uniform. Even pragmatism was sometimes imposed upon immigrants, as Soyer points out.<sup>40</sup> Class and race may have therefore limited the inclusion and equality Alice and Grace believed in, despite their remaining open to new knowledge.<sup>41</sup> Regardless, I use the insight offered by transnational-immigration scholars that familial, political, economic, and cultural ties persisted despite geographic distance. Rather than look at immigrants themselves, I ask how experiencing these ties affected native-born, white, middle-class American

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Foundation, 2000); Elizabeth Jane Errington, "Webs of Affection and Obligation: Glimpse into Families and Nineteenth Century Transatlantic Communities," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, 1 (2008): 1-26.

<sup>40</sup> Soyer, "Transnationalism and Americanization," 59.

<sup>41</sup> A classic critical assessment of Hull-House is Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull-House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Scholars have also shown that race and class limited an emergent global consciousness amongst Americans at the turn of-the-century. On domesticity, consumption, and orientalism, see: Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). On the symbiotic relationships between an abundance of cheap immigrant labour, the allure of foreign markets, and virile nationalism, see: Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000). For similar arguments grounded in religion rather than consumption or labour, see: Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

women. As case studies, both Alice and Grace show that in and around Hull-House, immigrants' trans-Atlantic dialogues undermined the initial assumptions of two otherwise professionally ambitious women, forcing them to realize Chicago's connections to a wider global context. These ties were reaffirmed and expanded through the ICW and the WILPF, which Rupp, Gwinn and Iriye carefully suggest. But I add to scholarly debate by demonstrating how the principle of lived experience rendered settlement work, peace activism, and personal explorations of war-torn Europe phases in their lives that contributed critically to their conception of internationalism.

In a similar sense, while a spirit of goodwill characterized the circulation of municipal expertise, scholars have not systematically considered how masculinity informed the international consciousness that arose from such networks. In the treatment of Howe that follows, I consider how his admiration for authoritative public-spirited men influenced the ideological content of both his transnationalism and his commitment to reform. His urban experiences in the U.S. and in Europe, led him to see an international community that had been created and was managed by educated, successful men hoping to aide residents by learning how to tame and civilize their orderly cities. The connectedness Howe cultivated within this urban *internationale* may, therefore, have been somewhat exclusive.

Despite the insight it offers, biography remains, as David Nasaw once remarked, "the profession's unloved stepchild, occasionally but grudgingly let in the door, more often shut out with the ruffraff."<sup>42</sup> The concern that it produces little more than the remarkable story of a

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<sup>42</sup> David Nasaw, "Introduction," *The American Historical Review* 114, 3 (2009): 573. See also: Liana Vardi, "Rewriting the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Economists," *The American Historical Review* 114, 3 (2009): 652-653; Nick Salvatore, "Biography and Social History: An Intimate Relationship," *Labour History* 87 (2004): 187-192; Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 168.

remarkable person is common amongst historians.<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, scholars worry it is simply too difficult for an individual to either represent or reveal wider patterns of change.<sup>44</sup> Thomas Hines avoids the former and deftly accomplishes the latter with his biography of Daniel H. Burnham.<sup>45</sup> Burnham becomes not only a cultural and commercial spokesman for upper-class Progressive Republicans, but also a gentleman who was as sincere and gregarious as he was ambitious. This drew others to him at a time when civic issues were becoming widespread concerns. If Progressivism's reform ethic genuinely captivated the middle- and upper-classes, it still needed important leaders of men to harness and direct that energy.

Neither Howe, nor Hamilton nor Abbott were able to "stir men's blood" on the same scale as Burnham. But they were actively involved in the urban reform that was remaking politics and the spatial environment in Chicago and Cleveland during the Progressive Era. As Philip Abrams and Bruce Curtis contend, historical processes involve people who are both formed by social and political institutions, and who then re-create and modify these same institutions in their everyday life.<sup>46</sup> The point is not to present individuals as the "only intellectual and analytical centre," but to place them within a historic context, paying particular attention to how these individuals engaged with, and were subsequently changed by, societal

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<sup>43</sup> Gould's recent biography of President Taft, for example, intends to inspire interest amongst historians, and salvage him from the daunting historical memory of Roosevelt and Wilson. Lewis L. Gould, *The William Howard Taft Presidency* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009). Although Davis' biography remains the standard reference, his work on Addams emphasized her legend, rendering her a remarkable "great woman." Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>44</sup> Historians have begun reviving biography for this purpose. Alice Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?" *The American Historical Review* 114, 3 (2009): 625-630; Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "King Sam and I," Daniel W. Crofts, "Tracking Down 'The Public Man,'" *The Journal of Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, 4 (2012): 471-497, 498-517.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). Similar biographic approaches have been used for Addams, another leading national figure in the Progressive movement. Examples include: Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>46</sup> Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (New Shepton Mallet: Open Books, 1982).

processes.<sup>47</sup> As Oscar Handlin argues, “the situation and individual illuminate each other.”<sup>48</sup> Large-scale analyses of social change involve taking into account statistical evidence of changing patterns of behaviour over time. Biography, in contrast, involves a statistically insignificant sampling of one. Yet at the same time, the problem with statistical analyses is that they cannot examine the way in which abstract and impersonal social forces play out in individuals, how, that is, individual consciousness is altered by changes to the material and social environment. All statistical analyses are, in effect, snapshots of aggregate individual changes. If biography does not provide the evidence needed to quantify societal change, it does offer historians an opportunity to chart how consciousness has been altered.

The reformers I look at lived transnational lives. Although they maintained connections to American cities, they continued to travel abroad, hoping to gain insight into local cultures and politics rather than simply visit museums and art galleries. Using biography, historians are developing new ways to examine the cultural tensions, overlap, and disconnect between different places. In *The Sea Captain's Wife*, for instance, Martha Hodes uses the story of Eunice Connolly, a poor, white woman who rescued herself from an impoverished life in the Antebellum Deep South by marrying across the colour line, and by subsequently leaving the U.S. for the Cayman Islands. In *his* hometown, her husband's success as a sea-captain mattered more than their mixed marriage.<sup>49</sup> In their transnational lives both Connolly and her husband intentionally left behind the intense racial prejudice that pervaded southern society. If it was mercurial, race did not always resonate beyond a geographic place. Biography allows historians to consider how people

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<sup>47</sup> Nasaw, “Introduction,” 574. See also: Lois Banner, “Biography as History,” *American Historical Review* 114, 3 (2009): 579-586.

<sup>48</sup> Oscar Handlin, *Truth in History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 275-276. See also: E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Macmillan, 1961), 55-66.

<sup>49</sup> Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006). See also: Hodes, “The Mercurial Nature and Abiding Power of Race: A Transnational Family Story,” *American Historical Review* 108, 1 (2003): 84-118, reprinted in *American Dreaming, Global Realities*, ed. Gabaccia and Ruiz, 35-67.

carried ideas between nations, or did not, and how experiencing different places altered one's outlook.<sup>50</sup> And collective biography can offer added insight into those dialectical relationships between people and the social, cultural, and political contexts characterizing different places. By playing the life-stories of three European-minded reformers against one another, the different ways that gendered urban experience influenced perceptions of America's responsibility to the world can be demonstrated.

Certain terms used throughout this dissertation are contested, including Progressivism itself. Over the course of several decades, historians have debated whether a Progressive Era had an ideologically coherent form, and if so, what it was. In his seminal text *The Age of Reform*, Richard Hofstadter is widely recognized as having started the debate by arguing that anything resembling a movement was really the anxious reactions of the upper-classes to new moneyed and burgeoning labour classes, and to the loss of the agrarian myth. Their efforts to correct "social ills" were inconsequential and undemocratic.<sup>51</sup> Robert H. Wiebe offers similar conclusions by demonstrating that a reform impulse was simply a pervasive yet ambiguous desire amongst the middle- and upper-classes to overcome an impending sense of social disorder.<sup>52</sup> Although Arthur S. Link, Peter G. Filene, and Alan Dawley have declared, at different times, that neither Progressives nor Progressivism ever existed because the differences between their concerns, objectives and approaches to reform were simply too significant, the assumption that individuals of the middle- and upper-classes felt obligated to aide in social

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<sup>50</sup> Hodes, "A Story with an Argument," 15-26. By focusing on American and European students studying abroad, Walton also argues that experiencing other local cultures altered national identity and citizenship, allowing students to understand what was unique to and common across different national cultures. Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890-1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

<sup>51</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

<sup>52</sup> As will be discussed, Wiebe also argues that Progressivism was not particularly democratic. Wiebe, *Search for Order*.

betterment, although “improvements” were rarely universal, continues to inform Progressive Era literature.<sup>53</sup> As Shelton Stromquist argues, Progressives like Howe shared a common goal of dissolving class tension and reclaiming democracy on behalf of “the people,” or the exploited producing classes. If their approaches were different, their aspiration was the same.<sup>54</sup> My work therefore uses *Reinventing “the People”* to situate Howe and his experiences in urban reform, Cleveland in particular, within transnational and masculine contexts. Added to this, I agree with Wilfred M. McClay that a pervasive disinterestedness, or the desire to devote one’s skills and resources to the improvement of a common good rather than self-aggrandizement, guided many of the professional choices made by reformers.<sup>55</sup> Yet, by helping the “people” in Chicago or Cleveland, Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe also earned recognition for their efforts. If disorder or unprecedented change caused them anxiety, Progressives countered this by benefitting from novel opportunities for education, travel, volunteerism, political activity, and professional

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<sup>53</sup> Arthur S. Link, “What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920s?” *The American Historical Review* 64, 4 (1959): 833-851. Peter G. Filene, “An Obituary for ‘The Progressive Movement,’” *American Quarterly* 22, 1 (1970): 20-34. Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 128. Amongst the most cited articles on Progressivism is Daniel T. Rodgers’ effort to counter their “obituary” by demonstrating that the diversity of reformers’ initiatives offers historians unparalleled insight into a complex era. Daniel T. Rodgers, “In Search of Progressivism,” *Reviews in American History* 10, 4 (1982): 113-132. Rodgers inspired many to focus more closely on the nuances inherent within its inconsistencies and diversity. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, ed. *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991); Shelley Sallee, *The Whiteness of Child Labor Reform in the New South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Shelton Stromquist, *Reinventing “The People”: The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Stromquist’s work is part of a relatively recent shift toward accepting the impossibility of defining any core theme that compelled a loose association of individuals to feel socially obligated. Other work in this vein includes: Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Glenda E. Gilmore, ed., *Who Were the Progressives?* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2002). Other recent syntheses include: Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism, 1890-1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Glen Gendzel, “What the Progressives had in Common,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, 3 (2011): 331-339.

<sup>55</sup> Wilfred M. McClay, *The Masterless: Self and Society in Modern America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 149-156.

employment. This dissertation both contributes to and cautions against a more recent turn, or return, in the Progressive literature to its democratic promise.<sup>56</sup>

The term “cosmopolitanism” also plays a critical role in the discursive world of trans-Atlantic reform and it too has been subject to considerable debate. Jane Addams defined it using her experiences within the Near West Side of Chicago, where individuals from a wide array of national, religious, and ethnic backgrounds lived in congested wards. After watching them negotiate their cultural and linguistic differences as they formed cooperative, supportive, and protective relationships, she used their example of democratic cosmopolitan ethics to theorize peaceful political relations at the local, national, and international level. Her definition, therefore, emphasized diversity, tolerance, and the universal human condition.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, President Theodore Roosevelt attacked cosmopolitanism as a form of political adultery. National strength depended on virile, patriotic, and hard-working male citizens. Likewise, a woman’s duty was to support men by providing a rejuvenating home-life and to rear upstanding progeny. The individual who traveled abroad, becoming “Europeanized,” lost “his power of doing good work,”

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<sup>56</sup> For an important overview, see: Robert D. Johnston, “Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era: The Politics of Progressive Era Political Historiography,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, 1 (2002): 68-92. Work that has influenced my thinking regarding the potential of the Progressive Era include: Joseph Huthmacher, “Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 44 (September 1962): 231-341; Zane L. Miller, *Boss Cox’s Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); David P. Thelen, *The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885-1900* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972); John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York: Scribner, 1973); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987); Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy during the Progressive Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); James J. Connolly, *The Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism: Urban Political Culture in Boston, 1900-1925* (Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1998); idem, *An Elusive Unity: Urban Democracy and Machine Politics in Industrializing America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, ed. Marilyn Fischer and Judy D. Whipps (1907; repr., Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003). Marilyn Fischer, “The Conceptual Scaffolding of *New Ideals of Peace*,” Wendy Sarvasy, “A Global ‘Common Table’: Jane Addams’s Theory of Democratic Cosmopolitanism and World Social Citizenship,” in *Jane Addams and the Practice of Democracy*, ed. Marilyn Fischer, Carol Nackenoff, and Wendy Chmielewski (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 165-182, 183-202.

and weakened the “body politic” by becoming “silly”, “undesirable” and “noxious.”<sup>58</sup> The body and the nation-state were deeply interconnected, to the point of being mutually constitutive. More importantly, their respective definitions suggest cosmopolitanism was gendered in ways similar to internationalism. In some contexts then, the terms cosmopolitan, international, and transnational were deeply intertwined. As residents at Hull-House, Alice and Grace learned the value of Addams’ definition, especially when they formed personal ties with individuals of different religious, ethnic, and national backgrounds. Internationalism was their sense that individuals were members of a larger, inclusive community, united by their aspirations for global unity across borders, and for equality of all peoples.

Scholars often use cosmopolitan to refer to Addams’ democratic ethics and international perceptions. Yet, I will apply this term in ways similar to Hoganson. Rather than social conditions that are inclusive and cooperative, it will refer to “a geographically expansive outlook that demonstrated a familiarity with the wider world.” Because Hoganson uses cosmopolitanism to demonstrate the imperial nature of consumption and domesticity, not to mention the influence of class and race on global consciousness, when examining Hamilton and Howe I combine Hoganson’s definition with Gabriele Lingelbach’s argument that didactic tours of European high culture and education resulted in a superficial understanding that better reflected American aspirations for domestic development.<sup>59</sup> Especially in chapter three, using cosmopolitan in this way helps to delineate the shift in Hamilton’s perceptions when she was forced to reconsider many of the assumptions she had brought with her to Chicago.

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<sup>58</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, “True Americanism,” in *American Ideals* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1905), 37-38.

<sup>59</sup> Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 14; Gabriele Lingelbach, “Cultural Borrowing or Autonomous Development: American and German Universities in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *Traveling Between Worlds: German-American Encounters*, ed. Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2006), 100-123.

Furthermore, Howe sometimes used the term “cosmopolis” to describe cities that facilitated important ties to a wider global network. In 1905, for example, London connected regional economies into a larger capitalist world system, rendering it the “clearing house of the world.” In a way similar to Addams, and eventually Hamilton and Abbott, he was using *cosmos* to refer to shared interests and activities amongst diverse people. Rather than reference culture, inclusion, empathy, or lived experience, however, he emphasized historic patterns of global trade. “From the beginning of international exchanges some city has been the recognized centre of the trade and financial activity of the world.” Moreover, “century by century this centre has shifted westward by way of Constantinople, Venice, Florence, the Hanseatic towns, and the Netherland cities.”<sup>60</sup> In turn-of-the-century America, commerce was an activity then associated with male professionals of an elevated socio-economic standing, as Emily S. Rosenberg has shown.<sup>61</sup> That Howe wanted in the early 1900s an “old-fashioned picture of a wife” that withdrew into the private sphere, not an equal partner in reform, intellectualism and professional endeavours, suggests he would have identified finance as a male activity.<sup>62</sup> “Cosmopolis” therefore referred to long-established global processes that involved masculine ideals including authority, expertise, and class within an urban context, for Howe in particular.

Indeed Howe, as we will see, explicitly went beyond the economics of trade and world capitalism to emphasize the diffusion of urban *cultural* models as the basis of the cosmopolis. To

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<sup>60</sup> Frederic C. Howe, *The City: The Hope of Democracy* (1905; repr., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 13-14. Before touring and studying in Germany around 1910, Howe expected New York City to succeed London. Once he had visited Hamburg, its free harbour represented the significant clearing-house for trade, partially because it connected the west with “the Orient and the Occident.” Howe, *The City*, 13-14; idem, *The British City: The Beginnings of Democracy* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1907), 350-351. Howe, *European Cities at Work* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 20-21.

<sup>61</sup> Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4-30.

<sup>62</sup> Frederic C. Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer* (1925; repr., Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1988), 233.

him, cosmopolitanism required that city residents acknowledge the need for municipal art and the importance of following historic precedent.

The great cities of every age have passed through the same evolution. It was so in Athens. It became great as a commercial centre before it was beautified at the hands of Pericles and Phidias. The medieval Italian cities were the work of organized democracy and intelligent despotism. But their beauty was of secondary growth. So it has been in France and Germany, and to-day in America democracy is coming to appreciate and demand fitting monuments for the realization of its life: splendid parks and structures as the embodiment of its ideals. In medieval times, the monumental Gothic cathedrals which dot Europe here and there were the expression of the high ideals and aspirations of mankind. The twentieth century gives promise of setting forth its belief in the ultimate possibilities of democracy in generous expenditure for municipal purposes. The entire country has manifested enthusiastic interest in the superb plan for the carrying out of the design of L'Enfant in the beautification of Washington ... [and] New York has recently had plans executed for the construction of a splendid group of municipal structures about City Hall Park. In London, the same spirit as manifested itself in the working out of a superb architectural effect in the new government buildings and in the widening of the Strand. .... Probably no city in the country, outside of the capital, has undertaken the same systematic development on so splendid a scale as has the city of Cleveland.<sup>63</sup>

When Howe published these opinions on architecture in 1904, the Group Plan, a City Beautiful project designed by Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère had just been approved by the Cleveland City Council. Drawn heavily from Beaux-Art planning traditions, neoclassical architecture, and “the designs of Napoleon the III,” it presented the westerly movement of cosmopolitanism to Cleveland, due in large part to the architects’ extensive familiarity with European art and design. But in this piece and again in *European Cities* at work, Howe focused on contemporaneous public improvements in London and Berlin. Officials in this German city were even trying to develop a grand boulevard that would be “a second Champs Elysées.” Just as Paris, he wrote, “was planned by Louis XIV and the two Napoleons, so Berlin [was] dreaming of a truly cosmopolitan city, planning from the centre to circumference.”<sup>64</sup> While moving into this more significant stage of development required that leading residents aspire to a “higher order” of

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<sup>63</sup> Frederic C. Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” *Harper’s Weekly* 48 (April 23, 1904): 624. See also: Howe, “Cleveland—A City ‘Finding Itself,’” *World’s Work* 6, 6 (1903): 3988.

<sup>64</sup> Howe, *European Cities*, 22, 23.

“municipal organization” and display a “public spirit,” it also required that officials, reform-minded residents, and experts tour and study in both established places like Paris and new places like Berlin.<sup>65</sup> Transnational networks therefore provided those experiences and individual connections that allowed members of an urban *internationale* to acquire expertise of municipal reform. Internationalism for Howe was that spirit of collegiality, congeniality, and leadership that characterized the architects, elected officials, lawyers, and academics who studied the city question.

To present my argument without simplifying or confusing these gendered contexts in their historical specificity, I therefore use the terms transnational, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism in contextualized ways. *Transnational* will refer to the social, cultural, material, and personal connections in-between American and European society, which permeated the traditional walled nation-state. This allowed individuals to develop a global citizenship alongside their identity as American citizens.<sup>66</sup> *International*, as Iriye defines it, builds on this. It refers to a “global consciousness ... the idea that nations and people should cooperate instead of preoccupying themselves with their respective national interests or pursuing uncoordinated approaches to promote them.”<sup>67</sup> International therefore presupposes national: it is about the relationship between peoples organized in sovereign nation-states. And it accepts the divided loyalty of citizens between their global connectedness and their sense of bonding within the imagined community of the nation. *Cosmopolitan* will be limited to the geographically expansive outlook that guided cultural and social development. Although cosmopolitanism underwrites global citizenship, which Hoganson argues, I use her emphasis on material culture to refer to the

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<sup>65</sup> Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 624-625.

<sup>66</sup> Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Transnational,” in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1047-1055.

<sup>67</sup> Iriye, *Global Community*, 9-10.

architectural emphasis of Howe's transnational experience, and to help to explain the limits of his internationalism. In the treatments of Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe that follow, their transnational practices will illuminate the relationship between urban experience, gender, and perceptions of internationalism.

Illustrating how the lived realities of two women and one man influenced their reform initiatives, the ways they engaged with European people and ideas, especially within their Midwestern cities, and their definitions of an international community, requires that chapters alternate between Chicago and Cleveland.<sup>68</sup> Organized loosely into three parts, the first two of six chapters offer particular arguments about gender and place.

At Hull-House, Hamilton and Abbott remained devoted to Addams' settlement house for well over ten years, if not longer.<sup>69</sup> Scholars such as Maureen Flanagan, Daphne Spain, and Sarah Deutsch have shown how publicly active reform-minded women created a second public sphere that mirrored spatial divisions of women's and men's legitimate activities. More recently, a growing body of scholarship uses different methodologies to reveal how women's lives and work transcended separate spheres by subtly challenging societal expectations of them. In this first chapter, I add to this recent work by arguing that residents approached life at Hull-House as if it were a public place. But this was a place immersed within immigrant communities. Alice and Grace were exposed to a plethora of foreign languages, cultural practices, family structure, and routines of everyday life on a daily basis. But would this convince them of the virtues of Americanization? Or provide rich, intriguing impressions of the trans-Atlantic social and cultural ties that connected Chicago to a larger international community?

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<sup>68</sup> Relevant literatures here mentioned are discussed in the appropriate chapter.

<sup>69</sup> Hamilton lived full-time at Hull-House from 1897 until 1919, when she moved to Boston to teach at Harvard. Grace moved there in 1908, and began to spend more time in Washington, D.C. at the end of 1917.

White, middle-class men rarely had to be concerned with access to public space. Unlike Abbott and Hamilton (whose affecting urban experiences originated in an Italianate mansion), Howe's experiences must be located within a wider urban context. Yet, only a small number of scholars, including Howard Chudacoff, Paula Lipkin, John Pettegrew, and Kevin Murphy, have examined the mutually-effective relationships between the city and masculinity in the Progressive Era. Since reformers, politicians, and architects desperately wanted to undo the damage caused by Gilded Age industrialism and laissez-faire capitalism, the ways gender, authority, and modernity converged must be addressed. Because Fred Howe was deeply involved in both describing and changing America urban culture, and used certain masculine traits to identify Progressive leadership, this chapter adds to the early work on masculinity and the city by connecting it directly to the reform impulse. But beautification of Cleveland was modeled after European civic centres and neoclassical architecture. The public-spirited male professionals and elected officials Howe revered were familiar with cosmopolitan cities that uplifted new industrial cities by initiating awe-inspiring public improvements, as well as democratic reform. While Cleveland Mayor Tom Johnson helped Howe transition from mugwumpery to Progressivism, the latter's involvement in the neoclassical Group Plan established his profound reverence for prominent European city leaders whose reform agendas were often more ambitious than those in America. But how inclusive could Howe's perceptions of trans-Atlantic networks and an international community be if his studies of the city were, from the outset, informed by paternalist, prominent men?

The urban experiences of Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe were shaped by both gender and the novel ways people, ideas, and material culture were being integrated within American cities. But as suggested, ideas of woman and man did not converge with this process in the same ways.

By combining the personal experiences of these three figures before they moved to Chicago and Cleveland, with their unique ways of navigating Old World visual cues on a daily basis after having relocated, chapters three and four delineate how these experiences influenced the ways they thought about the world and America's responsibilities to it.

At Hull-House, Hamilton and Abbott not only encountered a microcosm of the world, they walked into an intellectually avant-garde milieu where the subjectivity of experience was emphasized, and knowledge was shifting away from objectivity and toward value sets drawn from cultural and historic contexts. Because pragmatists John Dewey and George Hebert Mead, amongst others, shared Addams' commitment to applied theory, or praxis, observing immigrants' values, beliefs, and lived reality, and experiencing their efforts to tolerate and collaborate with neighbours was essential to democratizing life itself. Pragmatism, therefore, resonated with such social objectives as the eradication of social prejudice, political discrimination, and oppression common to the women's movement and nascent feminism, a term Americans began to use in the early 1910s. Whether or not Hamilton and Abbott identified as pragmatist-feminists is not my intention in chapter three. Rather, it is to consider if both bodies of thought helped them to make sense of the transnational urban culture into which they had immersed. Were they able to connect the city streets around Hull-House to domestic places across Europe, enjoining them within an extended social arena, if they understood that identity, community, and values developed through experience? If so, did immigration democratize or intensify the spirit of internationalism that Hamilton and Abbott felt before 1914?

Like Hamilton, Frederic Howe completed post-graduate work in Germany. Yet, unlike her, he was not drawn to immigration. Instead, he focused on the architectural and political reforms initiated by prominent European men that were intended to strengthen civic unity and

extend the political process to the people. In Cleveland this involved beautification efforts that structurally and symbolically centralized power within the city's core by grouping public buildings together. Through constructing such awe-inspiring, cohesive architecture, the Group Plan would also uplift citizens by inspiring a sense of pride, community, and higher ambitions. Reform did not involve the diversity of experience or culture, but enlightened citizens who pledged their allegiance to their city through orderly, political engagement. Motivated by the apparent success of Beaux-Arts reform in Cleveland, Howe returned to Europe. Travelling to Glasgow, London, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Vienna, amongst other cities, he enthusiastically studied city-men to better understand how exactly they had accomplished beautification, developed an engaged community, and reclaimed democracy. By so doing, Howe's association with the urban *internationale* becomes most apparent. What drew him into this network, I argue, was his endless quest for prominent yet selfless leadership by successful, educated men who actively engaged in cosmopolitan civic reform. Peaceful internationalism, for Howe, emerged amongst an elite group of men who selflessly worked to civilize their cities for the benefit of their residents.

Rodgers has included Hamilton, Abbott, and Howe in his work documenting Progressives' reliance on European social politics to develop reform agendas in America, and a select group of Progressives who remained opposed to the Great War. While these three individuals became closer during the war-years, both socially and politically, they did not approach peace with the same frame of mind. The final two chapters examine their respective reactions to President Woodrow Wilson's domestic and foreign policies. The intention is to demonstrate how the personal urban experiences of Hamilton, Abbott and Howe before the First World War shaped their approaches to reconstructing peace between 1914 and 1920. The ways that gender and transnationalism had converged and informed their day-to-day lives laid the

foundations for their opinion of the international system and their nation's place within it. Americans reacted in extraordinarily diverse and contradictory ways to their nation's role in the great cataclysm of 1914-18, and to the Wilsonian project that emerged at the end of it; looking at the formation of the consciousness of three Progressive urban reformers, and especially the gendered ways they approached their resultant internationalism, will help scholars to understand the social formation of America's response to the war.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Locating Hull-House within Public Transnational Space

*When the Old Frenchman was condemned to go to Oak Forest, he cheerfully but firmly refused. Just how he managed to live I don't know, but he continued to come in to sit on the Hull House sofa when and as it suited him.<sup>1</sup>*

- Edith Abbott

In the heat of high summer in 1898, Chicago's 19<sup>th</sup> ward on the Near West Side, "a region of unrelieved ugliness," was "steaming and choking and melting."<sup>2</sup> In a city known for its booster spirit and lavish tastes, a reputation expressed by the Rookery, a stately and elegant Chicago School skyscraper (Figure 1), and the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC), the neoclassical museum and gallery (Figure 2), the 19<sup>th</sup> ward felt like it had been left behind, abandoned by "the great, prosperous city that was called the 'Queen of the West'" and the "hog butcher to the world."<sup>3</sup> The stark contrast between Chicago's cutting-edge dynamism and its fetid slums embodied the paradoxes of cultural transition in turn-of-the-century America.

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<sup>1</sup> Edith Abbott, "The Hull-House Years," n.d., Edith and Grace Abbott Papers, Box 90, Folder 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Chicago (hereafter EGAP).

<sup>2</sup> Alice Hamilton, "Jane Addams of Hull-House," Alice Hamilton Papers, Box 3, Folder 22, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge (hereafter AHP); Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, July 3, 1898, in *Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters*, ed. Barbara Sicherman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 124.

<sup>3</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP. Carl Sandburg, "Chicago," *Poetry* 3, 6 (1914): 191. On Chicago's boosterism and lavish tastes, see: Harold M. Mayer and Richard W. Ware, *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 30-36, 54-62.



Figure 1: The Rookery on S. LaSalle, n.d. [1970s], showing Chicago School architecture characteristic of the 1890s. Black and white photographic print by Richard Nickel. Courtesy of the Ryerson and Burnham Archives, Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 2: The Art Institute of Chicago on Michigan Avenue, circa 1900, showing the neoclassical architecture commonly used in the U.S. for cultural institutions. Black and white photographic print from *The New York Times* photo archive, now in the Public Domain via Wiki Commons, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AThe\\_Art\\_Institute\\_of\\_Chicago%2C\\_1900.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AThe_Art_Institute_of_Chicago%2C_1900.JPG) (accessed July 6, 2013).

Within a few short decades, Chicago had grown from a frontier outpost to one the largest cities in the United States. Located on the western shores of Lake Michigan, its ports were ideal for moving goods into and out of the far western states. Local industrialists were thus able to wrest control of the grain, lumber, railroad, and livestock industries. New homes, hotels, factories, and company buildings rose so quickly that amongst European travelers Chicago was known as “the lightening city.”<sup>4</sup> Until October 1871, that is, when a fire destroyed a strip of cityscape 4 miles long and more than a mile wide. Whereas previous fires had destroyed the wooden shanties of the poor, this corridor included the entire financial district. With

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<sup>4</sup> Mayer and Ware, *Chicago*, 35, 38-52.

approximately 1600 stores, 28 hotels, 60 manufacturing establishments and dozens of professional offices now destroyed, Chicago was in danger of losing its reputation.<sup>5</sup>

The business class, however, were not content to let their metropolis linger in the ashes. Only hours after the fire had burned itself out, John McKnight opened a fruit and cider stand on Clark Street. Two days later, he was joined by realtor W.D. Kerfoot, who likely had an easy time finding clients. By the end of the first week construction had begun on more than two hundred permanent buildings.<sup>6</sup> Joseph Medill put his fellow-residents' determination into words when in an editorial for the *Tribune* he declared how

in the midst of a calamity without parallel in the world's history, looking upon the ashes of thirty years' accumulations, the people of this once beautiful city have resolved that Chicago SHALL RISE AGAIN.<sup>7</sup>

Chicago in the 1880s thus became the world's center for architects and engineers, especially those like John W. Root who could creatively manipulate a load to suit Chicago's marshy soil, and Daniel H. Burnham who had the charisma and powers of persuasion necessary to charm industrialists like John Sherman, co-founder of the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company. Their firm, amongst others like Adler and Sullivan, soon transformed Chicago's downtown from piles of smoldering bricks into "the city of the future," defined by America's first skyscrapers that reached as high as seventeen stories.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 106-124; Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: the Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Mayer and Ware, *Chicago*, 117-120.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Medill, "Cheer Up," *Chicago Tribune*, October 11, 1871, quoted in Mayer and Ware, *Chicago*, 117. Both the devastation caused by the fire and the heroic efforts to rebuild the city were discussed in *Harper's*, which gave the issue national coverage. Charles Dudley Warner, "Studies of the Great West- Chicago," *Harper's Magazine* June (1888): 116- 127; Augustus Allen Hayes, "The Metropolis of the Prairies," *Harper's Magazine* October (1880): 711-731; Montgomery Schuyler, "Glimpses of Western Architecture: Chicago," Part one and two, *Harper's Magazine* August and September (1891): 395- 411, 559-565.

<sup>8</sup> Throughout the 1880-1915 period architectural and engineering development occurred at an unprecedented pace in Chicago, in the financial district in particular. It was not until the latter portion of this period that development extended to the west side thanks in large part to the elaborate plan that Daniel H. Burnham developed for a series of bridges crossing the Chicago River at regular intervals. Throughout the 20th century, many large scale plans have

Those lacking in creativity, training, charm, or finances, fared less well in the closing decades of the 1800s. As Karen Sawislak has argued, efforts to re-build Chicago exacerbated class cleavages, even though the fire destroyed the livelihood of most residents, regardless of class. Instead of a strong, united community, Chicagoans experienced labour exploitation, deepening concentrations of wealth, and the subsequent rise of unions, which meant that “collectivity” developed only within specific classes.<sup>9</sup> Since palatial office buildings, cultural institutions, hotels and homes arose with unprecedented speed only in specific areas—such as the financial district—the hostility between Chicago’s classes was inscribed across the larger cityscape.<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly, at the Chicago River, growth, grandeur, and wealth came to an abrupt end. Once across the Taylor Street Bridge, residents were taken away from the city’s gilded skyscrapers straight into the heart of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, an area notorious for its poverty, overcrowding, and immigrants, most of whom had just arrived from Eastern or Southern Europe.<sup>11</sup> Despite being only two miles from the AIC, and even less to the Rookery, and the wealth these represented, the ward teemed with disease, hunger, and uncertainty. As immigrants poured into Chicago, the ward quickly reached unprecedented levels of congestion. To meet the burgeoning demands for low-cost housing, landlords erected the notorious “double decker,” or “tenement.” Covering nearly an entire city block, these buildings were essentially two apartment

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been implemented on the west side, the original 19th ward in particular. Burnham and Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*; Smith, *The Plan of Chicago*.

<sup>9</sup> Sawislak, *Smoldering City*.

<sup>10</sup> Elaine Lewinnek, “Mapping Chicago, Imagining Metropolises: Reconsidering the Zonal Model of Urban Growth,” *Journal of Urban History* 36, 2 (2010): 197-225; Chad Heap, “The City as a Sexual Laboratory: The Queer Heritage of the Chicago School,” *Qualitative Sociology* 26, 4 (2003): 457-487; idem, *Shunning: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Between 1890 and 1920, nearly 18 million immigrants arrived in Chicago. Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Thomas A Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Thomas L. Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

blocks joined by a central stair. Apartments in the middle of the structure, therefore, had very limited access to light or air. In 1901, a housing survey found that as many as four adults and six children lived in a typical three-room apartment. When these buildings could not meet the demand, landlords began to build “rear tenements” either by moving a structure to the middle of a lot so that another could be erected in front of it, or by building a simple structure tucked in behind the larger pre-existing one. Regardless of the approach a landlord employed, the end result were poorly constructed and overcrowded buildings that offered deplorable living conditions, and a ward filled with people, filth, and dilapidated buildings.<sup>12</sup> (Figure 3)



**A Passing Type of Tenement**

**Figure 3: "A Passing Type of Tenement," n.d., from the Hull-House Yearbook Collection. Courtesy of the Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.**

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<sup>12</sup> Numerous descriptions of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward and tenements exist. A particularly useful source is: Mayer and Ware, *Chicago*, 256-264.

In response to these dangerous social conditions, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr opened Hull-House in 1889 at 800 Halsted Street—at the heart of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. Neither woman wanted to simply grace the poor with their day-time presence and impose desired change on individuals and families before returning to their comfortable homes elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Instead they argued that a social settlement “must contain an element of permanency, so that the [neighbourhood] may feel that the interest and fortune of the residents are identical with their own.”<sup>14</sup> To try and create this relationship, applicants were carefully screened, went through a six month trial period, were obliged to volunteer their professional services, lecture or lead an activity, and simply spend time with their neighbours.<sup>15</sup> Residents were expected to make their home in the ward by entangling themselves personally and professionally in the affairs of others.

As settlers like Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott moved in, they found themselves living and working out of a ward dominated by people of Italian, German, Irish, Russian, Romanian, Greek, and Polish origin.<sup>16</sup> Because immigrants’ struggles meant many had to cooperate by

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<sup>13</sup> As previously stated, the Progressive Era was a period spanning from the late 1800s to the late 1900s during which political, societal, economic, cultural, urban, and rural traditions were scrutinized by private citizens, the middle- and upper-classes in particular. It refers, therefore, to a loose association of critically minded and publicly engaged citizens. Exactly what motivated women, who were especially active, remains contested. At the time, even Addams recognized the complex and contradictory reasons inspiring reformers. In his seminal work, Davis avoids a definitive conclusion by emphasizing the common concerns caused by rapid and simultaneous urbanization and industrialization. This helps to explain how so many divergent women worked as settlers, sometimes in the same House. Jane Addams, “The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements,” in *American Intellectual Tradition*, ed. Hollinger and Capper, 121-125; Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 26-39. Municipal housekeeping has proven to be a powerful explanation, as it allows historians to account for political participation and social nurturing. Adam Rome, “Political Hermaphrodites’: Gender and Environmental Reform in Progressive America,” *Environmental History* 13, 3 (2006): 440-463; Elisabeth Israels Perry, “Men are from the Gilded Age, Women are from the Progressive Era,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, 1 (2002): 25-48; Baker, “Domestication of Politics,” 620-647; Muncy, *Female Dominion*. On political enfranchisement as motivation, see: Glenda E. Gilmore, “Diplomatic Women,” in *Who Were the Progressives?* 221-260; Connolly, *Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> “Hull-House: A Social Settlement,” in *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago* (1895; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1970), 207 (hereafter *HHMP*). See also: Sichertman, *A Life in Letters*, 114. Brown, *Education of Jane Addams*, 1-13.

<sup>15</sup> After visiting Hull-House as a prospective resident, Hamilton described Addams’ expectations in a letter to her cousin Agnes. Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, April 8, 1897, Sichertman, *A Life in Letters*, 110-112.

<sup>16</sup> In the early 1890s, several Hull-House residents undertook a survey of the ward. The results, both statistical and impressionist, were published as *Hull-House Maps and Papers* in 1895. With respect to the ward’s demographics,

learning to negotiate their cultural differences and animosities, settlers became a part of an urban community that was both nascent yet intricately layered.<sup>17</sup> Whatever the ameliorative affect that settlement work had on the city, the continuous negotiation of diverse cultural identities in the working-class environment around Hull-House compelled its reformers to change their own views of the wider world. Prior to joining this community in the late 1890s and early 1900s, neither Hamilton nor the Abbotts had many clearly defined opinions regarding international affairs. By the 1910s, however, they shared a discomfort with American patriotism, stated publicly that “the interests of all people are alike,” and pushed the U.S. Congress to initiate peacemaking through conferences of neutral nations. When taken together, the common changes in their political opinions are curious, in particular the consensus that emerged regarding certain issues. Is it possible that for residents themselves Hull-House was a transformative social space? Distinguished by a tolerant and compassionate environment, could it have inspired perceptions amongst residents of an inclusive *international* community?

To find the connection between transnational urban cultures, individual city experiences, and a collective political identity that was oriented beyond the nation-state, requires beginning with the 19<sup>th</sup> ward and Hull-House itself. It was the latter in particular that exposed settlers to a diverse array of languages, customs, traditions, and viewpoints. At times, they were even fortunate enough to witness emergent systems of support in the workplace or in tenements that transcended difference. Building on Addams’ assertion that the House and its residents must become entangled within the neighborhood, this chapter begins by presenting Hull-House as a

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the surveyors found the following groups represented: England, African-American, Italy, Switzerland, France, Canadian (both French and English, who were counted and represented separately using the colours brown and white respectively), Greece, Syria, China, Turkey, Arabia, Germany, Hungary-Austria, Russia, Poland, Romania, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Bohemia, Scotland, Sweden, and the Netherlands. In her “Comments,” Addams counted the groups as eighteen in number. Yet, when her list is itemized, the number is actually quite higher. Addams, “Comments on Map of Nationalities,” *HHMP*, 15-17.

<sup>17</sup> Jeffery Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

social space, before delineating the transnational urban culture that distinguished both it and the surrounding neighborhood. In so doing, the House will be reconceived as a public place that shared a porous relationship with the streets around it, allowing much, yet not all, of the diversity of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward to flow into and out of Hull-House.

### **Locating Hull-House within Public Space**

Hull-House presents scholars with a spatial dilemma. Because the original structure was built in 1856 by real estate tycoon Charles Hull, the layout of the Italianate mansion adhered to many conventions of a private upper-class residence. As architect Allen B. Pond later recalled, it

was spacious for that day and excellently built. In addition to the drawing-room, library, dining-room, and the other usual apartments of a northern house of the period, there was an octagonal office in a one-story wing to the south, opening from the library and on to the veranda ... On three sides of the house were broad verandas; a low-gabled roof covered the high attic surmounting the second story, and the wide eaves were carried by heavily molded brackets.<sup>18</sup>

Originally, the red brick mansion was located in a midst of a respectable suburban enclave on the city's western edge. As Chicago grew and industrialized, however, this same region became known more for its slum conditions than fine residences.<sup>19</sup> Not surprisingly, when Addams and Starr found the mansion in the late 1880s, it was suffering from years of neglect.

Dingy, forlorn, and prematurely old, the first story was used as the office of a furniture factory ... and the second story, drenched by the rains that poured through innumerable holes in the neglected tin roof, had long been the home of shifting and shiftless tenants.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Allen Pond quoted in Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "Hull-House as Women's Space," *Chicago History* 12, 4 (1983): 41-42.

<sup>19</sup> Horowitz, "Hull-House," 40-42; Kathryn Kish Sklar, Rima Lunin Schultz, Melissa Doak, Marian Horan, and Kerry Lippincott, "How Did Changes in the Built Environment at Hull-House Reflect the Settlement's Interaction with its Neighbors, 1889-1912?" in *Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, December 2004, <http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/wasm/wasmrestricted.DP51/intro.htm> (accessed November 3, 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Pond quoted in Horowitz, "Hull-House," 42.

Despite its derelict condition, the house stood apart from the buildings that surrounded it as it “still preserved a conspicuous individuality.” Drawn to its solid construction and fine features, Addams and Starr took the initiative and rented the drawing room on the first floor and the entire second floor, the remaining space being then used as office space and factory storage.<sup>21</sup>

It was not long, however, before Addams and Starr occupied the entire mansion on a four-year lease from Helen Culver, a Hull descendent.<sup>22</sup> To support their continued expansion, both women successfully gained the support of local philanthropists allowing them to add twelve buildings over five acres in just sixteen years.<sup>23</sup> Starting in 1891, the Butler Art Gallery (later the Butler Building), located on Halsted street adjacent to the open court in front of Hull Mansion opened. Similarly, in 1893 Addams secured a lot on Polk Street for a new coffeehouse and gymnasium. After a brief pause in construction, the Children’s Building was completed, and a third story with seven bedrooms and two bathrooms for single female residents was added to Hull mansion in 1896. Since various theatrical, musical, and physical activities were extremely popular with neighbours, in 1899 a new coffeehouse with a dedicated theatre on the top floor was constructed. The original coffeehouse and gymnasium, meanwhile, provided space for workshops for technical training and the labour museum. A substantial donation from Louise de

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Prior to their moving in, Hull Mansion had been used as a storeroom for an adjacent factory, second-hand furniture store, workmen’s lodging house, and a home for the aged run by the Little Sisters of the Poor. The top floors were also rented out, and continued to be occupied by different tenants during at least the first few years that Hull-House was in operation. On the first actions undertaken by Starr and Addams, see Horowitz, “Hull-House,” 40-43; Sklar et al, “Changes in the Built Environment at Hull-House,” <http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/wasm/wasmrestricted.DP51/intro.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> Culver was a successful real-estate developer and philanthropist. Initially, she rented Hull Mansion to Addams before donating the property as well as hundreds of thousands of dollars. She remained a trustee of the settlement until 1898. In addition to Hull-House, Culver also gave generously to the University of Chicago and to William I. Thomas to complete the study *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. On the impact of these donations, see: Rudolf K. Haerle, Jr., “William Isaac Thomas and the Helen Culver Fund for Race Psychology: The Beginnings of Scientific Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1910-1913,” *Journal of the Behavioral Sciences* 27, 1 (1991): 21-41.

<sup>23</sup> Edward Butler, Julius Rosenwald, Mary Rozet Smith, and Louise de Koven Bowen were some of the most generous, long term, and well-known supporters of Hull-House. On philanthropy and reform in the Progressive Era, see: Kathleen McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Adam, *Buying Respectability*, 89-152.

Koven Bowen made possible the construction of a new twelve unit apartment building in 1902.<sup>24</sup> This was an especially important addition as it satisfied a long identified need to find appropriate housing for both married couples and young families wishing to remain at Hull-House. Indefatigable, Addams continued expanding Hull-House when she oversaw the construction of a Women's Club (1904), a residents' dining hall (1905), a Boy's Club (1906), and a nursery (1907).<sup>25</sup>

Long before the rapid expansion of the settlement itself, Addams and Starr had made restoring the mansion's original distinction one of their primary objectives. Much later in *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Addams recalled how satisfied she had been when "the fine old house responded kindly to repairs," especially "its wide hall and open fireplaces," as they were restored so to "always insur[e] [*sic*] it a gracious aspect."<sup>26</sup> Their furnishings, likewise, were chosen for their reserved elegance, grace, and respectability, as if "the house ... were in another part of the city," and not surrounded by the poverty and filth that made the 19<sup>th</sup> ward infamous. Relying on "the photographs and other impedimenta [they] had collected in Europe ... a few bits of family mahogany," and recently purchased items that suited the "character of the fine old residence," during the early years they concentrated primarily on the interior of their settlement. Compelled

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<sup>24</sup> Born into an elite Chicago family, Louise de Koven Bowen married manufacturer and banker Joseph Tilton Bowen in 1886. A long-time benefactor of Hull-House, she first became involved in the 1890s when Addams invited her to attend the Hull-House Women's Club. Suffrage and children's welfare in industrialized cities were particular concerns of Bowen, in addition to donating roughly half a million dollars, which funded the Bowen Hall and Boy's Club amongst other projects, she gave 72 acres of land for the Joseph T. Bowen Country Club in 1911, was active in the Juvenile Protection Association, and was part of a coalition of judges, the Chicago Bar Association, and women reformers that lobbied for a separate court for delinquent children. She also served as director of the Women's Club of Chicago and wrote many pamphlets and coordinated research on the effects of urbanization on children and youth. Sharon Alter, "A Woman for Mayor?" *Chicago History* 15, 3 (1986): 52-68; Louise de Koven Bowen, *Growing Up With a City*, ed. Maureen A. Flanagan (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> Horowitz, "Hull-House," 45.

<sup>26</sup> Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910; repr., Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 56-57 (hereafter *TYHH*); Alice Hamilton, *Exploring the Dangerous Trades* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), Adobe Digital Edition, 68 (hereafter *ETDT*); Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, October 13, 1897, Sicherman, *Life in Letters*, 116. Sklar et al, "Changes in the Built Environment at Hull-House," <http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/wasm/wasmrestricted.DP51/intro.htm>.

equally by the belief that a “settlement may ... bring to its aid all those adjuncts which the cultivated man regards as good and suggestive of the best life of the past,” and a pride unusual even for a “young matron” furnishing her own home for the first time, they worked to make the House feel “like a home, not like an institution.”<sup>27</sup> (Figure 4)



Figure 4: Hull-House Reception Hall, n.d., Hull-House Yearbook Collection. Courtesy of the Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Aside from imbuing the House with a class-based orientation, their material choices also echoed the structure’s domestic origins. Together they had so successfully brought charm, comfort, and beauty to the ward that when describing her first visit to the House, Hamilton

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<sup>27</sup> Addams, *TYHH*, 57; Hamilton, *ETDT*, 68; Addams quoted by E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

recalled how it brought to mind her grandfather's estate in Fort Wayne.<sup>28</sup> Both had the same awe-inspiring broad hall and stairway, lofty ceilings with elaborate cornices, and a long drawing room anchored on either end by carved white marble mantelpieces and French windows.<sup>29</sup>

Middle-class gendered conventions of domesticity were carried throughout other parts of Hull-House. Drawing on notions that a home was a refuge within which individuals found moral, spiritual, and emotional rejuvenation, private living space was reserved for residents on the second and, after 1895, third floors.<sup>30</sup> While information about the rhythms of daily life in these parts of the House is scarce, what does exist suggests that it had a familial intimacy. In a letter to her sister Margaret about their potential purchase of a country estate in Hadlyme, Connecticut, Hamilton argued that several adult women could easily live together since she and long-term resident Clara Landsberg had peacefully shared a room for nearly eighteen years.<sup>31</sup> What is more, during their time together behind closed doors, Hamilton had developed

the tenderest affection for her, and so close a knowledge of her that nothing she could do would antagonize me for long. I could not think of a life in which Clara did not have a great part, she has become part of my life almost as if she were one of us. And I do have a great deal of faith that as years go on things will go more easily between her and the family.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Alice first visited Hull-House as a prospective resident in 1897. Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, April 8, 1897, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 110-112.

<sup>29</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 68.

<sup>30</sup> On the physical layout of Hull-House, see: Sklar et al, "Changes in the Built Environment at Hull-House," <http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/wasm/wasmrestricted.DP51/intro.htm>; E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP. On the conventional intentions and conceptions of the household, see: Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Jeanne Boydston, "The Woman Who Wasn't There: Women's Market Labor and the Transition to Capitalism in the United States," *Journal of the Early Republic* 16, 2 (1996): 183-206; Margaret Marsh, *Suburban Lives* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> Clara lived at Hull-House from 1899 to 1920 and coordinated its adult education programs. Hamilton to Margaret Hamilton, March 19, 1917, Reel 28, Folder 617, Hamilton Family Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge (hereafter HFP).

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton to Margaret Hamilton, March 19, 1917, Reel 28, Folder 617, HFP. Between most unmarried female residents of Hull-House life-long relationships developed. Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, for instance, were especially close for many years. Despite the level of intimacy that characterized these relationships, most

Hull-House, therefore, offered both public and intimate, private space to female residents. If the lower floors made it easier to be active within Chicago's public sphere, certain exclusive spaces also made chosen domestic activities and relationships possible.

Much like the embodiment of domestic conventions in residents' routines and the physical layout of the upper floors, their dining room also echoed the private home at particular moments of daily life. Beginning in 1907, if not earlier, Addams and Starr regularly used it for private formal dinners. Featuring a great fireplace, a very large old mahogany sideboard, and three long mahogany tables, which each sat fourteen people, the room is a complicated reflection of their reformist intentions. On the one hand, Addams and Starr made a point of using the room in accordance with the same middle-class conventions regarding the usage of the upstairs floors. That a formal supper was considered important is suggested by Edith Abbott's recollections that members of the house were expected to take their seats every evening at 6 p.m. sharp.<sup>33</sup> Through their use of the larger complex, particularly both original and newly constructed upper floors and the dining room, residents upheld certain domestic conventions of a private bourgeois household. On the other hand, neither Abbott nor Hamilton used a language or rhetoric of domesticity in their personal writings to describe daily life within Hull-House. To explain why it was so important to be on time for dinner, for example, Abbott noted that each evening the dining room was reserved for language classes, guest lectures, or meetings for either established clubs or for organizing labor and political activism. Anarchists, striking workers, amongst other political

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documentary evidence suggests they were asexual in nature. Certain historians, however, continue to debate the nature of "companionship" that defined a Boston Marriage. Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999), 47-48, 89-94; Estelle B. Freedman, "Boston Marriage: Free Love, and Fictive Kin: Historical Alternatives to Mainstream Marriage," *OAH Newsletter* 32, 3 (2004): 1-16; Judith Fryer, "What Goes on in the Ladies Room? Sarah Orne Jewett, Annie Fields and their Community of Women," *Massachusetts Review* 30, 4 (1989): 610-628.

<sup>33</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP. See also Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 118; Hamilton, *ETDT*, 52-67.

activists, often held at least their initial meetings within the dining room.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, dinner conversation was typically dedicated to neighbors' new or challenging needs, debates about government policy, both existing and desired, neighborhood initiatives like garbage collection, or residents' research.<sup>35</sup> Their private dinner hour was not an intimate activity dedicated to rejuvenating individual morality that had been dulled by the chaotic city. Instead, the political, social and economic demands related to their public work pervaded and structured the entire act of having dinner. What is more, Hamilton later recalled how

those early days ... [were] devoid of personal intimacy. [Residents] knew each others' opinions and interests and work and ... discussed them often and freely, but the atmosphere was impersonal, rather astonishingly so for a group composed chiefly of women.<sup>36</sup>

Rather than reference the details or presence of a private life within the House, descriptions of daily-life depended on both the presence of immigrant neighbours, and the efforts of individual residents to meet their needs.

Even when residents were not working directly with immigrant neighbours, descriptions of their daily routine suggests they perceived Hull-House as a *public* place both open to and integrated within the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. After having lived in Hull-House for only a month, Hamilton discovered that a typical evening included "sitting ... in the back parlor" writing to her cousin Agnes as residents, including

Miss Johnson ... the street-cleaning commissioner ... is having a most killing time interviewing an old Irishman who wants a job from the city ... [Mostly] they ... are having a fuss about his naturalization papers. In the front parlor ... Mr. Deknatel and Mrs. Valerio ... are taking the names of ... people ... registering for classes ... In a few minutes a certain Dr. Blount is coming ... to help me in some scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the Italian "neighbors."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid; Hamilton, *ETDT*, 60-61.

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 61.

<sup>37</sup> Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, October 13, 1897, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 116.

On more atypical nights, larger city-wide events determined how and where Hamilton passed her time within the settlement complex. In the spring of 1898, for instance, Irish immigrant Johnny Powers was running for re-election as the 19<sup>th</sup> ward's alderman. Powers, who had been in office since 1888, was in 1898 the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Chicago City Council and the Cook County Democratic Committee, and a member of the caucus that distributed the chairmanships for other committees, making him one of the city's most powerful politicians. This had allowed him, for example, to block a Hull-House petition for a new public school as his "political henchman" William J. O'Brien, who was then chairman of the City Council Committee on Education, ensured the plan was quietly sidelined. Moreover, throughout Powers' first ten years in office, he had managed to assume personal responsibility for the distribution of millions of dollars of franchises amongst chosen associates, and for the allocation of municipal positions including garbage collection. In the case of the latter, however, individuals were appointed, salaries collected, yet no services rendered. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, therefore, Powers employed, directly or indirectly, thousands of residents, which earned him their support on Election Day. And he strengthened voter loyalty by regularly bailing residents out of jail and settling matters with the judge, paying for funerals, distributing turkeys at Christmas, finding employment for men recently laid off or whose physical capabilities were somehow compromised, and arranging for free train tickets for any loyal voter wanting to travel out of Chicago. After each election in the 1890s, he even used his influence to further weaken the political standing of Hull-House in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward by offering members of the Men's Club, immigrant neighbours who were key public figures during each campaign, permanent well-paying jobs with the city. In 1896, for example, reform candidate and Men's Club member Frank

Lawler was converted into one of Powers' most loyal supporters just a few months after his nomination.

Frustrated by Powers' politicking, and concerned about public education, disease, and urban conditions, Hull-House residents were determined to unseat the ward boss once and for all in 1898. Although women could not vote, leaving the Men's Club to once again spearhead their campaigns, all residents participated in one way or another and willingly integrated their private domestic spaces within ward politics.<sup>38</sup> The first weekend in April, 1898, for example, they "gave up the dining room to" stuffing envelopes with campaign literature for distribution, presumably in support of Simeon Armstrong, the reform candidate, and took meals in the coffee house instead. Collectively, Hull-House residents and friends were so determined to unseat Powers they stayed at it until very late Friday evening and started again early the next morning. By 4 p.m. on Saturday had they addressed and stuffed close to twelve thousand envelopes.<sup>39</sup>

If their campaign efforts helped to integrate Hull-House within the ward itself, as a public place, helping newer residents like Alice to gain a municipal political identity, this does not mean she understood the role played by the ward boss within an immigrant community. As an immigrant himself, who had come to Chicago in 1872 and started as a grocer's apprentice before opening his own grocery store on South Halsted, Powers was a part of the ward in a way that an educated and cultured middle-class woman was not. It was easier for him to give the impression that he understood what the men, women, and children of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward actually needed given their circumstances. Their support of his electoral campaign was therefore loud and strong. On

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<sup>38</sup> Jane Addams, "Why the Ward Boss Rules," in *The Social Thought of Jane Addams*, ed. Christopher Lasch (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), 126-133; Allen F. Davis, "Jane Addams vs. the Ward Boss," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 53, 3 (1960): 247-265; Humbert S. Nelli, "John Powers and the Italians: Politics in a Chicago Ward, 1896-1921," *The Journal of American History* 57, 1 (1970): 67-84; Harold L. Platt, "Jane Addams and the Ward Boss Revisited: Class, Politics, and Public Health in Chicago, 1890-1930," *Environmental History* 5, 2 (2000): 194-222.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, April 3, 1898, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 120-121.

that Saturday afternoon, when Hamilton and the other residents and friends had just begun resting after the last envelope was sealed, they were immediately aroused and rushed outside as the Powers' parade went by, his "last, supreme effort [that] was very imposing indeed." Standing there on the street, "show[ing] very plainly ... that [they] came from Hull-House," Alice watched in stunned silence as a barrage of young boys, members of the Cook County Democratic Party, elaborately dressed, and "a lot of carriages and then crowds on foot with banners and transparencies" went past. And on the banners, were such messages as "No petticoat government for us" and "God Bless the Hull-House," while the transparencies showed different caricatures. For example, Mr. Armstrong, the reform candidate, was being dangled on a string from an upstairs window of the House, and another showed Addams tearing out a fellow resident's hair. At the edges of the parade, young boys swarmed, yelling "Down with Hull-House!"<sup>40</sup> Even priests in the neighbourhood openly supported Powers and accused Hull-House of being anti-Catholic.<sup>41</sup>

In this sense, the Hull-House dining room had become a place clearly located within municipal politics and all its vitriol. Its neighbours—even when openly opposing its maternalistic reformism—at least viewed the House and its residents as legitimate, political foes who had aligned themselves against immigrants' interests. When combined with her experiences in the Well-Baby clinic throughout the coming years, Alice would eventually understand that accomplishing any change in family health, hygiene, and nutrition required *collaborating* with neighbours, rather than imposing rigid scientific and medical standards. But for now, she gained poignant insight into the views and attitudes of neighbours and the political culture of the 19<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, April 3, 1898, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 120-121.

<sup>41</sup> Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 120.

ward. On Election Day in 1898, the men of the ward could not have spoken more clearly; Powers received over 5400 votes to Armstrong's 2219.<sup>42</sup>

Hull-House was hardly the only settlement house that tried unsuccessfully to undermine immigrants' loyalty to the ward boss. By the 1890s, Martin Lomasney had established control over Boston's 8<sup>th</sup> ward in the West End, an area that was initially dominated by the Irish and subsequently Jews and Italians as immigration patterns changed at the turn-of-the-century. The son of Irish immigrants, he was able to secure and maintain residents' loyalty by dispensing favours and charity to any man or family regardless of their national, racial, or ethnic background provided they voted for Republican candidates on Election Day. Lomasney would even shelter those men and women most recently arrived in Boston if they did not have friends or family to stay with, or had trouble locating them. He thus earned the trust and support of residents from the moment they arrived in Boston's West End. From his political headquarters at Hendricks Club in the heart of the ward, he made known his campaign endorsements on the last Sunday before the polls opened, finally informing his supporters which candidate to choose. In 1905, for example, he delivered his ward to Republican mayoral candidate Louis Frothingham.<sup>43</sup> If Eva Whiting White, Headworker at Elizabeth Peabody House, had any aspirations to unseat Lomasney, she was forced to relinquish them. White was only able to maintain influence over specific initiatives, such as vocational education, because she chose not to criticize the city's political machine, especially its operations in their ward. In another part of Boston, however, White's colleague Kellogg Durand of Tech House was not as politically savvy. Durand was so

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<sup>42</sup> Davis, "Addams vs. the Ward Boss," 263.

<sup>43</sup> Michael E. Hennessy, *Four Decades of Massachusetts Politics* (Norwood: The Norwood Press, 1935), 481-484; Steven P. Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics, 1840-1985* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 42, 70, 100-103; Alexander Keyssar, *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 261-262; Connolly, *Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism*, 129.

overpowered by future mayor James Michael Curley, he felt his only choice was to close his settlement and relocate to New York City.<sup>44</sup> If Durand remained active in settlements and municipal reform, it was likely a frustrating choice. Within New York's immigrant wards, the Bowery and the Lower East Side in particular, settlement leaders like Lillian Wald of Henry Street House, Henry Moskowitz of Madison House, and Elizabeth Williams of College Settlement were working hard with other reform-minded New Yorkers to challenge the power of Tammany Hall and its ward bosses, including Timothy Sullivan. Fortunately, a prostitution scandal temporarily weakened Tammany support amongst foreign-born voters (many of the women working in brothels were immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants). This allowed Seth Low, President of Columbia University and a member of the University Settlement Council, to win the Mayoral election of 1901 on a Fusion ticket. For two years, settlement workers had a direct line to the mayor, which they used to promote housing regulations, more playgrounds, and a city-supported system of public school nurses.<sup>45</sup>

Despite their efforts and progress, it seems unlikely that Low, Wald, Williams or Moskowitz had any lasting effect on ward politics. By the turn-of-the-century, Sullivan's prominence within the Lower East Side and the Bowery was well-established. From the early 1890s until his wife's death in 1912, he secured franchise contracts that guaranteed employment for his constituents; expedited business licenses for shopkeepers and pushcart peddlers; hosted

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<sup>44</sup> Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, 150-151. On White, see also: Joan C. Tonn, *Mary P. Follett: Creating Democracy, Transforming Management* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 228; Sarah Deutsch, "Learning to Talk More Like a Man: Boston Women's Class-Bridging Organizations, 1870-1940," *The American Historical Review* 97, 2 (1992): 397.

<sup>45</sup> The Fusion ticket was a candidate and campaign backed by Republicans, independents, and anti-Tammany Democrats. On settlements and municipal politics, see: Allen F. Davis, "Settlement Workers in Politics, 1890-1914," *The Review of Politics* 26, 4 (1964): 510-511; idem, *Spearheads for Reform*, 150-151. On municipal elections at this time, see: Kenneth Finegold, *Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland and Chicago* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 35-43. For general comments on ward bosses in New York, see: Lillian D. Wald, *The House on Henry Street* (1938; repr., New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915), 256-260.

all-day picnics with free food, beer, music and dancing at a park on Long Island, allowing constituents to escape their overcrowded tenements during the hot summer months; and distributed amongst needy Italians and Jews additional food, coal, clothing, and shoes during the cold winter months and turkeys during the holidays. If that was not enough to earn the loyalty of non-Irish immigrant voters, he recognized new immigrants with symbolic gestures such as donning a yarmulke to solicit Jewish votes and sponsoring legislation to make Columbus Day a holiday, which the Italians wanted.<sup>46</sup> Much like Kellogg in Boston and Addams in Chicago, Wald, Moskowitz, and Williams could not compete with Sullivan's politicking, and, more importantly, with the loyalty he had earned from the immigrants living throughout the Bowery and the Lower East Side.

Historian Rivka Shpak Lissak argues that middle-class Progressives simply did not understand that the immigrant vote was not motivated by disinterested politicians that promised political order, transparency, or fair taxes, especially at an abstract societal level.<sup>47</sup> Immigrants were resourceful and strategic, capable of understanding that their social and ethnic standing in American society was fragile. Addams, ironically, actually understood this and made it central to her arguments in defense of the choices made by the poor, choices often mocked by wealthy philanthropists who tended to see poverty as a consequence of errant individual choices. In her 1898 essay "Why the Ward Boss Rules" Addams already knew that "the notion of civic purity, of honesty of administration" was irrelevant within communities intimately bound together by kinship and mutual support. But many residents, including Alice, remained for some time

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<sup>46</sup> Erie, *Rainbow's End*, 102-103; David Czitrom, "Underworlds and Underdogs: Big Tim Sullivan and Metropolitan Politics in New York, 1889-1913," *The Journal of American History* 78, 2 (1991): 536-558; Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 141-144. Not all historians argue that ward bosses and Progressivism were mutually exclusive. For the author, important works making this case include: James J. Connolly, "Reconstituting Ethnic Politics: Boston, 1909-1925," *Social Science History* 19, 4 (1995): 479-509; idem, *Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism*.

<sup>47</sup> Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives*, 66-68.

befogged by the spirit of moral uplift. She would have to spend more time as a resident of Hull-House, where various rooms were both politicized and public, and where she was expected to become part of a “community ... bound together in ethical development,” before she would stop assuming that immigrants’ political preferences were driven by poor judgment or, worse, base morality.<sup>48</sup>

The political contexts involving ward bosses, settlements workers, and elections in New York and Boston bore similar patterns to those in Chicago’s Near West Side. But the structural development of Hull-House makes its example that much more compelling. The approach to reform established by Addams and Starr and practiced by subsequent residents had been incorporated into the settlement’s material presence from almost the very beginning. When the Butler Building was planned in 1890, Addams insisted that brothers Irving and Allen Pond, the architects commissioned to design each expansion, set the building adjacent to Halsted with its front door facing the small courtyard that extended beyond the porch of Hull mansion to the street. At the time, quadrangles, where buildings faced each other around a square, were popular structural expressions of democratic principles. Yet, this would have required positioning the front door of the Butler Building inwards, facing the mansion. From the street a pedestrian would only see the back of Butler and neither the courtyard nor Hull mansion. Addams rejected this plan, arguing that integration into the neighborhood as an extension of its public space and

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<sup>48</sup> Addams, “Why the Ward Boss Rules,” 129, 132. See also: Davis, “Jane Addams vs. the Ward Boss,” 247-265; Alan Lessoff and James J. Connolly, “From Political Insult to Political Theory,” *Journal of Policy History* 25, 2 (2013): 139-172. On Hull-House and politics, including meetings that took place inside the House, see: Hamilton, *ETDT*, 65, 71-78; Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, March 1, 1914 in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 174; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters* 118, 152; Kathryn Kish Sklar, “Hull-House as a Community of Women Reformers in the 1890’s,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 10, 4 (1985): 658-677; Shannon Jackson, “Building: ‘In Bricks and Mortar,’” in *Lines of Activity: Performance, Historiography, Hull-House Domesticity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), chapter 3.

services was more important. Consequently, between the sidewalk and the front door, there had to be as few structural obstacles as possible.<sup>49</sup> (Figure 5)



**Figure 5: Main Entrance of Hull-House, view north on South Halsted, 1910. Black and white photograph from the *Chicago Daily News*. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.**

<sup>49</sup> Guy Szuberla has argued that architectural decisions were made to facilitate democracy and integration of immigrant neighbours within Chicago as an American city. Guy Szuberla, "Three Chicago Settlements: Their Architectural Form and Social Meaning," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 70, 2 (1977): 114-129. But Hull-House architecture has also been read as a "home" in the city that protected women as they infiltrated the city. Because the Progressive Era was a formative period in urban development, this process of protection and infiltration helped to undermine the significance of separate spheres within the modern city. Sharon Haar, "A Home in Public: The Hull-House Settlement and the Study of the City," in *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change, and the Modern Metropolis*, ed. Amy Bingaman, Lisa Sanders, and Rebecca Zorach (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 99-116. Drawing on young women's reading and intellectual pursuits in Victorian households, Sicherman also argues that women's entrance into a masculine public sphere and its activities was facilitated through education. Barbara Sicherman, "Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late Victorian American," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 71-89.

Beyond routine uses of space within Hull-House that echoed a political or social public sphere, residents' spatial practices outside the 19<sup>th</sup> ward also betrayed their public conceptions of the settlement. Despite having learned to be comfortable living in a public place, long-term residents actively sought exclusive spaces that provided a personalized source for rejuvenation. Even Addams took advantage of an opportunity to escape. Typically it was the "large, gracious home on Walton Place" that belonged to Mary Rozet Smith, one of Addams' closest life-long companions, where she found a "refuge" to which she could slip away.<sup>50</sup>

Recuperative space, however, was not always tied to a physical structure of any kind. In Alice Hamilton's personal writings, her "private spaces" were often located out of doors and involved sporting activities. When in 1898 the temperature soared above ninety degrees Fahrenheit, she, Mr. Swope and Mary Hill, purchased "three wheels ... all Monarch '97 and all for the same price [of] twenty-five dollars." Not long thereafter, they took their first ride one evening which she described to Agnes as simply "delightful."<sup>51</sup> In fact, Hamilton enjoyed herself so much it became a regular nightly activity.

We leave the nineteenth ward steaming and choking and melting and in fifteen minutes we are on the lake-shore drive spinning along with the air fresh on our faces and the lake before us and the moon just coming up. We usually go to one of the most distant beer-gardens, leave our wheels and stay for an hour or so listening to the music and drinking delicious cold Bavarian beer from stone mugs, then we mount again and reach home between eleven and twelve. And after a cold bath one goes to bed feeling deliciously instead of all melted and miserable as I usually do in such weather.<sup>52</sup>

Other times, their planned routes involved a private country home as a point of reference or orientation, thus giving it a conventional domestic air.

This afternoon we three bicyclers, Mr. Ball, Miss Addams, and Mrs. [Florence] Kelley are going to Winnetka by train, taking our bicycles and the tandem with us. Then Miss

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<sup>50</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 67; Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America- A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1999), 133.

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, July 3, 1898, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 124.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 124-125.

Addams and Mrs. Kelley are going to the Smiths' for supper while we are going to the lake side where there is a farm house and a lovely Scotchwoman who gives us bread and butter and honey and eggs and lets us eat it on the bluff over-looking the lake. Then we shall come home by moon-light on our wheels.<sup>53</sup>

When recalling her early days at Hull-House, Edith Abbott displayed a similar fondness for exclusive, recuperative space. Much like Hamilton, her "private space" involved outdoor activities and private homes as points of orientation. She recounted, for example, how a good many of the residents

used to "sign up" for some informal Sunday walks which got us out in the country and away from the rather drab Hull-House streets. We would take a train to some good point of departure that led into the woods or the dunes to some good estate like the so-called "Forest of Arden," where we had been told we would be welcome. A luncheon cooked over a camp fire, usually included some strips of bacon and rolls, a few odds and ends, and some excellent coffee brewed by Fraulein Hannig, the music teacher.<sup>54</sup>

Much like Addams who withdrew regularly into Smith's mansion, both Hamilton and Edith retained a certain reverence for activities and spaces that were recuperative, leisurely, and secluded. Despite the profound structural differences between a private mansion and the open air, each chosen space and activity still removed residents from the bustle, demand, and danger of the industrialized city. Lake Shore Drive and the Forest of Arden therefore provided both women with the same therapeutic seclusion as a conventional private home. Through their social position, residents could access bicycles and private estates, and thereby create a means to escape the congestion and demanding schedules of the ward and the House respectively.

Alice and Edith also seemed to develop a certain dependence on exclusive activities and spaces that were disconnected from Hull-House and the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. This suggests that the routines and material elements comprising their daily lives as residents were integral features of their

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Winnetka is a small township located fourteen miles north of downtown Chicago, in an area commonly referred to as the North Shore. Incorporated in 1869, it was a residential area popular amongst the city's upper classes. Lewinnek, "Mapping Chicago, Imagining Metropolises," 197-225.

<sup>54</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

perceptions of the House, specifically of it as a public social space. The front parlor and foyer, the dining room, amongst others, were so integrated within and constitutive of public life in the ward that even their private rooms meant very little to them. Hamilton herself had become so accustomed to a public rhythm that giving up the dining room, conventionally a private space even amongst residents, for political campaigning in 1898 was done with barely a second thought.

Taken together, the recuperative spaces that residents developed outside of the ward, and the public spaces their routines and activities developed within Hull-House allowed residents to reverse mainstream conventions regarding space and gender. Instead of women withdrawing into the home to personalize a domestic sphere, residents personalized secluded space in the open air, and used Hull-House as *the* space within which they were exposed to and then addressed Chicago's inequities. Consequently, residents' everyday spatial practices and cultivated social spaces reverses both contemporaneous and contemporary associations made between specific physical structures, their urban location, societal cultural values, and individuals' spatial practices.

In the last few decades, historians have revisited some of the older discursive categories that framed their understanding of the physical and metaphorical place of women in the changing American city.<sup>55</sup> Foremost among these categories is what has been called the ideology of

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<sup>55</sup> On gender, sexuality and space, urban in particular, see: Sharon E. Wood, *Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); James Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Georgina Hickey, "The Geography of Pornography: Neighborhood Feminism and the Battle Against 'Dirty Bookstores' in Minneapolis," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32, 1 (2011): 125-151.

separate spheres.<sup>56</sup> With industrialization and a market economy, a middle class emerged in the nineteenth century that associated labor and economic decisions with men. Women would ideally withdraw into the home, or private sphere, where her stronger moral and artistic sense would educate children, and rebuff the masculine roughness of market economies.<sup>57</sup> As the city rapidly expanded and industrialized late in the 1800s, women's private spheres were then expected to soothe and rejuvenate men who were overstimulated by the metropolis. Some women embraced these ideas and moved into burgeoning suburbs and modernized the domestic sphere, while a minority chose novel downtown apartments and hotels.<sup>58</sup>

As both Sarah Deutsch and Daphne Spain demonstrate, however, even when women did not change their location, they did change their relationships to the larger city. Focusing on the

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<sup>56</sup> The literature regarding the need to move beyond public/private spheres is vast, important discussions have been offered by Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18, 2 (1966): 151-174; Nancy Cott, Linda Kerber, Robert Gross, Lynn Hunt, Carroll Smith-Richardson, and Christine M. Stansell, "Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46, 3 (1989): 565-585; Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, 1 (1988): 9-39; Joan Landes, "Further Thoughts on the Public/Private Distinction," *Journal of Women's History* 15, 2 (2003): 28-39; Maureen A. Flanagan and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, "Gender and the City: The Awful Being of Invisibility," and Mary Ann Irwin, "Sex, War, and Community Service: The Battle for San Francisco's Jewish Community Center," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32, 1 (2011): xiii-xx, 36-70.

<sup>57</sup> Boydston, "The Women Who Wasn't There," 183-206. Scholars have also shown how women manipulated discourses of separate spheres for their own gain. Michael Warner points to Catherine Beecher who lauded women's "private" morality, and therefore gained public prominence, while Alison Piepmeier examines how women emphasized the importance of the mind over the material body. This allowed women like Mary Baker Eddy to avoid popular sentimentality surrounding women, and gain access to male spaces and discourses. Similarly, Thomas Henthorn shows how women gained control over civic issues in Houston by emphasizing discourses of motherhood. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 22-26. Alison Piepmeier, *Out in Public: Configurations of Women's Bodies in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 60-91. Thomas C. Henthorn, "'A Nations' Need—Good and Well Trained Mothers': Gender, Charity, and the New Urban South," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32, 1 (2011): 71-101.

<sup>58</sup> On suburbia as a panacea, see: Kenneth T. Jackson, "Affordable Homes for the Common Man," in *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), chapter 7; Marsh, "Homemakers Male and Female" and "Breathing the Air of Domesticity," in *Suburban Lives*, chapters 3 and 4. For a similar argument that also acknowledges immigrant suburban communities, see: Dolores Hayden, "Streetcar Buildouts," in *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Vintage, 2004), chapter 5. For women who subverted the private home in some way by choosing to remain in the city at this time, see: Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1981); Kim Christensen, "Troubling the Domestic Sphere: Women Reformers and the Changing Place of the Homes in the United States, 1854-1939," in *Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations: From Private to Public*, ed. Susan M. Spencer-Wood (New York: Springer, 2013), 63-83.

upper-class families of Boston and Cleveland, respectively, both historians point out how the women of Back Bay, Beacon Hill, and Euclid Avenue remained in their historic neighborhoods while the urban poor amassed just a few blocks away. Instead of fleeing to lily-white suburbs, these women used the respectability associated with their permanent addresses to launch reform campaigns to “improve” morality. Daily they gathered in their front parlors before visiting different slums to impress upon mothers the importance of proper hygiene, food storage, and sobriety. The more organized and active they became, associations were strengthened between gender, respectability, and urban geography, creating, in turn, moral maps of the larger city. Much like the nurses and social workers of Chicago examined by Maureen A. Flanagan, who launched scientific reforms to improve both morality and public health, the women of Cleveland and Boston became a regular part of everyday public life.<sup>59</sup>

By drawing on conventions of morality to remap the city, including the asymmetrical power relations it created, Deutsch, Spain, and Flanagan illustrate how gender conventions and domestic experiences amongst middle and upper class women understood the physical spaces of the city around them differently from men. As a result, they moved throughout and used the city for different purposes, as if they had created their own public sphere.<sup>60</sup> Clearly, relationships between women and the city were varied and dynamic. Yet, in their respective studies, the public sphere with which women engaged was greatly influenced by their domestic experiences, as if they viewed the city around them “with their hearts.” Women who opened branches of the

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<sup>59</sup> Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Daphne Spain, *How Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); idem, “Safe Havens for Cleveland’s Virtuous Women, 1868-1928,” *Journal of Planning History* 3 (2004): 267-291; Flanagan, “Gender and Urban Political Reform,” 1032-1050; idem, *Seeing with Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>60</sup> On multiple public spheres, see: Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992), 109-142. For recent applications of women and a separate women’s public sphere, see: Alice Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), for example, reshaped the urban landscape so it both served and protected vulnerable women, young mothers in particular, by offering respectable private spaces within boarding houses that were clustered in one particular neighborhood. Alternatively, the arguments they used when lobbying for increased municipal services, illustrate how women drew on their experiences as primary care-giver. Described by Flanagan as "municipal housekeeping," their perceptions of the city were holistic, involving the well-being of all residents and workers. Their approaches to reform, including even the most mundane yet urgent services, such as garbage collection, were equally holistic. As Flanagan has argued, municipal housekeeping allowed some women to organize important political agitation. Yet, because the reform work done by them was understood as an extension of their domestic labours and values, their practices with the city created a "domestic public" that was exclusive of the political and economic one associated with masculinity.

It is not surprising, then, that Hull-House has played a critical role in the way historians have come to understand and articulate the changing relationships between women and the city. Historians Estelle Freedman, Katherine Kish Sklar, and Helen Horowitz, for example, have modified separate spheres so to present the House as a public version of female dominated private space.<sup>61</sup> Valuable in so far as their work delineates alternative versions of a women's sphere and diversifies a public sphere, their respective methodologies limit interpretations of Hull-House. If it is seen as a secure and protective enclosure in which female residents controlled their work and lives, Hull-House was cut off from the city around them. Consequently, it is difficult to understand how their work inside Hull-House was related to not only their work in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, but also to their later work establishing a tolerant and compassionate global

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<sup>61</sup> Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, 3 (1979): 512-529; Sklar, "Community of Women Reformers," 657-677; Horowitz, "Hull-House," 40-55.

community. Examinations of the relationship between urban experience, social spaces, and individual change are therefore limited.

Rather than present Hull-House as an exclusive compartment of public space, extension seems more appropriate. For different reasons, Wendy Sarvasay, Marilyn Fischer, and Shannon Jackson have considered the impact of residents' urban experiences broadly conceived.<sup>62</sup>

Although neither Fischer nor Sarvasay discuss space and place at length, they both explore the intellectual and political ramifications of Addams' city-wide efforts at reform. Consequently, their respective work implies that dividing Addams' activities between gendered spaces limits understanding of her pacifism. Jackson explicitly brings the debate back to issues of space and place. Yet, instead of reworking male/female, public/private divisions, she uses performance theory to argue that daily routines of both male and female residents provided neighbors with exemplary arrangements of home, family, and kinship. Hull-House is thus presented as a public stage whose composite places and members are transparent and fully accessible to ward inhabitants. Similar to Fischer and Sarvasay, Jackson demonstrates the value of perceiving Hull-House as an integrated part of public space.

Inspired in part by Jackson's research, I propose that residents' work inside Hull-House be viewed as an extension and constitutive element of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward itself.<sup>63</sup> Since it is difficult to

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<sup>62</sup> Sarvasay, "Democratic Cosmopolitanism and World Social Citizenship," Fischer, "Conceptual Scaffolding," and Shannon Jackson, "Toward a Queer Social Welfare Studies: Unsettling Jane Addams," in *Jane Addams and the Practice of Democracy*, ed. Fischer, Nackenoff and Chmielewski, 183-202; 164-182; 143-164. On the uses of performance theory to understand the effect of Hull-House on immigrants' integration and the women's movement as practiced by female residents, see: Jackson's *Lines of Activity*. Performance theory has also been used to show how women eluded, challenged, or took advantage of Victorian ideals of womanhood. Piepmeier, *Out in Public*.

<sup>63</sup> Susan Gal has also shown how place, everyday practices, language, temporal context, and political traditions can expose how private and public are conceived as stable and practiced by the community and the State. Susan Gal, "A Semiotics of the Private/Public Distinction," in *Going Public: Feminism and the Shifting Boundaries of the Private Sphere*, ed. Joan W. Scott and Debra Keates (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004): 261-277; idem, "Language Ideologies Compared: Metaphors of Public and Private," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15, 1 (2005): 23-37. By looking at female graduate students during the Progressive Era, Rosenberg shows how shifting academic cultures, a personal network, and feminism converged to allow women to enter this public realm. Rosalind

argue that a spatial relationship between the dining room and street was seamless, I want to propose instead that a dynamic porosity existed.<sup>64</sup> As different services and activities were undertaken within the House, and work completed throughout the ward, residents moved over the porch and through the front door without pause, allowing the rhythms of the street outside and the House inside to become entangled. The dining room, library, and parlor therefore became particular parts of a larger social space that integrated the interior of the House into the ward itself. Rather than view residents “on the door” as sentinels who literally or metaphorically separated the House from the larger city, these women and the door they tended personified the porosity between House and street, eventually underwriting a trust that developed between residents and their neighbors.

### **Transnational Urban Spaces with American Cities**

With Hull-House redefined as a public social space, it becomes important to ask what cultural processes rendered it distinct. If it was alienated from Chicago’s iconic booster spirit and worldly economic, social, and professional connections, then what defined the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, including Hull-House, as a place? As described above, Chicago had developed a reputation as an ambitious international city by the end of the 1800s. Any material and economic manifestations of this

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Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

<sup>64</sup> A seamless or continuous spatial relationship between the House and street would mean that all values, beliefs, and people, regardless of living conditions, employment, leisure activities, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexual practices, etc., moved into and out of the House unabated. This required residents to view their place in the slum without any bias or authority derived from their education, professions, upbringing, or contemporaneous societal and professional standing. As Lissak has argued, despite their best intentions, settlers did assimilate new immigrants into a common American culture, albeit with more sympathy, patience, and tolerance for ethnic diversity when compared with other assimilationists. Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives*, 182, 183, 184, 41, 42, 46. Laura S. Abrams and Jessica Toft, “Progressive Maternalists and the Citizenship Status of Low-Income Single Mothers,” *Social Science Review* 78, 2 (2004): 447-465. For a similar argument about settlers and social workers, see: Raymond Mohl and Neil Betten, “Ethnic Adjustment in the Industrial City: The International Institute of Gary, 1919-1940,” *International Migration Review* 6, 4 (1972): 361-376; Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

reputation, however, stopped at the Chicago River. Unlike the financial district, innovative skyscrapers and neoclassical museums were never erected in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. Instead, many conditions were allowed to persist in the crowded quarters west of the river because it was thought the neighborhood would soon be filled with factories and railroad terminals, and any improvement on property would only be money thrown away.<sup>65</sup>

Unfortunately for the residents of both Hull-House and its surrounding neighborhoods, most Chicagoans, including influential members of City Hall and the Commercial Club, neglected or ignored immigrants' plight, such as the slum-like conditions of the Near West Side.<sup>66</sup> Edith Abbott's recollections of her first years as a resident, for instance, demonstrate that conditions roughly fifteen to twenty years later were no better, if not worse.

The old West Side [was] still part of the vast city wilderness ... and 'getting over to the West Side' from the University was not easy ... The streets were atrocious - often badly paved with old worn-out cedar-block pavements, rarely cleaned or never cleaned. And in those pre-automobile days, there were horses everywhere, and filthy rotting stables, and indescribably filthy alleys.<sup>67</sup>

Furthermore, to reach the ward, Chicagoans had to traverse not only the river, but also several lines of railroad tracks belonging to the Chicago and Alton Railroad, and Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railroad, respectively. Disconnected from the larger city by geography, infrastructure, architecture, and concentrations of wealth, the 19<sup>th</sup> ward developed its own urban culture.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Addams, "Comments on Map of Nationalities," *HHMP*, 9-10.

<sup>66</sup> Scholars have often pointed to nativism to explain this, and use the lack of garbage collection prior to Addams' assuming control over it, as a poignant case study. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 168-173; David Naguib Pellow, *Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Environmental Justice in Chicago* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2004), 21-22. Established in 1877, the Commercial Club was comprised of prominent local capitalists. It was formed to promote Chicago's economic development, as well as civic issues including sanitation, smoke abatement, and street cleaning.

<sup>67</sup> Edith was referring to the University of Chicago. E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>68</sup> Literature about the relationship between physical structure, geographic location, and a recognizable everyday culture is vast. In addition to the work referenced above, sources that have most influenced my thinking include: Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper, 1962); idem,

Chicago at that time was the rushing, growing metropolis of the West ... [Yet] the crowded streets around the House with their strange foreign signs and foreign-looking shops that were often very shabby and untidy seemed strangely unrelated to the great, prosperous city that was called the “Queen of the West.”<sup>69</sup>

Long before Hull-House opened in 1889, the ward had a strong international heritage.

When Addams and Starr did move in, they encountered a diverse array of individuals and families from European, Mediterranean, and even Asian nation-states. In her famous essay, “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement,” first published in 1893, Addams delineated vividly the area surrounding Hull-Mansion, which then

stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three of four more or less distinct foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians: Neapolitans, Sicillians, and Calabrians, with an occasional 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 further 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 America, and to the north are many Irish and first-generation Americans.<sup>70</sup>

*Hull-House Maps and Papers*, published three years after this essay, builds on Addams’ description using thorough surveys and essays about the city’s west side. Sponsored by the U.S.

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“Building, Dwelling, Thinking,” in *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings, from Being and Time (1927) to The Task of Thinking (1964)*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 319-340; Henri Lefebvre *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (1974; repr., Malden: Blackwell, 1991); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); idem, “Questions on Geography,” interview by the editors of *Hérodote* in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 63-78; idem, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), the lectures given on 11th, 18th, and 25th of January 1978 in particular; Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault, and the Project of a Spatial History* (New York: Continuum, 2001); idem, “Between Marx and Heidegger: Politics, Philosophy and Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space*,” *Antipode* 36, 1 (2004): 86-105; idem, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (New York: Continuum, 2006); Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989), 60-63; Alan Trachtenberg, “Civic Idealism in Stone: Louis Sullivan’s Auditorium Building,” in *Lincoln’s Smile and Other Enigmas* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 206-222; Thomas Bender, *The Unfinished City: New York and the Metropolitan Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

<sup>69</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>70</sup> Originally, Addams gave this paper in the summer of 1892 in Plymouth, MA at a summer school organized by the Ethical Culture Societies. It was subsequently published in 1893 by Thomas Y. Cromwell and Company in *Philanthropy and Social Progress*. The copy referenced here is taken from Lasch, *Social Thought of Jane Addams*, 44-61. This quotation is taken from page 45.

Department of Labour, Florence Kelley organized teams of state-paid surveyors to canvass the area. Tasked with gathering detailed information from ward residents about their home country, income, regular diet, dependents, education, languages spoken, and practical skill sets, surveyors were expected to speak with every tenant of every tenement.<sup>71</sup> While the volume was a product of state interests, the maps provide invaluable visual demonstrations of where various countries, races, and ethnicities were grouped. Moreover, they also help to illustrate just how diverse the area had become: when taken together, the four “Maps of Nationalities” represent twenty-four distinct groups.<sup>72</sup> (Figure 6) To provide even more social and economic context to this diversity, several essays describing the sweat-shop, the labor movement, other local charities, and a Chicago ghetto, as well as a general introduction by Addams, were published with the maps. In the latter, she was much more specific, locating

the Italians ... solidly packed into the front and rear tenements on Ewing and Polk Streets ... The Russian and Polish Jews cluster about Polk and Twelfth Streets, on the edge of the ‘Ghetto,’ extending south beyond Twelfth. The Bohemians for the third great group, and occupy the better streets toward the corner of Twelfth and Halsted, extending south and west beyond the limits of the map. .... The Irish, although pretty well sprinkled, are most numerous on Forquer Street, which is a shade better than Ewing or Polk. A few French pepper the western edge of the section ... [and] two colored people are found west of the river.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Sklar et al, “Changes in the Built Environment at Hull-House,” <http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/wasm/wasmrestricted.DP51/intro.htm>.

<sup>72</sup> The groups represented on the maps were: England, African-American, Italy, Switzerland, France, English Canadian, French Canadian, Greece, Syria, China, Turkey, Arabia, Germany, Hungary-Austria, Russia, Poland, Romania, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Bohemia, Scotland, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Addams counted the groups as eighteen in number. Yet, when her list is itemized, the number is actually quite higher. It is important to note however, that the “Maps of Nationalities” go beyond the 19<sup>th</sup> ward to include the immediate east side of the Chicago River. Despite municipal boundaries, residents often considered the inhabitants of the *East* as part of their neighborhood. Addams, “Comments,” *HHMP*, 15-17.

<sup>73</sup> Addams, “Comments,” *HHMP*, 17.

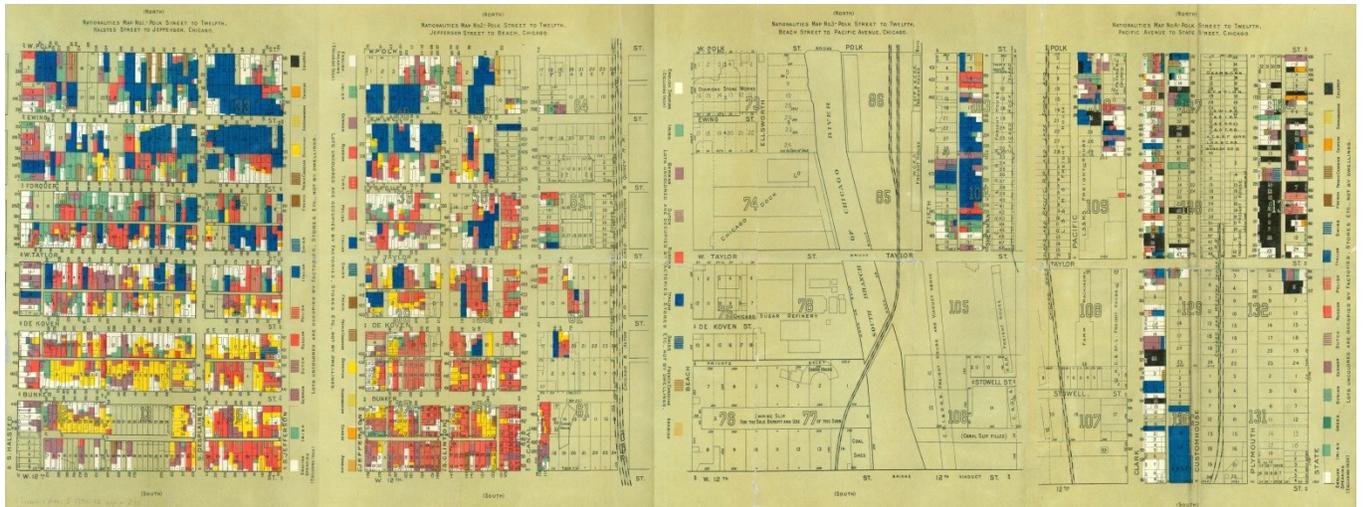


Figure 6: Nationalities Maps, Polk St. to Twelfth, Chicago. Coloured map by Samuel S. Greely originally published in *HHMP*, now in the Public Domain via Newberry Library, *Digital Collections for the Classroom*, <http://dcc.newberry.org> (accessed March 15, 2010). Each colour represented a distinct nationality, as counted by researchers. Hull-House was located in the top right hand corner of the first map.

Although she and her sister Grace would not arrive in Chicago's 19<sup>th</sup> ward for another fourteen years, the descriptions provided by Edith of her new home are such a strong match for Addams' descriptions, they are worth repeating.

The foreign colonies were well established ... There were Italians in front of us, and to the left a large Greek colony had an "Acropolis Restaurant" and a "Parthenon Barbershop" near our coffee shop. The large Bulgarian colony a few blocks west of Halsted Street and along to the north had almost no women, but large numbers of fine men.<sup>74</sup>

Edith Abbott's recollections, compared to those of Addams, are noteworthy for two reasons.

First they suggest strongly that as immigrants flowed into Chicago's west side throughout the Progressive Era, they continued to shape and change the urban environment around them.

Perhaps most affecting were various initiatives undertaken to adapt the urban environment to both satisfy their needs, and facilitate opportunities. The Maxwell Street Market is one such

<sup>74</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP. Although described for different reasons, similar comments about the concentration of immigrant groups in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward can be found in: Grace Abbott, "A Study of the Greeks in Chicago," *The American Journal of Sociology* 15, 3 (1909): 379-393; idem, "Bulgarians of Chicago," *Charities and Commons* 11 (January 1909): 653-660.

example.<sup>75</sup> Located just a few blocks south of Hull-House, it teemed with “push carts heaped with shoes, stockings, potatoes, onions, old clothes, new clothes, dishes, pots and pans, and food for the Sunday trade.” Since Abbott found it “as picturesque as it was insanitary,” her consistent tones of amazement as she recounted the market are not surprising. The flow of immigrants into the ward altered its urban shape such that a predictable space in an American city had become something novel and entirely unknown.<sup>76</sup>

Second, the events and places that Edith Abbott recalled took place at least fifteen years later than the descriptions Addams provided in “The Objective Value of a Social Settlement,” and *Hull-House Maps and Papers*. Despite this, the inward flow of immigrants and the isolation of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward remained consistent enough that both settlers described a neighborhood that was more a disparate collection of European cultures than an Americanized borough.<sup>77</sup> Consequently, by placing Abbott’s descriptions alongside that of Addams, it becomes clear that what emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward between the late 1800s and early 1900s was a stable and distinct urban culture. Owing at least in part to immigrants’ continuous arrival and active engagement with the built environment around them, the ward became both a mirror and metaphor for American

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<sup>75</sup> For different reasons and using different methods, Cohen has demonstrated how the market and neighborhood stores allowed the Italians to shape the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. Liz Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>76</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>77</sup> “The American City,” rather than “American borough,” is a common phrase amongst U.S. urban historians. In this instance however, the latter refers to Progressive Era middle-class suburbs that rose rapidly in popularity and were dominated by white Americans, managerial or mercantile capitalism, and ‘modern’ middle-class respectability. In addition to the literature already cited, see: Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1989); Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2001). Literature on the mutually effecting relationships between economic, cultural, and societal change has been referenced. But Lears’ work is particularly relevant here as his argument regarding professional white masculinity involves various, personal adaptations to male dominated space within the domestic household. This allows him to challenge not only separate spheres methodology, but also assumptions common to masculinity literature that the household was at best an awkward space for middle-class men, especially after “modern” Progressive Era urban planning relocated the workplace to novel skyscrapers and office buildings in city centers. Lears, therefore, expands opportunities for examining the relationship between changes to masculine conventions and both structural and infrastructural trends. Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

transnational urbanism.<sup>78</sup> As Michael P. Smith argues, transnational urbanism occurs at particular places in particular moments where

the criss-crossing transnational circuits of communication and cross-cutting local, translocal, and transnational social practices that “come together” ... and enter into the contested politics of place-making, the social construction of power differentials, and the making of individual, group, national, and transnational identities, and their corresponding fields of difference.<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps the best demonstrations that a transnational urban culture had emerged within the 19<sup>th</sup> ward to distinguish it from the “Queen of the West” are residents’ personal descriptions of their neighbours’ daily routines. Even though more than fifteen years separated the recorded experiences of both Addams and Edith Abbott, they encountered many of the same spatial practices. Much like their respective descriptions of the ward’s streets, bridges, and relationship to Chicagoan boosterism, when taken together their writings illustrate the extent to which immigrants’ activities had changed Chicago. In her opening comments to *Hull-House Maps and Papers* for instance, Addams wrote how

the back doors of large establishments give glimpses of the inwardness of factory life, and bent figures stitching at the basement windows proclaim that the sweater is abroad in the land. Furnished rooms for rent are numerous; Italian rag and wine shops abound; dressmakers’, calciminers’, and cobblers’ signs in Bohemian, German, and Russian are not infrequent; while the omnipresent midwife is announced in polygot on every hand.<sup>80</sup>

Despite her ailing health, Addams herself frequently left the House to wander throughout the ward, looking in Baudelairian fashion for the hallmarks of immigrants’ daily experiences. Not surprisingly, as she traveled, she found that “one hears little English spoken, and the faces and manners met with are very foreign.”<sup>81</sup> Once again, Edith Abbott’s candid, if sometimes florid,

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<sup>78</sup> Michael P. Smith, *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2001).

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *Transnational Urbanism*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> By polygot, Addams may have been referring to the diverse European languages used on the Near West Side, and possibly she could not distinguish between some of them, let alone understand them. Addams, “General Comments,” *HHMP*, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Addams, “General Comments,” *HHMP*, 6.

descriptions of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward are strikingly similar to those offered by Addams in 1893. After crossing the Chicago River, Abbott found that “Italian and Jewish women moving slowly along with great piles of men’s garments stacked on their heads” were a regular sight.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, in her travels throughout the area, she also found that most “foreign colonies” were so well-established, that she rarely encountered English speaking patrons in the streets, shops, or markets.<sup>83</sup>

Of the many experiences Abbott recorded, it was the nights when residents danced the female parts of traditional Greek dances that begin to suggest how the ward’s transnationalism extended into the House itself. In the early 1900s, Greek men came to America either as bachelors, or ahead of their female dependents, whom they would send for after having found economic stability. Hull-House then became active in providing settings and participants in the cultural rituals of Greek life. When local Greek clubs had dances at Hull-House, female residents, young and old, “were called in ‘to help the Greeks dance.’”<sup>84</sup>

Beyond residents’ personal writings, Hull-House Association Records offer vivid insight into how the porosity that developed between the streets outside and inside the House itself allowed the latter to become a distinct transnational space, an institutional microcosm of America’s Gilded Age immigrant process yet housed in a physical space that was self-consciously Anglo-middle-class in its normative aesthetics. Newsletters, wherein various programs, lectures, clubs, and activities were explained, provide a comprehensive portrayal of everyday life within the settlement. At times, a preference for refined culture amongst residents and volunteers existed. During the first weeks of their residence, Ellen Starr organized a reading group that began with George Eliot’s *Romola*. Five years later in 1894, the Hull-House Social

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<sup>82</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid; G. Abbott, “Greeks in Chicago,” 378-393.

Club, comprised of young women and focused on literature, presented “The Merchant of Venice,” while the Shakespeare Club presented “Twelfth Night.”<sup>85</sup> The program for the following year, which Addams described as “possibly more typical,” once again conveys an early emphasis on elitist approaches to education. One particular list of weekly lectures featured topics covering mainly European and Classical philosophy—Charles Zeublin, and Prof. J.H. Tufts, both from the University of Chicago, spoke about Sir Thomas More and Marcus Aurelius respectively.<sup>86</sup>

It would be hard to argue, however, that elitism dominated residents’ approaches to and attitudes about reform. Wagner and Aurelius aside, the yearly programs offered by the Hull-House Association included many classes that were intended to either help immigrants understand American society, or to celebrate their distinct traditions. In the early 1890s for instance, a course in German woodworking, and language classes in Latin and German, were regularly offered, while “Bohemian History” was held in the Art Exhibition Room.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, as reported by guest lecturer Oliver J. Thatcher, the students that took his winter course on the “Beginnings of the Middle Age” were a “very interesting audience ... very mixed in its make-up, consisting of Jews, Germans, Negroes, Americans, etc,” but also remarkable for their interest, attentiveness, and insatiable curiosity. In the followings months as the Association promoted the

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<sup>85</sup> Addams, *TYHH*, 61; idem, *HHMP*, 226; Hull-House Publication 27 and 28; Starr first organized a group to debate Shakespearean literature during the winter of 1890. By 1894, it was a set reading group that met regularly. Stuart J Hecht, “Social and Artistic Integration: The Emergence of Hull-House Theatre,” *Theatre Journal* 34, 2 (1982): 174; Sichertman, *A Life in Letters*, 112.

<sup>86</sup> Addams, “Hull-House: A Social Settlement,” *HHMP*, 218.

<sup>87</sup> On American oriented courses, including lectures on taxation, radical political movements, American jurisprudence, Christian Socialism, and “domestic economy,” see: “Weekly Programme of Lectures, Clubs, Classes, etc.,” January 1891; “College Extension Classes,” Winter and Fall term 1891, Winter term 1892, Spring 1894. For courses with a European focus, other than such languages as German, Italian, French and Greek that were almost always included in class and course programs, see: “College Extension Program,” October 1890; “College Extension Courses: Thursday Lectures,” April 18, 1892; “Programs and Circulars,” 1894, Reel 53, *The Jane Addams Papers*, ed. Mary Lynn McCree Bryan et al (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1985-86), microfilm edition.

1894 program, his letter was reprinted and published; amongst Hull-House neighbors, residents, volunteers, and donors, his comments were circulated widely.<sup>88</sup>

Certain leisure activities often included in circulars are equally telling of the public transnational space that developed in Hull-House. Beginning as early as 1890, open receptions were held for neighbours of specific national groups. Initially, residents organized these receptions for the Italians. Although extremely popular, they ended after only two years when the supporting Italian philanthropist moved to Alabama to establish an agricultural colony. Shortly thereafter, every Friday night space was reserved for two hours for Germans neighbours. Normally, the time was spent singing, reading, and playing games; occasionally, they hosted “coffee-drinking and entertainment.” By the time *Hull-House Maps and Papers* was published in 1895, this regular reception was going on its fourth year and its “habituees [had] all the comradeship of a club.” Perhaps owing to how successful these two groups were, a Bohemian Club that met on Thursday nights in the library began advertising its meetings in the mid-1890s. Much like the Greek Club that Edith Abbott often found herself dancing with, these groups typically used the opportunity to revive, celebrate, or adapt traditions from their home country. Addams lauded the success of these groups as they were a “good illustration of the social feeling too often wasted in a cramped neighborhood for lack of space and encouragement.” Since these groups arrived at the House without specific lesson plans or objectives except to celebrate their home culture as they remembered it, in a manner of their choosing, residents like Abbott were exposed to and learned about a diverse array of European traditions. Other initiatives undertaken

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<sup>88</sup> “Report of Mr. O.J. Thatcher’s Course on the Beginnings of the Middle Ages at Hull-House Centre, beginning February 2<sup>nd</sup> and closing March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1893,” printed in Plan for College Extension Classes at the Hull-House, October 9, 1893. In January of 1893, a similar report was submitted by the lecturer, Nathan Butler. Although he notes the intelligence of the men and women who attended his class, he does not mention their ‘race’ or ‘nationality.’ Charles Zeublin was the University Extension Examiner who signed off on the report. Reel 53, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition.

by residents suggest further that Hull-House wanted to help perpetuate old world activities, beliefs, and values as families settled into American society. Throughout the 1890s, for instance, lessons in German needlepoint were offered by Fraulein Hannig in the art exhibit of the Butler Building. Along with practical instruction in English and the U.S. constitution, training in German, French, and Bohemian history were also regularly scheduled. Moreover, from its inception the Labor Museum's objective was not to provide elderly immigrants space for personal refuge, even though it did for those who were particularly listless. Rather, the Museum was established to provide space for their traditional forms of spinning and weaving. As they practiced, residents hoped the younger generations would become interested in their ancestral heritage.<sup>89</sup> Much like classes in needlepoint, languages, and history, as well as evenings dedicated to national clubs, the Museum was dedicated to the preservation of the practices, activities, beliefs, and values that had distinguished the home countries they had been forced to leave. Against the onrush of Chicago's gilded capitalism, and the poverty and overcrowding that was commonplace amongst the city's poor, residents and volunteers alike used the space Hull-House provided to promote cultural preservation, adaption, and integration.

In addition to the inward flow of immigrants, a transnational social space was created within Hull-House through the steady presence of foreign visitors and dignitaries. British journalist William T. Stead came during the winter of 1894, and visited Hull-House every night after having spent the day investigating labour conditions throughout Chicago. Regularly, Stead could be found in front of an open-fire recounting his experiences waiting in line without an overcoat so that he might be paid to sweep the streets, or working illegally as an agent in a gambling house. At least on one occasion, he pulled these stories together into a lecture for the

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<sup>89</sup> Hilda Satt Polacheck, *I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 63-66.

“Working People’s Social Science Club” entitled “The Chicago City Council.”<sup>90</sup> During his American lecture tour in 1901, Prince Peter Kropotkin of Russia was another guest of Addams’ and stayed at Hull-House.<sup>91</sup> Remembered as modest, kind, and gentle, his lecture “Factories, Fields, and Workshops,” which described the working conditions young girls faced in match factories, was well attended. Four years later, another Russian visitor, Katarina Breshkovsky, arrived in January 1905. A dauntless woman who had spent thirty years in prison for opposing the Czar, she too was gentle and kind. During an informal reception given in her honor, she “lifted her skirt and danced a little Russian folk dance” for all those gathered.<sup>92</sup>

Roughly twenty years later when the Abbott sisters had settled into Hull-House, Edith Abbott’s memories of visitors are strikingly similar. Dinner guests, for instance, included foreign contemporaries like Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary.<sup>93</sup> Several Londoners were also common guests, including Mrs. Barnett, whom they described as “the wife of Toynbee Hall,” Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters Sylvia and Christabel, and Mr. S.K. Ratcliffe, a journalist who often came to the U.S. for lecture tours. He came so frequently that “at times he seemed to be another resident.”<sup>94</sup> Foreign students studying at the University of Chicago sometimes stayed at Hull-House as well. During the final months of 1896, William Mackenzie King, future Canadian

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<sup>90</sup> Addams, *TYHH*, 97-98; idem, *HHMP*, 217. Stead spent that winter in Chicago as part of the working class to gather research for a book on labour conditions. Entitled *If Christ Came to Chicago!*, it was a general exposé and indictment of working conditions, political corruption, and the underground economy. William T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (London: Temple House, 1894).

<sup>91</sup> It is noteworthy that both Stead and Kropotkin later became active in the peace movement.

<sup>92</sup> Polacheck, *I Came a Stranger*, 68-69, n. 5 and 6, 208.

<sup>93</sup> Hungarian born, Rosika Schwimmer was active in women’s peace and suffrage movements, particularly in America. As will be discussed, she was a part of a lecture tour in 1914 that helped to promote pacifist protest and organizing in the U.S. and coordinated the Henry Ford Peace Ship. She went to both The Hague and Zürich peace conferences in 1915 and 1919, respectively.

<sup>94</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 4, EGAP. On Mrs. Barnett, see also: E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

Prime Minister, was there and found it aroused his interest in other communities, in social service, and in religious motivation.<sup>95</sup>

Throughout residents' daily life, the traditions, values, beliefs, and principles of both different national societies, and their respective classes were interwoven. Returning to Smith's conception of a transnational urban area as a place where room is made for "the criss-crossing transnational circuits of communication and cross-cutting local, translocal, and transnational social that 'come together' in particular places at particular times and enter into the contested politics of place-making," Hull-House is an appropriate example. As newsletters, letters, and memoirs demonstrate, immigrants were not simply a constant presence within the complex, rather their divergent cultural systems were emphasized as a new body of knowledge that residents would then work to understand, navigate, and pass on. In fact, residents learned to be so comfortable with transnational milieus, that during the First World War Marie Sukloff, who had recently escaped from Siberia, reveled in Addams', Alice Hamilton's and Edith Abbott's company. When she was with them, she "[hadn't] felt so much at home since [she] had first joined the Terrorists."<sup>96</sup>

While it may be more fruitful to conceive of Hull-House more as a node around which transnational urban processes coalesced, instead of an "urban centre" properly speaking, Smith's work is still illuminating.<sup>97</sup> Between classes on American history and German needlepoint, mixed with spontaneous lessons in traditional Greek dancing, well-educated young American women from isolated Midwestern towns and homes became a part of transnational exchanges within the Butler Building, dining room, front parlor, and gymnasium that were often continued

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<sup>95</sup> See diary entries for October 9, 23, 24, 1896, *The Diaries of William Lyon MacKenzie King*, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/index-e.html> (accessed May 15, 2012).

<sup>96</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>97</sup> Smith, *Transnational Urbanism*, 5.

beyond the front door, in the larger neighborhood. That such exchanges facilitated a “coming together” is suggested by Alice Hamilton’s article “Witch-Craft on Polk Street.” In the opening paragraph she eloquently argues that unlike the local police, to whom, like any “ordinary American[,] the whole world of black art is closed,” residents like herself “know the Italians better” and therefore “believe that the reason they [immigrants and first-generation Italian-Americans] do not bring charges against the ‘witchman’ or ‘witchwoman’ [by seeking help from officers of the law] ... is that they have got what they wanted, their money’s worth.” Although Hamilton struggled to understand the Italian community at first, its women in particular, over time she learned to gain the trust of Italian women and establish long lasting friendships.

It remains to be seen how Hull-House, as a transnational social space that was a constitutive part of the ward itself, helped Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott to develop a vision and agenda for international peace. Building on residents’ immersion within a transnational public place, offers the opportunity to question how an inward flow of “foreign” ideas and people influenced their world-views. Considered in this way, American pacifist leadership can emerge not as the product of such domestic forces as manifest destiny or exceptionalism, but as the function and product of a dialogue between transnational forces in everyday life. When residents’ efforts at reform are viewed as part of a unified urban experience, regardless of where specific activities took place, it may become clear just how influential was their time spent within a transnational culture. Viewing Hull-House as an extension of public space, therefore, can help to disentangle an inside-outside dialogue.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Engaging the City: Building Public-Spirited Manhood alongside European Civic Architecture and Democratic Reform**

*Under ordinary circumstances and with the ... political and commercial forces which have heretofore rendered impossible the best results in public architecture in America, isolated construction would doubtless have been the result. But a small coterie of public-spirited men have brought about a harmony of action among the many political agencies ... and achieved a result which is not far from ideal in its possibilities.<sup>1</sup>*

— Frederic C. Howe

West of the Chicago River, areas like the 19<sup>th</sup> ward felt abandoned and looked ugly by almost any standard. If development and growth were central to Chicago's bragging rights—a local habit that earned it the pejorative nickname the “Windy City” amongst New Yorkers—the chaos of its congested tenements, unkempt streets, and uncontrolled industrialization threatened its self-image as the city of America's future.<sup>2</sup> But civic reformers in a number of American cities also worried about the threat posed to the grandeur of their downtowns by chaotic, congested neighbourhoods, and by the restive immigrant masses or prostitutes, or both, living and working in undesirable conditions. One of the key cities in the development of a new civic consciousness was Cleveland, Ohio, a key transportation hub on Lake Erie and the one-time headquarters of

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<sup>1</sup> Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 624.

<sup>2</sup> On the rivalry between Chicago and New York during the late 1800s and early 1900s, see: Winston Weisman, “New York and the Problem of the First Skyscraper,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 12, 1 (1953): 13-21. Countering the rivalry narrative, Willis argues that skyscraper design has been a product and function of the cultures and workings of finance, and not a competition between Chicago and New York. Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995). On boosterism and Chicago's growth: see: William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1992), 31-46; Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Joanna Merwood-Salisbury, *Chicago 1890: The Skyscraper and the Modern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). That urban disorder and slum conditions motivated Burnham to develop the Plan of Chicago as early as 1896 and its boosters as early as 1901, see: Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 313-318.

John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil. It was in Cleveland that some of the most celebrated battles over public control of urban development in the Progressive Era took place.

Surrounding Cleveland's Public Square, a celebrated park that was the core of downtown, a prominent commercial and professional district was emerging. To the west, were buildings such as the Society of Savings (1890), the Western Reserve (1893), and the Cuyahoga Building (1893), erected by former partners Daniel H. Burnham and John W. Root, creating a series of stately Chicago School office buildings. Continuing westward on Superior Avenue was the Arcade (1890), famous for its glass-dome and interior Italian court, and exterior of dark masonry and broad, deep door and window archways similar to the Chicago School.<sup>3</sup> (Figure 7)

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<sup>3</sup> Important architectural buildings were erected quickly throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition to the these buildings was the Perry-Payne Building (1888), Western Reserve Building (1892), the Cuyahoga Building (1893), the Garfield Building (1898), and the Rockefeller Building (1905). Most of these drew heavily on Chicago School design, especially its early focus on Richardson Romanesque. On architectural development in downtown Cleveland, see: Edmund H. Chapman, "City Planning Under Industrialization: The Case of Cleveland," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 12, 2 (1953): 19-24; American Institute of Architects, Cleveland Chapter, *Cleveland Architecture, 1796-1958* (New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp., 1958), Archives and Library, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland (hereafter WRHS); Mary-Peale Schofield, "The Cleveland Arcade," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25, 4 (1966): 281-291.



Figure 7: The Arcade showing the Richardson Romanesque style of Chicago School architecture then common in Cleveland. The Superior Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio. Colour postcard, 1910. Courtesy of Special Collections, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University.

But north of Public Square and Superior Avenue, Cleveland's downtown was pressed against the Cuyahoga River and the shores of Lake Erie. Owing to rich oil deposits throughout

Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania, and the Cuyahoga's flat, wide river basin, known as the Flats, industrialization happened quickly in the 1870s. Within a decade, railroads and industries like Standard Oil and the Otis Iron & Steel Company had claimed the riverfront and lakefront, respectively. In the Gilded Age, unbridled capitalism, industrialism, and laissez-faire individualism defined the modern American city. When the stench, noise, and soot produced by railroads, refineries, and factories that hung over downtown were simply too unpleasant, elite residents who had always lived on Lake Avenue, which ran east from the river parallel with Lake Erie, joined new barons like Rockefeller on Euclid Avenue. Roughly two miles east of the Square, they erected extravagant mansions, allowing Millionaire's Row to quickly take shape. Within downtown, little was done to control industrialization. The Cuyahoga became so polluted Mayor Rensselaer R. Herrick likened it to "an open sewer through the centre of the city."<sup>4</sup> In the now empty homes along Lake Avenue, lower-class African-Americans, native-born Americans, Eastern Europeans, and Chinese moved in.<sup>5</sup> By 1900, these individuals were working in nearby machinist shops, in heavy industry, or in the hundreds of brothels, saloons, or gambling houses that soon flourished from the Square to the shores of Lake Erie.<sup>6</sup> With commercialized vice only

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<sup>4</sup> Rensselaer R. Herrick, a Republican, served as Mayor of Cleveland from 1879 to 1882. On this period in Cleveland, see: Edmund H. Chapman, "City Planning under Mercantile Expansion: The Case of Cleveland, Ohio," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 10, 4 (1951): 10-17; idem, "City Planning Under Industrialization," 19-24. On Euclid Avenue, see: Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1991), 137-213. Herrick quoted in: Nelson J. Callahan and William F. Hickey, *Irish Americans and their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1978), 115.

<sup>5</sup> Immigrants were scattered throughout Cleveland. But in downtown wards lived lower class Eastern-Europeans, Chinese, native-born Americans, and African-Americans. For an early study outlining their communities as of 1906, see: David E. Green, *The Invasion of Cleveland by Europeans* (Cleveland: The Mission Study Committee, 1906). On Chinese in the area, see: Emily Aronson and Robert B. Kent, "A Midwestern Chinatown? Cleveland, Ohio in North American Context, 1900-2005," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 25, 3 (2008): 312-314. The largest immigrant groups in Cuyahoga County in 1890 were: Germany (46090), Ireland (14642), England (13522), and Bohemia (10468). *Foreign Born Population by Country of Birth, 1890*, Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> The Hamilton Avenue Vice District stretched east from Ontario to E. 6<sup>th</sup> Street, and north from Superior Avenue to the Lake Front. Ernest H. Tippet, *Suppressing Prostitution in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Federated Churches of Cleveland, 1915). See also: H.G. Baldwin, J. Bunyan Lemon, W.W. Bustard, W.F. Roberts, and H. William Pilot, *Report of the Vice Commission of the Cleveland Baptist Brotherhood* (Cleveland: Cleveland Baptist Brotherhood,

a few blocks from old City Hall, electoral votes were bought, sold, and bartered in the District.<sup>7</sup> (Figure 8) This led Howe to lament in 1903 that this area was “in a bad condition [and] constantly tend to grow worse.” He was especially concerned about their “close proximity to the heart of the business center.”<sup>8</sup>

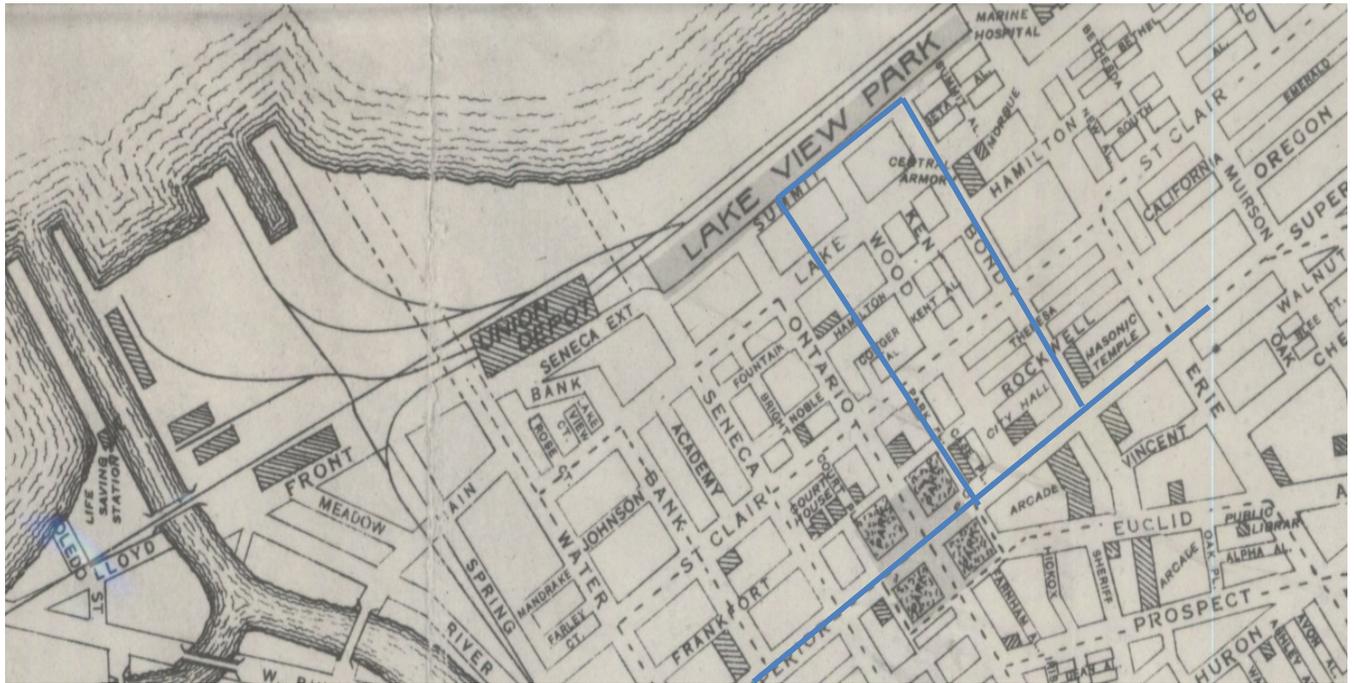


Figure 8: Map showing downtown Cleveland, where the Cuyahoga River (left) meets Lake Erie. Superior Avenue, the east-west avenue along which most Chicago School office buildings were situated, and the Group Plan site, extending north from Superior toward the Lake, are outlined in bold lines. Public Square is the shaded square left of where the Group Plan meets Superior. Hamilton and Lake Avenues, the heart of the vice district, are south of Lake View Park. Map of the city of Cleveland 1899-1900. Black and white ward map, Cleveland Directory Co., 1899. Courtesy of the Map Collection, Cleveland Public Library.

1911); Daniel R. Kerr, “The Reign of Wickedness’: The Changing Structures of Prostitution, Gambling and Political Protection in Cleveland from the Progressive Era to the Great Depression” (MA thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1998), 8-13; idem, *Derelict Paradise: Homelessness and Urban Development in Cleveland, Ohio* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 22-24.

<sup>7</sup> Maureen A. Mahoney, “In the Gaze of Cosmopolitanism: Controlling and Gendering the Public City in Cleveland, Ohio, 1890-1930” (paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Urban History Association, New York City, New York, October 25-28, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Burnham, Brunner, Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*, 4; idem, “The Cleveland Group Plan,” *Charities and the Commons* 19 (February 1908): 1548.

Such was the urban disorder that reform-minded professionals, politicians, and businessmen were determined to change beginning in the late 1890s.<sup>9</sup> Because the destructive laissez-faire attitudes of the Gilded Age had to be rectified for the wider social good, municipal leadership became increasingly associated with the ideals of selfless, educated experts who believed in good government and devoted a significant part of their professional energies to urban reform that would strengthen civic unity by inspiring residents' pride. Amongst reformers with this service ethic, many were attracted to the architectural and planning reforms of major European cities and the passionate efforts by elected officials to reclaim their cities, leading them to celebrate architect Daniel H. Burnham's neoclassical City Beautiful planning and the political reforms initiated by Mayor Tom L. Johnson. Not only was Old World architecture assumed to be superior, but beautified cities created order and uplifted the people by instilling a lost sense of pride, civic engagement, and democratic opportunity. And it was the consistent, everyday political actions of men like Johnson that allowed Burnham's awe-inspiring architecture to be integrated within Cleveland, affecting positive change. For Howe, public-spirited reform emerged in Cleveland the more he studied efforts by architects to remake the city using cosmopolitan precedents then represented by Paris, and previously by Athens and Florence, and by elected officials to implement changes to the built environment and to democratic practices. If Hull-House was a transformative public space that immersed Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott within social networks then permeating nation-state barriers between America and Europe, Howe had his affecting experiences within the wider city itself, where European material culture

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<sup>9</sup> Within Progressive Era urban historiography, it is widely noted that reformers worked to undo the damage caused by Gilded Age industrialization. Environmental urban historians provide particularly interesting work in this area. Matthew Klinge, "Changing Spaces; Property, and Power in Seattle, 1880-1945," *Journal of Urban History* 32, 2 (2006): 197-230; Martin V. Melosi, *Effluent America: Cities, Industry, Energy and the Environment* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 211-224; idem, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform and the Environment*, rev. ed. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

shaped local ideas of the modern American city and the city-men who would remake it. An urban oriented service ethic was therefore not just the way Howe defined a “reformer,” but the way he constructed masculine leadership.<sup>10</sup> By associating with and emulating revered, disinterested men throughout his career, he was working to embody the paternalist traits that accompanied city reform initiatives. But if the aesthetics of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, who had razed working-class quarters in Paris for elegant boulevards, was informing Progressive ideas of authority, could Howe envision an internationalism characterized by diversity and inclusion? Or would he prefer to change the cultures and structures of power by having an American city as the new cosmopolis, with public-spirited men at its helm?<sup>11</sup>

Demonstrating how a service ethic, masculinity, and neoclassical architecture created a context where transnational experience informed ideas of authority, requires beginning with men and the city. Spatial change was altering the descriptive ideals of male, just as it had for female, although the reasons were different. The personal extravagance and chaos of the Gilded Age allowed certain urban-minded reformers and architects in the Progressive Era to perceive public improvements and public architecture as a social good. After framing Burnham’s City Beautiful planning in this way, the social theories behind its projects are illuminated. The first half of this chapter, therefore, delineates debates ongoing at the turn-of-the-century regarding a “higher municipal order,” masculinity, and beautification, at a time when Howe first became involved in urban reform. Because civic unity required that someone in the community initiate consistent

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<sup>10</sup> In 1902, Howe described how at a public meeting someone called Johnson a “reformer.” Johnson did not take this as a compliment, as a reformer was “a crab” who “goes backward,” suggesting he was thinking critically of mugwumps. Whether Howe agreed is hard to tell, but in the preceding and succeeding paragraphs he described Johnson as a “strong man” who had unconventional ideas implying that reformer was more than a socially aware individual. Frederic C. Howe, “The Best Governed Community in the World,” *World’s Work* 3, 4 (1902): 1723, 1725.

<sup>11</sup> As stated in the introduction, Howe defined cosmopolis as cities that connected different regional economies together, acting as a node for international trade. Ideally, they featured majestic, awe-inspiring architecture and public spaces.

efforts to serve “the people,” or the producer classes that suffered in some way because of privileged classes, the final section offers a first look at the reforms initiated by Mayor Johnson.<sup>12</sup> Alongside him, Howe had his political awakening.<sup>13</sup> Collectively, the men who transformed urban places exposed him to benevolent leadership and a cosmopolitan knowledge of European society. By combining Burnham and Johnson, this chapter demonstrates how the incorporation of Old World culture and new world leadership in an American city became emblematic of an emergent masculine authority that both provided and celebrated civic unity for the people.

### **The City and Manhood**

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century dawned, rapid urban growth presented a challenge to middle-class white men. During the second half of the 1800s, male power had required an “honourable, highminded” manly persona defined by sexual self-restraint, a powerful will, and a strong character. As 1900 approached, however, Americans began to “cast about” for new sources and descriptions of male authority. The modern industrial city was a significant part of the problem. Many feared that the conveniences and luxuries that accompanied urban living threatened to cause widespread dependence, neurasthenia, or effeminacy.<sup>14</sup> Worse still, immigration and the “new-women” on bicycles riding to university seminars, association meetings, or the workplace

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<sup>12</sup> The argument that Progressivism was inspired by reformers’ common desire to resolve class conflicts through democratic reform has been made by Stromquist. He uses the phrase “the people” to refer to those classes whose grievances were considered symptomatic of exploitative class politics. Serving these vulnerable individuals was an important means for achieving civic unity. Although my argument is different, I use “the people” when examining Johnson’s and Howe’s municipal politics and aspirations. Stromquist, *Reinventing “The People,”* 1-11.

<sup>13</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139-140.

<sup>14</sup> This was argument made in “The Strenuous Life,” a speech first delivered in 1899. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1906), 1-24.

were further undermining the cultural formation that had long venerated the status of manly men.<sup>15</sup>

Within this shifting cultural context, the neutrality that had been associated with “masculinity” rendered it an ideal term for those Americans trying to identify new sources of legitimate male authority.<sup>16</sup> Many were drawn to assertive, physical attributes when identifying legitimate male power. This allowed men like President Theodore Roosevelt, who championed physical hardiness and a strenuous lifestyle, to enthusiastically promote territorial domination within continental and international geographic space.<sup>17</sup> On a smaller scale, ordinary men embraced this ethic by pursuing eccentric hobbies, or athletic or frontier activities, including rifle ranges, hunting and fishing, as if these pursuits would instill masculinity.<sup>18</sup> Male intellectuals in New York City’s Greenwich Village, meanwhile, countered an increasingly common argument that the over-stimulation found in cities weakened masculinity by finding ways to invigorate

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<sup>15</sup> For a classic overview of this gendered context, see: Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 1-45. Immigrants and the women’s movement are common aspects of the crisis of manhood. On the former, see: James Kyung-Jin Lee, *Urban Triage: Race and the Fictions of Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 144-181; Kevin P. Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 74-75. On the latter, see: Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990); Phillip Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliffé, “Flâneurie on Bicycles: Acquiescence to Women in Public in the 1890s,” *The Canadian Geographer/ Le Géographe canadien* 50, 1 (2006): 17-37.

<sup>16</sup> Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 18-20. On using gender to historicize the distribution of power, see also: Jeanne Boydston, “Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis,” *Gender and History* 20, 3 (2008): 558-583.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Lee Johnson, “‘A Memory Sweet to Soldiers’: The Significance of Gender in the History of the ‘American West,’” *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, 4 (1993): 495-517; Amy Kaplan, “Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s,” *American Literary History* 2, 4 (1990): 659-690; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

<sup>18</sup> On eccentric habits, see: R. Marie Griffith, “Apostles of Abstinence: Fasting and Masculinity during the Progressive Era,” *American Quarterly* 52, 4 (2000): 599-638; Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 59-98. On athletic activities, see: Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 80-120; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). On frontier activities, see: E. Anthony Rotundo, “Passionate Manhood: A Changing Standard of Masculinity,” in *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books: 1993), chapter 10, especially 227-232; Karen Merrill, *Public Lands and Political Meaning: Ranchers, the Government, and the Property Between Them* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21-23, 31-32; Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington: Island Press, 2004), 16-20, 65; Kevin Kokomoor, “The ‘Most Strenuous of Anglers’ Sports is Tarpon Fishing’: The Silver King as Progressive Era Outdoor Sport,” *Journal of Sport History* 37, 3 (2010): 347-364; Eleanor L. Hannah, “From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range: The Evolution of Manliness in the National Guards, 1870-1917,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, 2 (2007): 149-177.

their urban lifestyle. They did this by using the language of Frederick Turner Jackson and obsessively studying Friedrich Nietzsche's work and life story, especially his decision to leave a tenured position at Basel to wander the hills of Italy.<sup>19</sup> If such places as New York, Chicago, and Cleveland allowed men to escape repressive Victorian cultures, its onslaught of modernity only added to the uncertainty regarding male authority.<sup>20</sup>

What made finding solutions to urbanization easier for men was their unlimited access to public space, including areas of commercialized vice. Red-light districts, some even argued, would help men expend superfluous sexual energies, thus strengthening their virility and protecting the virtuous domestic sphere.<sup>21</sup> Saloons, meanwhile, offered opportunities for socialization. Working-class men, for example, would stage bare-knuckle fighting to reaffirm their hardiness, prowess, and honour at a time when menial labour drew them to the city in unprecedented numbers. And the middle-classes found a crucial source of camaraderie and spirited, if sometimes rowdy, leisure. So privileged was their access that homosexuals even openly cruised along New York's sidewalks, carefully using verbal and physical cues to invite

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<sup>19</sup> John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 40-50.

<sup>20</sup> Many scholars have used this crisis thesis. In addition to work already cited, see: Peter Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). On black men and crisis, see: Malinda Alaine Lindquist, *Race, Social Science and the Crisis of Manhood, 1890-1970* (New York: Routledge, 2012). For contemporary applications, see: Sally Robinson, *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 86-97, 101-102; Alicia P. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 148-190. Focusing on the pool rooms, dance halls, and restaurants that saloon and brothel owners operated along the edges of vice districts, Keire has shown how the distinctions drawn by reformers between illicit commercial amusements and "white-light" districts were quickly blurred. Spatial containment of prostitution was little more than an ideal. Mara L. Keire, *For Business and Pleasure: Red-Light Districts and the Regulation of Vice in the United States, 1890-1933* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 23-50

men to safe taverns.<sup>22</sup> If the city caused men anxiety, finding places, friends, and subcultures to fashion an assertive modern self was not a concern.

What about the city itself? How were shifts in masculine ideals connected with unprecedented change to the built environment and urban society? While scholars have not exactly overlooked men and the city, they have tended to present Progressive Era masculinity as a reaction to spatial change, imagined or actual, rather than a set of values that both shaped and were shaped by this change. Because cities in the Progressive Era underwent extensive scrutiny and alteration, it is important to ask how these physical changes affected masculine traits, and vice versa.<sup>23</sup> In *Downtown America*, for example, Alison Isenberg shows how architects like Charles Mulford Robinson responded to criticisms that City Beautiful was the public version of a decorated domestic space, and therefore irrelevant for capital growth. Robinson insisted that “beauty [was] ... the new business tool.” Although this rhetorical shift did not enhance men’s professionalism or prowess, it did allow them to reclaim control over Main Street by limiting women’s role to that of consumer.<sup>24</sup> Paula Lupkin pushes these dialectical relationships between gender and architecture further by examining changes to the Y.M.C.A. Beginning late in the 1800s, major financiers including J.P. Morgan decided the organization should reflect an urban

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<sup>22</sup> On bare-knuckle fighting, see: Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, updated ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 179-206. On middle-class bachelors, see: Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 185-250. See also: Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 85-86, 104-108, 126; Bryce Traister, “The Wandering Bachelor: Irving, Masculinity, and Authorship,” *American Literature* 74, 1 (2002): 111-137. On gay men: Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 179-206.

<sup>23</sup> The literature regarding space and masculinity is dense and steadily growing. Works that have consistently influenced my thinking, in addition to those already cited, include: Kathrin Hörschelmann and Bettina van Hoven, ed., *Spaces of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 2004); Joel Sanders, ed., *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996); Laura Mulvey, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” Jennifer Bloomer, “D’Or,” Mark Wigley, “Untitled: The Housing of Gender,” in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 53-72, 163-184, 327-389.

<sup>24</sup> Alison Isenberg, “City Beautiful or Beautiful Mess? The Gendered Origins of a Civic Ideal” and “Fixed an Image of Commercial Dignity: Postcards and the Business of Planning Main Street,” in *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), chapters 1 and 2, quote taken from page 77. Charles Mulford Robinson was a prominent architect, author, and promoter of beautification, who became the first professor of Civic Design at the University of Illinois-Champaign.

culture that was increasingly secular, bureaucratic, and focused on commercial and athletic leisure, rather than Christian charity. To this end, leaders within the Y.M.C.A. constructed new clubhouses within downtown that lacked parlors and looked more like office buildings. It then became common for members, especially young clerks, to recover from long workdays by taking “hot cabinet baths” followed by a vigorous towel-down. Through its clubhouses, the Y was embracing changes within men’s occupational context, and helping to promote a corresponding ethic that was moral, muscular, and avowedly managerial.<sup>25</sup>

Alongside architecture, immigrants caused extensive change to the urban landscape.<sup>26</sup> In *Political Manhood*, Kevin Murphy illuminates how voyeurism in and around slum tenements in the Lower East Side altered “manly” approaches to reform. The men, machine politics, and dire poverty not only shocked muckraking journalist Jacob Riis and police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, but inspired them to configure a vigorous and adventurous ethic, where honour required combatting class divisions and delivering civic unity to New York. Rather than emphasize crisis, Murphy shows how their engagement with particular places and people allowed them to alter their gendered values and modify their political identities. Roosevelt, Murphy claims, even moved beyond his high-minded mugwumpery.<sup>27</sup>

Howe also believed in the promise of civic unity. Rather than aggressively combatting slums or promoting new vigorous, physical experiences, it was civic architecture that inspired his visions and provided an important way of defining and applying his Progressive, urban version

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<sup>25</sup> Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>27</sup> Murphy, *Political Manhood*, 68-103, 36-37. Other historians counter the crisis thesis by showing how the new mass consumerism and industrialization inspired new masculine identities. Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Judith Hilkey, *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

of masculinity. Specifically, he recognized the selfless man who applied his professional activities to community objectives as a leader. Kevin Mattson argues that Howe was motivated by the problems of democracy, not by a desire for paternalistic uplift. It was actually less important, therefore, that the city do things for residents, and more important that he and Johnson create an educated citizenry. To this end, they organized tent forums that offered residents the opportunity to challenge the Mayor on any and all aspects of municipal politics.<sup>28</sup> While Mattson is correct to highlight the significance of these forums, it is curious that he looks past the relationship between masculinity and authority at a time when President Roosevelt ensured his hunting exploits were well publicized. Why did Howe find Johnson and his aspirations to “reclaim the city” so compelling during a period when legitimate male authority was relatively undefined and Americans felt uncertain about the city?

Historians still debate whether reformers had any values, visions, and criticisms in common, as previously mentioned. And Howe’s autobiography provides evidence for many common historiographical conclusions: positive statism, anti-boss politics, democratic opportunity, dissolving class conflict, and a desire for social order.<sup>29</sup> Dawley’s retort that Progressives’ eclectic interests “merely cancel each another out” seems apt.<sup>30</sup> Wilfred M. McClay, however, makes the compelling argument that at the root of Progressive social thought was a rejection of the classical-liberal self in all forms. Individuals drawn to reform were moving

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<sup>28</sup> Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Republic: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy during the Progressive Era* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 31-47; Johnston, “Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era,” 88.

<sup>29</sup> On statism, see: Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 233-242; Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 305-310. On anti-boss politics, see: Richard L. McCormick, “The Discovery that Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism,” *The American Historical Review* 86, 2 (1981): 247-274. On democratic opportunity, see: Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*. On dissolving class interests, see: Stromquist, *Reinventing “The People.”* On social order, see: Wiebe, “Revolution in Values,” in *Search for Order*, chapter 6. On the times when Howe’s writing support each of these interpretations, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 108-109, 116-117; 56-61, 92-94; 117; 100-107; 133-135.

<sup>30</sup> Dawley, *Struggles for Justice*, 128.

away from 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas that members of American society were “naturally free and independent ... In an age of incorporation and interdependence, all social reality was beginning to resemble a joint-stock company, in which no individual was less than fully vested.” Like Howe, some believed it was the responsibility of the experienced and educated classes to “engage in concrete problem solving rather than” abstract pursuits and to “identify the public interest and pursue the common weal” over and above activities that served selfish aspirations. Lawyers, architects, politicians, amongst others, therefore embraced “common subjection to the rule of the common good” as their professional ethic.<sup>31</sup> Within a city that was “deficient” of a “cooperative spirit,” for example, Howe celebrated a new “capacity for political sacrifice” and evidence that people were “learning to think as a municipality” by engaging with “city matters,” rather than their own capital gains, and showing “intelligent interest in the common things that belong to all of the people.” More importantly, Mayor Tom Johnson’s capacity to “think in big figures” was allowing “beautification of the city in a big way.” As a “strong man,” Johnson’s leadership was creating a new collective city sense, which the layout of the architectural project the Group Plan both symbolized and promoted. The people, Howe argued, were “not fearful of cost and [were] willing to bear the expense” because they felt “assured that the work will ... rapidly redeem [the] present bad reputation [of] ... the American city.”<sup>32</sup> Put another way, Howe viewed Johnson as a civic leader who was actively denouncing the interests. This included monopolistic corporations like Standard Oil and, more importantly, the values that underpinned them, such as individualism, self-aggrandizement, and growing structural inequality. Seemingly, those aspects of Progressive thought that obliged members of the “new middle class” to embody disinterestedness by applying their expertise impartially to avoid the “short-sighted pursuit of

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<sup>31</sup> McClay, *The Masterless*, 149-153, quoting 150, 152.

<sup>32</sup> Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1725; idem, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3988; idem, “The Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548.

self-interest,” resonated with Howe.<sup>33</sup> So much so that he used these ideas to define modern masculine leadership with urban America at the turn-of-the-century. Not long after he met Johnson, Howe would distinguish himself from such law colleagues as Harry and James R. Garfield by calling attention to their “moral distinctions.” Unlike himself, the Garfield brothers were characterized by “what the Romans described as manliness-*virtus*. It was tolerant, kindly, and scrupulous.” Howe, meanwhile, believed in things that effected change and were liberal, even “radical.”<sup>34</sup> Rather than separate urban reform from masculinity, I therefore propose asking how the disinterestedness of leading men had a mutually-effecting relationship with reform, both democratic and architectural.

Howe published these opinions of Johnson in 1903 and 1908. By then the young reformer was affiliated with a number of architects and politicians who shared with him this desire to reinforce a common good by implementing structural improvements, public in particular. When he first began studying urban reform in Cleveland in the mid-1890s, however, his publications promoted tax research rather than architectural or municipal policy.<sup>35</sup> While I am aware that Howe knew little about urban reform at the time, I propose locating his service ethic within a wider urban context—conceptual, political, gendered, and material—created by prominent architects, politicians, and eventually academics, beginning with architects. Their legitimacy as authorities within a global profession often required attending the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and applying its principles (particularly axial planning and grouped buildings with coordinated proportions). In this sense they found increasingly common ground with Progressives’ urgent

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<sup>33</sup> McClay, *The Masterless*, 152.

<sup>34</sup> Emphasis original. Howe, *Confessions*, 198.

<sup>35</sup> Examples include: Frederic C. Howe, “The Federal Revenue and the Income Tax,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 4 (January 1894): 65-89; idem, “Taxation of Quasi-Public Corporations in the State of Ohio and the Franchise Tax,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 14 (September 1899): 1-24; idem, “The Taxation of Quasi-Public Corporations,” *Publications of the American Economic Association* 2, 1 (1901): 71-93.

need for cohesion within urban communities, which was expressed through City Beautiful projects like the Group Plan. Through either building or endorsing these projects, architects strengthened their authority within the Progressive Era city. As men like Burnham, Robinson, and Brunner assumed responsibility for transnational civic spaces, Howe's political interests latched on.<sup>36</sup>

### **Architects, the Urban Crisis, and the Transnational Solution**

During the Gilded Age, industrialization created the American city, rendering factory smoke a celebrated sign of modernity.<sup>37</sup> Some, like landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, voiced concern about urban industrialization as early as 1870.<sup>38</sup> But it was not until urban disorder escalated throughout the 1880s and 1890s, that anxiety became widespread. As architects, journalists, critics, and politicians voiced concern, their aspirations for civilized, modern cities often became associated with the resurrection of neoclassical buildings, more ordered space, and,

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<sup>36</sup> On professionalism and the Beaux-Arts, see: Isabelle Gournay and Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte, "American Architecture Students in Belle Epoque Paris: Scholastic Strategies and the Achievements at the École des Beaux-Arts," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 12, 2 (2013): 154-198. On the relationship between social reform, urgency, and planning, see: Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 77-174.

<sup>37</sup> S. Paul O'Hara, *Gary, the Most American of All American Cities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788-1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 67-93; John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller, *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 15-50.

<sup>38</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted and James Croes, "Preliminary Report of the Landscape Architect and the Civil and Topographical Engineer, Upon the Laying Out of the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth Wards," *New York City Board of the Department of Public Parks, Document No. 72* (December 20, 1876); Leonard Kip, "The Building of Our Cities," *Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 11 (July 1870): 206-212; Horace William Shaler Cleveland, "Landscape Architecture Applied to the Arrangement of Towns- Duties and Responsibilities Incident to the Work- Rectangular Arrangement Objectionable Even on Level Sites – Illustrated by reference to Chicago," *Landscape Architecture, as Applied to the Wants of the West: with an Essay on Forest Planting on the Great Plains* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1873): 28-45, as provided by John W. Reps, "Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports," (2002), [http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/olmst\\_76.htm](http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/olmst_76.htm), <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/kip.htm>, <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/hwscleve.htm> (accessed June 2012); Anonymous, "Letters to the Editor: The Shaping of Towns," *American Architect and Building News*, 2 (June 16, 1877): 186; Horace Bushnell, "City Plans," *Work and Play: Or Literary Varieties* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864): 304-336.

therefore, a better organized society.<sup>39</sup> But this is to be expected. More importantly, reforming the built environment happened at a time when male leadership was being redefined. These projects were underpinned by language that was aimed at determining the attributes of the best types of men, and what personal and physical qualities acted as the source of said attributes.<sup>40</sup> Within American society at the turn of the century these emergent conceptions varied. Amongst the debates here considered, expertise, mastery, education, professional success, and a demonstrated desire to improve public architecture were amongst those revered masculine qualities. With beautification, American cities could “attain ... a magnificent manhood.”<sup>41</sup>

Writing in 1891, an anonymous contributor to the prominent periodical *Engineering News*, lamented that America streets were “very irregular, running in all directions and totally without system, and as a rule ... narrow and unsuited to the demands of modern civilization.”<sup>42</sup>

Herbert Croly, then editor of the *Architectural Record*, also criticized street plans, alleging the close proximity of buildings to streets was beneficial only for real estate speculators and builders. No regard was shown for the people of the city.<sup>43</sup> While in 1897, the editor of *The Architectural Review* lamented that American cities were “vulgar and unattractive ... [their] public architecture [was] stupid, and ... opportunities wasted.” Except for recently completed Beaux-Arts neoclassical buildings like the Boston Public Library (1895) and the Corcoran Art Gallery (1897), “such a condition [was] a disgrace to any nation that [was] worthy of the

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<sup>39</sup> Robert W. Cherny, “City Commercial, City Beautiful, City Practical: The San Francisco Visions of William C. Ralston, James D. Phelan, and Michael M. O’Shaughnessy,” *California History* 73, 4 (1994-1995): 296-307, esp. 303-304; Thomas S. Hines, “The Paradox of ‘Progressive’ Architecture: Urban Planning and Public Building in Tom Johnson’s Cleveland,” *American Quarterly* 25, 4 (1973): 426-448; Richard Guy Wilson, “Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, 1 (1983): 69-87; Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, 77-174; Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 208-234.

<sup>40</sup> Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 18-20; Boydston, “Gender as Historical Analysis,” 558-583

<sup>41</sup> Joseph West Moore, *Picturesque Washington*, quoted in Gillette, *Between Justice and Beauty*, 69.

<sup>42</sup> Anonymous, “Diagonal Avenues in Cities,” *Engineering News* 26 (October 1906): 334-335. See also: editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 3 (1897): 17-18; editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 4 (1897): 25-26.

<sup>43</sup> Herbert Croly, “New York as the American Metropolis,” *Architectural Record* 8, 3 (1903): 198.

name.”<sup>44</sup> Architect Russell Sturgis declared that a “hopeless dullness” characterized “so vast a proportion of [American] architectural work that it [was] hard to keep from saying that it [was] the characteristic of [it] all.”<sup>45</sup> Charles Mulford Robinson shared this outlook but held out hope for the future. In *World’s Work*, he anticipated the day when cities nation-wide would draw from planning approaches like City Beautiful and thus be “scientifically laid out in the beginning and embody a plan comprehensive, beautiful, and reasonable.”<sup>46</sup>

Associations between civilized modernity and cities, both orderly and beautiful, were also made by other citizens, academics, and politicians. Croly highlighted this when he described in 1903 the academic programs and professional periodicals recently established, implying that ordinary middle-class citizens were similarly drawn to urban and aesthetic questions by the turn of the century.<sup>47</sup> Shortly thereafter, Harvard President Charles W. Eliot boldly echoed this idea when he called on the architects and politicians assembled before him at an annual dinner for the American Institute of Architects to fulfill this next stage of civilization.

When a country gets rich and strong, industrially and commercially, the first way to which its wealth should be visibly expressed is in its architecture. Noble buildings should rise for public and private uses, and round these buildings parks and gardens should be created. A republic should not remain behind monarchies and empires in this artistic

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<sup>44</sup> The Boston Public Library was designed by Charles F. McKim of McKim, Mead and White. The Corcoran Gallery was designed by Ernest Flagg. It is in Washington, D.C. Quote taken from: Editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 3 (1897): 17-18. See also: editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 4 (1897): 25-26; editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 5 (1897): 33; Edgar V. Seller, “The Tennessee Centennial Exposition,” *The Architectural Review* 5, 2 (1898): 15-16; John Galen Howard, “The Spirit of Design at the École des Beaux-Arts,” *The Architectural Review* 5, 3 (1898): 25-27; editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 5, 4 (1898): 38; editor’s introduction, *The Architectural Review* 5, 6 (1898): 58.

<sup>45</sup> Russell Sturgis, “The True Education of an Architect,” *Atlantic Monthly* 81 (February 1898): 246.

<sup>46</sup> Charles Mulford Robinson, “The Remaking of Our Cities: A Summing Up of the Movement for Making Cities Beautiful While They Become Busy and Big- A Chain of Great Civic Improvements Which Mark A New Era of Urban Development,” *The World’s Work* 12 (October 1905): 8046. See also: Robinson, “A Pittsburgh Improvement,” *Architectural Record* 18, 2 (1905): 173-174; Burnham, “A Plain Talk on the Plan for the Future Development of Chicago,” n.d., Box 62, Folder 37, Daniel H. Burnham Papers, The Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (hereafter Burnham Papers).

<sup>47</sup> Herbert Croly, “American Architecture of Today,” *Architectural Record* 14, 5 (1903): 432. See also: Croly, “Civic Improvements: The Case of New York,” *Architectural Record* 21 (May 1907): 347-352, as provided by John W. Reps, “Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports,” (2002), <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/croly'07.htm> (accessed July 15, 2009).

development. On the contrary, it should gain much from the fact that the great race of the people feels a strong sense of ownership in all the republic's constructions ... I wish for the American Institute of Architects that it may have a strong and wise effect to make wealth, public and private, serve the arts and the arts serve wealth simultaneously, and with results of which many succeeding centuries will be proud.<sup>48</sup>

Struggle also justified beautification. Amongst white, professional men, Roosevelt's arguments that physical and moral strength were key elements of national manhood resonated widely, possibly even amongst architects and the politicians who supported them.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after the McMillan Plan for Washington was submitted, Congress recommended a site for a Hall of Records that contradicted the plans Burnham had prepared with Charles McKim, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. By way of reply, Burnham emphasized in a letter to Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw that not only had they gone through "the trouble and expense of laying out a plan," but "architectural beauty ... of an orderly and fitting arrangement of many buildings" required defending them within raucous political debate.

The question of location will arise whenever any building is to be dealt with, and pressure will inevitably be brought to bear to change from the general plan. No plan can be carried out unless the Executive enforces it, and one or two precedents against adhering to the general plan will make it impossible for the people to realize any good scheme whatever for public beauty in Washington.<sup>50</sup>

Joseph Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives, spoke more directly to the idea that beautification encapsulated the serial fight against barbarism. During his address at the same AIA dinner as Eliot in 1905, he described how his frontier child and young adulthood had made it difficult to support then recent efforts to enrich American architecture. Yet, he immediately assured his audience he now understood his follies. The finer arts contributed significantly to

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<sup>48</sup> Charles W. Eliot, "Letters and Telegrams," January 10, 1905, in *The Promise of American Architecture: Addresses at the Annual Dinner of the American Institute of Architects*, ed. Charles Moore (Washington: American Institute of Architects, 1905), 73.

<sup>49</sup> On struggle, whiteness, and masculinity, see: Bederman, "Remaking Manhood through Race and 'Civilization'," in *Manliness and Civilization*, chapter 1.

<sup>50</sup> Burnham to Shaw, June 24, 1903, in Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham: Architect, Planner of Cities* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 1:207.

national progress. Cannon, therefore, was using his story of citizenship to personify Turner's frontier thesis, as if attaining higher civilization through initiatives like City Beautiful was the next logical phase in the winning of the west.<sup>51</sup>

If they sometimes supported the moral sensibility and barbarian conquest that had attracted Roosevelt to Turner, Beaux-Arts architects did not typically emphasize a strenuous, physical struggle when framing their contributions to the common good.<sup>52</sup> Rather they lamented a general lack of cultural sophistication amongst ordinary Americans, leading them to revere the contributions of those generous architects who assumed a didactic role within society. During the summer of 1897, the editor of *The Architectural Review* decried ordinary citizens for not having “the artistic spirit to appreciate the whole, not the simplicity and modesty which would allow him to so sink his individuality for the general good.” This led the same editor to describe professional architects as experts of “aesthetic morals” and to applaud their determination to

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<sup>51</sup> Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, “Architecture and Appropriations,” in *Promise of American Architecture*, ed. Moore, 57-64. In 1894, Roosevelt published *The Winning of the West*, a four volume history confirming racial dominance by delineating the struggles between savagery and civilization. Much like Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, Roosevelt's history of civilizing progress played out spatially through westward expansion. Five years later, his speech “The Strenuous Life,” added imperialism to virile, hard-driving manhood that fought on behalf of civilization. The race that could achieve a perfected civilized order first was evidently the one with the most superior manhood, as Bederman argues. Fighting on behalf of City Beautiful in the hurly-burly of congressional politics was one more effort toward achieving these goals. Limerick provides another example. Roosevelt and Amos Pinchot developed aggressive forestry policy, and had a vigorous friendship that often involved wrestling. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 184; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 87, 136, 297-298.

<sup>52</sup> On Turner, Roosevelt, and the former's appeal for the President, see: William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” *Environmental History* 1, 1 (1996): 7-28. On architecture and moral reform, see: Daniel Burnham, Park Improvement Paper No. 10, “Extract from a Paper on the Commercial Value of Beauty,” in *Park Improvement Papers*, ed. Charles Moore (Washington: GPO, 1902), 191-194. Burnham participated in American imperialism when he accepted Roosevelt's commission for the Plans of Manila and Baguio. Although David Brody presents his actions as cultural imperialism, architectural scholars are less definitive. That said, most agree that Burnham and his firm wanted to shift Filipino culture toward American modernity. David Brody, “Building Empire: Architecture and American Imperialism in the Philippines,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 4, 2 (2001): 123-145; Thomas S. Hines, “The Imperial Façade: Daniel H. Burnham and American Architectural Planning in the Philippines,” *Pacific Historical Review* 41, 1 (1972): 33-53; idem, “American Modernism in the Philippines: The Forgotten Architecture of William E. Parsons,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 32, 4 (1973): 316-326; Ian Morley, “The Cultural Expansion of America: Imperialism, Civic Design, and the Philippines in the early 1900s,” *European Journal of American Culture* 29, 3 (2011): 229-251; Rebecca Tinio McKenna, “Burnham's Baguio and the Architecture of Anti-Colonialism” (paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Urban History Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, October 20-23, 2010).

enrich ordinary Americans' familiarity with fine art through their work.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, *The American Architect and Architecture* celebrated sculptors in New York who "with such seeming generosity and public spirit, volunteered their services" for work on the temporary Dewey Arch, an elaborate version of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, erected at Madison Square.<sup>54</sup> Even Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, was signalled out by *The Island Architect* for selecting architects Burnham and Charles McKim to improve government buildings in Washington, D.C. These actions demonstrated Gage's desire to connect "the nation, the state and the social whole," and his "broadmindedness and intelligent regard for public interest." The editor was even confident "his association ... with our foremost and most public spirited architects, had its influence in producing the present result."<sup>55</sup>

Ruminating on the various projects in which his firm was involved, Burnham expressed a similar desire to impartially apply his expertise and avoid self-serving interests. When preparing expansions of the White House in 1900, he hoped the Commission would embrace "the spirit of usefulness that made [the White City] possible."<sup>56</sup> And while drafting the accompanying McMillan Plan in 1901, that would both expand and complete L'Enfant's plans for the federal city, he systematically arranged the "white palaces" around the mall so to maximize green space for use by the people. Most of these buildings would be public or semi-public.<sup>57</sup> Visitors and

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<sup>53</sup> Editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 4 (August 2, 1897): 25-26; editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 6, 12 (1899): 145. See also: Editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 2 (1896), 9-10; editor's introduction 4, 3 (1897): 17; editor's introduction *The Architectural Review* 6, 2 (1899): 19; editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 3 (1897): 17.

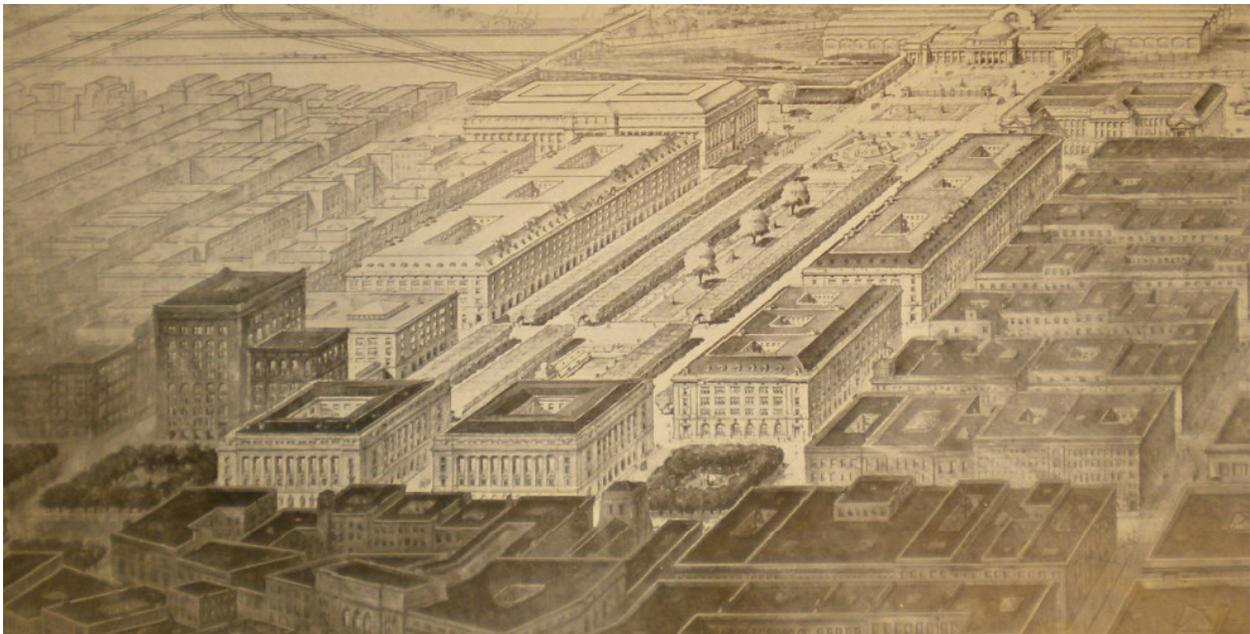
<sup>54</sup> The Dewey Arch represents an instance when classical imagery expressed imperialism. It was erected in 1899 to celebrate Admiral George Dewey's victory in the Battle of Manila Bay. *The American Architect and Architecture* 69 (September 1, 1900): 65. See also: Editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 3 (1897): 17-18.

<sup>55</sup> *The Island Architect* quoted in *The Architectural Review* 5, 4 (1898): 39. Politicians and commissioners were also positively assessed by the editor of *The Architectural Review* in 1897, although he sometimes lamented their underestimation of future needs. Editor's introduction, *The Architectural Review* 4, 5 (1897): 33.

<sup>56</sup> Burnham to William E. Curtis, November 19, 1900, Box 1, Folder 13, Burnham Papers.

<sup>57</sup> Burnham to Hon. L.W. Shaw, July 24, 1903, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 14, Burnham Papers. Semi-public refers to public places that are in some restricted or controlled. An Auditorium where all members of a city are

residents in Washington, D.C. would therefore be drawn into the downtown core to take advantage of the mall or the political and cultural services offered in the surrounding buildings, while being inspired and uplifted by the majestic classical imagery and visual harmony. The Group Plan for Cleveland was also undertaken for “public convenience and to producing a beautiful general result.”<sup>58</sup> What guided Burnham’s efforts was his belief that city plans should only be made “in the purest public-service spirit ... [and] no private interest should be allowed to stand in the way of valuable public improvements.”<sup>59</sup> (Figure 9)



**Figure 9: The Group Plan looking north toward Lake Erie. The two square buildings at the southern end are the Federal Building and the Public Library, meant to replicate the symmetry found at the Place de la Concorde. To their immediate left are the Public Square and the Society of Savings. Suggestive of “uplift” and “civilization” in this rendering are the dark, jumbled buildings south and east of the Group Plan, and the orderly, brighter buildings west of the Group Plan. Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, “Birdseye View Looking North.” Black and white rendering, 1903. *The Group Plan Report*. Digital copy produced by the author at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.**

Seldom do scholars agree when examining Burnham’s place within Progressivism. The virtues of capitalism often lay at the centre of his reform ethic. As he argued in 1908, “no plan ...

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welcome yet attending a production requires paid admittance, and is governed by certain rules of decorum, is one example.

<sup>58</sup> Burnham to James McCrea, Vice President, Pennsylvania Lines West of Pittsburgh, September 5, 1902, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 12, Burnham Papers. See also: Burnham to Carrere, December 1902, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 13, Burnham Papers.

<sup>59</sup> Burnham to George A. Mason, June 6, 1908, Box 2, Folder 41, Burnham Papers.

[should] be adopted and carried out that does not aim at Prosperity for *all the people*.”<sup>60</sup> Because of this, scholars have argued that upper-class values, if not elitism, informed the “reform” initiatives undertaken by Burnham and Chicago’s business leaders.<sup>61</sup> Others, however, have taken seriously his belief that prosperity, public improvements, and aesthetics would help to alleviate “fundamental problems.”<sup>62</sup> Architectural historian Cynthia Field, for instance, argues that “dignity” and “beauty” were used synonymously to express a new vision of urban order. More than simply a building or an arch, the McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C., the inaugural City Beautiful plan, was the first time architects had looked at an entire area and knitted together disparate elements. Rational, logical order defined what was beautiful.<sup>63</sup> The Chicago architect wanted to achieve this by working with businessmen and government officials, including President Roosevelt, who was becoming a close friend. As the “architectural and aesthetic arm”

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<sup>60</sup> Emphasis added. Burnham to George A. Mason, June 6, 1908, Box 2, Folder 41, Burnham Papers. This attitude led him to champion various selfless acts of leading capitalists, like A.J. Cassatt, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. For additional examples of Burnham’s admiration for the service ethic shown by leading capitalists and politicians, see: Burnham to Hon. L.W. Shaw, July 24, 1903, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 14; Burnham to Brunner, May 9, 1906, Box 1, Folder 8; Burnham to Glenn Brown, Secretary, AIA, March 5, 1904, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 14; William E. Curtis to Burnham, November 9, 1900, Box 1 Folder 13, Burnham Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas J. Schlereth, “Burnham’s Plan and Moody’s City Planning as Progressive Reform,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 47, 1 (1981): 70-82; Richard E. Foglesong, *Planning the Capitalist City: the Colonial Era to the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 210-211; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 170-173; M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), 7.

<sup>62</sup> Burnham, “Commercial Value of Beauty,” quoted in Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 198-199. While Bachin acknowledges the upper-class bias of the *Plan of Chicago*, she argues urban reform in the Progressive Era was often contested and conflicting, as various groups within society defined city improvement in different ways. It is therefore short-sighted to criticize Burnham for being a less genuine Progressive. Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 169-210.

<sup>63</sup> Cynthia R. Field, “When Dignity and Beauty were the Order of the Day: The Contributions of Daniel H. Burnham,” in *The National Mall: Rethinking Washington’s Monumental Core*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Cynthia R. Field (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 41-42, 49; idem, “Interpreting the Influence of Paris on the Planning of Washington, D.C., 1870-1930,” in *Paris on the Potomac: The French Influence on the Architecture and Art of Washington, D.C.*, ed. Cynthia R. Field, Isabelle Gournay, and Thomas P. Somma (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 117-139. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 123-124; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 142.

of Americans' awakened civic consciousness, he was proud to be helping Roosevelt and Gage to strengthen ties between the people and the state in the creation of a social whole.<sup>64</sup>

Building on Field, Thomas Hines, and Kristin Schaffer, I propose that leading architects responsible for developing downtown applied their expertise as self-perceived masculine professionals, rather than a vigorous physicality, in the selfless pursuit of cosmopolitan cities. As Burnham told fellow Group Plan architect John M. Carrère, “the public shall have the very best thing which our judgement and experience can suggest.”<sup>65</sup> What they suggested was a civic centre with a poignant focal point, ideally a station, “made really imposing—a dignified and worthy monument, a beautiful vestibule to the town” much like the Gare d'Orleans in Paris, completed just two years prior.<sup>66</sup> (Figure 10) The common good to which Burnham and his colleagues subjected their skills was one currently mired in uncivilized cities and fractured communities, which they would rebuild.

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<sup>64</sup> Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 138, 154-155; idem, “The Imperial Mall: The City Beautiful Movement and the Washington Plan of 1901-1902,” in *The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 95; Schaffer, “Genesis of the Planner,” in “Burnham: Urban Ideals,” 115-239.

<sup>65</sup> Burnham to Carrère, December 1902, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 13, Burnham Papers.

<sup>66</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*, 2.



Figure 10: The Gare d'Orléans, also known as the Gare d'Orsay, Paris, in 2006. Colour photographic print by Gregory Deryckère, now in the Public Domain via Wiki Commons, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gare\\_d'Orsay\\_01-03-06.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gare_d'Orsay_01-03-06.jpg) (accessed July 24, 2013).

Cleveland was not the first instance when Burnham used classical imagery for public improvements in America. At Chicago's "White City" in 1893, he orchestrated a "triumph of Europe-inspired civic architecture."<sup>67</sup> Then in 1901, the McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C. not only completed but expanded on the Parisian plans of Pierre Charles L'Enfant. Burnham even insisted the commission travel to Europe for six months of study in the French capital, as well as London, Rome, Berlin, Dresden, St. Petersburg, and the many smaller places in between, to ensure they fulfilled L'Enfant's vision for Washington.<sup>68</sup> This was an objective they took seriously, as Charles Moore recalled.

The trip to Europe was a draw. I was put through a stiff course of architecture and gardens and parks; the work began at nine in the morning and continued until twelve or

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<sup>67</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 169.

<sup>68</sup> In letters to McKim, Burnham determined a significant portion of the group's itinerary. Burnham to McKim, June 4, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45; Burnham to Rankin, Kellogg, and Crane, February 1, 1904, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 14; Burnham to McKim, June 4, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers. Opinions regarding the superiority of the Arc de Triomphe were shared between Burnham and Millet, F.D. Millet to Burnham, June 19, 1911, Box 63, Folder 6, Burnham Papers. See also: "A Plain Talk on the Plan for the Future Development of Chicago," n.d., Box 62, Folder 37, Burnham Papers.

one next morning. There were some cigars, some excellent dinners, two of three ballets in London and “The Belle of New York” in Vienna to relieve the situation.<sup>69</sup>

Not surprisingly, in the Group Plan for Cleveland, Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère relied extensively on gardens, buildings, monuments, street plans, fountains, and pedestrian pathways from across Western Europe. So earnestly did they want to convey the desirability and superiority of European architecture that twenty-two pictures of such locations as London’s Rotten Row, Zwingerhof in Dresden, fountains, terraces, and reflecting pools in Madrid and Versailles, and the Place de la Concorde, Champs-Élysées, and Palais-Royal in Paris, accompanied one of their four page reports.<sup>70</sup> While brief, their text supported their opinions regarding cosmopolitan city plans, stressing that a more beautiful, prosperous, and unified city would result when plans

recall[ed] in part many of the fine avenues we point to with pleasure, such as the Champs Elysees in Paris, or the Esplanade in Nancy. In many of these minor details, in the arrangement of trees and the inner court, the Palais Royal gives a fair suggestion of the sort of beauty aimed at. The Sunken Gardens of the Luxembourg with its wonderful treatment of rose bushes and flower beds on the sloping surfaces, suggests what can be done with the sunken gardens in the middle of the Mall and the Esplanade.<sup>71</sup>

Throughout the ensuing decade, as Burnham’s firm continued to work on City Beautiful plans, European design remained a prominent influence. In 1906, for example, architect Pierce Anderson wrote to Hubert, Burnham’s son then studying at the École, requesting copies of engraved maps and plans showing various parts of Paris, and a map of Rome. Approximately four years later, architect Edward Bennett addressed a letter to Burnham in Chicago to report that

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<sup>69</sup> *The Belle of New York* was a musical comedy film completed in 1900. Charles Moore to Black, August 6, 1901, Box 42, James McMillan Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit. Charles Moore served as the political secretary for Senator James McMillan, Michigan, from 1888 to 1903, and as secretary for the Senate Park Commission that developed the McMillan Plan of 1901. He later edited the *Plan of Chicago* and wrote the first biography of Burnham.

<sup>70</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrere, “Photographs of Executed Work,” *The Group Plan Report*.

<sup>71</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrere, *The Group Plan Report*, 3. See also: Arnold Brunner, “Cleveland's Group Plan,” *Proceedings of the Eighth National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, June 5-7, 1916*, as provided by John W. Reps, “Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports,” (2002), <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/brunner.htm> (accessed July 15, 2009).

while in Florence he had taken photos, gained impressions of several squares, and made measurements of statues as requested.<sup>72</sup> Even during routine meetings, government officials with first-hand experience in London, Madrid, Rome, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg were invited to attend and offer their impressions.<sup>73</sup>

The democratic virtue displayed in classical architecture, Grecian in particular, had previously been celebrated in early 19<sup>th</sup> century America precisely because the nation was grasping for appropriate symbolic language to capture its spirit. During the 1830s, for example, society became fixated with it because it evoked superior traditions in the arts, politics, and rationality. Moreover, Greece was associated less with British monarchical traditions; an important element after the Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812.<sup>74</sup> During the second half of the 1800s, artistic temper changed again. After Andrew Jackson Downing decried the “tasteless temples” of Greek Revival as inappropriate, unoriginal, and structurally excessive, architects began experimenting with Romanesque. Lacking the ornamentation and the white washed stone of classical architecture, buildings like the Cooper Building in New York City seemed more rational, pure, stately, and authentic. A reliance on dark, rusticated stone, and simple arches over windows and doorways offered a stark, and possibly refreshing, visual contrast to neoclassicism.

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<sup>72</sup> Anderson to Hubert Burnham, August 28, 1906, Box 1, Folder 2; Bennett to Burnham, January 17, 1910, January 20, 1910, Box 1, Folder 5, Burnham Papers. Burnham also requested photographs of exterior statues at the Uffizi Gallery, and Donatello’s Saint George at the Orsanmichele, Florence; and of sculptures in Rome. Burnham to Bennett, January 26, 1910, Box 1, Folder 5, Burnham Papers. At the end of his career, Burnham advised John W. Root Jr., the son of his former partner, who was then studying at the École that seeing first-hand “everything in Italy, France and Spain,” including Gothic and Renaissance structures near Paris, was “as important as the school work.” Burnham to John W. Root, Jr., February 6, 1912, Box 3, Folder 63, Burnham Papers. J. Frank Foster also went abroad to study on Burnham’s recommendation. Burnham to Edward Ayer, September 22, 1908, Box 1, Folder 1, Burnham Papers.

<sup>73</sup> Envois of the Department of State who attended a meeting of the General Plan Committee. Bennett to Burnham, June 5, 1907, Box 1, Folder 5, Burnham Papers.

<sup>74</sup> An extensive literature examines classical influences in U.S. culture, including architecture, during the first half of the 1800s. Classic texts include: Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (1964; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1985); Roger Kennedy, *Greek Revival America* (1989; repr., New York: Rizzoli, 2010). More recent treatments include: John S. Pipkin, “Goodness, Beauty, and the Aesthetics of Discipline in Timothy Dwight’s Landscapes,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 26, 1 (2009): 25-48.

After Henry H. Richardson used this style for industrial and commercial buildings, Americans began to assume it was a vernacular aesthetic tradition that expressed an American entrepreneurial individualism. Each time Louis Sullivan, John W. Root, and Daniel Burnham borrowed from Romanesque design for early Chicago School office buildings and banks, these associations were reaffirmed.<sup>75</sup>

Yet, Parisian modernity acquired a certain appeal late in the 1800s. Faced with unprecedented (and uncontrolled) urban industrialism and the proliferation of working-class slums, Baron Eugène Haussmann's ability to establish order, control, cosmopolitan aesthetics, and healthful conditions resonated widely in the American architectural community. Although firms like McKim, Mead and White had already brought Beaux-Art neoclassicism to the U.S., the White City of 1893 sold Americans on the utility of public space that was controlled and planned.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, Parisian aesthetics had acquired a certain caché. Burnham lamented that Americans travelled to Cairo, Athens, Vienna, the Riviera, and Paris "because life at home [is] not as pleasant as in these fashionable centres."<sup>77</sup> Likewise, Liana Paredes illustrates how alluring were French consumable goods within Washington's elite circles, and the societal status ownership bestowed.<sup>78</sup> Although Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright criticized McKim and Burnham for stifling the aesthetic expression of a national impulse, reformers, architects, many ordinary Americans believed that the coordinated classicism offered by City Beautiful

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<sup>75</sup> Condit, *Chicago School of Architecture*, 61-64, 103-110; Tina Waldeier Bizzarro, "The Scattered Limbs of the Giant": Recollecting Medieval Architectural Revival," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 619-638.

<sup>76</sup> The firm completed such commissions as the Boston Public Library. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 164-173.

<sup>77</sup> Burnham quoted in Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 171.

<sup>78</sup> Liana Paredes, "Private Homes, Public Lives: Francophilia among Government Officers and the Washington Elite," in *Paris on the Potomac: The French Influence on the Architecture and Art of Washington, D.C.*, ed. Cynthia R. Field, Isabelle Gournay, and Thomas P. Somma (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 77-116.

represented a shift toward order and democracy, away from the eclectic architecture of the corrupt Gilded Age, an era that seemed chaotic and juvenile by comparison.<sup>79</sup>

In the *Architectural Record*, Herbert Croly and Harry Desmond argued that the work done by McKim, Mead and White, all graduates of the École, represented a group of “political, social and educational ideas” inspired by a “renewed faith in mankind.”<sup>80</sup> Neoclassical designs like the Group Plan were thus associated with the goal of “common subjection to the rule of the common good.” Perhaps Croly was thinking of the primary assumption underlying *City Beautiful*, namely the ameliorative power of structural beauty within urban society. By sweeping away social ills and rebuilding downtown using awe-inspiring, orderly architecture, moral and civic virtue would be inspired amongst all residents, elite and poor alike. As Robinson argued,

social problems are to a large degree problems of the environment. ... With municipal art the utilitarian advantages and social benefits become so paramount that they are not forgotten. ... This art, which serves so many social ends, is municipal, in the sense of communal. ... It is not a fad. It is not merely a bit of aestheticism. ... Altruism is its impulse.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> On Sullivan’s criticism of *City Beautiful*, see: Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy: The Struggle for Form in Society and Architecture in Chicago and the Middle West during the Life and Times of Louis H. Sullivan* (Totowa: Bedminster Press, 1965); David H. Crook, “Louis Sullivan and the Golden Doorway,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, 4 (1967): 250-258. On Wright’s criticism of *City Beautiful*, see: Frank Lloyd Wright, “The Art and Craft of the Machine,” *Brush and Pencil* 8, 2 (1901): 77-81, 83-85, 87-90; Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 102-115, especially 106. As Sigfried Giedion explained, the 19<sup>th</sup> century suffered from a “cultural schizophrenia.” Giedion quoted in Condit, *Chicago School of Architecture*, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Croly and Desmond, “The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead & White,” quoted in Richard Guy Wilson, “Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, 1 (1983): 69-70. McKim did not work on the Group Plan for Cleveland. But Burnham openly acknowledged McKim’s influence over his work. In March of 1901, he told McKim that “the prospect of working with you adds very much to the pleasure of living, as you well know. Your influence on my life has had for me an indescribable effect; one for which I have always been thankful.” Burnham to McKim, March 27, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers.

<sup>81</sup> Robinson quoted in Philip Pregill and Nancy Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Wiley, 1999), 584.

Burnham not only agreed, he felt it was his duty to give society his best work. “When the public mind is aroused to a strong case of this need, it will build to the plans we are making, if they are good enough.”<sup>82</sup>

City Beautiful plans applied architects’ skills to the long-term development of urban communities in specific ways. The first, civic art, or the beautification of city space using art, which included the exterior facades of buildings, was heavily based in the implicit acceptance of environmental determinism. Through generous application of awe-inspiring architecture, fountains, frescos, statuary, and decorative light fixtures in and around grouped public buildings, these impressive features would elevate pride, dignity, and ambition amongst residents.<sup>83</sup>

Related to this was the second feature: the city as a unit. Because urban planning was not yet a distinct profession, City Beautiful introduced civic design in America.<sup>84</sup> As Field argues, in Burnham’s mind’s eye, the city was like an interdependent set of bricks: overall efficiency, prosperity, and unity depended on the interconnections between each part. The civic centre, which grouped public buildings around a broad green space or mall, was an important planning mechanism. By concentrating political and administrative functions in one location, commercial and industrial activity could be placed elsewhere. Moreover, along with city hall and a court house, City Beautiful plans included libraries and cultural institutions. And these buildings were positioned so they opened directly on a mall. Civic centres therefore drew residents of diverse classes into the downtown on a regular basis for both official activities and recreation. This gave

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<sup>82</sup> Burnham quoted in Field, “When Dignity and Beauty were the Order of the Day,” 45.

<sup>83</sup> Another common element, Civic Improvement, focused on specific structural details including street grades, sidewalks, and curbs. Pregill and Volkman, *Landscapes in History*, 584-585. On the built environment and determinism, see: Yi-Fu Tuan, “Environmental Determinism and the City: A Historical-Cultural Note,” *Cultural Geographies* 1, 2 (1994): 121-126; Margo Huxley, “Geographies of Governmentality,” in *Space, Knowledge, Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 185-204.

<sup>84</sup> Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, 77-174. It has also been argued that City Beautiful offered novel ways to systematically envision and plan for future urban contexts. It introduced new conceptions of historical time to nascent American planning as well as Progressives. Jonathan Ritter, “The American Civic Centre: Urban Ideals and Compromise on the Ground,” (PhD diss., New York University, 2007), 64-66.

to cities like Cleveland a unifying and dignified core. This was emphasized further when the height, scale, and proportions of the grouped buildings were coordinated, creating a visual sense of civic harmony, and when tree-lined avenues extended from the civic centre into the city.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, City Beautiful was directed at civic reform. During the second half of the nineteenth-century, municipal corruption undermined public confidence in the vitality of cities.<sup>86</sup> Muckraker Lincoln Steffens, for example, established his reputation through investigations of St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, and then shocked readers of *McClure's Magazine* with his findings.<sup>87</sup> Ridding Cleveland of boss politics and returning the city to the people was Mayor Tom L. Johnson's primary campaign message in 1901.<sup>88</sup>

Symbolically, an awe-inspiring and visually coordinated civic centre that was structurally connected to distant neighbourhoods would help mayors like Johnson accomplish this. By redeveloping downtown in this way, citizens would always be reminded of their city's organic, interconnected structure and enlightened urban culture. It would remind them, as well, of the

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<sup>85</sup> Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 85-86.

Howe's writings do not provide evidence that he believed the Group Plan satisfied a felt need for better surveillance of the bawdy classes. Instead, he repeatedly argued that a beautiful, orderly city would be more humane, would inspire a sense of community, and would be more democratic. Individuals would be inspired to give up on vice and cheap amusements. Added to that, razing the area north of Public Square for the Group Plan did not lead to the immediate closure of the Hamilton Vice District. Saloons, gambling dens, and brothels were tolerated by City Hall and the police until Mayor Newton D. Baker ordered the District closed in 1914. Thereafter, most prostitutes relocated to Cedar-Central, an African-American neighbourhood two miles south-east of downtown, or they left Cleveland. Surveillance in Cleveland during the Progressive Era has been associated more with privatized charity, which Howe disapproved of, rather than anti-vice measures. "Prostitution," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, ed. John Grabowski (CWRU/WRHS), <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=P17> (accessed September 2012). Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 15. On urban sexuality and the politics of surveillance, see: Chad Heap, "Beyond the Slums: Commercial Leisure and the Reorganization and Policing of Urban Space," in *Slumming*, chapter 2; Chauncey, "Urban Culture and the Policing of the 'City of Bachelors,'" and "'Privacy Could Only be had in Public': Forging a Gay World in the Streets," in *Gay New York*, chapters 5 and 7.

<sup>86</sup> Pregill and Volkman, *Landscapes in History*, 584. Other mayors advocated beautification, demonstrating the optimism associated with City Beautiful, to identify themselves as the politician best representing civic idealism. Denver's Robert W. Speer (1904-1918) is one example. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 169-189. On corruption in the late 1800s, see: Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 36-72.

<sup>87</sup> These essays were later gathered into a book, originally published by McClure's in 1904. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904; repr., New York: Hill and Wang, 1985).

<sup>88</sup> Tom L. Johnson and Elizabeth J. Hauser, "Elected Mayor of Cleveland," in *My Story* (New York: Huebsch, 1911), chapter 12.

municipal officials that had shown perseverance and benevolence by reforming politics and the built environment. In 1905, Steffens even called Johnson the “best mayor of the best-governed city in the United States” for “arousing a civic sense” and making “the people realize that the affairs of the city are their affairs.”<sup>89</sup> Not only had Johnson commissioned Burnham to develop the Group Plan for downtown Cleveland, his agendas were informed by the idea that “the trouble was not with the people, it was poverty ... Most men would be ... good if they had a chance.” Politicians should create that chance for the people. His political ideology supported, if not encouraged, the active, noble residents envisioned by City Beautiful reformers.<sup>90</sup>

Of course civic reform was also accomplished by razing undesirable neighbourhoods to make way for new palatial buildings. In Cleveland, it was the Hamilton Avenue Vice District, whose saloon-keepers and madams had long-established connections to leading men at City Hall. In Washington, D.C., it was Swampoodle, an Irish then Italian immigrant area cleared to make way for Union Station.<sup>91</sup> For those displaced, plans for affordable housing were never developed. All residents were expected to benefit morally and economically from beautification.<sup>92</sup> Irish

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<sup>89</sup> Lincoln Steffens, “Ohio: A Tale of Two Cities,” *McClure’s Magazine* 25, 2 (1905): 302. Steffens’ opinion was not universal. Contemporaries such as Paul L. Haworth argued that Johnson promised too much and had to compromise principals of good-government to satisfy his agenda. If the mayor was successful, it was because of the college-educated experts he appointed, including Newton D. Baker, Rev. Harris R. Cooley, and Edward W. Bemis. Paul L. Haworth, “Mayor Johnson of Cleveland: A Study of Mismanaged Political Reform,” *The Outlook* 93, 8 (1909): 469, 470-473. See also: Finegold, *Experts and Politicians*.

<sup>90</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 93.

<sup>91</sup> On Cleveland, see: Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 23-26. On Swampoodle, see: Audrey Singer, “Metropolitan Washington: A New Immigrant Gateway,” in *Hispanic Migration and Urban Development: Studies from Washington, D.C.*, ed. Enrique S. Pumar (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2012), 12; Francine Cary, *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 55-57; Bruce J. Katz and Robert E. Lang, *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000*, Vol. 2 (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 53, n.15.

<sup>92</sup> On slum clearance, see: Anne Mackin, *Americans and their Land: The House Built on Abundance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 112-113; Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), 400-402. On slum clearance and Progressives’ belief that all classes would benefit equally from beautification, see: Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 22-26; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 159, 163. Jon A. Peterson, “The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings,” *Journal of Urban History* 2, 4 (1976): 415-434.

immigrants even welcomed the Italians brought to Washington for construction of Union Station.<sup>93</sup>

Beyond slum clearance, scholars have criticized City Beautiful planning for its implied cultural messages. All residents of a beautified American city were expected to adopt a disciplined middle-class lifestyle in their everyday lives, and voluntarily cooperate as urban democracy was “reclaimed” through centralized planning.<sup>94</sup> From the late 1800s until the start of the First World War, however, America was receiving millions of European immigrants per year and both Washington, D.C. and Cleveland had prominent African-American communities.<sup>95</sup> Diversity did not characterize any of Burnham’s visions.<sup>96</sup> In *Between Justice and Beauty*, Howard Gillette reveals the consequences. The McMillan Plan rendered Washington a federal city, where residents were concerned only with national issues and international prestige. Throughout the twentieth century, local problems caused by racism and segregation were

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<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth O. Cullen, “Railroading in and Around Washington since 1900,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 53/56 (1953/1956): 177. See also: Emil A. Press, “Growing up in Swampoodle,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 49 (1973/1974): 618-621.

<sup>94</sup> Although he acknowledges the problems of razing downtown Cleveland, Hines speaks more to this paradox in both Cleveland’s Group Plan and in Progressivism. That is, the elitist and conformist manner that men like Burnham wanted to use to establish control over a society that was marred by “an excess of democracy,” represented by rampant, atomistic individualism. Central planning and expected voluntary cooperation from individual residents would therefore reclaim democracy. Hines, “The Paradox of ‘Progressive’ Architecture,” 426-448. See also: Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 85.

<sup>95</sup> Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation’s Capital, 1880-1920* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999); Andrew R. L. Clayton, *Ohio: The History of a People* (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 2002), 273-275.

It is noteworthy, that neither Johnson nor the cadre of progressive municipal politicians that surrounded him expressed concern about local African-Americans, many of whom lived in poverty. On African-Americans in Cleveland during this period, see: Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 35-157, esp. 53-65; Kimberley L. Phillips, “‘But It Is a Fine Place to Make Money’: Migration and African-American Families in Cleveland, 1915-1929,” *Journal of Social History* 30, 2 (1996): 395.

<sup>96</sup> These contradictions within City Beautiful ideology also echo the contradictions between civic and ethnoracial nationalism. That is, an inclusive “melting-pot” was an exceptionalist national creed, yet the legal system limited naturalization to “free white persons.” City Beautiful offered democratic and socio-economic promises of uplift and inclusion in principal, yet denied it in residents’ lived experiences. Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

therefore easily overlooked.<sup>97</sup> Speaking directly to the ominous gaze of domineering neoclassical political buildings, David Brody goes one step further by showing how Burnham created systems of spatial regulation in Baguio and Manila akin to Jeremy Bentham's famed Panopticon. The boulevards allowed American imperial power to penetrate indigenous neighborhoods, and the regularity of a radial pattern imposed "civilized" social behaviour on "backward" Asian cultures.<sup>98</sup>

Burnham, however, never used an imperial rhetoric to describe the impact of City Beautiful in America. Neither did Robinson, McKim, or Johnson. They believed visual and spatial order, majestic European architecture, and experts with a service ethic were crucial for reforming American cities. As Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère argued in the Group Plan report of 1903,

the jumble of buildings that surround us in our new cities contributes nothing valuable to life; on the contrary, it sadly disturbs our peacefulness and destroys that repose within us which is the true basis of all contentment. Let the public authorities, therefore, set an example of simplicity and uniformity ... resulting in beautiful designs entirely harmonious with each other.<sup>99</sup>

It would be easy to regard the language used here by Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère as defining civic power in imperialistic ways. That is, the desire to control and impose upon, if not eliminate, diverse ways of life unique to neighbourhoods by reconfiguring space according to an

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<sup>97</sup> Gillette, "The New Washington: City Beautiful," in *Between Justice and Beauty*, chapter 5. See also: Dawley, *Changing the World*, 24-26; Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 276-279; Judd Kahn, *Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897-1906* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

<sup>98</sup> Brody, "Building Empire," 123-145; idem, *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). See also: Terence G. Young, "Social Reform through Parks: The American Civic Association's Program for a Better America," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996): 460-472; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 99-102; James C. Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism" and "The High-Modernist City: An Experiment and a Critique," in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), chapters 3 and 4.

As Foucault explains, the panopticon was a form of architectural control created by forcing prisoners' bodies to face the gaze of those who supervised prison grounds. Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Vintage, 1995), 195-230.

<sup>99</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*, 4.

overarching plan. This is especially true since it is not clear who the “our” was referring to. There is something else at play here, however. With their report of the Group Plan, the architects were committing their in-depth knowledge of public improvements, informed by European tradition, to larger societal aspirations. As men, their leadership was being staked on their familiarity with the architecture of Paris, Florence, Athens, and Rome, and, more importantly, their capacity to redevelop downtown Cleveland in a way intended to be more pleasant, inspiring, and efficient.

As described in *Confessions of a Reformer*, the autobiography he published in 1925, Howe was envisioning a similar outcome for the modern American city as early as the late 1880s. At the time, he was completing postgraduate studies in tax reform at Johns Hopkins University. When recounting lectures from Dr. Albert Shaw, an economics professor who studied and lectured about European municipalities, Howe seemed to be anticipating governance by generous experts. Ideally, one day American cities would be,

managed as business enterprises; cities that were big business enterprises, that owned things and did things for people. There was order and beauty in the cities [Shaw] described. They owned their own tramways and gas and electric lighting plants, and they made great successes of them. Good men ran them, business men, who gave up their business interests to do so.<sup>100</sup>

From an early stage in his career, Howe was at least intrigued by Progressives’ concerns about urban development in America, and the belief that order and beautification would benefit the community. More importantly, Shaw’s lectures never questioned the superiority of classical imagery and axial planning promoted at the École des Beaux-Arts. As a young professional, curious about the city question, Howe’s early maturation was about to happen amid wide-ranging debates about the state of domestic urban society and the examples of modernity offered by

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<sup>100</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 5-6. Presumably Howe enrolled in Shaw’s courses early in his postgraduate studies (1889-1892), as Shaw was a professor of international law at Cornell University in 1890, and subsequently the editor of the *Review of Reviews* in 1891.

Paris. Public-spirited masculinity and an awareness of the “high civilization” that had rendered prominent European cities “centres of art, culture and refinement,” had therefore become essential for establishing civic unity.<sup>101</sup> Masculine authority in the Progressive Era was, for at least some reformers, constructed through the process of studying civilization and committing oneself to the salvation of urban America.

### **Practical, Democratic Public-Spirit: Mayor Tom L. Johnson**

If Burnham was the aesthetic arm of Americans’ awakened civic consciousness, achieving the higher municipal order that Howe envisioned required more than beautification: he needed a municipal leader who shared Howe’s commitment to the public good and who saw city hall as the source of daily initiatives to improve civic space. Sometimes this included enacting legislation that allowed architects to use their expertise in abstract, aesthetic ways. Other times it involved more direct political reform. By combining Johnson with the architects, I want to suggest that public-spirited masculinity, as it applies to Howe, was informed by *both* architectural and practical civic action. Politics and architecture played a crucial role in Howe’s Progressive quest to establish a collective and enlightened civic sense. Once the allure of European city touring became too strong—causing Howe to return several times until the outbreak of the Great War—he would be most inspired by men of civilized cities who developed their leadership and applied their skills to both an envisioned architectural utopia and applied urban reform.

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<sup>101</sup> Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3988.

After being elected to office in 1901 and becoming a prominent member of Johnson's inner circle, Howe wrote several articles about city reform in Cleveland.<sup>102</sup> Amongst his first was "The Best Governed Community in the World" wherein he described Mayor Johnson and his plans for Cleveland. It is a testament to Howe's faith in government by benevolent, inspiring leaders. Johnson's single tax initiative, for example, would resolve "the inequalities of taxation" by creating one tax rate based on the value of land or of a franchise. Inspired by Henry George, the intention was to confiscate franchisers' "unearned increment," acquired from over-valued streetcar franchises and artificially inflated property value. Johnson's plan, as Howe explained it, involved creating a system where taxes would be collected from enumerated sources such as corporations and licenses, thus alleviating unfair burdens shouldered by the labouring and producer classes, or "the people."<sup>103</sup> Once the monopolistic power of franchise was eradicated, this would render "each community empowered to assess ... property as it chooses for local purposes." By so doing, "a small body of determined men," elected or appointed officials, would be better able to introduce reform.

An engaged cooperative community, where individuals discussed city matters beyond individual capital gains, required more than tax reform. It was also necessary to bring the democratic process to the people. With Howe's assistance, Johnson did this by setting up tents in various neighborhoods and hosting meetings that were open to the people of Cleveland. This allowed both him and residents to speak directly with one another, ensuring "public interest and

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<sup>102</sup> Howe held several different political positions during the first decade of the 20th century. In 1901 he was elected to City Council as a Republican, but lost in the next election when he ran as an independent. Subsequently, he served as president of the Sinking Fund Commission (1904-05), State Senator (1906-08), and member of Cleveland's Board of Quadrennial Appraisers (1909).

<sup>103</sup> Howe, "Best Governed Community," 1726. On Johnson, his single-tax idea, and Progressive reform in Cleveland, see: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139-140, 169-170; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 158-160; Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 205-207; Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 26-30. On George's single tax structure, see: Raymond A. Mohl, *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* (Arlington Heights: Davidson, 1985), 168-169; Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People,"* 41-44.

curiosity [were] aroused and maintained.” Johnson’s municipal policies therefore actively worked to generate social cohesion. The city was fortunate to have a leader who felt himself responsible to the larger community and had the courage “to adopt and carry out plans, which, to other men, would seem too large or too hazardous for a city to undertake.”<sup>104</sup>

A year later, Howe again focused on Johnson’s municipal reforms, including his determination to push measures through city council and the Ohio state legislature. In an article entitled “Cleveland—A City Finding Itself,” he explained how securing approval from councillors and the governor to commission prominent architects like Burnham and Brunner was ideal.<sup>105</sup> This meant “definite, well defined plans” would be laid out by “expert architects, with full veto power over the erection, style, and character of all public buildings.” Collectively, residents would support the work to be done, making it difficult for future administrations to “venture on engineering plans of their own.” Once again, Howe anticipated centralizing power amongst prominent men dedicated to uplifting the community so that Cleveland would “enlarge the sphere of human life” and achieve “greater opportunities for comfort and happiness.”<sup>106</sup> Because of the devotion shown by “a small coterie of public-spirited men” spearheaded by Johnson, a “higher order of municipal organization” that was “not far from ideal in its

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<sup>104</sup> Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1726, 1727-1728. That Johnson provided this kind of leadership was argued again in 1908 in *Commons and the Charities*. Howe stated that “Cleveland, under the administration of Tom Johnson, has demonstrated that the more the city does for the people the more the people love the city in return.” Howe, “The Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548. On Johnson’s tent meetings and their democratic promise, see: Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Republic*, 31-47; Connolly, *An Elusive Unity*, 165-188.

<sup>105</sup> Andrew Chakalis, Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Anne Marie Wieland, “A Century of Planning in Cleveland,” *Journal of Planning History* 1, 1 (2002): 79-81.

<sup>106</sup> That Howe celebrated giving so much power to architects also illustrates how limited, or flawed were his democratic reforms. Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3996, 3997; Howe to Brunner, January 16, 1903, Box 1, Folder 8, Burnham Papers.

possibilities” was developing.<sup>107</sup> Cleveland would soon demonstrate that American cities, when “manned by genius and force, will be the best governed communities in the world.”<sup>108</sup>

Howe had not always viewed municipal politics as a way to create a better social context for city residents by ensuring economic opportunity was equitable. In the years immediately after he graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1892, he was an impressionable young mugwump who placed the individual at the centre of his reform efforts. It was not structural inequality that caused poverty, but poor judgement. Upon moving to Cleveland, he therefore decided to work with local industrial leaders at the Charity Organization Society (COS), which dispensed private relief to selected applicants. After a critic forced Howe to realize that recipients’ hardship was caused by the very industrialists he worked with, because they underpaid and undervalued their workers, he began advocating good government reform. Upon being elected to City Council in 1901, his maiden speech was a harangue against a private utility company with exclusive overpriced contracts for gas. Yet, immediately thereafter, Howe discovered the same company had funded his campaign.<sup>109</sup> At a moment when he felt “confused” and “dumbfounded,” he agreed to introduce a three-cent fare on the street-railways in Council for Johnson, marking the beginning of their bipartisan political relationship.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 624, 626.

<sup>108</sup> Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1726.

<sup>109</sup> For negative assessments of mugwumps’ elitist reforms, see: John G. Sproat, *The Best Men: Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 318-320. For more positive assessments of mugwumps’ ambitions and influence, see: Nancy Cohen, “Politics & Ideology in Gilded Age Liberal Reform,” in *The Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), part one; David M. Tucker, *Mugwumps: Public Moralists of the Gilded Age* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998); Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007). On Frederic Howe’s mugwumpery, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 100-105.

<sup>110</sup> On the COS and his maiden speech, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 76-79, 100-107, quotes taken from 105 and 106. On the poignancy of this speech for Howe and his political ideals, see: Peter Levine, *The New Progressive Era: Toward a Fair and Deliberative Democracy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 18-19.

Beyond the ordinance, this was an important moment for Howe. Johnson had himself recently turned on his own kind—the elite capitalist classes of Ohio—to personally thwart the power the privilege class traditionally held over municipal politics. His aspiration was “to convey to the people that ... [Cleveland] is *their city*, that it is as much their home in the collective sense as the houses in which they live are their individual homes.”<sup>111</sup> This signalled to Howe that Johnson’s leadership would be dedicated to serving the community, rather than his own self-aggrandizement or, like COS members, negligent of the consequences of his decisions. The mayor was motivated, and Howe was attracted, by the promises of democracy and of social cohesion rather than a city fractured by self-serving relationships between the privileged classes and corrupt municipal politics.<sup>112</sup> As Johnson later described, in 1900 Cleveland

belonged to the business interests generally, but as the public utility companies had more use for it than the other kinds of business enterprise had, they paid the most attention to it. They nominated and elected the councilmen and of course the councilmen represented them instead of the community. The campaign funds came largely from business men who believed in a “business man’s government,” and who couldn’t or wouldn’t see that there was anything radically wrong with the system. They were quite contented to let a few agents of special privilege attend to the details of the city government.<sup>113</sup>

Johnson exemplified a new style of good government at a time when Howe needed it most. Because the mayor emphasized responsible over irresponsible wealth, his example of public-spirited, disinterested leadership inspired Fred to envision how the city could both protect residents and “fill [their] lives ... with pleasure.”<sup>114</sup>

In the end, through the activity of Mr. Johnson, Cleveland acquired a city-wide system of parks, playgrounds, and public baths. On Saturday and Sunday the whole population

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<sup>111</sup> In the 1870s, Tom Johnson invented a clear-glass pay toll box for streetcar railways and earned incredible wealth by licensing the patent and by reinvesting in streetcar companies in St. Louis, Detroit, and Brooklyn. In the late 1880s, he established two steel companies- Cambria Co. in Johnstown, PA, and Lorain Steel Co. in Lorain, OH. Howe, *Confessions*, 104-108. Emphasis original. Johnson and Hauser, *My Story*, 112. See also 114.

<sup>112</sup> On chaos, see: Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1727. On the democratic aspirations of municipal reformers like Johnson, see: Stromquist, “The Politics of Reform,” in *Reinventing “The People,”* chapter 3.

<sup>113</sup> Johnson, *My Story*, 114-115.

<sup>114</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 110. On Johnson as a reform businessman, see: Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 173-184, especially 177, 183, 144-145; Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform*, 204-208, 210.

played baseball in hundreds of parks laid out for that purpose. Cleveland became a play city, and this generous provision for play has declared dividends. Workmen like to live in Cleveland. Workmen are followed by factory owners. The growth of Cleveland in the last decade is partly traceable to the policy of making the city an attractive place in which to live. .... It confused me that my friends did not see things as I did; that there was not generous approval of Tom Johnson when it became apparent that he was giving the city a clean, businesslike administration. I could understand the first questionings-I had had them myself-but they could not outlast a demonstration of his sincerity.<sup>115</sup>

If Johnson allowed Howe to believe they could together unite society, historians have criticized Progressives' democratic reforms. Even as Shelton Stromquist highlights the power of their imagined civic unity, he carefully draws attention to the exclusionary lines they drew. In the rapid ebb and flow of different reform programs, middle-class interests were too easily cast as universal.<sup>116</sup> After ominously stating that Progressivism was marred by an "all-conquering optimism," Robert Wiebe returned to the debate in 1994 with a passionate condemnation. By 1920, he argues, direct democracy had collapsed under the weight of class hierarchies created by burgeoning urban middle-classes in the preceding two decades. They had been so determined to fight corruption by following the lead of educated experts like Howe and Baker, that the working-classes were expected to simply fall in line. Restoring economic opportunity and marketplace competition to the individual, through good government reform, was no more than an idealistic slogan.<sup>117</sup>

But as Robert D. Johnston has argued, there is reason to be optimistic about Progressive Era democratic reform.<sup>118</sup> If Progressives were motivated and limited by class interests, something less ominous can also be found in the experiences of Howe and Johnson. At the turn-of-the-century, individuals much like these two men were engaged in important discussions

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<sup>115</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 109-110.

<sup>116</sup> Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People."*

<sup>117</sup> Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 198; idem, *Self-Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), especially chapters 6 and 7, "Raising Hierarchies" and "Dissolving the People."

<sup>118</sup> Johnston, "Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era," 88-92.

about the meaning of democracy. As Mattson has shown, certain innovative actions allowed Johnson and Howe to render the political process increasingly accessible. Furthermore, there is the question of male authority raised by Bederman. Howe was attracted to urban reform, architectural and democratic, as well as “strong men” such as Johnson and Burnham at a time when American society was rent by unprecedented industrial change and atomistic individualism. What I have been proposing is the possibility that as Americans cast about for new sources and descriptions of legitimate masculine leadership, it was the paternalistic community-minded expert who satisfied this role at least for some. Going forward, it would be the man who created social and economic legislative structures or improved the built environment that gave individuals the opportunity to do something for themselves and for their community, and who worked to represent their concerns, such that both authority and change was being enacted *through* the people, rather than *for* the people.

## **Conclusion**

Male professionals of the Progressive Era embraced *public* space in American cities. Their agency outside the private, domestic sphere was not novel, however, as they had always enjoyed privileged access to urban space. The shift after 1890 had to do with their motivations. Rather than raw individualistic capitalism (or immoral self-indulgence), the Progressive man’s activity was partially inspired by shared concerns regarding urban society, including the material conditions. Using Old World architecture, Burnham, Arnold Brunner, Charles Mulford Robinson, amongst others, wanted to rejuvenate cities by integrating awe-inspiring neoclassical architecture in the urban core. Through coordination of scale, height, proportion, and architectural lines, visual harmony would be introduced, as architect Haussmann had done in

Paris. Because these public buildings would surround a mall, public parks would be provided for residents, similar to London's Rotten Row and France's Versailles. Added to this, Progressive political leaders like Johnson, who were determined to reclaim both democracy and the city for "the people," not only enabled City Beautiful projects, but implemented legislation that built civic unity on a daily basis. As a young professional who decided in the mid-1890s to study the city question, Fred Howe quickly surrounded himself with men who spearheaded both artistic and practical forms of public-spirited leadership.

In Burnham's home city of Chicago, well-educated female reformers were also worried about the ways that cities were developing. Their inclusion in the Near West Side as members of public space was relatively new, however. Women of the middle- and upper-classes typically withdrew into the private sphere, which many of their counterparts continued to do. Despite this, Jane Addams inspired residents at Hull-House to become deeply entangled in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, which led Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott to forge new personal and professional identities while surrounded by European immigrants. So dominant were foreign-born populations, the neighbourhood felt like a separate place, cut off from an agrarian America of the past and from the burgeoning prosperity in industrial cities like Chicago. At times it barely felt like a residential area of the Windy City itself. From the outset, they were intimately aware of Chicago's connection to wider, transnational flows of people across Europe and the Atlantic.

As Progressives worried about the city, society and modernity, Hamilton, Abbott and Howe became active within public space. Each of them wanted to improve conditions in some way. But as these first two chapters have shown, their relationships with space depended on the conventions defining woman and man. As people and ideas were crossing the Atlantic with greater rapidity, altering the local context found in their respective cities, it is important to

consider how their gendered urban experiences affected the ways they understood these changes. Would they make sense of the burgeoning connections between America and Europe in the same way? What opinions would they develop regarding America's responsibility to a larger international system? How would this inspire their motivation to remain involved in transnational exchange and international communities?

## CHAPTER THREE

### Experiencing Transnationalism within Chicago's Near West Side

*Life in a settlement does several things to you. Among others, it teaches you that education and culture have little to do with real wisdom, the wisdom that comes from life experience.*<sup>1</sup>

— Alice Hamilton

During the opening decades of the twentieth century, Chicago was still known as “a veritable babel of languages.”<sup>2</sup> The Near West Side, where Hull-House was located, was “a confusing conglomeration of nationalities and religions living among vast railroad yards and industrial plants that surrounded homes and churches.”<sup>3</sup> The same could be said of Cleveland, where migrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia and Slovenia arrived in ever increasing numbers.<sup>4</sup> Writing in 1903, Howe found that “the contributions of these several races to the civic life of the community [were] very dissimilar,” and threatened local civic unity.<sup>5</sup> Amongst native-born Americans, both Chicago and Cleveland must have felt more like an overwhelmingly unfamiliar, immense cosmopolitan metropolis, than a city deep within the Midwestern United States.

What settlement workers like Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, and, for a short time, Fred Howe, did not immediately realize was within these teeming immigrant communities there was actually an intricate system that facilitated immigrants' upward mobility. After beginning their

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<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> On language and impressions of Chicago, see: Peter Vay de Vaya, excerpt from *The Inner Life of the United States* (1908), reprinted in *As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933*, ed. Bessie Louise Pierce (1933; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 426.

<sup>3</sup> Between 1890 and 1900, 10.3 million immigrants arrived. That number rose between 1900 and 1910, to 13.5 million immigrants. Of the total population this accounted for 13.6 percent and 14.7 percent respectively. Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 114.

<sup>4</sup> John J. Grabowski, “Immigration and Migration,” *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, ed. Grabowski, <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=IAM> (accessed June 27, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3988-3989.

life on a harsh street close to industry, migrants typically moved onto increasingly pleasant streets until they reached those furthest away from where they had begun as “greenhorns,” often closest to their community’s church.<sup>6</sup> Their next move was to the suburbs.<sup>7</sup> Immigrants had created their own process of assimilation and cultural accommodation, regardless of the studies, debates, or initiatives undertaken by Progressive reformers.

Despite any disconnect between college-educated native-born Americans and the millions of “aliens” that poured into the U.S. prior to 1914, reformers felt compelled to help remake American urban society by controlling the social and cultural effects of this mass transformation. What this chapter and the next consider is how Hamilton and Abbott, and then Howe each engaged with European people, culture, and ideas, and, more importantly, how their respective urban experiences influenced their understanding of America’s place in the world.

As we have already seen, Hull-House residents like Alice and Grace were, on a daily basis, immersed in urban neighborhoods that functioned as one end of the human networks that criss-crossed the Atlantic, rendering it a place characterized by multiple languages, divergent traditions, and diverse ideological and cultural allegiances, even amongst second-generation Americans.<sup>8</sup> In their everyday lives as social workers, “American” culture was combined or replaced with foreign traditions. To complete their work as residents and professionals, they had

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<sup>6</sup> For an excellent overview of this process, see: Robert Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 35-37.

<sup>7</sup> Sophonisba Breckinridge in Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 34; Richard Harris, “Chicago’s Other Suburbs,” *Geographical Review* 84, 4 (1994): 394-410; David R. Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 199-234. For a post-war discussion of immigrant suburbs, see: Michael Jones-Correa, “Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities, and the Politics of New Suburbs,” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 183-204.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to Michael Peter Smith, the following readings have influenced this conception of areas like the 19<sup>th</sup> ward that surrounded Hull-House: Christiane Harzig, “Gender, Transatlantic Space, and the Presence of German-Speaking People in North America,” and Thomas Adam, “Cultural Baggage: The Building of the Urban Community in a Transatlantic World,” in *Traveling Between Worlds: German-American Encounters*, ed. Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 146-182, 79-99.

to learn to both respect and work with these traditions. What helped them to do this, were the practices of pragmatism alongside proto-feminist ideals that, together, emphasized experiential knowledge, subjectivity, and experimentation. Hull-House was famously a laboratory for University of Chicago researchers, philosophers like John Dewey and sociologists like George Herbert Mead, who interpreted Addams' social praxis as evidence of the new epistemology they had come to espouse. Rather than assume the necessity and superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture, Hull-House residents learned to situate identity and even truth within cultural and historical contexts. Because this pluralism of knowledge rendered the "self" a general idea—the collective creation of historical forces at work rather than an essentialist state—the categories of woman, American, or Italian were less relevant. Hamilton and Abbott thus became concerned for universal well-being within their reform initiatives and political activism. They came to broaden their focus on women's achievement and enfranchisement, to include ideals of an emergent feminism that emphasized individual ability, and universal rights and quality of life, rather than maintain a pride and solidarity in gendered difference.<sup>9</sup>

This chapter begins with Hamilton, and it returns to my earlier contention that Hull-House was a transnational public space that helped to generate differing conceptions of the meaning of *internationalism* than were found elsewhere among Progressive reformers. Here I examine how the resulting experiences affected both Hamilton and Abbott, by centring first on the elitist, class and race-based opinions Hamilton initially brought to her tenure at Hull-House. Likewise the opinions held by the Abbott family on the Nebraskan frontier where Grace spent her child and young adulthood were clearly jolted by her experiences in Chicago. By

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<sup>9</sup> This is not to say that women's unique attributes, and the pride that accompanied their recognition, no longer functioned as a definition of feminism at this time, but that competing definitions were emerging. Cott, "The Birth of Feminism," in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, chapter 1; Josephine Donovan, "Nineteenth-Century Cultural Feminism," in *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Continuum, 2012), chapter 2.

subsequently considering their settlement work both in Hull-House and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> ward itself as a continuous cultural immersion in a transnational urban setting, this chapter explores the personal consequences when “foreign” and American ideas became entangled. Activities both inside and outside of Hull-House were constitutive parts of a unified urban experience dedicated to public service; the initiatives and relationships in which Alice and Grace became involved offer rich insight into the shift from homogenous domestic culture to pluralism and internationalism. Being an era when transatlantic travel and circuits of communication and influence between Europe and America burgeoned, it is important to examine how local and global people, ideas, and traditions merged. As Hamilton and the Abbotts illustrate, attempts to understand pluralism led to new conceptions of an inclusive international community.

### **The Ideal Cosmopolitan?**

#### **Alice Hamilton’s Education, German Tour, and Naïve Beginnings at Hull-House**

When Alice Hamilton moved into Hull-House in the autumn of 1897, she had not yet come around to the incipient pluralism that would later become central to her understanding of both nationalism and internationalism.<sup>10</sup> Certain family members and colleagues may have even been surprised to learn that she became a resident. During her medical studies at the University of Michigan and internship at the New England Hospital for Women and Children (NEH), she exhibited a certain naivety bordering on ignorance that translated into a resistance to European ideas and people. Writing to her cousin in 1892, shortly after she began studying medicine at the University of Michigan, she described the home of Dr. and Mrs. Prescott, with whom she was

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<sup>10</sup> As previously discussed, cosmopolitanism refers to “a geographically expansive outlook that demonstrated a familiarity with the wider world.” While tours of Europe exposed individuals to high culture and higher education, informing a sense of global consciousness, they also resulted in a superficial understanding that better reflected American aspirations for domestic development than an extensive understanding or appreciation of the diversity that comprised the wider world. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 14; Lingelbach, “Cultural Borrowing or Autonomous Development,” 100-123.

boarding, as “exceedingly tasteful and [showing] so much cultivation” but had “any number of queer old things that look as if they came from Europe.”<sup>11</sup> Hamilton’s preferences were rooted in upper middle-class standards, rendering her tastes parochial; anything that seemed un-American or “foreign” made her feel uncomfortable. This is somewhat ironic. The Hamiltons’ affluence and her upbringing would make Alice seem the ideal cosmopolitan.<sup>12</sup> Her father tutored his daughters at home in Fort Wayne, Indiana, introducing them to Latin, history, theology, and literature. Their mother Gertrude was not only widely read in modern literature, as well as European society and language, but with the help of a tutor taught her children French. They later had servants and a Lutheran schoolteacher teach them German. But Alice’s impressive education was due in large part to her father’s dissatisfaction with public schooling, which he thought placed too much emphasis on arithmetic and American history, and insisted on homeschooling, which left the tight-knit family relatively isolated from diversity.<sup>13</sup> Added to this, the Hamilton family lived in three stately homes on a large estate owned by Alice’s grandfather, Allen Hamilton. Apart from service at the First Presbyterian Church, Alice, her siblings and cousins rarely associated with “outsiders.” If Fort Wayne was growing rapidly during the closing decades of the twentieth century, with immigrants arriving in ever increasing numbers, it seems unlikely that Alice ever experienced the resultant social, economic, and cultural changes.<sup>14</sup> Or if she was exposed to industrial grime and unfamiliar German and Irish traditions, it did not affect her preferences for upper-class Victorian America domesticity.

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<sup>11</sup> Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, March 6, 1892, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 37.

<sup>12</sup> Sicherman argues that of the leading families in Fort Wayne, the Hamiltons were likely the most cultured. Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 14. There was also a younger brother, Arthur, known affectionately as Quint. Born in 1886, Alice was seventeen years old at the time.

<sup>13</sup> Amongst the upper classes during the Gilded Age, this was not uncommon, even though public school became increasingly common after the Civil War. Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject: How the Women of Columbia Shaped the Way we Think About Sex and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 48.

<sup>14</sup> The family estate was approximately the equivalent of three city blocks. The original house, owned by their grandfather Allen, was known as the Homestead. During Alice’s childhood, only her grandmother, Emerine, lived

Early in her career as a medical doctor, however, Hamilton had to work with foreign-born patients and colleagues. Yet these experiences had little to no effect on her provincialism. Throughout the early 1890s, she continued to make disparaging remarks about European culture, patients, and colleagues. During an internship at the Northwestern Hospital for Women and Children in Minneapolis, she struggled with her immigrant patients, particularly the young mothers toward whom she had little respect. With her cousin Agnes, she openly chided their “wicked” standards, describing them as “wretched looking girls, who might have been chambermaids in some fourth-rate boarding house.” She noted that many of the mothers, sensing her disdain, would “turn away when [she came] in and ... shun any notice,” making it difficult to carry on a professional rapport with them.<sup>15</sup> Even the babies born to young “Swedes or Norwegians or Danes” made her uneasy.<sup>16</sup> More telling were the opinions Hamilton had of her immigrant colleagues. Despite having education and training comparable to her own, she was often condescending. As she told her supervisor Dr. Hood, her successor at the NEH was “Irish and Catholic and rather third class,” but “you don’t need a lady for practical hospital work.”<sup>17</sup>

At the outset of her career, Hamilton’s world-view remained bounded by these strong preferences for upper class Protestant *Americana* even as she had tended to immigrant patients, and became associated professionally with immigrants with American medical training. Her suspicions in 1893 toward European cultures betrayed a supposedly cosmopolitan heritage. Two years later in the fall of 1895, Hamilton had the opportunity to study abroad, and move beyond

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there. Alice and her immediate family lived in the White House, and her beloved cousin, Agnes, lived in the Red House with her family. Overview taken from Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 17-18, 13.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, January 22, 1893, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 47. See also, Hamilton to Agnes, February 19, 1893, March 5, 1893, July 23, 1893, December 28, 1893, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 49-50, 52, 62, 76-78

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, July 23, 1893, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 61-63

<sup>17</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, August 13, 1893, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 63.

her Midwestern world-view, toward the cosmopolitan mind-set increasingly revered by much of her generation.<sup>18</sup>

At the time, however, some may have cautioned Alice against European study. A year before they left, Theodore Roosevelt published “True Americanism” wherein he lambasted, in highly gendered terms, those who became “Europeanized.” When individuals cultivated “that flaccid habit of mind [known as] ... cosmopolitanism,” he consequently lost his capacity to do good work and his love for his native land, becoming in the process a silly, noxious, and undesirable citizen.<sup>19</sup> It was

hard to believe that there was any necessity to warn Americans that, when they seek to model themselves on the lines of other civilizations, they make themselves the butts of all right-thinking men. .... Even if the weaklings who seek to be other than Americans were right in deeming other nations to be better than our own, the fact yet remains that to be a first-class American is fifty-fold better than to be a second-class imitation of a Frenchman or Englishman.<sup>20</sup>

It was therefore necessary to Americanize the foreign born and to ensure fellow-citizens protected their birthright. For Americans believed in “waging relentless war on rank-growing evil of all kinds, and it makes no difference ... if they happen to be of purely native growth.”<sup>21</sup>

Such a masculine nationalism would have important implications for U.S. global activity in the coming years. As Bederman points out, white men were expected to prove their virility by dedicating their strenuous activities and skills to the advance of American civilization, “through

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<sup>18</sup> Although common amongst America’s elite classes for decades, throughout the Gilded Age and Progressive Era it became fashionable for young members of the burgeoning middle and upper classes to either take didactic tours of Europe or study at institutions including the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, France. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 33-44; Sandra L. Singer, *Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-Speaking Universities, 1868-1915* (Westport: Praeger, 2003); Walton, “The American Quest for Knowledge and the French Quest for Americans, 1870-1919,” in *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad*, chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup> Roosevelt, “True Americanism,” 37.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 37-38.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*.

imperialistic warfare or racial violence if necessary.”<sup>22</sup> Adding to this, Matthew Frye Jacobson carefully delineates how immigration and imperialism were related symbiotically by economic need, and discursively by the presence of large numbers of “backward” people both in the U.S. and under its tutelage abroad. This would fuel an urgent need for Roosevelt and ordinary white Americans to cultivate the “barbarian” virtues of masculinity, vigor and savage audacity in order to control and civilize such individuals.<sup>23</sup> Not long after Roosevelt penned “True Americanism” in 1894, he would not only be encouraging Americans to perceive the world as something to be dominated, controlled, and Americanized, but implementing this vision. Didactic European tours weakened the body-politic and its international prestige, as if imported knowledge of art and letters was cancerous. By the mid-1890s, Alice’s efforts to welcome immigrants were minimal and she had no aspirations to subdue “backward” people either in America or abroad. Instead, she was amongst a growing portion of middle-class society that believed certain countries offered important experiences in higher education.

When her sister Edith won Bryn Mawr’s prestigious Mary E. Garrett European Fellowship, Alice accompanied her to Germany. Studying at the Universities of Munich and Berlin was necessary for establishing her professional legitimacy amongst scientists, as her professors at the University of Michigan explained. Within German academic circles, however, it is difficult to argue that Hamilton had positive experiences; the sisters were ostracized and dismissed as intellectually inferior due both to their gender and Germans’ general disregard for American higher education. It is therefore not surprising that later in her career she admitted

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<sup>22</sup> Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 171. See also: Hoganson, “The Spanish-American War and the Martial Idea of Citizenship” and “The Problem of Male Degeneracy and the Allure of the Philippines,” in *Fighting for American Manhood*, chapters 5 and 6; Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 59, 62-65; Alexander DeConde, *Presidential Machismo: Executive Authority, Military Intervention, and Foreign Relations* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 85-91.

<sup>23</sup> Jacobsen, *Barbarian Virtues*, 3-14.

struggling with the “thinly veiled contempt” of most teachers and fellow students. Their troubles began at the institutional level: German universities did not grant advanced degrees to women, domestic or foreign. The only option was to audit courses with the professor’s permission, most of whom denied their requests. Even with permission, they had to sit next to the lectern facing the lecture hall, and were ignored by the professor. Within the laboratory, professors typically limited what materials Hamilton could examine, and what experiments she could witness. This included the autopsies that her American professors had highly recommended. Around campus, male students made their opinions known as their walking abreast forced Edith and Alice into the gutters.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the sisters remained in relative isolation. Rather than spend their time forging new professional and personal relationships, they spent much of their time alone.

If professors and students rarely let Alice forget she was a woman, she was not always ostracized. At the University of Munich, for instance, she forged an important professional relationship with Professor Hans Buchner, then head of the Institute for Hygiene. An advocate of her application to the school, Buchner allowed Hamilton to attend his university lectures on immunology, a topic considered inappropriate for women. He also invited her to attend an informal talk he gave at “a delightful Old World restaurant” where speakers sat amongst the group, and members sipped beer or coffee, or took their dinner. In the middle stood a table of microscopes with demonstrative slides; once the speaker was finished and all had viewed the slides, open dialogue followed.<sup>25</sup> During her spring vacation that year, Hamilton traveled to Frankfurt am Main, and recalled feeling that she was treated fairly in the laboratory of pathologist Karl Weigert, especially by Professor Ludwig Edinger, a founder of comparative neurology. Unlike other professors, Edinger allowed her to study any specimen she wished and

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<sup>24</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 42, 44-45, quote taken from 44; Singer, *Adventures Abroad*, 46-48; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 90.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 42-43, 45-46. See also: Hamilton to Agnes, January 14, 1896, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 93.

introduced his student to his wife Anna Edinger, a prominent social welfare leader and Jewish feminist.<sup>26</sup> At times, German intellectual circles provided her with enriching and eye-opening experiences.

Within German cities, Hamilton was “charmed by the warmth and kindness of the people, and the easy, simple way they took the enjoyable things in life.” In her autobiography *Exploring the Dangerous Trades*, she highlighted being able “to step into the park, sit under the trees with a glass of beer or a cup of coffee, and listen to lovely music.” Even the opera was “something one could enjoy four or five times a week, for a few marks,” unlike in the U.S. where it was both expensive and scheduled late in the evening, rendering it a formal, more class-ridden, affair.<sup>27</sup> During their Christmas holiday, the sisters took further advantage of German high culture. So much so that during their week in Dresden they “used to be so tired that [they] had to sleep late, very late, so that [they] hardly ever finished their breakfast before it was time for the gallery to open.” Once it did open, Edith and Alice would stay until 3 pm, “then go to dinner and the rest of the day was spent in wandering over the city or seeing people. And the evenings [they] spent at the opera whenever [they] could. It was such a delightful week.” In Berlin, they also made two visits to the gallery to view Albrecht Dürer and Botticelli, two painters Alice had not previously cared for until she saw their work in person.<sup>28</sup> Naturally, despite these efforts, such social experiences were still limited by their gender. When rushing to buy their opera tickets, Hamilton was forcibly pushed and shoved by men. Once, after being quick enough to secure a front seat at a gallery, she was lifted from it by “a great blond Siegfried of a student.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 44; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 90-91.

<sup>27</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 45-46.

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, January 14, 1896, *A Life in Letters*, 92-93.

<sup>29</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 44.

For Alice, her time abroad with Edith was eventful and sometimes enriching. Yet, it is not clear that it was influential enough to change her world-view. In Leipzig, one of the only friendships she developed was with a “nice little American” who worked alongside Hamilton until the woman left to assume a new position in Texas. Moreover, being from a privileged family rich in education and high culture, what she experienced in Germany were, in one sense, familiar things. When describing their gallery visits to Agnes, she recalled viewing the “hideous Arundel pictures” they had studied as children.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the nature of their trip overlapped with trends burgeoning amongst their generation, a similarity Hamilton may have been comfortable with.

Edith [Trowbridge]’s letter was written on her way from Spain to Italy and was full of a tirade against Americans who come to Europe to “fritter away years in useless pleasure- and beauty-seeking,” and against me for saying that it seemed much more appropriate for her to be studying the Florentine and Venetian schools, than to be taking lessons in nursing and going to Working-Girls clubs ... I must say I am afraid I don’t know the Edith of to-day.<sup>31</sup>

Unlike their friend Ms. Trowbridge, most young Americans studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, at European universities, or embarked on tours that included galleries and museums. Alice and Edith had tried to combine both higher education and high culture, much like their friends Evelyn Noyes Saltus and her husband Rollin.<sup>32</sup> Ms. Trowbridge’s activities echoed those of Jane Addams, who as a young, well-educated, middle-class woman, made the wretched streets of East London one of the first things she experienced upon arriving in Europe, before spending the next two years on the continent, mostly in Italy and Austria, “irresistibly drawn to the poorer

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<sup>30</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, January 14, 1896, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 93.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 96.

<sup>32</sup> Rollin was thought to be then working at the *Beaux-Arts*, and Evelyn was “keeping house, studying French, going to lectures on literature and Art.” *Ibid*, 95-96.

quarters of each city.”<sup>33</sup> For perhaps a majority of American women who made the trip across the Atlantic, cosmopolitanism and the upward mobility it promised in America proved more appealing than lessons in social service.

Cosmopolitanism therefore occupies a conflicted place in American society at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which Hamilton exemplifies. She and Edith intentionally moved from academic and upper-class circles in the U.S., to the same circles in Germany. It is possible that after her year in Germany, she was not yet motivated to think about international affairs, the role of the U.S. abroad, the urban poor, nor the state of a global community and its attendant human networks. Writing from Plainfield, N.J. in the fall of 1896 after her return, Hamilton even mused how by the same time the following year “Germany will have sunk so far into the background that I shan’t have anything to say about it.” Gushing over her return to America, she added,

do you know that I am quite in love with my country? I didn’t expect to be ... The first delightful thing I found was the Customs House official. He was so jolly and informal and human that I quite loved him. The next thing was the conductor on the train, who helped us with our bags and asked us so respectfully for our tickets. In Germany the conductor always treats you as if you were an Anarchist in disguise and he wanted to let you know he had found you out ... Then the girls in the little stations looked so nice and trim and pretty. Not that they were new to me, for Holland was swarming with them, but they were unusually numerous ... And perhaps the nicest thing I saw was a clean, smooth-faced youth, in white duck trousers. I hadn’t seen him for a whole year, not once, and I loved him immediately. It is a pity that we cannot send one over to the Berlin Exhibition and stand him under a glass case as our most distinctively American product. Altogether I feel waves of patriotism sweep over me. America seems just as nice as she did when I used to think of her over in Germany: when I saw over my forlorn breakfast, for instance, or when I got into one of those awful beds or when I passed a group of bloated-looking slovenly, swaggering German students.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Addams, *TYHH*, 61, 62. When she returned a second time to Europe, she attended a meeting of the London match girls, then on strike protesting low wages. See page 67.

<sup>34</sup> Hamilton to Jessie Hamilton, September 5, 1896, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 98-99.

When Hamilton returned to America she had no purpose to lessen the plight of poor immigrants similar to Addams.<sup>35</sup> Instead she resumed her quest to become a respected scientist by studying for one year with pathologist Simon Flexner at the John Hopkins Medical School. And she was glad to work in a laboratory that “accepted [her] without amusement or contempt or even wonder,” as it allowed her to “[slip] into place with a pleasant sense of belonging.”<sup>36</sup> That spring she accepted a position teaching pathology and directing the histological and pathological laboratories at the Woman’s Medical School of Northwestern University in Chicago.<sup>37</sup> Prior to her move to Chicago there is nothing to suggest that the tour she and Edith made of Munich, Frankfurt, and Leipzig changed how she thought about national cultures, or America’s position in the world. Her letters indicate quite the reverse: her parochial outlook survived intact and she was no closer to embracing pluralism or recognizing the significance of transnational social and cultural ties than when she left Indiana for medical school at the University of Michigan.

Nonetheless, Hamilton applied for residency at both the Chicago Commons and Hull-House.<sup>38</sup> Her motivations are difficult to define. Mina Carson argues she first heard about settlements from her beloved cousin Agnes. When Alice first went to the University of Michigan, Agnes stayed in Fort Wayne and studied British Christian Socialist intellectuals including Frederick Denison Maurice, who believed the Church must eradicate capitalist systems of oppression by promoting equitable material conditions. As a devout Presbyterian, she was inspired to aide those less fortunate and to look into the then nascent settlement movement in America. Agnes even extended invitations to Florence Kelley and Graham Taylor to speak in

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<sup>35</sup> Addams, *TYHH*, 64, 66. Addams also critiqued the felt need for young, educated, comfortable Americans to become cultivated through private, didactic trips to Europe, 61-67.

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 48. She was cautioned in 1895 not to pursue a Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins, however. Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 89. Rosenberg illustrates that many women in higher education in America experienced the gender discrimination Alice mostly escaped at Johns Hopkins. Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*.

<sup>37</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 50; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 108.

<sup>38</sup> Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 108.

Fort Wayne. Given how close the cousins were, perhaps Agnes convinced Alice to apply to settlements in Chicago upon accepting a teaching and research position at the Women's Medical School.<sup>39</sup> Or it may have been Jane Addams' 1892 essay, "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements," that caught the attention of first Agnes and then Alice. Addams not only delineated how settlements were helping to re-direct Christianity toward social service, known as the Social Gospel, but she also explained how well-educated and ambitious women would be satisfied by practical applications of their training.<sup>40</sup> In her autobiography many years later, Alice used Addams' ideas to explain the appeal of Hull-House, leading scholars to cite *Exploring the Dangerous Trades* when examining her commitment to settlement work.<sup>41</sup>

But in 1897, Alice was much less certain. She may have felt life in a settlement offered a way to balance ideals of the women's movement with companionship.<sup>42</sup> As Barbara Sicherman argues, Alice embraced a sense of female possibility that burgeoned amongst women of her generation. Armed with this new consciousness, they confronted rigid behavioural norms by emphasizing equality of intellect and ability rather than the virtue, purity, and unique fitness for reform that had been lauded by women of the previous generation.<sup>43</sup> But in Alice's opinion,

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<sup>39</sup> Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 96. Hamilton admits in her autobiography that Agnes "put the idea in [her] head." She also mentioned hearing Jane Addams speak in Fort Wayne in the spring of 1895, but could not recall her impressions. Hamilton, *ETDT*, 50.

<sup>40</sup> Addams, "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements," in *American Intellectual Tradition*, ed. Hollinger and Capper, 123-124, 121.

<sup>41</sup> Charlene Haddock Seigfried references Hamilton's article in *Eighty-Years at Hull-House* that is excerpted from *ETDT*, written several decades after Alice left Hull-House in 1919. Given Sicherman's familiarity with Hamilton and her family, she does not rely on Hamilton's later recollections. Instead, she privileges a widespread and ambiguous Progressive impulse when explaining Alice's decision to become a resident of Hull-House. Charlene Haddock Seigfried *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 76-77. Sicherman, "Working It Out: Gender, Profession, and Reform in the Career of Alice Hamilton," in *Gender, Class, and Reform in the Progressive Era*, ed. Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 127-147.

<sup>42</sup> As previously stated, life-long asexual relationships developed between most unmarried female residents of Hull-House. Alice became especially close to Clara Landsberg.

<sup>43</sup> Sicherman, "Gender, Profession, and Reform in the Career of Alice Hamilton," 128. See also: Haddock Seigfried, "Acknowledging Mutual Influences: The Chicago Years," in *Pragmatism and Feminism*, chapter 4; Rosenberg, "Toward a Sexless Intelligence," "The Social Roots of Personality," in *Beyond Separate Spheres*, chapters 4 and 5.

doing so required choosing between a career and marriage. She was shocked to hear her cousin Allen announce in 1896 his engagement to Marian Walker, both medical doctors, and Walker's intention to pursue her career. Alice lamented how "girls think now that they must all have professions, just because they [were] free to, not realizing that the proper state of society [was] one in which a woman [was] free to choose between an independent life of celibacy or a life given up to child-bearing and rearing." Should this pattern continue, "[society] will go down the path of degeneration if [forced to] lose our mothers and our home-life."<sup>44</sup> At a time when feminism was gaining ground in America, it is curious that Alice retained certain conservative ideas.<sup>45</sup> If her ambition was to gain acceptance in a masculine profession, her decision to become a settlement resident was to find companionship in her professional, celibate life.

Alice's initial impression of what settlement work entailed was, to some degree, a tad naïve. As she explained to Agnes after having visited with Addams,

I had supposed that I could go there and simply sit around and imbibe, without doing anything useful myself. But ... one is expected to do part of the work ... They asked me what classes I could teach, whether I could give entertaining talks to the boys' club, or lectures on different scientific subjects, or teach Italian or drawing. And you know I could not undertake work outside my college work even if I knew how ... [T]he whole thing made me feel very small. It is so tremendously cultured, and all the people seem to be specialists in sociology or kindergartening or manual training or art or music or anything else that is taught there. I know I never would be accepted by them.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, September 12, 1896, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 103. See also: Hamilton to Agnes, December 6, 1896, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 105-106.

<sup>45</sup> Nancy Cott associates women's desire to revolutionize relationships between the sexes as an important element of feminism, which crystalized when the word was introduced in American lexicon around 1913, although the ideas associated with the use of the word had begun to emerge during the late 1800s. Alice's reliance on "mother" vs. "professional" suggests the women's movement, which relied on archetypal definitions of woman, had a lasting influence on her opinions. Cott, *Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 4-7. Throughout the Progressive Era it became increasingly common for educated women to try and have both families and careers. Amid larger social changes toward more a heterosocial culture, these women moved away from gendered segregation, toward egalitarianism and integration. Suggesting further that Alice relied on increasingly out-dated ideas of women's progress, at least with respect to their personal choices. Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). For recent work that builds on this argument, see: Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Women at the Seven Sister Colleges: Feminist Values and Social Activism, 1875-1915* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject*. On later setbacks women experienced in higher education, science and medicine, see: Cott, *Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 217-223.

<sup>46</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, June 13, 1897, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 109.

Although she had initially expected to imbibe reform ideas without actively helping or becoming involved in immigrant programs, her application was accepted and in the fall of 1897 she moved into Hull-House.<sup>47</sup>

Hamilton's move from John Hopkins Medical School into the heart of Chicago's immigrant communities and a settlement house at the forefront of Progressive Era reform and Americanization was a bold personal shift. She soon found herself working alongside some of America's most influential women, including Florence Kelley.<sup>48</sup> As a divorced mother devoted professionally to labour legislation for immigrant women and girls, Kelley countered Alice's elitist disregard and dismissed her neat definitions of women's roles.<sup>49</sup> Indeed the entire point of Hull-House to Addams was to openly rebel against genteel society and its expectations, and accepted truths. As Christopher Lasch contends, the settlement was not simply an experiment in bridging gaps between the middle-class and impoverished immigrants, or an effort to help those less fortunate. Rather it was an ongoing "postgraduate course" that exposed young college educated men and women to the socio-economic conditions the "other half" faced, and the cultural gaps between immigrants and their children. This experiment would not only help to explain similar disconnects Addams felt between her and her parents' generation, but reveal how American society must change.<sup>50</sup> To this end, she provided meeting space for Marxists, Anarchists, unionists, striking-workers, and socialists. And residents forged strong connections

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<sup>47</sup> Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 110. It is possible her application was accepted because Florence Kelley respected Agnes. Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 96; Hamilton to Agnes, October 13, 1897, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 115.

<sup>48</sup> Kelley was a socialist who came to Chicago in 1891 with her three children not long after separating from her Russian husband. Her investigations of industrial workplaces led to the passage of a state factory act in 1893 that limited the hours of work for women and girls, prohibited child labour, and regulated sweatshop industries. For the next four years, she worked as chief factory inspector.

<sup>49</sup> Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 171-316. Hamilton was impressed yet intimidated by Kelley. Hamilton to Agnes, October 13, 1897, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 115.

<sup>50</sup> Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism, 1889-1964: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York: Knopf, 1965), 24-25, 35-37.

with professors at the University of Chicago, including John Dewey, George Hebert Mead, Charles Zueblin, all of whom frequently lectured, visited, and worked with residents on reform initiatives. Hull-House provided them an urban laboratory that allowed for scientific and objective observation of lived realities that were both, then, novel and dynamic. By understanding how identity and values, both ethical and moral, were implicated within particular contexts, they were forced to change what they presumed to be the intellectual foundations for a just and liberated society. Mary Jo Deegan, building on Lasch's work, argues the Chicago School of Sociology was "born through ... collegial contacts and intellectual exchanges" with Addams.<sup>51</sup> Alice had walked into the beginnings of feminism and pragmatism.

Hamilton was now a member of a public place dedicated to immigrant and nascent intellectual communities, communities far removed from both her privileged upbringing in Fort Wayne and her European sojourns as a student. Hull-House residents worked hard to provide immigrants various cultural, educational, recreation or political services, as well as a welcoming dependable place. Hoping to gain residents' respect, Hamilton threw herself into settlement work. During her first year, she volunteered for a countless array of tasks, including art anatomy, physiology, teaching English to both Russian Jews and Greeks, fencing to a men's club, and receiving visitors at the front door two nights a week. (Figure 11) For this, she earned herself the nickname "woman of all work."<sup>52</sup> As I have tried to argue, being a resident thrust both her personal and professional life into the midst of a public place dominated by the foreign-born and cultural uncertainty. As immigrants came through the front door and moved throughout the

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<sup>51</sup> Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988), 5-6. In her seminal work, Cott delineates how the word "feminist" came into use in America, and, more importantly, how it captured a slowly emerging desire for a "revolt against all artificial barriers which laws and customs interpose between women and human freedom." Although this "awakening" led female feminists to champion equality through sex-segregation, others, like Addams, argued that humanity had nothing to do with sex. Cott, *Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 13-50.

<sup>52</sup> Sicherman, *Life in Letters*, 118.

settlement at their leisure, Alice was constantly reminded of the porous connection between Hull-House and the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, and the ways that residents embraced these individuals and the unknown ways American society was changing. How, if at all, would the new ideals of feminism and pragmatism help Alice as she tried to make sense of her new lived reality? Or would she give up and return to the laboratory?



*At the Front Door of Hull-House*

**Figure 11: "At the Front Door of Hull-House," n.d., from the Hull-House Yearbook Collection. Courtesy of the Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.**

**Grace Abbott:  
Frontier Heritage, Midwestern Education, and Reluctant Beginnings at Hull-House**

During the late 1890s and early 1900s, as Hamilton was adjusting to life at Hull-House, Grace Abbott still resided with her older sister Edith and their family in Grand Island, Nebraska, their father Othman, a respected Civil War veteran and lawyer, and their mother, Elizabeth (Lizzie), a former teacher and principal. If the Abbotts did not share the Hamiltons' religious faith, they shared their reverence for education and literature.<sup>53</sup> Since Grand Island was founded in the mid-1800s by German farmers, German was a part of the curriculum for the upper grades of elementary school. Lizzie also hired a private tutor to teach her children at a much younger age, and encouraged them to also read such classics as *Aesop's Fables*, *Arabian Nights*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the fairy tales of Hans Christian Anderson, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.<sup>54</sup> With their parents' subscriptions to *Harper's Weekly*, *The Century*, and *North American Review*, Edith and Grace poured over every issue, especially the latest cartoons by Thomas Nast. When *Harper's* "was supporting the Mugwumps and the Democratic ticket, [Othman] swore very loudly and said he would stop his subscription," the Abbott children were so indignant he was forced to relent.<sup>55</sup> Along with his subscriptions, their father shared his experiences practicing law. Cases were discussed openly within the Abbott home and the children were free to come to the court house to watch trials that might be interesting or educational in some way.<sup>56</sup> Grace,

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<sup>53</sup> Neither of their parents were church-goers. Othman preferred to spend Sunday mornings in his law office, and admonished men who attended because it was "good business" or "good politics." Lizzie was a Quaker. She allowed Edith, Grace and their two brothers to attend church activities, mostly so they could feel part of the community. Edith Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," edited and compiled by John Sorensen, *Great Plains Quarterly* 23, 2 (2003): 102; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 7-8. See also: E. Abbott, "Grace Abbott: A Sister's Memories," *Social Service Review* 13, 3 (1939): 354.

<sup>54</sup> Grand Island and surrounding region was first settled by German farmers, and people of German origin were still substantial residents in the town. The language was therefore taught in local schools. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 9, on the literature they read, see: 9-10. See also: E. Abbott, "A Sister's Memories," 352.

<sup>55</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 101-104; idem, "A Sister's Memories," 353-354; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 10.

along with her sister Edith and two brothers, had, in other words, a privileged and cultured childhood similar to Alice Hamilton and her sisters.

It was also isolated. Lizzie wanted her daughters to have more schooling than was available in their small frontier town. Edith was therefore sent to Brownell Hall, an Episcopalian boarding school in Omaha. Yet, the Depression of 1893 and subsequent droughts in the Great Plains compromised the Abbott's finances, forcing Edith to return to Grand Island upon graduation in 1893.<sup>57</sup> Othman could no longer afford to send Grace to boarding school, so she attended Grand Island College from 1895-1898, and the University of Nebraska for one year in 1902. To help with family finances, and to begin establishing their own economic independence, Edith taught at the Grand Island high school. And Grace did the same in Broken Bow starting in 1898. Apart from a short trip to Chicago to visit the World's Fair, the sisters remained in their home state of Nebraska until the early 1900s. Edith was the first to leave when she matriculated at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1903. Grace did the same in 1907.<sup>58</sup> Before leaving for Chicago, neither of them had experienced unfamiliar cultures. Much like Hamilton, they had matured in relative isolation, particularly from burgeoning immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans to American cities.

Along with education, the Abbott household focused attention on social injustice, empathy, and active political involvement. Struck by the suffering caused after the grasshopper plague in the summer of 1874, Lizzie helped establish a local Relief Society that provided

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<sup>57</sup> Lizzie felt the Rockford Seminary in Illinois, which she had attended, was too far from Nebraska to be a practical choice. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 11. See also: E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 109-110. On their financial difficulties, see: Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 12-13.

<sup>58</sup> Beginning in 1901, Edith took summer courses at the University of Chicago, while she taught in Lincoln, Nebraska. Grace did the same beginning in 1906, after she assumed Edith's teaching position in Grand Island. Upon leaving for Chicago, they were 27 and 29 respectively. Costin, *Two Sisters*, 13, 16-17; E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 109-110.

clothing for the poor and organized care for the sick.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, she openly empathized with the Native Americans that drifted through, since their land “had been disinherited by [their] government” and were forced to relocate to reservations. White Americans, she realized, were “interlopers.” Rather than rely on popular perceptions of “savage” Indians, she encouraged Grace and Edith to neither fear nor run from these “strange people with the strange language,” but to “try to learn to believe in them” instead.<sup>60</sup> With their less fortunate neighbors as well, Lizzie empathized. Edith recalled vividly the times she wept openly with mothers whose children had recently died, often because of diphtheria, provided them funeral flowers, and named Grace after one particular daughter then recently deceased.<sup>61</sup> In such an atmosphere, Edith felt she and her siblings learned to recognize “the poor” not just as “individuals” but also as the unwitting consequences of progress.<sup>62</sup> White Americans did not always signify the steady march of civilization. It would have been hard for the Abbott children to believe that destitution was caused by a flaw unique to certain races, ethnicities, or nationalities.<sup>63</sup> Grace and Edith left Grand Island with an inclination toward Progressive reform.

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<sup>59</sup> Suronda Gonzalez, “Immigrants in Our Midst: Grace Abbott and the Immigrants’ Protective League of Chicago, and the New American Citizenship, 1908-1924,” (PhD diss., University of Binghamton, 2004), 79. Their mother’s profound commitment to social justice is most easily attributed to her Quaker heritage and parents’ active involvement in the Underground Railroad. Gonzalez, however, locates Lizzie Abbott’s actions within a then emerging women’s political culture that was oriented toward domestic and social issues and distinct from male domains of politics and economics. On her Quaker heritage, see: Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 4; E. Abbott, “A Prairie Childhood,” 96-97. On women’s political culture, as compared to a male’s political culture, see: Kathryn Kish Sklar, “The Historical Foundations of Women’s Power in the Creation of the American Welfare State, 1830-1930,” in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (New York: Routledge, 1993), 43-93; Freedman, “Female Institution Building and American Feminism,” 512-529.

<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth Abbott quoted in E. Abbott, “A Prairie Childhood,” 96, 99-100; idem, “A Sister’s Memories,” 352. See also: Gonzalez, “Immigrants in Our Midst,” 80-81.

<sup>61</sup> E. Abbott, “A Prairie Childhood,” 98-99.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 94.

<sup>63</sup> Although the word eugenics was not used by Americans in 1890s, ideas about racial competition and fitness existed. Within this voluminous literature, texts that influence my thinking include: Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944); Christina Cogdell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining America in the 1930s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Political discussion and activity was encouraged within the Abbott home, including women's suffrage. Both their mother Lizzie and their grandmother, who lived with them, were Quakers committed to "the great crusade for women's rights." Consequently, "women's suffrage was part of [their] childhood." Othman was also an early advocate. In Grand Island and in Hall County in 1882, both parents actively promoted legislation that would add the right of women to vote in state elections to the Nebraska State constitution.<sup>64</sup> Susan B. Anthony even gave a public speech in Grand Island to try and rally support. Since their mother was then president of the Hall County Suffrage Association, Anthony stayed with the family. Edith, just six at the time, proudly shared her pillow with her.<sup>65</sup>

Othman's political activity continued to inspire his daughters' political maturation beyond suffrage. After completing an expired term in the state senate in 1872, he was elected Lieutenant Governor four years later. He ran again for State Senate some years later, but was defeated. As the children matured in the 1890s, family debate over such topics as William Jennings Bryan and Populism were common. As a Republican, Othman believed in rugged individualism and disdained free silver. Bryan, he thought, was a "windbag." Knowing this, Grace attended a speech by Bryan and teased her father by praising his oratory skills.<sup>66</sup> Costin and Gonzalez disagree as to whether or not the Abbott sisters endorsed Populism. In *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, Costin argues that because they knew farmers to be ordinary individuals, the agrarian myth would have been hard to endorse. And they understood how international markets

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<sup>64</sup> The bill was defeated. E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 100-101, quotes taken from 100. On Quakers and women's rights, see: Nancy A. Hewitt, "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Women's Rights in America," *Feminist Studies* 21, 1 (1986): 27-49. On the campaign for suffrage in the West, see: Holly J. McCammon and Karen E. Campbell, "Winning the Vote in the West: The Political Success of the Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919," *Gender and Society* 15, 1 (2001): 55-82.

<sup>65</sup> E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 100-101. Gonzalez, "Immigrants in Our Midst," 80-81.

<sup>66</sup> On Othman Abbott, see: "Abbott Family," Nebraska Historical Society, last updated June 29, 2009, <http://www.nebraskahistory.org/lib-arch/research/manuscripts/family/abbottfam.htm> (accessed February 24, 2013); E. Abbott, "A Prairie Childhood," 103.

affected crop prices. Silver was a narrowly-conceived, dangerous remedy. Edith even studied bimetallism and gave her first political address during the 1896 election, presumably in favour of the gold standard.<sup>67</sup>

Yet, Grace came of age during the “cruel decade of the 1890s,” when droughts devastated farmers throughout the west. No matter how hardy was their individualism, poverty was inescapable. Her father’s characterizations of Populists as men unwilling to withstand a “dose of hard times” created divisions between their political positions, Gonzalez argues, especially when their hard-working family experienced financial hardship after 1893. Furthermore, Bryan’s emphasis on equality, protection of the democratic process, and providing ordinary Americans the opportunity to have an audible voice in government decisions resonated with their mother’s wider sense of community and recognition of injustice.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, women in the state of Nebraska were active in local chapters of National Farmers’ Alliance, which overlapped with the family’s support of suffrage. Grace and her sister may have promoted Bryan’s democratic ideals in abstract ways.<sup>69</sup> If “a small western town was the most honestly democratic place in the world,” it was for the opportunity offered and the “rugged cooperation” they learned, not the virtuous democratic values of agrarianism it supposedly represented.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 15-16.

<sup>68</sup> Gonzalez, “Immigrants in Our Midst,” 87.

<sup>69</sup> The People’s Party held their first convention in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1892. To make populism more appealing, women’s suffrage and political equality were dropped from the Party platform. Prior to this, suffrage was a significant element of the Populist movement. On women and populism, see: Mary Jo Wagner, “Farms, Families, and Reform: Women in the Farmers’ Alliance and Populist Party” (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1986); Julie Roy Jeffrey, “Women in the Southern Farmers’ Alliance: A Reconsideration of the Role and Status of Women in the Late Nineteenth Century South,” *Feminist Studies* 3, 1/2 (1975): 72-91; Pauline Adams and Emma S. Thornton, *A Populist Assault: Sarah E. Van De Vort Emery on American Democracy, 1862-1895* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1982); Marion Knox Barthelme, *Women in the Texas Populist Movement: Their Letters to the ‘Southern Mercury’* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997); Michael Lewis Goldberg, *‘An Army of Women’: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). Lawrence Goodwyn also argues that in Nebraska the populist movement was “shallow” and “fragile.” This may have rendered its ideals easier to personally support in an abstract sense. Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978), 143.

<sup>70</sup> E. Abbott, “A Prairie Childhood,” 94, 108.

If Grace and her sister Edith moved to Chicago with a certain Progressive disposition and political sophistication, it is unlikely either fully comprehended the societal changes immigration caused and required. The population of Grand Island did not change throughout the 1890s. Employment opportunities were scarce as the droughts continued. It would not have been an attractive destination for immigrants seeking work.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, neither sister had traveled abroad before matriculating at the University of Chicago. Their child and young adulthood was spent in a relatively privileged home in a frontier town. If they understood the consequences, the white-man's experience to them was still normal, if not exemplary. As Edith later recalled, their

most cherished memories were those of [their] prairie childhood. .... [They] were brought up hearing the story of the making of a state in the prairie wilderness, and [they] knew the men and women who had cast in their lives and fortunes for the "Winning of the West" – facing the blizzards and droughts and other hardships of the covered-wagon days. Perhaps it was because [they] knew of the sacrifices made by the pioneers that [they] were always proud of having been born in Nebraska and always wanted to be identified with Nebraska.<sup>72</sup>

Even early family letters contain few clues regarding the Abbott's opinions toward immigration. Letters written prior to 1908 between Grace, Edith, Elizabeth, their brother Arthur, and colleagues, including economist James Laurence Laughlin, focused on pedestrian matters such as clothing, accommodations, and departmental gossip.<sup>73</sup> Grace's choice to enroll full-time in a Master's of Philosophy in political science at the University of Chicago would not directly expose her to local or national debates on immigration either. Under Sophonisba Breckenridge

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<sup>71</sup> In 1890, the population of Grand Island was 7 536 and in 1900 it was 7 554, an increase of only 0.2%. For an overview of the wide-spread despair caused by the droughts, see: Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 14.

<sup>72</sup> E. Abbott, "Prairie Childhood," 94. For a critical discussion of the frontier myth and its symbolism, see: Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*; Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985); idem, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier In Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992).

<sup>73</sup> On clothing and accommodations, see: Elizabeth Abbott to Edith, June 28, 1906, Grace to Elizabeth Abbott, n.d., [1906], Grace to Edith, May 21, 1906, Box 1, Folder 9, EGAP; Arthur Abbott to Edith, October 3, 1907, Box 1, Folder 10, EGAP. On departmental gossip and possible research project, see: Laurence Laughlin to Edith, March 15, 1907, Laughlin to Edith, April 19, 1907, Box 1, Folder 10, EGAP.

James Laurence Laughlin was department-head of the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago. As a conservative economist, he subscribed to the economic theories of John Stuart Mill and opposed bimetallism.

she worked on the property rights of married women, suggesting the indelible influence of her family's suffrage politics.<sup>74</sup> Although Grace did not have the degrading opinions of Alice Hamilton, her lack of expressed interest in, and exposure to, European culture and international affairs is significant.

If Alice could be convinced to at least try living in a settlement and Grace had considered neither Hull-House nor the plight of immigrants, other Americans already had definitive opinions regarding the foreign-born. Since 1894, the Immigrants' Restriction League (IRL) had been in operation, with a branch in Chicago. Founded in Boston by Harvard graduates Prescott Hall and Robert DeCourcy Ward, the League was concerned that the numbers of Eastern and Southern European immigrants were on the rise, while those of (Protestant) German, English, and Scandinavian were declining. Because these "new immigrants" were "undesirable for citizenship or injurious to [the American] national character," the IRL worked to arouse public sentiment and lobby for restrictive immigration policies. With the help of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, they introduced legislation in 1896 that would require all new comers to take literacy tests. Since English was not commonly used in countries deemed unfit, such men would be excluded, and the future of American civilization protected. At this time, however, eugenicist fears were not common enough amongst Americans, not even in Congress. After much heated debate in Washington, D.C., which revolved mostly about the economic consequences of male immigrants and whether it was necessary for women to even take the test, President Grover Cleveland vetoed the bill. Disappointed, the IRL disbanded in 1899.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Edith also focused on women's issues in her doctoral work. Her dissertation was a history of women's paid labour, which Breckinridge supervised. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 27-28. In a letter to Edith, Breckinridge briefly described Grace's project and research skills. Sophonisba Breckinridge to Edith, October 23, 1907, Box 1, Folder 10, EGAP.

<sup>75</sup> Overview taken from: Jeanne D. Petit, *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race and the Progressive Era Literacy Test Debate* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 14-30. See also: Hans P. Vought, *The Bully*

After 1900, the political terrain shifted. Electoral support from naturalized immigrants was becoming increasingly important, leading both Republicans and Democrats to compete for them. Yet, restrictionism was popular in the West, where anti-Japanese sentiment was rising, and immigration patterns were changing. And Prescott and Ward were right: Southern and Eastern Europeans, or the inferior “dark white” races, were starting to outnumber newcomers from western, northern, and central Europe. The IRL therefore reestablished itself early in the 1900s. The ascension of Roosevelt in 1901 placed in the White House a man who had been brooding about “race suicide” and the problem of assimilation for nearly a decade.<sup>76</sup>

Beginning with “True Americanism,” Roosevelt had been trying to placate restrictionists while appealing to immigrants since the late 1890s.<sup>77</sup> His message, that any foreign-born individual, men in particular, was welcome in America provided he pledged allegiance to the new nation-state, was fairly liberal in the early 1900s. Jewish and Catholic Europeans, whom he included in his vision, were unpopular amongst many Protestant Americans.<sup>78</sup> But Roosevelt, a neo-Lamarckian, believed in the malleability of cultures and believed that, under the right conditions and provisos, immigrants could be made to model Old Stock Americans. He emphasized, above all, that newcomers must be physically, mentally, and emotionally fit for citizenship. Such individuals could achieve independence, would embrace republican traditions, and, more importantly, contribute to the strenuous tasks required in advancing American civilization. Restrictionists in the House and Senate welcomed his emphasis on men with “a

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*Pulpit and the Melting Pot: American Presidents and the Immigrant, 1897-1933* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004), 16-20.

<sup>76</sup> Overview taken from: Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, 31-34. On the IRL, see also: Noah Pickus, *True Faith and Allegiance: Immigration and American Civil Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 70. On “dark white” races, see: Roediger, “New Immigrants, Race, and ‘Ethnicity’ in the Long Twentieth Century,” and “Popular Language, Social Practice, and the Messiness of Race,” in *Working toward Whiteness*, chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>77</sup> On Roosevelt’s astute political manoeuvring around immigrant policy, see: John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 102-105; Vought, *Bully Pulpit*, 37-58.

<sup>78</sup> Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 43-45.

strong body, stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty” as it addressed their primary concerns. Taking his arguments seriously, restrictionists introduced legislation that prohibited admission to immigrants deemed mentally ill, or who might be identified as anarchists or prostitutes. By 1903, they had at least some new measure of control over immigration.<sup>79</sup> In 1907, these measures were expanded. The Immigration Act added to the list of excluded persons—imbeciles, the feeble-minded, consumptives, those who qualified as insane at the time, and persons of poor physique. Clearly, eugenic fears were much more common after 1900 as compared to 1896. Furthermore, the Act raised the head tax from three to five dollars, and the minimum requirement of personal monetary reserves to twenty-five dollars for men, fifteen dollars for women and children, or fifty dollars for a family.<sup>80</sup> If House Speaker Joseph Cannon used his political power to derail legislative attempts to make literacy tests mandatory, debates were intensifying. IRL activists had even been diligently working throughout the early 1900s to convince union leaders like Samuel Gompers that the American worker needed protection from semi- and low-skilled immigrants.<sup>81</sup> By the time Grace arrived at Hull-House in 1908, powerful exclusionary lines along nationality and masculinity, often expressed as the ability to achieve economic individualism, had been established within larger debates over immigration.

As political debate waxed, so too did Americanization. Some Americans felt the larger problem of immigration was not their inability to become assimilated to national ideals or the American way of life, but the lack of effort by their fellow-citizens to help newcomers through

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<sup>79</sup> Quotes and overview taken from Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, 33. On Roosevelt’s racial views, see: Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 37-44.

<sup>80</sup> Vought, *Bully Pulpit*, 54-57.

<sup>81</sup> On the important role played by Cannon, see: Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 127-130. On the IRL and their work to expand support, see: Daniel J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 117-121.

the process, and to strengthen relations between foreign- and native-born individuals.<sup>82</sup> To this end, settlement workers and nurses circulated throughout congested immigrant wards teaching proper hygiene and sanitation. In New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cincinnati, Boards of Education organized night classes that offered instruction in the English language. At times, settlements and educational institutions worked together to offer more advanced classes in biology, literature and history, or vocational classes in dress-making. Programs for young children that prepared them for public school were often added. At times, these efforts were carried out by the foreign-born. In 1900, for example, the Society for Italian Immigrants was organized to help those most recently arrived. Since many Italian men ended up working in laboring gangs or construction camps, they began experimenting with night schools near such camps in 1905.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps unintentionally, such groups made it possible for immigrants to embrace civic ideals and practices like speaking English, voting, and pursuing respectable leisure activity, while still retaining their European national heritage and identity.<sup>84</sup>

Americanization was not always a straight-forward effort to help newcomers. The line between helping immigrants cope with American society and encouraging them to assimilate toward an Anglo-Protestant norm was a blurry one. The work of Hull-House, and its frequent

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<sup>82</sup> For the most part, Americanization efforts were directed toward Eastern and Southern Europeans and ignored immigrants from China, Mexico, and African-Americans. This laid the foundation for future racial and ethnic hierarchies. Cybelle Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

<sup>83</sup> Overview taken from Edward G. Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 13-37. Within the vast literature on Americanization, work that has stood out for the author includes: James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *The Journal of American History* 79, 3 (1992): 996-1020; Georgios Paris Loizides, "'Making Men' at Ford: Ethnicity, Race, and Americanization during the Progressive Period," *Michigan Sociological Review* 21 (Fall 2007): 109-148; Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920," *Pacifist Historical Review* 64, 1 (1995): 71-94; Cybelle Fox and Thomas A. Gulielmo, "Defining America's Racial Boundaries: Blacks, Mexicans, and European Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 118, 2 (2012): 327-379. For a good overview of immigrants' efforts to reject Americanization, see: John Bodnar, "American on Immigrant Terms," in *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), chapter 7.

<sup>84</sup> Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 1-69.

associate from the University of Chicago John Dewey, was at the heart of theorizing the problem of identity. While English classes were regularly offered at Hull-House, neighbours were encouraged to hold parties for their fellow countrymen at the settlement. At the other extreme were such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), which placed much heavier emphasis on English, U.S. history and national heritage, to the point that Old World traditions were deliberately excluded from lectures and organized activity. The loyalty to American society that it encouraged, if not demanded, was little more than submission.<sup>85</sup> Then in 1908, Israel Zangwill's play "The Melting Pot" put a positive spin on this process of fundamental transformation. It chronicled the efforts of David, a young Jewish immigrant and talented musician, who courageously leaves his uncle, Mendal Quixano, an elderly man who continued to wear "a black skull-cap and seedy velvet jacket" after having immigrated to New York. Seizing the opportunities his new independence offered, David writes a symphony, marries the Gentile girl of his dreams, and becomes a proud American. Roosevelt, of course, applauded Zangwill's play. It justified including less popular European "races" provided they embraced American principles and committed to their new land, regardless of the consequences.<sup>86</sup> If Zangwill side-stepped the anxious nativism of the DAR, the message that immigrants must change to become American was clear. Amongst the native-born, his exceptionalist themes rendered Americanization an appealing solution.

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<sup>85</sup> Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 235-238; Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in *Concepts of Ethnicity*, ed. William Petersen, Michael Novak, and Philip Gleason (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 84-89. Pickus offers interesting suggestions that between the two extremes, certain commonalities existed. That is, he argues that Americanization was driven by Progressives hoping to reorder society and create cohesion using modern notions of scientific order. If both extremes believed in common social ideals, they disagreed over relationships between cultural and political identities. As will be discussed below, those on the liberal or left side of this debate before 1915 would be identified as cultural pluralists. Pickus, *True Faith and Allegiance*, 71-73.

<sup>86</sup> Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 50-51; Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," 80-84.

At least for Grace, things started to change early in 1908 when she began to augment her income by working with organizations outside the university such as the Juvenile Protection Association (JPA). Under the direction of Louise de Koven Bowen, the association's purpose was "to keep children out of court by removing many of the demoralizing conditions which surrounded them ... [and by] trying to protect children and young people wherever they congregate." To this end, the JPA organized Chicago into districts and assigned a "paid officer whose duty it was to keep children out of disreputable ice cream parlors, candy stores and pool rooms." Grace, however, found the actual monitoring of immigrant youths' activities, basically "police duty," unsatisfying. She wanted a position that involved overseeing the development of programs and their policies. Sensing this, Breckenridge offered her later that same year directorship of the newly formed Immigrants' Protective League (IPL).<sup>87</sup> She likely hesitated over this offer. While it appealed to her professional ambitions, it required suspending her graduate studies and moving from the University of Chicago campus in Hyde Park to the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. As Edith later recalled, she regretted having to do this and intended to one day finish her degree.<sup>88</sup> In 1909 Grace even moved out of Hull-House. For six months she lived as Head Resident of Beecher Hall, taught at the University of Chicago in the mornings, enrolled in courses offered by the Law School, worked at the IPL office in the afternoon, and returned to campus in the evening to work in the library.<sup>89</sup> As she took command of the IPL, Grace did not foresee that social work and immigration would dominate a significant portion of her career, nor

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<sup>87</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 39-40, including quotes from Bowen; John Sorensen and Judith Sealander, *The Grace Abbott Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 3.

The JPA was established when the Juvenile Court Committee and the Juvenile Protection League merged in 1907. Its work focused primarily on ending juvenile delinquency, on providing probation officers for the Juvenile Court, and on researching urban social conditions. While Grace was an employee, Louise de Koven Bowen was acting as Director. The IPL was originally known as the "League for the Protection of Immigrants." Its name was changed sometime in 1909.

<sup>88</sup> As Edith commented in a draft of her sister's biography, Grace left the university with much regret, and thought she would return one day and finish her doctoral work. E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>89</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

eventually inspire her to promote a peaceful, international community based on transnational social connections.<sup>90</sup>

Once Abbott had the opportunity to work directly with immigrants, her opinions regarding academia and public service began to change. After only six months of study, she declared to Edith that she was “not interested in subjects like ‘Bills and Notes,’ or ‘Wills,’ or ‘Real Property.’” It was necessary to only “understand fundamental legal principles so that [she could] know what the rights of a poor man really are.” Although her students at the University were intelligent, “classroom work ... [had become] very unimportant compared with her first-hand studies on the West Side.” She therefore resumed residency at Hull-House and devoted herself to the IPL. As Edith recalled, it was the hardships immigrants faced that provoked her “imagination ... quick mind ... [and] eagerness to prevent injustice to a friendless group of people.” Moreover, with the IPL her “organizing and administrative ability found a wide field of service.”<sup>91</sup> By the end of the first decade, Grace had relocated both their professional and personal life to Hull-House in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. The decision combined her mother’s disdain of injustice, her family’s aspirations for female opportunity and political equality, and her own career ambitions. More importantly, now Grace was finally ready for the diversity of the Near West Side, and the local experiences that would change her opinions about American society, and, more importantly, expose her to the networks of people and things that enmeshed Chicago within the social networks that crisscrossed the Atlantic.

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<sup>90</sup> Although occasional leave of absences were taken, Grace would remain Director of the IPL until 1918, when she permanently moved to Washington, D.C. to work with Julia Lathrop at the Children’s Bureau. Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), xi. E. Abbott, “A Sister’s Memories,” 355.

<sup>91</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

### **Bathing Babies and Plating Flies: Alice Hamilton and the Navigation of European Cultures**

As Grace Abbott settled into Hull-House and the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, Alice Hamilton had adjusted to settlement work. During a “typical evening” at Hull-House, she could be found in the back parlor quietly writing letters to her family, while around her other residents like Miss Johnson, the street cleaning commissioner, were helping immigrants to apply for work with the city. At times, this led to tense conversations over naturalization. Meanwhile, in the front parlor, Mr. Deknatel and Mrs. Valerio, who taught French and Italian, were “taking the names of ... people ... registering for classes,” and such residents as George E. Hooker were “managing classes and clubs in various rooms.” As Hamilton sat in the midst of this activity, she was actually waiting for a Dr. Blount to arrive, as she was “to help in *some* scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the Italian ‘neighbors.’”<sup>92</sup>

But like Abbott, Hamilton had her share of uncertainty. Her unwillingness to help Miss Johnson, Mr. Deknatel or Mrs. Valerio that evening suggests this, as does her skeptical tone regarding her meeting with Dr. Blount. Not surprisingly, she had a hard time connecting with their Italian neighbors, specifically mothers in her Well-Baby Clinic. Established in 1898, the Clinic ran twice a week on Tuesday and Sunday mornings. Located in the shower room in the basement of the gymnasium, a dozen little baths with soap and towels were arranged for mothers and their young children. What had motivated Hamilton was the disproportionately high number of young Italian children suffering from diseases like rickets. Scientists associated it with urban

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<sup>92</sup> Emphasis added. Hamilton to Agnes, October 13, 1897, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 116. Amanda Johnson was garbage inspector of the 19<sup>th</sup> ward following passage of a civil service law. Frederick H. Deknatel, president of a small hardware manufacturing firm, took charge of the Boys’ Clubs following the death of his wife. He was a life-long patron of Hull-House, later serving as auditor and trustee. Amelie Robinson Valerio taught both French and Italian; she later worked for the Chicago Department of Health as an inspector. Hooker taught mainly subjects related to civic affairs. During his 40 years as a resident, he was also a secretary with the City Club of Chicago, an organization of business and civic leaders interested in urban development and reform. Dr. Blount was most likely Anna Ellsworth Blount. At the time, she was an intern at Cook County Hospital. Her husband was Ralph E. Blount, a resident of Hull-House.

slums where sunlight rarely penetrated, and malnutrition caused by severe digestive issues related to poor hygiene or inadequate food supplies, dairy in particular.<sup>93</sup> Reformers associated disease more generally with “the wrecked foundations of domesticity,” as Addams described it. Amongst those serving immigrant communities certain standards of cleanliness and nutrition were commonly promoted.<sup>94</sup> The Well-Baby Clinic may have seemed a natural choice: it imparted proper hygienic habits, emphasized hygienic standards, and made effective use of her medical training.

The trouble was Hamilton assumed ameliorating family health on the Near West Side would be a straightforward task, little more than the authoritative dissemination of domestic and scientific advice to mothers. She had underestimated how different were immigrants’ approaches to everyday life, compared to her own, and how important were their European traditions as they adjusted to life in Chicago, even when those traditions were modified.<sup>95</sup> She grew frustrated, for example, when too many older siblings, rather than mothers themselves, brought babies into the clinic. Her privileged upbringing in Indiana and reformers’ emphasis on the home rendered mothers the head of the household, for hygiene in particular. It was crucial, she thought, to work one-on-one with them in order to impart lessons and to change daily household habits.<sup>96</sup> But immigrant mothers were committed to helping their neighbours.<sup>97</sup> Or they were employed.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Ideally the sick children came on Tuesdays as she tried to set aside extra time that day to either treat them herself or take them to dispensaries or hospitals. Children as old as 8 years old were brought to the clinic. Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 119; Hamilton, *ETDT*, 62.

<sup>94</sup> Addams quoted in Donna R. Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 166, see also 115-123.

<sup>95</sup> On immigrants’ tendencies to draw upon modified Old World traditions to develop a “culture of everyday life” in new urban capitalist surroundings, see: Bodnar, “America on Immigrant Terms,” in *Transplanted*, chapter 7; Gabaccia, “Preservation and Innovation,” in *From the Other Side*, chapter 8.

<sup>96</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, June 23, 1899, Sicherman, *Life in Letters*, 132-133.

<sup>97</sup> An extensive literature has examined the help and support immigrants, often women, freely gave to one another, forming strong social networks, or kinships, in the process. “Family” included people other than parents and siblings. Dee Garceau-Hagan, “Family Networks: A Web of Support,” in *The Important Things of Life: Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, 1880-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), chapter 2; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca:

Hamilton may have overlooked these aspects of their everyday life when designating the hours of her Well-Baby clinic. A more significant problem was her inability to gain Italian mothers' trust. During the first winter that the clinic was open, the mothers who came found the idea of washing a baby during the frigid winter months illogical. They put little confidence in Hamilton's medical advice that regular baths were essential for good health. Instead, the mothers felt it best to sew their babies into their clothing. With nutrition, she was similarly thwarted. Her intention was to convince them that until infants cut their teeth, they should receive nothing but milk. Yet, on account of their workplace demands, limited financial and nutritional resources, and maternal experiences raising children in poverty, her recommendations were largely ignored. Instead, mothers stubbornly argued their young children needed bananas, bacon, fried eggs, and cupcakes in order to grow, to maintain their weight, and be generally content.<sup>99</sup>

Hamilton again struggled when she tried to educate Italian mothers about contagious diseases. One particular conversation with a mother suggests how disconnected were immigrants' cultural frames of reference from her own. Professionally, it was her opinion that education regarding contagious disease was urgent because immigrants' "recklessness" was "much more disquieting than the food habits." Naturally for Hamilton, the best approach was to explain theories of infectious disease. However, when "remonstrating a woman who had

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Cornell University Press, 1971), 260-267; Sylvia J. Yanagisako, "Women-Centered Kin Networks in Urban Bilateral Kinship," *American Ethnologist* 4 (1977): 207-226; Donna Gabaccia, "Kinship, Culture and Migration: A Sicilian Example," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 3 (1984): 39-53; idem, *From the Other Side*, 61-64, 79-85. Scholars have also noted how the built environment influenced the development of these networks in poor, urban neighbourhoods. Zhao Ma, "Down the Alleyway: Courtyard Tenements and Women's Networks in Early Twentieth Century Beijing," *Journal of Urban History* 36, 2 (2010): 151-172.

<sup>98</sup> Patterns of work amongst immigrant women varied. Some worked in the home. Eileen Boris, *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21-48. Many worked in the garment industry and brought about important change through militant strikes, shop-floor activism, and by opening supporting unions. Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). Others have argued that women of certain backgrounds rejected paid labour according to their cultural traditions. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, "A Flexible Tradition: Southern Italian Immigrants Confront a New Work Experience," *Journal of Social History* 7, 4 (1974): 429-445. For an overview, see: Gabaccia, *From the Other Side*, 46-52.

<sup>99</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 62-63. See also: Hamilton to Agnes, November 5, 1899, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 119.

deliberately taken her [one] year-old baby into a room where there was a child with diphtheria,” Hamilton shocked her sense of right and wrong. The mother rushed to ask if “God would punish [her] for going in to help Maria with her sick child?” Evidently, religious morality, rather than science, provided a more trustworthy explanation.<sup>100</sup> Because it was her cousin’s example and her desire for companionship that had compelled Alice to apply for residency at Hull-House, despite having such negative opinions of immigrants as a young medical student, she never stopped to observe or ask about day-to-day life within the Italian community. During her early years as a resident, Hamilton had not yet gained an open-mindedness and appreciation for another person’s cultural and economic context.

By this time, important connections had developed between Hull-House and pragmatists at the University of Chicago. As Mary Jo Deegan argues, the Chicago School of Sociology was “born through ... collegial contacts and intellectual exchanges” with Addams. And Hull-House provided these men with an urban laboratory for observation and inquiry. It acted as a window on immigrants’ lived reality on a day-to-day basis, and the ways these individuals were changing American society, adapting to their new surroundings, and learning to interact with people of different backgrounds. Both her settlement and her intellect provided pragmatists with opportunities to experiment with new theories of the social and self-hood, and new approaches to reform. Charles Henderson, Charles Zeublin, George Hebert Mead, and John Dewey (until he left Chicago in 1904 for Columbia University), for example, were all frequent visitors who embraced various initiatives, including labour, immigration, women, and health. Zeublin also lectured frequently, taught at least one course, and was involved in organizing university

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<sup>100</sup> Primarily, Alice’s scientific explanations relied on disease transmission. Hamilton, *ETDT*, 63-64.

extension courses. The more time these men spent at Hull-House enriching their principles of pragmatism, the more common they became amongst residents.<sup>101</sup>

As a philosophy, pragmatism rejected truth claims based on epistemological criteria that could not be tested. Instead, both object and subject were constituted through the processes of experience. This rendered experience, as revealed through individual and collective action, the starting point for reflection. Understanding object and subject, therefore, required accepting that “human experience, including cognition, [was] a developmental, historically contingent process.” Knowledge was the sum of values and interests that arose within specific cultural situations, and truth was a belief confirmed through experience. Consequentially, both were unfixed, subject to revision, and acquired through fulfilling conditions experimentally determined, or the outcome of inquiry. More importantly, knowledge was reconceived as a tool that would better organize experience such that social conditions allowed for multiple, dynamic selfhoods, and the values of all people were recognized. So pragmatists heavily emphasized the relation of theory to praxis. Sociologists, philosophers and psychologists in the Chicago School were trying to understand “the motivations influencing ethical systems” by situating “moral judgements within problematic situations irreducibly individual and social.” To improve the human condition through action, or meliorism, required that they observe, experience, and apply new theory in longer, cumulative processes of experimentation. What helped to deepen connections between pragmatism and reform was the assumption that the development of individuality and the attainment of community were intrinsically connected. Improving conditions and experiences for individuals had larger societal consequences. At Hull-House,

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<sup>101</sup> Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, quote taken from 5-6.

meliorism helped to create an ethics that was naturalistic, pluralistic, developmental, and experimental.<sup>102</sup>

During her early years at Hull-House, Alice did not clearly indicate how much she knew of pragmatism, let alone felt herself influenced by it. But she did develop a relationship with Dewey and perhaps his wife Alice as early as 1898. In July of that year, she took thirty Italian children “over to the Deweys.” Approximately a year later, she causally mentioned a then ongoing conversation between Addams, Ellen Gates Starr, and George Twose, an Englishman who lived at Hull-House and taught manual training in high school, about Dewey’s idea for a school for Italian children in a letter to Florence Kelley.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, Dewey had come to the Windy City not long after the Pullman Strikes brought the “labour problem” to the nation’s attention. Leading him to reassess work values in the hopes of reconstructing a society fractured by industrial conflict and demoralized by industrial drudgery, as Andrew Feffer explains. And “at Hull-House” Hamilton quickly found that “one got into the Labor movement as a matter of

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<sup>102</sup> Quotes taken from Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 6-7. This overview of pragmatism is based on a body of dense readings. Essays by pragmatists that have influenced my thinking include: George H. Mead, “The Working Hypothesis in Social Reform,” *American Journal of Sociology* 5 (1899): 367-371; idem, “Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning,” *Psychological Bulletin* 7 (1910): 397-405; idem, “The Mechanism of Social Consciousness,” *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* 9 (1912): 401-406. John Dewey, “On Some Currents Conceptions of the term ‘Self,’” *Mind* 15 (1890): 1-19; idem, “Evolution and Ethics,” *Monist* 8 (1898): 321-341; idem, “Psychology and Social Practice,” *Psychological Review* 7 (1900): 105-124; idem, “The Terms ‘Conscious’ and Consciousness,” *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method* n/a (1906): 39-41, Mead and Dewey as provided by Robert Throop and Lloyd Gordon Ward, *Mead Project: Project Inventory* (Toronto: The Mead Project, 2007), <http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/inventory5.html> (accessed June 2011). Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902; repr., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); idem, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907; repr., Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002). William James, “What Pragmatism Means,” in *American Intellectual Tradition*, ed. Hollinger and Capper, 155-164. Secondary sources include: Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*; Livingston, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution*; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*; Andrew Feffer, *The Chicago Pragmatists and American Progressivism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*.

<sup>103</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, July 3, 1899, Hamilton to Florence Kelley, May 31, 1899, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 125, 130. They may have been discussing Dewey’s idea for a school system where the focus was not only on formal instruction, but on allowing children of different races, classes, or types of experience to interact and have “real communication” so to lessen prejudice. Dewey quoted in Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 77.

course”, suggesting she and Dewey were attracted to similar social issues and debated them.<sup>104</sup> Added to that, she worked with Charles Henderson and became friends with Mead.<sup>105</sup>

As early as 1902, evidence suggests Alice drew upon pragmatist principles including nuanced applications of expert training based on observation of new social conditions. That fall, she became worried about typhoid fever.<sup>106</sup> During the epidemic of 1902 she noticed that the 19<sup>th</sup> ward suffered at much higher rates compared with the rest of the city, even though their water source was shared with several neighboring wards. Convinced the cause must be local, she began to “prowl about the streets and the ramshackle wooden tenements.” Very quickly, she noticed two problems. First, many outdoor privies were located in backyards below street-level. When it rained, they overflowed. Second, many in-door water closets, typically used by three to four families, were actually out of order as no one was responsible for indoor plumbing nor was it a legislated responsibility for landlords. As a result, flies swarmed both in homes and in backyards. Thinking they were the main cause, she and two other residents re-visited tenements to collect flies. Once incubated and plated, she discovered that they carried the virus, allowing her to work toward a possible solution.<sup>107</sup> While Hamilton’s research on Typhoid Fever did not lead to a breakthrough, these initiative measures led her to into the private lives of immigrants. This provided Hamilton the opportunity to observe their poverty, the built environment they had to

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<sup>104</sup> Feffer, *Chicago Pragmatists and American Progressivism*, 91-100, 105-106, 109-110, 112-116, quote taken from 109. A letter written in 1923 suggests that Hamilton and Mead made it a habit to debate ideas or actions that they found novel or provocative. Hamilton to Margaret Hamilton, March 30, 1923, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 269.

<sup>105</sup> In 1910, Henderson had just returned from Germany, where he had studied worker compensation, and persuaded the Governor of Illinois to appoint a commission to investigate how the state could provide health service programs. He asked Alice to join the commission, knowing her interest in the health of industrial workers and encouraged her to observe men’s working conditions. This led her to discover that lead fumes, and not the men’s poor lifestyle habits or inferior physicality, was causing their sickness. Once completed, Henderson helped Hamilton go to Europe to study further their methods of industrial protection and insurance. Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 87-88. On Mead, see: Hamilton, *ETDT*, 74-76; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 206.

<sup>106</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 87-88. Another cause which she pioneered was cocaine abuse. See: Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 146-147; Joseph Spillane, “Making a Modern Drug: The Manufacture, Sale and Control of Cocaine in the United States, 1880-1920,” in *Cocaine: Global Histories*, ed. Paul Gootenberg (London: Routledge, 1999), 21-45.

<sup>107</sup> Hamilton, “The Illinois Survey,” in *ETDT*, chapter 7, especially 98-100.

live in, how they coped, and the palpable lack of concern amongst mainstream Chicago society for their well-being and adjustment to life in America.

As she accumulated this experience in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, Alice began to respect the strength of character shown by immigrant women, allowing her to contextualize and navigate their use of Old World traditions. Their reluctance to bath during winter, for instance, she overcame by anointing their babies with olive oil.<sup>108</sup> And she learned to appreciate babies' varied diets after they grew into "fine-specimens." This forced her to accept that the "modern mothers" who came to the Well-Baby clinic perhaps knew more about caring for children than did her professors at the University of Michigan. Rather than impose axioms regarding nutrition developed within academia, it was more beneficial to experiment with different methods of childhood development in a manner appropriate for both mother and child. Years later in her autobiography, *Exploring the Dangerous Trades*, she even admitted how foolish it had been to try and tell experienced mothers what babies should and should not eat. And she recalled learning to feel solace while watching "an Italian baby sucking on a slice of salami ... [g]arlic,

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<sup>108</sup> It is possible their collective insistence on religious ritual was a part of forming kinships. Robert Orsi has argued that while Italian women attended Church, the service itself was not overly important. Religion provided a means for forming networks and celebrating community. Beyond Orsi's argument, the place of religion within immigrant urban communities has long been a subject of debate. Amongst those wrenched from their homeland and dismayed by America, Handlin argues its practice was not only unchanged but increasingly revered. In response, scholars argue that immigrants were not mournful. Religious beliefs were not imported unchanged and priests were even shocked by Italians' lack of interest. More compelling is Smith's argument. Parishes provided not only community but a process that mobilized immigrants to initiate and pursue new political and economic agendas. Similar to neighbourhood geography, the Church allowed immigrants to create their own tools for adjustment and mobility. Shaw turns this argument around by showing how immigrant churches participated in Americanization. Taking a middle ground, Bondar argues churches provided immigrants a place to debate, rebut, navigate, or combine the different elements of European and American cultures, economics, and politics. Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). For an overview of the literature that builds on Orsi, see: Miriam Cohen, *Workshop to Office: Two Generations of Italian Women in New York City, 1900-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 107-108. Oscar Handlin, "Religion as a Way of Life," in *The Uprooted*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1973), chapter 5. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *The Journal of American History* 51, 3 (1965): 415. Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *The American Historical Review* 83, 5 (1978): 1155-1185. Stephen J. Shaw, *The Catholic Parish as a Way-Station of Ethnicity and Americanization: Chicago's Germans and Italians, 1903-1939* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1991). Bodnar, "Church and Society," in *Transplanted*, chapter 5.

[they had been] told, is full of most valuable vitamins and salami is full of garlic.”<sup>109</sup> By embracing experience, experimentation and meliorism within her changed social context, Alice became so comfortable working with divergent experiences, values, and beliefs that she could look past the presumed authority of scientific theory. Moreover, as she described life at Hull-House much later, her recollections suggest that pragmatism had helped to reorient her thinking away from the privileged, upper-class elitism that bred exclusion.

Among other things, [life in a settlement] teaches you that education and culture have little to do with real wisdom, the wisdom that [came] from life experience. You can never, thereafter, hear people speak of the “masses,” the “ignorant voters,” without feeling that if it were up to you whether you would trust the fate of the country to “the classes” or to “the masses,” you would decide for the latter. But it also makes you distrust the sharp division which young radicals are always making between “proletariat” and “petty bourgeoisie.” (Why always “petty”? Is the *haute bourgeoisie* more enlightened than the *petite*?)<sup>110</sup>

The more settled Alice was at Hull-House, the more curious her positions on gender became. On the one hand, she continued to believe that women of her own class ought to choose—either she was a mother or she worked outside the home. She herself remained dedicated to medicine and science. But the categories she created, Charlene Haddock Seigfried argues, may not have been so straightforward. In choosing science and medicine, she was not abiding by contemporaneous gendered divisions of labour. Her professional choices had led her directly into predominately male worlds of medicine, laboratory research, and industrial factories. With a great deal of courage, she intentionally subverted conventional notions of women’s work and embraced the personal freedom medicine offered. And within her field, she pushed conventions of research and professional obligation by working to ameliorate workers’ conditions and to

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<sup>109</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 62-63; Sicherman, *Life in Letters*, 119.

<sup>110</sup> Hamilton quoted by Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 77. It is excerpted from her autobiography, *ETDT*, 65.

eradicate the work-place conditions that enabled exploitation by industrialists.<sup>111</sup> Then she visited her cousin Allen, his wife Dr. Marian Walker, and her nephew Russell in Arizona while she was investigating mines in the Southwest. Until that trip, women like Florence Kelley had remained an exception, not a new modern norm. But at Allen and Marian's home in Arizona, she experienced how desolate was the area, allowing her to understand why they had to collaborate by dividing their professional and domestic workloads to create a home that was truly self-sufficient and comfortable. As Alice explained, they both worked as much in the home as outside it. Furthermore, she observed how important it was for Marian that she practiced medicine, not only for her sense of self, but for Russell. Their son was a shy, passive boy who needed two strong adults in the house. Together, Allen and Marian had developed a wonderful balance in their relationship.<sup>112</sup> Against her principles, Alice had to admit that she had been wrong, that categorizing women limited opportunities for them and those around her.

Scholars have drawn connections between pragmatism and feminism. As philosophies, both cultivate experiential knowledge, emphasize the subjective values in factual claims, highlight the connections between dominant discourses and social domination, and locate knowledge within historically and culturally contingent processes of interaction. Mead, for example, supported suffrage, women's education, and women's career development. The latter was so important that in 1902 he joined with Addams to protest gender segregation at the University of Chicago and continuously defended the academic contributions of his female colleagues. As Mitchell Aboulafia argues, his philosophical and social psychological work, namely social consciousness and selfhood, rendered a distinct "woman" category unnecessary. In a society where a multiplicity of "selves" co-existed with generalized ones, individuals

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<sup>111</sup> Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 264-267.

<sup>112</sup> Hamilton to Norah Hamilton, January 16, [1919], Reel 28, Folder 618, HFP; Hamilton to Agnes, January 26, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 214-215.

participate in groups whose domains overlap. Hundreds of male and female residents participated in settlement houses across America. While each house had a different agenda, the standard practices for addressing certain problems were similar enough to be interchangeable. Women were “selves” that carried out standardized modes of action and belonged to groups just the same as men. His involvement in organizations like the IPL was therefore more than an expression of his feminism. It was its intellectual source. Understanding selfhood within modern society required focusing on human knowledge and engaging in participatory democracy.<sup>113</sup>

Dewey’s theories of scientific inquiry also overlapped with concerns common to the women’s movement. If science begins with a hypothesis, a hypothesis began with imagination and creative insight. Once formed and tested in lived experience, it would guide future inquiry as scientists worked to develop a theory that addressed a current situation or recognized problem. Not only was the production of knowledge rendered accessible, since anyone involved in the social interactions comprising experience could influence inquiry, but developing it required historically and culturally contingent experience. The values and interests of marginalized, excluded, and oppressed people, such as women and immigrants, mattered.<sup>114</sup>

Alice was never this specific when reflecting on reform, theory, and praxis. But at Hull-House she *was* learning to look past thought and action that led to prejudice, and became determined to find ways to improve social conditions for immigrants, women and families in particular. Moreover, Haddock Seigfried argues her settlement experiences taught her to understand individuals within their context, both historic and contemporaneous, allowing her to

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<sup>113</sup> Mitchell Aboulafia, “Was George Hebert Mead a Feminist?” *Hypatia* 8, 2 (1993): 145-147, 156-157; Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 209-211.

<sup>114</sup> On Dewey, pragmatism and feminism, see: Jane Duran, “The Intersection of Pragmatism and Feminism,” *Hypatia* 8, 2 (1993): 159-171; idem, “A Holistically Deweyan Feminism,” *Metaphilosophy* 32, 3 (2001): 279-292; Shannon Sullivan, “Prophetic Vision and Trash Talkin’: Pragmatism, Feminism, and Racial Privilege,” in *Pragmatism, Nation, and Race: Community in the Age of Empire*, ed. Chad Kautzer and Eduardo Mendieta (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 186-205.

recognize the difference between an abstract love for humanity, and showing love for her “fellow man.”<sup>115</sup> Humanity was not simply an intellectual concept, but the application of lived experiences and new knowledge in everyday life that promoted respect, appreciation, and empathy. As she began to recognize the processes that created oppression and actively working toward emancipatory conditions, it seems possible that her democratic ethic was aligning with Addams’ ideas. But this raises important questions. Would her understanding of the interconnections between individuals and a transnational community change? Now that she was aware of the societal changes required in Chicago because of unprecedented immigration, would study abroad and high culture continue to structure her perceptions of cultural trans-Atlantic connections? Or were these experiences laying the foundation for an inclusive, pluralist community?

### **Grace Abbott Professionally Embraces the “Immigrant Problem”**

When Grace Abbott was ready to leave academia for Hull-House and the IPL, she immersed in the immigrant experience of arriving and adjusting to life in Chicago. This gave her insight into their day-to-day lives including what prejudice they faced, how they had changed local urban culture, and, eventually, what they had experienced en route to America. If Hamilton had to learn to look past the assumed authority of medicine and science, it was Abbott’s “quick mind ... eagerness to prevent injustice to a friendless group of people” and “organizing and administrative ability” that allowed her to observe and understand immigrants’ new reality, and conceptualize the logistical connections they actively maintained between domestic spaces on both sides of the Atlantic.

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<sup>115</sup> Hamilton paraphrased from Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 263.

What Grace experienced and learned began with the objective of protecting the girls and young women who came independently to America. Without a family unit to help guide their adjustment to new urban surroundings, their moral base weakened, rendering them vulnerable to such temptations as dance halls and alcohol. The consequences Abbott and Breckinridge feared of this “too rapid Americanization” included illegitimate children, violent relationships, substance abuse, and prostitution. In short, both women worried that unless immigrant women and girls accepted mainstream standards of family, sexual morality, and citizenship, they would come to ruin in Chicago. And it was their job, as middle-class, educated native-born women to help these women and girls.<sup>116</sup>

To this end, Abbott, Breckenridge, and Judge Julian Mack moved the IPL offices from the financial district, or the Loop, to a tenement owned by the railroad authority in Plymouth Court in 1909.<sup>117</sup> Situated opposite the Dearborn Street Station, in a neighborhood known as “Polk Depot,” they not only joined a community of lower-class immigrants from southern Italy and Sicily, but Dearborn was the station most commonly used by trains transporting immigrants to Chicago.<sup>118</sup> As Edith Abbott would later describe, “large numbers of immigrants ... poured out of the immigrant trains ... almost daily.”<sup>119</sup> Plymouth Court was therefore the perfect place to relocate the IPL; Grace and her staff could help immigrants, especially young women and girls, the moment they arrived. A significant part of their method involved receiving,

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<sup>116</sup> Breckinridge, “Report of the Secretary,” and G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *League for the Protection of Immigrants: Annual Report, 1909-1910* (Chicago, 1910), 9, 22-23 (hereafter *IPL Annual Report*). See also: Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, 53-55, 87-102; Suronda Gonzalez, “Complicating Citizenship: Grace Abbott and the Immigrants’ Protective League, 1908-1921,” *Michigan Historical Review* 24, 2 (1998): 56-75.

<sup>117</sup> Initially the IPL was located within the Loop at 158 Adams Street, roughly four blocks west of Burnham’s Railway Exchange on Michigan Avenue, the prominent commercial and cultural boulevard that ran parallel to Lake Michigan. On the new headquarters, see: G. Abbott “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report, 1910-1911*, 10-12. On Plymouth Court and how the tenement was acquired, see E. Abbott, *Tenements*, 110-112.

<sup>118</sup> As Vecoli shows, residential patterns were divided along provincial lines. Along Plymouth Court were those from Ricigliano. Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Formation of Chicago’s ‘Little Italies,’” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 2, 2 (1983): 7-9. See also: E. Abbott, *Tenements*, 110.

<sup>119</sup> E. Abbott, *Tenements*, 112.

supervising, and releasing immigrants at the IPL office. Between 1910 and 1914, they reported doing this for nearly 79 000 immigrants. When family or friends could not be found, Abbott and her staff offered accommodations for over 2 000 people on the upper floor of their Plymouth Court office.<sup>120</sup>

But members of the Italian community that surrounded Dearborn Station did not silently continue on with their daily lives as the IPL office was relocated to their neighbourhood, nor did they extend a gracious welcome to Grace and her staff. Instead they loudly protested having to give up their tenement homes for the IPL, a response that shocked Edith Abbott. The Southern Italians and Sicilians residing in this part of Chicago, which stretched from the immediate southern boundary of the Loop, to State Street, and west to the River, lived in tenements that were “the worst of all of the insanitary and crowded dwellings.” Worse still, in the opinions of Edith and Grace Abbott, was the cluster of brothels, saloons, and lodging houses along Custom House Place that formed a small, isolated vice district at the centre of the neighbourhood. Yet, “when notice was given to the Italian families to vacate the house, the order was received as a calamitous blow.” At first, the families “refused to move.” They claimed having “nowhere to go” and no contacts in the other Italian communities. Even the West Side community, a mile west of Plymouth Court, seemed to them “a journey into a far country.” Edith simply could not understand how moving such a short distance could seem so difficult, nor why the families were “so attached to homes that were so lacking in all the attributes of comfort and decency,” while at the same time have such little regard for the IPL’s efforts to aid young women and girls, especially those most recently arrived in America.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> The reported annual numbers were: 1910: 1 903; 1911: 5 204; 1912: 15 537; 1913: 41 322; 1914: 14 889. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1913, 10; 1913, 8; 1914, 7. The numbers staying overnight: 1913: 1 420; 1914: 598. G. Abbott, “Report of the Directory,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 7.

<sup>121</sup> E. Abbott, *Tenements*, 112.

Perhaps Edith, Grace, and IPL executive officers expected the impoverished Italian mothers to share their middle-class standards of sexual morality and of home-making, where anything “lacking in decency” was nothing more than temporary accommodations that were merely tolerable. But home ownership was an important goal not only for Southern Italians and Sicilians, but immigrants more generally. Whether it was the Polish in Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Milwaukee; the Slavic and Magyar in Johnstown; or the Italians in Buffalo and St. Louis, immigrants who started at the bottom of the housing ladder tended to be the most eager to achieve social mobility, and owning a home was a crucial part of this process.<sup>122</sup> It seems likely the families of Plymouth Court protested so loudly when ordered by the landlord to evict the premises because no matter how dank, filthy, or underserviced, tenements represented each family’s first effort toward the goal of homeownership. In their own minds, Grace and her staff were impeding their success in America. Whether or not the IPL was able to make amends with the sympathetic neighbors who consoled the evicted families is hard to tell; Grace never mentioned the eviction proceedings in any letters, publications, or IPL annual reports.

Immigrant women rejected modern American society and reform efforts in other ways, giving Grace as well as Alice, added insight. Amongst the most powerful situations were the ways expectant women refused to substitute midwifery for nascent modern obstetrics, especially when social workers tried to convince them otherwise. The case of an impoverished Polish

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<sup>122</sup> John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Suzanne W. Zukowski, “From Peasant to Proletarian: Home Ownership in Milwaukee’s Polonia,” *Polish American Studies* 66, 2 (2009): 5-44; Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Yans-McLaughlin, “‘Pasta and Beans Every Day:’ The Family Economy in the United States,” in *Italian Immigrants in Buffalo*, chapter 6; Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill: Italian-Americans in St. Louis, 1882-1982* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Although as Yans-McLaughlin points out, home ownership in American cities was often a family investment that caused tension between siblings once the parents had passed. See 177-178.

woman, who was near the end of her pregnancy and dependent upon charity because of her husband's illness, exemplified the differences between the preferences of foreign and native-born women. Knowing the woman's desperate circumstances, social workers tried to persuade her to accept care from a doctor at a dispensary. Yet, she refused. Even when the social workers threatened to deny her any and all charitable relief, she continued to refuse care from a doctor. The "strong sense of shame" she would subsequently suffer for "permitting a man to attend [to her] in confinement" would cause more suffering than she was able to bear. And her neighbours were not only sympathetic, but shared her view. Despite being equally impoverished, they contributed toward the payment of a midwife. Although middle- and upper-class American women were very quickly turning on the midwife and arguing that she was "a remnant of barbaric times, a blot on our civilization, which ought to be wiped out as soon as possible," immigrant women would not trust anyone else to attend to them.<sup>123</sup>

Grace and Alice, despite a ten year overlap in their residency at Hull-House, never became overly close and rarely worked on similar initiatives. But midwifery was a subject that concerned them both. They were not alone. Starting around 1905, local medical commissions, councils, and committees began to study the situation in their own cities, which resulted in a flood of articles and addresses on "the midwife problem." In 1906, for example, New York City commissioned a study that presented the local midwife as "essentially medieval." Upwards of 90 percent were reported to be "hopelessly dirty, ignorant, and incompetent."<sup>124</sup> A few years later in

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<sup>123</sup> Grace Abbott, "The Midwife in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology* 20, 5 (1915): 693-694; Judy Barrett Litoff, *American Midwives: 1860 to the Present* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 29. Until the turn-of-the-century, when obstetrics became associated with modern medicine in tandem with mass immigration, a vast majority of American women had relied upon midwives. Litoff, "The Midwife Throughout History: A Brief Overview to 1860," in *American Midwives*, chapter 1; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).

<sup>124</sup> For example, a beta search of U.S. publications on the "midwife problem" from 1900 to 1915 returns upwards of two hundred and forty hits. Francis E. Korbin, "The American Midwife Controversy: A Crisis of Professionalization," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 40, 4 (1966): 351.

1909, the Cleveland Medical Board and the local police took “the first step in [their] war against midwives” by issuing warrants for their arrest and by publicly releasing details of the prosecution of local women who caused infants harm while practicing their “old world customs” of childbirth, rather than call for a physician.<sup>125</sup>

It seems unlikely that Alice and Grace agreed that arresting midwives was the best way to lower infant illness and mortality. They were amongst a small group of medical professionals and reformers that wanted instead to understand why “modern” medicine was being rejected. In 1908, Alice sat on the Committee on Midwives, a joint committee of the Chicago Medical Society and Hull-House, which coordinated and sponsored 223 interviews of midwives by a member of the Visiting Nurse Association. Based on these findings, the Committee argued that, despite a lack of proper training and only moderate regard for surgical cleanliness, especially of their work bags, the midwives of Chicago were “socially inevitable.” At least two thirds of all immigrant women were attended to by a midwife. Moreover, midwives themselves were proud of their work, had no plans to end their practice, and, if necessary, would secure the proper licenses and education so that they might continue. The Committee of Midwives therefore recommended that the state of Illinois assume control over the training and licensing of midwives much like Wisconsin had done late in the 1800s, and provide re-certification courses much like those offered by the German and Austrian schools and the German Society for Midwife Reform.<sup>126</sup> These findings and recommendations by the Committee of Midwives were

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<sup>125</sup> “Warrant for Midwife,” *Plain Dealer*, February 3, 1909, 4; “Prosecute Midwife,” *Plain Dealer*, December 13, 1910, 16; “Midwife is Sentenced,” *Plain Dealer*, February 11, 1911, 2; “Child’s Blindness Laid to Midwife,” *Plain Dealer*, June 1, 1911, 16; “Midwife Found Guilty,” *Plain Dealer*, November 25, 1913, 17. It was also reported “enthusiastically” in December of 1913, that women’s reliance on midwives was decreasing. “Midwife on Wane, Meet’s Informed,” *Plain Dealer*, December 20, 1913, 14. Fred Howe’s former law-firm partner, James R. Garfield, was President of the Western Reserve Child’s Welfare council that applauded the announcement.

<sup>126</sup> As reported in the Committee’s report, midwives reported 86 percent of Italian births; 74 percent of Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, and Bohemian births; and 68 percent of German births. Rudolph W. Holmes et al., “The Midwives of Chicago,” *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 50 (April 25, 1908): 1346-1347. Alice

very similar to the arguments Dr. S. Josephine Baker had also begun to make. As the newly appointed Director of the New York City Bureau of Child Hygiene, Baker argued that the solution to the “midwife problem” was not the elimination of midwives, but proper training and licensing.<sup>127</sup> More importantly for the present discussion, Alice, despite her medical training and experience in childbirth, was clearly aware that a significant majority of immigrant women would only allow an experienced female European midwife to be present during the delivery of her child. It had become impossible to ignore the preferences of foreign-born women. Because the state of Illinois largely ignored the report from the Committee of Midwives, the IPL conducted a similar study into midwifery in Chicago in the early 1910s, presenting many of the same recommendations. As Grace explained, “it [was] only when a physician [was] urged as a matter of life and death that his attendance will be tolerated by the patient or excused by her circle of friends.”<sup>128</sup>

The few hundred women interviewed for the reports Alice and Grace produced were hardly the only practicing immigrant midwives in American cities. In 1913, for example, midwives attended 50 percent of the births in Chicago, 39 percent in New York City, 75 percent in St. Louis, 25 percent in San Francisco, and 70 percent in New Orleans.<sup>129</sup> Historians have also noted the prominence of midwives within immigrant communities. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, Eugene Declercq shows that almost none of the midwives practicing in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had

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also studied families who had experienced high birth rates and high mortality rates, to try and understand their attitudes toward children. Alice Hamilton, “Excessive Child-Bearing as a Factor in Infant Mortality,” *Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine* XI (April 1910): 181-187. On Wisconsin, see: Charlotte G. Borst, “The Training and Practice of Midwives: A Wisconsin Study,” in *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 237-252.

<sup>127</sup> Laura E. Ettinger, *Nurse-Midwifery: The Birth of a New American Profession* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 12-14.

<sup>128</sup> G. Abbott, “The Midwife in Chicago,” 685.

<sup>129</sup> Diane C. Vecchio, *Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women: Italian Immigrants in Urban America* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 86.

been born in the United States.<sup>130</sup> Trusting a midwife was also a tradition that at least some members of the first American-born generation subsequently maintained. A midwife, historian Francis Korben argues, was not only employed by fellow immigrant women, but also by their children when the time came.<sup>131</sup> Looking more specifically at the process of adjusting to American society, historian Jane Pacht Brickman explains how “wherever immigrants settled, the midwife flourished ... the midwife, almost always foreign-born and living in the community, lay in the buffer that immigrant groups maintained against an already overwhelming culture shock.”<sup>132</sup> Not only did a midwife perpetuate Old World traditions European women were familiar with, but she tended to speak the language of her patients, she would visit once a day up to five days after the birth of the child, and charged significantly less for her services compared to a physician.<sup>133</sup> Whether she empowered a hyphenated identity or displaced fear, the midwife was always chosen by foreign-born women over a doctor. Consistently, immigrant women made known their opinions of childbirth in the U.S. For all their experience with family health, and women’s sexuality and well-being, Alice and Grace absorbed important insights from their respective studies into midwifery in Chicago. After hearing such resounding evidence as to what lying-in women expected and preferred in childbirth, it would have been difficult for either Alice or Grace to do anything but argue that societal norms, state regulation, and medical training had to be modified so to embrace midwifery.

Despite immigrant women’s rejections of reform and of American society, or perhaps because of it, Grace remained determined to inquire into women and girls’ initial adjustment to

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<sup>130</sup> Eugene R. Declerq, “The Nature and Style of Practice of Immigrant Midwives in Early Twentieth Century Massachusetts,” *Journal of Social History* 19, 1 (1985): 113-129.

<sup>131</sup> Korbin, “Midwife Controversy,” 350.

<sup>132</sup> Jane Pacht Brickman, “Public Health Midwives and Nurses, 1880-1930,” in *Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities*, ed. Ellen Condliffe Lagerman (New York: Teachers College Press, 1983), 70.

<sup>133</sup> On the added benefits of a midwife for immigrant women, see: Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840-1930* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 13-14.

life in an American city, specifically their progress on English, naturalization, and legitimate employment, and this broadened staff members' routine activities beyond their immediate Plymouth Court neighbourhood. To this end, staff members gained from officials at Ellis Island lists of girls and young women destined for Chicago, and set out regularly to find them.<sup>134</sup> Once found, they would visit them to ask about their means of employment, living situation and conditions, progression with English and naturalization, amongst other topics.<sup>135</sup> Grace relied heavily on her staff members to carry out these visits. Fluent in Greek, French, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, Russian, Yiddish, Croatian, Magyar, Slovak, Lithuanian, Norwegian, and German, they also had “[a] wide acquaintance in the various foreign colonies.” This gave the IPL access to long-established families, saloon keepers, market vendors, and any other member of a “colony” who kept abreast of local gossip.<sup>136</sup> During Abbott’s first year with the IPL, for instance, they learned that immigrants often arrived with a saloon address. Depending on the neighborhood, either the saloon remained their home until an apartment could be secured—as a first step toward adjustment—or expressmen left groups of immigrants at their “colony’s” local saloon until family and friends came to find them. Amongst the Italians, it was typically the

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<sup>134</sup> Due to pressure from the IPL, an arrangement was made where federal officials at Ellis Island sent lists of all girls and women whose final destination was within Chicago. Extract from first and fifth *IPL Annual Report*, in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 468.

<sup>135</sup> In 1909-1910, staff members visited 4762 girls whom they identified as “Poles (from Germany, Austria, and Russia); Russian, Romanian, Austrian and German-Jews; English speaking immigrants: Irish, English, Scotch; German: German-Empire, Austria, Russia; Lithuanian; Slovak; Bohemian; Italian; Hungarian; Croatian; Austrian, not classified elsewhere; Russian; Greek; Other.” Categories and numbers as reported. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 20. In subsequent years, the IPL visited: 1911: 3 595; 1912: 3 338; 1913: 2 905. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1914, 12. On completed meetings, and future plans for more, see: Breckinridge, “Report of the Secretary,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 11; January 1, 1914, 6; G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 26, 33; 1910-1911, 14-17; January 1, 1913, 12-15; January 1, 1914, 11-12; January 1, 1915, 7-8. Visits sometimes led to more suitable accommodations for young women. In 1914, it was reported the uncles of a young Polish woman kept an unsanitary home with many male boarders. The League found for her an established Polish family where she boarded and worked as a domestic. Case record No 16, “Maryana Rossozki, Young Woman Manifested to Unsatisfactory Address,” in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 345.

<sup>136</sup> On languages spoken by IPL staff, see: G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 13; January 1, 1913, 1; January 1, 1914, 1. On staffs’ required connections to “colonies,” see: E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 271.

steamship agent who received groups just off the trains, as agents also served as banker, official letter-writer, and notary public.<sup>137</sup> Whether it was the saloonkeeper or the steamship agent, IPL staff worked with those individuals at the centre of the community to locate girls and women who had recently arrived.<sup>138</sup>

Through her staff, Grace was granted an inside view into the workings of immigrant neighborhoods. If she feared saloons were dangerous for women, she was also learning the important role they played for both families already in Chicago and those who had just arrived. At times, the access she had through her staff allowed her to experience first-hand what these individuals had expected from America, and what they actually experienced upon arrival. One afternoon, a staff member took her to the mean streets of the old Ghetto to see a Russian-Jewish girl dying of tuberculosis. While there, Abbott heard how excited the girls had been to move to Liberty Street, where she expected “to see wide beautiful street with something grand—like [the] Statute of Liberty.” And how deeply disappointed she had been to discover it was a narrow little street with drab frame houses that were “crowded, confused and none too clean.” Worse, the

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<sup>137</sup> Extract from first and fifth *IPL Annual Reports*, in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 469.

<sup>138</sup> Some were impossible to locate. Staff found errors in the names and address provided, the receiving family had moved, or the addresses provided at Ellis Island were fraudulent. In the 1909 annual report, Abbott described how in 66 visitation cases, the inhabitants of a particular address “seemed quite baffled by the use of their names and inquiry among the neighbors shows that the people were well known and that no one had heard of any Polish, Bohemian or Irish girl, as the case might be, coming to that neighborhood.” G. Abbott, “Director’s Report,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 18.

Addams also had conflicting views of saloons. She feared the consequences when women fraternized in male dominated places, yet understood that for men they offered a necessary source of refuge from their harsh reality and that for communities they offered space for marking such occasions such marriages, births, and death. Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), 16-18, 24-32, 53, 66; idem, *TYHH*, 69-70, 106. As Brown argues, Addams’ opinions on women and saloons reflects her disdain for women’s victimization when economically dependent, and her awareness that most young women wanted a family. She worried that saloons comprised both their independence and long-term plans. Victoria Bissell Brown, “Sex in the City: Jane Addams Confronts Prostitution,” in *Feminist Interpretations of Jane Addams*, ed. Maurice Hamington (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 125-158. Historians also argue that saloons provided a place for working-class girls to express their individualism and their success in an American city. They were not necessarily places to be feared. Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in turn-of-the-century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). On class, nationality, and permitted public drinking, see: Craig Turnbull, *An American Urban Residential Landscape, 1890-1920: Chicago in the Progressive Era* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2009), 206-208

tailor shop where she worked was also “crowded, noisy, steaming in summer, freezing in winter.”<sup>139</sup> During the short time that she lived in America, she never found the wide open, inspiring spaces she had envisioned. The “first-hand studies on the West Side” that Grace had boldly chosen over legal studies at the University of Chicago provided her with novel observations of what arrival was like for immigrants and how the community absorbed them.

While it is hard to connect Grace directly with pragmatist circles, shortly after she began her graduate work with Breckinridge at the University of Chicago in 1907, Virginia Robinson, who began studying philosophy a year later, explained how “pragmatism is in the air and everybody starts with it as a basis,” rendering its influence inescapable.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, both Grace’s advisor Breckinridge and her sister Edith were connected professionally to the men of the Chicago School, including Henderson and Mead.<sup>141</sup> Not only was Grace close to both these women, Mead was actively involved with the IPL during her years as Director.<sup>142</sup> Central to Mead’s thought was the interdependence between society and self. Genuine democratic reform required the ability to understand the “community” as embracing all people. Through varied social interaction, open communication, and “humanistic” approaches to collecting new data, it

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<sup>139</sup> E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>140</sup> Virginia Robinson quoted by Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 67. Virginia Robinson was a twenty-five year old teacher from Louisville, Kentucky, who came to Chicago for summer courses in philosophy. That summer, she established what would become a life-long friendship with Jessie Taft, a twenty-six year old teacher from Iowa. Taft would be the first woman to complete a dissertation on feminism and pragmatism under Prof. George Hebert Mead’s supervision. Meanwhile, Robinson became involved in the suffrage movement in Kentucky as she had not secured the fellowship she needed for postgraduate studies. The two women worked together in 1912 researching criminal women. Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*, 114-118.

<sup>141</sup> At the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Charles Henderson was involved in its establishment and continuance, and even co-taught a course with Addams. Abbott and Breckinridge worked on various studies with them, including The University of Chicago Settlement Surveys, coordinated by both Henderson and Mead. Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 66, 112. Deegan also suggests Grace was amongst a larger group of social scientists who contributed to the development of the Chicago School. See page 45.

<sup>142</sup> He was both an Officer and elected member of the Board of Trustees from 1909 until 1918.

was possible for reformers to respect and represent other people and their ideas. Knowledge acquired in this manner could resolve social problems including oppression and exclusion.<sup>143</sup>

Along with new socially contingent perceptions of the saloon and of childbirth and midwifery, Grace's descriptions of Greek men suggest she was at least aware of pragmatist ideas. These men "suffered ... from extravagant praise or unreasonable criticism" because they were "little known or understood." The "average American," for example, expected "every Greek to have the beauty of an Apollo and the ability of a Pericles." When newspapers published "accounts of some crime he may or may not have committed," they "conclude[d] that the race has degenerated" and were "a most undesirable addition to our population." In Grace's opinion this was "manifestly unfair." He "should be accepted for what he is worth in modern society. And [Americans] should inquire not only as to his moral standards, his capacity for self-government and his economic value, but equally important, whether his development in these directions is being promoted or retarded by the treatment he receives in the United States."<sup>144</sup> To this end, she wanted to observe their community within Chicago.

If an American were to visit this neighborhood on the night of Good Friday when the stores are draped with purple and black and watch at mid-night 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.<sup>145</sup>

If Grace upheld certain tenets of Americanization, she was not trying to impose "Anglo-Saxondom" through the IPL or her work as a resident. Instead, she was trying to gain knowledge of Greek immigrants by observing their processes of social interaction amongst themselves and

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<sup>143</sup> Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 105-108.

<sup>144</sup> G. Abbott, "Greeks in Chicago," 382.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 381.

with other immigrants. By disseminating this knowledge, she was trying to encourage open-mindedness amongst other “average Americans” so to thwart prejudice and exclusion.

Yet the tolerance, open-mindedness, and inclusion that Hamilton and Abbott, amongst other Hull-House residents and friends, so desperately wanted to achieve was not always shared across different immigrant communities. Instead, certain national, ethnic, or religious groups worked to protect their own territorial areas and social position, thus distancing themselves from other immigrant enclaves with whom they might have had some historic differences in the Old World. Whether they were merely perpetuating such traditional prejudices or were struggling to adjust to American society for forging strong communities, is hard to determine.<sup>146</sup> Yet, in one way or another, they were rejecting Progressives’ pluralist aspirations. This was especially true amongst the Irish. As a white English-speaking group whose arrival in the U.S. more or less predated Southern and Eastern Europeans, they mistreated the so-called “new immigrants” to protect and maintain their control over urban space.<sup>147</sup> During Alice’s first year at Hull-House, for example, she learned how immigrants who worked as police-officers “despised the foreign-born of other nations.” At that time, the streets around Hull-House “were lined with big, wooden

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<sup>146</sup> Recently, an interesting debate has emerged around violence between immigrants. On the one hand, Barrett and Roediger argue that the Irish and Irish Americans were the primary model or example of Americanization for the Southern and Eastern Europeans who began to arrive in the 1890s. Violence, therefore, was seen as a normal aspect of America in immigrant society. Ribak counters this argument by delving into the perceptions of other groups, Jews in particular, of Irish versus Americans. This allows him to show that the Irish were more often than not rejected as filthy, rowdy, and dangerous in favour of civilized Anglo-Saxon Americans. If both sides of this debate agree that violence at the turn-of-the-century was implicated within the larger societal processes historians associate with whiteness, the reasons behind violence and its significance differ. James R. Barrett and David R. Roediger, “The Irish and the ‘Americanization’ of the ‘New Immigrants’ in the Streets and in the Churches of the Urban United States, 1900-1930,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, 4 (2005): 3-33. Gil Ribak, “‘Beaten to Death by Irish Murderers’: The Death of Sadie Dellon (1918) and Jewish Images of the Irish,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 32, 4 (2013): 41-74. On whiteness, see: David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); idem, *Working Toward Whiteness*; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>147</sup> Although it has received less attention from historians compared to the violence initiated by Irish and Irish American communities, violence and hostility also existed between Polish and Jewish communities. John Radzilowski, “Conflict between Poles and Jews in Chicago, 1900-1930,” *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 19 (2007): 117-134.

garbage boxes, [that were] very convenient seats on a pleasant day.” One afternoon, “Italian workmen were sitting talking on the one in front of their tenement when a Polish-born policeman told them to move on. The command was useless; it was their garbage-box, and they refused, whereupon he drew his revolver and shot them both,” killing one.<sup>148</sup> During Grace’s first year, she witnessed the same kind of violence when one day a Bohemian woman rushed to Hull-House; her young son had been shot by a police-officer. As she described to Grace, her son had been playing craps with a group of boys in the basement of an empty house. When a police-officer ordered them to leave, and the boys did not promptly comply, the officer shot at them, fatally wounding the woman’s son.<sup>149</sup>

Not only did immigrant police officers fire their weapons at undeserving men and boys in Chicago, but all too often the Irish beat cops in New York City would arrest the victim, rather than the Irish aggressor, or join in to help the latter. Muckraker Lincoln Steffens recalled seeing at a downtown police station “a row of bandaged Jews sitting against the wall,” as well as two policemen carrying in “a poor, broken, bandaged East Side Jew.” And as Jacob Riis described for Steffens, “the broken heads” were a “daily scene” since officers routinely beat up those arrested. Not surprisingly, William McAdoo, Police Commissioner of New York City from 1904 to 1906, commented upon retiring that Jewish immigrants intentionally avoided any contact with police, since they believed that “police” and “prison” guaranteed “dire possibilities.” Unfortunately, the Irish also worked as union officers, shop stewards, bishops, and firemen, in addition to policemen, or “the good brothers of all the ‘bums’.” In cities such as Boston, New York City, and Chicago, where Irish and Irish Americans were heavily concentrated, it must

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<sup>148</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 67-68.

<sup>149</sup> It was later discovered that the officer had been drinking. Although Grace convinced the mother to file a complaint, it was eventually withdrawn. E. Abbott, “Hull-House Years,” Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

have seemed like one made one's way through a world controlled by one immigrant group that was determined to maintain its dominance within the urban context.<sup>150</sup>

Protecting the “turf” of their ethnic or national group was also more important than any pluralistic definitions of Americanism espoused by Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, Jane Addams, George Hebert Mead, or John Dewey. On Chicago's Near West Side, for example, the Italians were initially “wedged in between the Slavs on the south and the Irish to the west,” and it was the latter “colony” that caused tensions to flare. As one Irish American resident later described for Edith Abbott,

in those primitive, heroic days, stoning brigades would advance across Twelfth Street and drive the Italians back to Taylor Street. And if “immigrant kids,” ... [or greenhorns], cared to penetrate west to play ball in Vernon Park, they had to cut their way through fierce shock troops of young hooligans.<sup>151</sup>

This was hardly an isolated incident on the Near West Side. The area around Holy Family Church, one of the city's first Catholic parishes, had the second highest crime rate of any police court in the U.S. at the end of the 1900s. The area's Irish gangs, comprised mostly of youth, routinely terrorized Germans, Italians, Jews, and any other ethnic group until at least the turn-of-the-century.<sup>152</sup> The Irish gained a notorious reputation for inciting violence with immigrant groups in other cities as well. In Buffalo in the early 1900s, young Italians were forced by the Irish “to use the backstreets” to travel throughout the city until the Italians won a series of pitched battles.<sup>153</sup> In New York City, relations between certain immigrant groups were particularly hostile; frequent conflict occurred between established “white” immigrant groups and the newer “dark white” immigrant groups, namely the Irish and either East European Jews or

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<sup>150</sup> Ribak, “Beaten to Death by Irish Murderers,” 49-50; Barrett and Roediger, “The Irish and Americanization,” 3.

<sup>151</sup> Based on Edith Abbott's description of the Italian “colony” near Hull-House, the assumption has been made that the “primitive, heroic days” refers to the late 1880s and early 1890s. Edith got this account from a “second-generation” Italian who was recounting these experiences. E. Abbott, *Tenements*, 94.

<sup>152</sup> Barrett and Roediger, “The Irish and Americanization,” 8.

<sup>153</sup> Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community*, 112-113.

Italians, over access to housing, employment, and political power. In 1895, for example, one man recently arrived from Lithuania remembered how “Irish ruffians” stood on Cherry Street, muttering “sheeny” or “rotten kike” as Jewish men and women passed-by. On a Madison Street block in August of 1900, a crowd of mostly Irish Americans tried to force newly settled Jewish tenants to leave their tenement, which resulted in a fight. Shortly thereafter, the playwright Mordecai Gorelik, whose parents had immigrated to America while he was still an infant, described how Irish boys would frequently assault him and call him a “Christ Killer.” After they forced him to swallow pesticide, his mother went looking for the boys until a “fat Irish woman” refused to answer her questions by yelling “[s]hut up, you ... Jew-kike.” Not surprisingly, Jewish immigrants regarded the Irish and Irish Americans as “drunken,” “thriftless and careless,” if not “robbers and murders.” Their neighbourhoods were described by their enemies as exceptionally dirty because of “head lice, vermin, and roaches,” and a pervasive sense of “neglect and ignorance.”<sup>154</sup> It was not only Jews that were treated so poorly: the Italians, Chinese and African-Americans knew that physically assaulting new comers to the city was almost a “sport” for the Irish.<sup>155</sup>

Because the lines quickly blurred between legal and illegal activities in immigrant wards, violence characterized the underworld, too. Jewish and Italian pimps, thieves, and pickpockets rose to challenge Irish dominance over New York City’s underworld throughout the early twentieth century.<sup>156</sup> At least some immigrants, therefore, were not too concerned about the law, overcoming nativism, or experimenting with the ideas of tolerance, acceptance, and reciprocity

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<sup>154</sup> Ribak, “Beaten to Death by Irish Murderers,” 49-50.

<sup>155</sup> James F. Richardson, *New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 166-168.

<sup>156</sup> Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 153-155.

that would soon define cultural pluralism. Opportunity, social mobility, and power for them and their ethnic, national, or religious group trumped abstract social goals.

Settlement reformers like Grace and Alice, however, were equally determined. Perhaps because she was learning first-hand of immigrants' struggles in America as well as the violence between different groups in American cities, Grace Abbott was not content to observe immigration only in Chicago. It was "quite impossible" to "assist people in making their adjustments to American conditions ... without seeing their normal home life." She therefore traveled to "Polish, Slovak, Bohemian, Croatian, Magyar and German-Hungarian villages" in September of 1911, since Eastern Europe supplied a vast portion of the city's immigrants.<sup>157</sup> While there, poignant conversations with young peasant men and women revealed why they risked coming to America. Land owners always assumed they were incompetent and incapable. And elder peasant generations accepted this. These young men and women came to America for the economic opportunities capitalism offered.<sup>158</sup> Added to this, she wanted to learn about their journey, including the "arrangements with the steamship companies for embarkation [*sic*] and examination of immigrants at the ports."<sup>159</sup> Upon returning to Chicago, Grace could situate the men and women recently arrived in larger transnational processes of lived experience and social interaction—what they had left, what they hoped to find in America, and what had likely happened in between. Not only does this trip reflect her growing conviction that remaining open to new values and beliefs was pivotal to overcome prejudice for a democratic, pluralist society,

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<sup>157</sup> Grace quoted in Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, 89. As per Edith's record, Grace visited the Poles in Galicia, Lemberg, Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia, Fiume, Trieste, Bremen, and Hamburg. E. Abbott, "Part II," Box 90, Folder 4, EGAP.

<sup>158</sup> G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community* (New York: The Century Company, 1917), 59-60.

<sup>159</sup> Grace to Edith, September 15, 1911, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP. See also: Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 81-83.

but she was increasingly committed to creating that society by engaging with the immigrant experience, and by learning about the different sources of oppression they faced.

Abbott probably knew that social interaction alone would not lay the foundations for an inclusive society, especially an international one. Upon returning from Eastern Europe, she expanded her commitment to helping immigrants during their journey to America. She worked on behalf of families whose members had been detained at immigration stations, lost en route, or left behind in Europe. Often this required contacting American officials in Washington or New York, religious or national associations in both North America and Europe, or officials in Europe.<sup>160</sup> In 1912, on behalf of the Joseph Aronoff family, she not only located two older children who had come independently to America, but also his wife and three youngest children—two of whom had ringworm of the scalp. Subsequently, she gained support from a patron of the League to cover hospital expenses.<sup>161</sup> Although the IPL had to fight deportation and detention orders, the family was reunited in 1916.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, in 1914, Abbott petitioned the U.S. Inspector in Winnipeg, Canada, to admit a mother whose child had been born out of wedlock. The father had been admitted ten months prior, and was anxious to have his family join him. On the promise that the woman and child would be held at Plymouth House until the

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<sup>160</sup> The names used in documents and case records selected, including letters, were changed by Edith upon publication. Most often, the chosen name used for IPL letters was “Lydia Gardner.” Since this was Grace’s intended name before her mother decided to name her in honor of a young neighbor recently deceased, the assumption has been made that said letters were signed by Grace. On Edith’s decision to change names, see: E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 100, 298 n1.

<sup>161</sup> Lydia Gardner to New Brunswick, April 25, 1912; Gardner to Mr. X, July 17, 1914, June 17, 1915; Gardner to Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, July 20, 1914, August 11, 1914, June 11, 1915, November 5, 1915, December 7, 1915; August 26, 1914, Gardner to Immigration Commission, “Rachek and Kazia Aronoff,” Document No. 9, IPL Case Records, in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 319-332.

<sup>162</sup> In 1923, the family was found to be very well; they were living in a large, comfortable flat, the children were healthy, and the previously ill daughters were excelling at school “Rachek and Kazia Aronoff,” Case Record No. 9, IPL Case Records, in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 332. Similar cases include: Anastasia Bazanoff who was detained because of tuberculosis in 1914. “Marya and Anastasia Bazanoff,” Case Record No. 29, in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 377-382. For this case, Grace corresponded mostly with Frederic Howe, then Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island (although his name was removed by Edith). When the Bazanoff family was visited in 1915, they were found to be “unusually good.” Gardner to Inspector-in-Charge, U.S. immigration service, Chicago, April 28, 1915, E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 382.

ceremony, which took place days their arrival, they were admitted. In the following years, the family returned to the IPL for assistance finding employment, medical treatment, legal advice, and a witness for U.S. naturalization.<sup>163</sup> When necessary, Grace collaborated with European officials. This included secretaries in Hamburg and Rotterdam of the International Society for the Protection of Young Women regarding lost luggage, and Commissioners of Immigration in Tilsit, Germany, regarding a young women detained while traveling across the European continent with her family en route to America.<sup>164</sup> Overall, the IPL helped some 8 844 immigrants in the years before the First World War, allowing Abbott to further enrich her knowledge of immigrants' experiences as they traveled across Europe.<sup>165</sup>

More importantly, Grace was fighting to undermine the processes of domination that caused undue hardship, especially when families were divided, as they traveled in-between their homelands and America. Not only was she working to render Chicago an inclusive, democratic society that was free of “manifestly unfair” prejudice, but she was trying to do the same within the logistical travel networks that connected European domestic spaces with Halsted Street. By using her lived experiences, observations, and knowledge, she was trying to initiate a cultural shift within said networks and within Chicago toward inclusivity and universal concern. This suggests that Grace was working toward an “international-mindedness” defined as a “community” whose ties permeated national borders by embracing all people and by respecting

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<sup>163</sup> Gardner to U.S. Inspector in Charge, Winnipeg, November 10, 1914, and U.S. Inspector in Charge to Gardner, November 13, 1914, E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 375-376. On their settling into life in Chicago, see 376-377. Plymouth House functioned as the IPL boarding house while it lobbied for federally administered stations. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 6.

<sup>164</sup> G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, 1909-1910, 26. “Emma Kenneth” to H. Gross, Esq.; Gardner to H. Gross, Esq., January 30, 1913, April 22, 1913, Case Record No. 46, “Maryana Batuchkin-Inquiry about Detention Abroad,” in E. Abbott, *Immigration*, 447-450.

<sup>165</sup> Each year the recorded number of immigrants coming/referred to the IPL for legal help increased. Direct request: January 1, 1914: 1 850; January 1, 1915: 2 101. Referred: January 1, 1914: 2 058; January 1, 1915: 2 835. Overall: January 1, 1914: 3 908; January 1, 1915: 4 936. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director, *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 9.

their well-being.<sup>166</sup> Immigration was tying together cities and towns on both sides of the Atlantic, within one social arena.

### **Alice and Black-Magic: Leisure Activities and Transnational Internationalism**

With her heavy involvement in the IPL, Grace Abbott was not as involved with Hull-House activities as other residents. But she did make time for children's plays and concerts, and the Neighborhood Club. Organized by Mrs. Pelham, whose former vaudeville career made her "one of [their] most unique residents," it was designed to provide older women with their own time and space for socializing. And the Irish women included her in their old-fashioned square dances, which "Grace went through ... dramatically." Other times, she could be found playing volleyball.<sup>167</sup> Within Hull-House, she also noticed the Greek men were "eager and intelligent members of the regular classes," and skilled "in the organization and management of large clubs and classes for themselves."<sup>168</sup>

Alice Hamilton also attended cultural events in the Near West Side. On Sundays, she went to the Yiddish theatre. Although she never learned the language, she attended frequently enough, and felt it so well acted that she rarely needed help from interpreters in the audience.<sup>169</sup> More influential, however, were the relationships Hamilton struck with Italians, they allowed her to hear "many a weird and dramatic tale of [the] hidden side of life in ... [their] colony." Rafaeluccia, better known as Feluccia, was one particular woman whom she had known since

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<sup>166</sup> Mead would explicitly define "international-mindedness" in 1929. The tentative suggestion made here is that at Hull-House, pragmatists and residents were experimenting with this idea. George Hebert Mead, "National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness," *International Journal of Ethics* 39 (November 1929): 392-407, provided by Throop and Ward, *Mead Project*, [http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/papers/Mead\\_1929c.html](http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/papers/Mead_1929c.html) (accessed June 2011).

<sup>167</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

<sup>168</sup> G. Abbott, "Greeks in Chicago," 387, 385.

<sup>169</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 79

arriving at Hull-House in 1897. At that time, Feluccia was only 9 years old, and “a pitiful little household drudge.” Growing up within the ward’s Italian “colony,” Hamilton felt she had learned to respect the workings of either *il mago* or *la maga*, the local witchman or witchwoman, rather than modern medical science.<sup>170</sup> When discussing the illnesses plaguing her family, for example, Feluccia claimed both had been “witched” by Rose, her sister-in-law.<sup>171</sup> She was so confident about this, she even had Rose exiled from the community, forcing her to flee to the North Side.<sup>172</sup> Hamilton, empathetic for Rose, “did [her] best to persuade Feluccia that these things may be true over in the old country, they do not happen in America.”<sup>173</sup>

But Feluccia was not the only Italian to express devotion to witch-craft. Hamilton learned of several other immigrant families, such as the Carmadones, who had been stricken by witches’ love potions.<sup>174</sup> Even migration across the Atlantic and the fracturing of both families and communities had not weakened witch-craft’s resonance. First-generation Italian-Americans believed as firmly that a woman in the Italian countryside could place a death stroke on a family living on West Polk Street. She learned this first-hand from Narduccia even though “she had

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<sup>170</sup> Alice Hamilton, “Witch-Craft on West Polk Street,” MS 10, 2, Alice Hamilton Collection, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London (hereafter AHC). This article was later published in *American Mercury Journal* (1927): 71-75. See also, Hamilton, *ETDT*, 63-65.

<sup>171</sup> This lecture and meeting likely occurred in the early to mid-1910s.

<sup>172</sup> “Now she’s gone to the North Side where they’re all Sicilians or maybe Abruzzesi, because they won’t know, and she’ll change her name.” Hamilton, “Witch-Craft,” 4, AHC. Owing to the Chicago River and Lake Michigan, the Near North Side was divided into three sections- the east was a residential area that became known as the Gold Coast, the middle section was a commercial corridor, and the west was industrial, low-income residential. The latter being bounded roughly by the River, North La Salle Blvd, West Oak Street, and West North Ave. Beginning in the 1880s, Sicilians settled in the western portion of the Near North Side, an area that became known as “Little Hell.” It gained such a reputation for crime that city police nicknamed the heart of Little Hell “Death Corner” and refused to investigate murders there. Alongside the Italians, were also Irish, African-Americans, Polish, Greeks, amongst others. Amanda Seligman, “Near North Side,” *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), [www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/876.html](http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/876.html) (accessed March 15, 2012); Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 5-13.

<sup>173</sup> Hamilton, “Witch-Craft,” 3-4, quote taken from 4, AHC.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid*, 6-7.

never been to Italy, had gone to [American] schools, all her life was spent [in Chicago], yet she [knew] what the dark ways of Italian magic [were] as well as if she were living in Calabria.”<sup>175</sup>

It seems unlikely that Hamilton believed in either *il mago* or *la maga*. After recounting her exposure to witch-craft, she understood how “to an ordinary American the whole world of black art is closed.”<sup>176</sup> Yet, evidence suggests she was learning to appreciate the importance of both witches and witch-craft amongst Italians and Italian-Americans. Not only did she recant her arguments that it was unchristian and thus irrelevant within America when Feluccia referenced the Witch of Endor, but Hamilton saw how Narduccia’s story demonstrated that “to the Italians these things are ... a part of the real stuff [of] life.”<sup>177</sup> She had to admit that to “those of us who know the Italians believe that the reason they do not bring charges against the ‘witchman’ or ‘witchwoman’ ... is that they have got what they wanted” and feared the repercussions if they trusted Chicago’s law enforcement over the local *mago* or *maga*.<sup>178</sup> On the one hand, “Witch-Craft on Polk Street” suggests that Alice had become aware of the nuances between mainstream American and foreign cultures, and how these differences were combined to create a new culture of everyday life.<sup>179</sup>

On the other hand, Alice’s encounters with witch craft suggest she was drawing upon pragmatist ideas. As described above, she had moved beyond objective truths and begun to understand the different values held by individuals in relation to their social context and lived experiences. The knowledge immigrants cultivated was not only dynamic, but a production and

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 1. In her conclusion, she makes a similar statement: “Anglo-Saxons are dependent on a proper setting for ... romance and mystery. To us West Polk Street is inconceivable as a background for anything but the drab details of life in a poor neighbourhood.” See page 10.

<sup>177</sup> First book of Samuel, chapter 28, versus 3-25; Hamilton, “Witch-Craft,” 5, 10, AHC.

<sup>178</sup> Hamilton, “Witch-Craft,” 1-2, AHC.

<sup>179</sup> Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, 184-216. See also: Rudolph J. Vecoli, “Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church,” *Journal of Social History* 2, 3 (1969): 217-268; Luisa Del Giudice, “Cured Flesh: Faith Healers, Black Magic, and (Re-Membering) Death in a Central Italian Town,” in *Italian Folk: Vernacular Culture in Italian-American Lives*, ed. Joseph Sciorra (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 189-197.

function of longer, historic processes of social interaction that were specific to their cultures, social histories, and individual self-hood. Beginning with Italian mothers who only agreed to bath their babies if anointed afterward, Alice had learned to respect why another woman's perspective was different from her own. When children thrived on cupcakes and bacon, she reconsidered the presumed authority of medical theory, and altered her approaches to childhood development. But meeting women who were born and educated in Chicago's public schools, yet identified with a country and culture they had never experienced first-hand, was likely more profound. Having been raised amongst Italian immigrants, European traditions still informed their everyday life. And as one of these long-established traditions, witch craft played a particularly important role. It influenced the formation of community, family alliances, and kin-networks; the management of such powerful emotions as love, disappointment, and vengeance; and the explanations of sickness and abandonment. Myths about the *mago* or *maga* helped these young women to make sense of their expected life-course in Chicago. The trans-Atlantic connections that Alice was learning to recognize involved more than letters, gossip, and transferring funds. Old World traditions had been engendered within an American urban culture and the connections actively maintained through every-day culture. Women like Narduccia therefore located their heritage and identity in another country. By meeting these women, Alice was observing particular lived experiences and personal relationships in Chicago that enabled Italian-Americans to perceive themselves as something other than an American, defined by the geographic location of their birth and upbringing. Identity, therefore, could be configured such that intimate bonds with another country, especially its people and culture, were genuine and persistent.

## Conclusion

In the 1915 February edition of *The Nation*, German Jewish-American immigrant Horace Kallen wrote an essay entitled “Democracy versus the Melting Pot.” It took on the heart of America’s uneasy relationship with immigration and assimilation. Kallen, who was as devoted to his Jewish heritage as he was to his Pragmatist friends William James and Alain Locke, insisted that individuals had “to remember who they were and to insist, also, on *what else they were*.”<sup>180</sup> Kallen, for example, believed prejudice ran too deeply within America to allow for a diverse yet united society. Instead, each national group should be granted relative autonomy, with the rights to maintain “its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms.” The English language and shared economic processes and political institutions would provide an official, national culture. Protecting each group’s inalienable rights was the government’s primary, if not only, role.<sup>181</sup> Randolph Bourne did not want to sacrifice unity for cultural diversity. His response, “Trans-National America,” published during the summer of 1916 in *Atlantic Monthly*, called for a wholesale re-examination of Americanization. While Anglo-Saxons Americans were trying to impose their language, culture, and habits of mind, groups representing different European nations had learned to cooperate without the “sting of devastating competition.” Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a “world-federation in miniature” had been developing largely undetected. Ideally, the children of both native- and foreign-born parents would never know the jealousies and hatreds that had once divided the nation-states. Upon coming of age, they would perceive immigrants not as aliens waiting to be “melted down into the

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<sup>180</sup> Emphasis original. Michael Walzer, “What Does it Mean to Be an ‘American’?” *Social Research* 57, 3 (1990): 595.

<sup>181</sup> Horace M. Kallen, “Democracy vs. the Melting Pot,” in *Culture and Democracy in the United States: Horace M. Kallen*, intro. by Stephen J. Whitfield (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998), quote taken from 116, see also: 90-93, 96, 112-117. See also: David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 84-86.

indistinguishable dough of Anglo-Saxonism,” but as individuals working to create a novel “international nation.”<sup>182</sup> By learning to appreciate other cultures, diversity and community would come together in a mutually enriching relationship.<sup>183</sup> Put another way, the hyphen that joined ethnicity and nationality functioned as a “plus sign.”<sup>184</sup> Dewey would seemingly have agreed with Bourne. Late in the spring of 1915, he wrote to Kallen explaining that while he agreed that all native- and foreign-born Americans must be free to practice distinctive literary and artist traditions, they must assimilate to one another.<sup>185</sup>

Beyond defining pluralism, their work offers important insight into how internationalism was being defined in the Progressive Era, and how that definition was the other half of a discussion about the immigrant experience in America. Kallen was dismayed by the outbreak of the European war in 1914 because it demonstrated “how little ‘class-consciousness’ modified other types of consciousness, including consciousness of nationality and patriotism.” Although Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Irish, Italians, amongst others, were all “stratified economically as ‘rich’ and ‘poor,’” these “ethnic” categories nullified socio-economic similarities. If class was not the answer, inalienable selfhood, then practiced in Switzerland, would lay the foundation for a “democracy of nationalities,” a “cooperative harmony.”<sup>186</sup> Bourne’s vision was less structural. He was challenging his fellow citizens to find that “clue to an international mind.” That is, as men and women came of age and befriended foreign-born or children of foreign-born, who were “acclimatized,” these American youths would realize

all of them yet retain that distinctiveness of their native cultures and their national spiritual slants. They are more valuable and interesting to each other for being different,

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<sup>182</sup> Randolph Bourne, “Trans-National America,” in *American Intellectual Tradition*, ed. Hollinger and Capper, quotes taken from 176, 177, see also: 173, 176-180.

<sup>183</sup> Everett Helmut Akam, *Transnational America: Cultural Pluralist Through in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 84.

<sup>184</sup> Walzer, “What Does it Mean to be an ‘American’?” 611.

<sup>185</sup> Akam, *Transnational America*, 76-77.

<sup>186</sup> Kallen, “Democracy versus the Melting Pot,” 85-85, 113-114.

yet that difference could not be creative were it not for this new ... outlook which America has given them and which they all equally possess.

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[Internationalism] will be an intellectual sympathy which is not satisfied until it has got at the heart of the different cultural expressions, and [feel] as they feel. It may have immense preferences, but it will make understanding and not indignation its end. Such ... sympathy will unite and not divide.<sup>187</sup>

For Bourne, therefore, internationalism was something acquired through novel experience and cross-national social interaction, and was based in optimism. Kallen, Bourne, and Dewey were responding to the outbreak of war in Europe, which would take Hamilton, Abbott, Howe, and many of their counterparts, by complete surprise. But the reflections of these three intellectuals and reformers offer compelling insight into the state of urban American society leading up to 1914, and how the widespread changes caused by immigration reveal the ways domestic and international communities might overlap.

That Alice Hamilton was shocked to learn that Chicago's public schools had not assimilated Narduccia suggests she was keenly aware of ongoing Americanization efforts. Yet, she was not opposed to believing in, if not practicing, Black Magic once she experienced how beliefs were cultivated amongst Italians and Italian-Americans, and the role it played in strengthening families and communities. Grace Abbott was similarly liberal. She and her elder sister Edith were "shocked" to learn that young Hungarian children had their names changed by teachers at school. Then Spiros, a Greek neighbour, changed his name to Mike, and Anna, a Slovak neighbor, changed her last name from Mokata to Strauss, because they wanted American names.<sup>188</sup> In the midst of her efforts to render the borders between immigrants' homeland and

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<sup>187</sup> Bourne, "Trans-National America," 177. See also: Leslie J. Vaughan, "Cosmopolitanism, Ethnicity and American Identity: Randolph Bourne's 'Trans-National America,'" *Journal of American Studies* 25, 3 (1991): 443-459.

<sup>188</sup> E. Abbott, "Hull-House Years," Box 90, Folder 3, EGAP.

Chicago open and more humane, it may have been difficult witnessing how easily American nativism compelled immigrants to leave behind their culture and identity.

Neither Hamilton nor Abbott brought to Chicago a belief in pluralism. At Hull-House, they had arrived with little knowledge of immigration or how it was already changing American urban culture. Undaunted, they embraced settlement work, became members of Chicago's public space, and tried to help those living in poverty. What they quickly recognized, however, were the significant social and cultural disconnects between their higher education and middle-class experiences, and the reality of everyday life for the foreign-born in the Near West Side. Rather than turn their backs on Hull-House, they absorbed Addams' idea that settlement work was about learning to navigate these differences. In a place that cultivated a pragmatist emphasis on observation, experimentation, and the revision of knowledge, and emergent feminist ideals of universal well-being and overcoming oppression, Alice and Grace learned to collaborate with immigrants and to value the unique cultures, beliefs, and values of Southern and Eastern Europeans. By so doing, they began conceptualizing how cultural and social connections were being actively maintained between American and European domestic spaces. The integration of Italian traditions within neighbourhood communities and the very act of traveling to America had created rich transnational networks comprised of people, ideas, and the promise of opportunity in a new nation. The internationalism Alice and Grace imagined enjoined local people and domestic places in a larger, inclusive community.

Much like Hamilton, Howe had studied and toured in Germany. And like both she and Abbott, he was knowledgeable of European art and literature. Moreover, he also shared their concern regarding the state of urban society, would attempt settlement work, and engage with both European reform initiatives and reformers. Between these three individuals, there existed

important commonalities and in certain ways they were emblematic of the transnationalism that emerged in the Atlantic Era. Yet, as discussed in chapter 2, Howe's activity within public society was not novel in any way. Rather than social experiments, he was drawn to public-spirited men who wanted to initiate city wide change in abstract and practical ways, often by drawing on European history and society. If he approached urban reform from positions of power, would his transnational experiences and perceptions be any different from those of Alice and Grace? And would his internationalism be similarly defined by inclusivity, diversity, and universal concerns for well-being?

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Public-Spirited Prominence and International Networks of City Men

*I went to Germany in the summers, especially to Munich, drawn there by the orderliness, by the beauty of the streets, concern for architecture, provision for parks, for gardens and museums, for the rich popular life of the people. And I studied cities as one might study art; I was interested in curbs, in sewers, in sky-lines ... The city was the enthusiasm of my life. And I saw cities as social agencies that would make life easier for people, full of pleasure, beauty, and opportunity. It would be done so easily and at such slight individual expense. Especially in a city like Cleveland ...*<sup>1</sup>

— Frederic C. Howe

Despite having proud, handsome buildings exemplifying early Chicago School architecture, Cleveland's downtown was as congested and chaotic as any American city that had industrialized rapidly after the Civil War, the Windy City included.<sup>2</sup> As Councilman Frederic C. Howe described it, Public Square was "the busiest place in town ... filled with street cars and traffic." If the streets around it were widened and asphalted, "so to give a more presentable appearance to this part of the city ... it [would] be possible to keep this spot clean, attractive and convenient to the distribution of traffic." He was also concerned about the western sections that were "in a bad condition and constantly tend to grow worse,"<sup>3</sup> while to the north-east "in close proximity to the heart of the business center and fronting on Lake Erie, [was] an area covered by dilapidated buildings" of the Hamilton Vice District.<sup>4</sup> Newton D. Baker, Howe's fraternity brother from Johns Hopkins University and fellow member of Mayor Tom Johnson's inner

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<sup>1</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Several of these buildings were designed by the Chicago firm Burnham and Root and completed in 1890, 1892 and 1893, respectively. Other prominent downtown buildings that borrowed from the Chicago School include the Perry-Payne Building (1888), the Arcade (1890) and the Rockefeller Building (1905). On the influence of Chicago School architecture in Cleveland during the 1800s, see: Kristen Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham: Visionary Architect and Planner*, ed. Scott J. Tilden (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 40-51; Schofield, "The Cleveland Arcade," 281-291.

<sup>3</sup> Howe to Brunner, January 16, 1903, Box 1, Folder 8, Burnham Papers.

<sup>4</sup> Howe, "The Cleveland Group Plan," 1548. On the Hamilton Avenue Vice District, see: Baldwin et al, *Report of the Vice Commission*; Tippett, *Suppressing Prostitution*; Kerr, "'The Reign of Wickedness,'" 8-13; idem, *Derelict Paradise*, 23-26. On Ontario Street, a small Chinese community developed after 1900. Aronson and Kent, "A Midwestern Chinatown?" 312-314.

circle, added that downtown was “frightful [with] grime and dust” from the “smoke of innumerable black-belching iron furnaces” that hung over the city “like a hurricane cloud.”<sup>5</sup>

Political corruption and laissez-faire capitalism added to the chaos. Although the spoils of office were meager, the Democratic and Republican parties competed bitterly over the Office of the Mayor, turning every election in the 1890s into an ugly brawl played out in local papers. Amongst Republican politicians, controlled by U.S. senator Mark Hanna, they were more interested in maintaining Hanna’s support. Tensions at City Hall escalated when Republican mayor Robert McKisson started buying votes in the Hamilton District. Hanna switched his financial allegiance to Democratic candidate John Farley, and private street-railway companies fought over lucrative twenty-year contracts causing a bitter transit strike in 1899 that paralyzed the city. Cleveland’s City Hall was buckling under the weight of patronage and corruption.<sup>6</sup>

Such was the urban context that Fred Howe and architects Daniel H. Burnham of Chicago, and Arnold W. Brunner and John M. Carrère, both of New York, faced when they turned to renewal in Cleveland’s downtown core. Their solution was a modified version of the McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C., or what they called the Group Plan. Crafted by Burnham, Brunner and Carrère, it was promoted politically by Howe. Its aim was to bring order, unity and civic harmony to Cleveland using structural symmetry, grouped public buildings, coordinated

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<sup>5</sup> Newton D. Baker came to Cleveland in 1889 to work in the law office of Martin A. Foran, former U.S. Congressman. In 1902, he was appointed assistant law director under Mayor Johnson, and city solicitor in 1903. After Johnson’s death in 1911, he served as Mayor in the 1910s and became active in the federal Democratic Party. From 1916 until 1921, he served as the Secretary of War under President Woodrow Wilson. Baker quoted in C. H. Cramer, *Newton D. Baker: A Biography* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961), 30.

<sup>6</sup> Shelton Stromquist, “The Crucible of Class: Cleveland Politics and the Origins of Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of Urban History* 23, 2 (1997): 192-220; idem, *Reinventing “The People,”* 59, 61-62; Howe, *Confessions*, 85-112. On McKisson, see: “The Mayor Talks,” *Plain Dealer*, April 4, 1898, 1; “Ferretting Out the Floaters,” *Plain Dealer*, March 28, 1899, 1; “Inconsistency of Mayor Farley,” *Plain Dealer*, February 17, 1901, 1; “Farley Angry and Evasive,” *Plain Dealer*, March 8, 1901, 8. McKisson was also accused of giving saloonkeepers control over the application of laws regulating the sale of alcohol on Sunday and use of screens in windows. “Saloonkeepers and Council,” and “Here is Evidence,” *Plain Dealer*, June 21, 1897, 10. On the political tensions in Cleveland during this time period, see also: Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 13-22; Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 94-96. A general overview of this pattern in municipal reform can be found in: Cashman, *American in the Gilded Age*, 135-167, 354-370.

neoclassicism, and formal gardens on an expansive green space, or Mall. Explicitly borrowed from Europe, this massive renewal project not only justified razing the Hamilton District, it also incorporated long-established European visual cues within pedestrian downtown spaces that were striking and awe-inspiring. It was the opposite of the *ad hoc* pattern of urban development that had until then characterized most American cities.<sup>7</sup> The new wave of reformers and architects shared an explicitly transnational vision that crossed the North Atlantic. European cities and municipal reform served as didactic models for both City Beautiful designers and a loose, yet burgeoning group of lawyers, politicians, authors, and engineers who would try to reclaim the American city by traveling abroad to systematically tour foreign cities, speak with their elected leaders, working and upper-class residents, and other architects. Described as the urban *internationale* by Pierre-Yves Saunier, these men initiated debate in cities like Cleveland that was informed by civilized European cities, Paris in particular.<sup>8</sup>

Howe saw architectural redevelopment as a critical part of political reform. Positioned as a defender of “the people,” he was one of many Progressives whose social ideal was restoration of the common good.<sup>9</sup> Because City Beautiful would visually express unity and order and be managed by “big-visioned” municipal officials able to comprehend their local common good and its long-term development, the Group Plan would help restore civic engagement and strengthen the community. Architecture was an important means to this end. European neoclassicism and

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<sup>7</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*. There were exceptions. For example, William Penn laid out a plan for Philadelphia in 1683, and James Ogelthrope did the same for Savannah in 1733. Both plans were based on quadrants, or squares. Pierre L’Enfant created the L’Enfant Plan for Washington, D.C. in 1791, which introduced radial boulevards to America. Shortly thereafter in 1811, the City of New York published and began to apply the Commissioners’ Plan, which created the city’s grid plan.

<sup>8</sup> Of the work already cited, texts that have influenced my thinking on this include: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 2-7; Adam, *Buying Respectability*; Saunier, “John Nolen and the Urban Internationale,” 23-31; idem, “Sketches from the Urban Internationale,” 380-403; idem, “Global City: Take 2,” 1-18.

<sup>9</sup> Stromquist, “Constituting Progressivism,” in *Reinventing “The People,”* chapter two, and 4-6; Tom Bender, “Intellectuals, Cities, and Citizenship in the United States: The 1890s and 1990s,” in *Cities and Citizenship*, ed. James Holston (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 21-41; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Contested Truths: Keywords in American Politics since Independence* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 177-183.

Beaux-Arts principles—axial planning and coordination of scale and proportions between buildings—therefore encapsulated this public-spirited masculine leadership that would engender a new civic spirit in Cleveland. As the city worked toward higher orders of municipal civilization, Howe saw international networks of municipal officials, or “city-men”, united by their devotion to community uplift and democracy that he was increasingly a part of.

Rather than adopt the masculine aggression common within certain male reform circles dedicated to fighting corruption, Howe typically evoked the educated professional who patiently worked to extend democracy.<sup>10</sup> That said, scholars have shown how limited were reformers’ conceptions of the “people,” especially amongst white middle-class male Progressives. Inclusion of immigrants’ was highly contingent on their economic progress, naturalization, and assimilation, while women were often excluded from public life altogether, except when engaged in the most maternal forms of political activity, which included settlement work or homes that offered refuge to poor or abandoned women; African-Americans were mostly overlooked.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Scholars have examined Howe, Johnson, and Cleveland using gender. Looking at the gendering of consumers and consumer politics, Kathleen Donohue has argued that politics and partisanship during Johnson’s tenure as mayor was considered a male domain. Consumers were women, but the politicians who developed and oversaw regulation must be men. Amongst her examples are the frequent appointments Johnson gave to Howe for influential committees or commissions. Isenberg’s discussion of the emphasis Charles M. Robinson placed on beauty as a modern commercial ideal builds on Donohue’s argument. More recently, Connolly argues that Lincoln Steffens and Theodore Roosevelt countered the Gilded Age claim that reform men were effeminate by emphasizing the manly aggression required to fight for reform. Meanwhile, Howe and Johnson practiced another sort of reform masculinity that entailed recognizing the need for and establishing spaces and institutions that allowed individuals to work out their differences. Accommodation and pluralism would therefore bring democracy to the people under their tutelage. Connolly, however, does not sustain a gendered analysis of Howe beyond these suggestions. Kathleen Donohue, “What Gender is the Consumer? The Role of Gender Connotations in Defining the Political,” *Journal of American Studies* 33, 1 (1999): 39-40; Isenberg, “Fixing an Image of Commercial Dignity: Postcards and the Business of Planning Main Street,” in *Downtown America*, chapter 2. Connolly, *An Elusive Unity*, 199-202.

<sup>11</sup> On immigrants: Stromquist, *Reinventing “The People,”* 9-10, 138-140, 143-148. “Fallen women” were served by the YWCA, Phyllis Wheatley homes, WCTU, Florence Crittenton Mission, local Catholic dioceses, the Salvation Army, amongst other organizations. The YWCA operated some of its “refugees” along the eastern edge of the district. Only the Phyllis Wheatley homes aided African-American women. Marian Morton, “Seduced and Abandoned in an American City: Cleveland and its Fallen Women,” *Journal of Urban History* 11, 4 (1985): 443-469; Spain, “Safe Havens for Cleveland’s Virtuous Women,” 267-291. Although the pre-WWI period is beyond the focus of her work, Phillips has demonstrated that segregation became engendered, in part, because of Progressive Era race-based prejudice. Kimberley L. Phillips, *Alabama North: African-American Migrants, Community, and Working-Class Activism in Cleveland, 1915-1945* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

Howe's indifference to razing the Vice District for the Group Plan is telling. In his publications he celebrated draconian governments, like that of Napoleon III who had commissioned Haussmann to do precisely the same thing for the Champs-Élysées.<sup>12</sup>

If Howe left an anti-democratic legacy, he was nevertheless motivated by a powerful impulse to act on behalf of the people.<sup>13</sup> It even inspired *The City: The Hope of Democracy*, arguably his most successful book.<sup>14</sup> But how, exactly, did studying European city administration and incorporating European architecture in Cleveland—to create a “higher municipal order”—influence Howe's perceptions of an international community? Could this version of reform masculinity produce imperial ambitions, however unintended, as scholars have argued masculine aggressive reform has? Beyond the consequences for masculinity as mainstream values shifted away from atomistic laissez-faire individualism, examining “benevolent” transnational reform allows this chapter to illuminate how the experience of initiating neoclassical development and didactic touring informed alternate perceptions of an international community, and with who power best resided, both within a city and beyond the nation-state.

Answering these questions requires beginning with Howe's entry into Progressive reform. His activities were varied and complicated: graduate school, journalism, purity crusades, settlement work, and amateur studies of European architecture. Throughout, his political and intellectual heroes were Albert Shaw, Woodrow Wilson, Morris Black, and Tom Johnson.

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<sup>12</sup> Howe, *The City*, 242; idem, *European Cities at Work*, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public*, 31-47; Roy Lubove, “Frederic C. Howe and the Quest for Community in America,” *Historian* 39, 2 (1977): 270-291; Kenneth E. Miller, “The Hope of Democracy,” in *From Progressive to New Dealer: Frederic C. Howe and American Liberalism* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), chapter 6; Connolly, “Progressivism and Pluralism,” in *An Elusive Unity*, chapter 6.

<sup>14</sup> In *The City: The Hope of Democracy*, Howe argues that privilege, special interests, and boss politics had corrupted American cities. In the modern democratic city, benevolent men properly educated and trained would organize municipal governments that were transparent, honest, and cooperative. Officials could therefore identify and respond to people's needs. It is noteworthy that he referred to immigrants as “foreign-voters.” Howe, *The City*, especially 7-8, 45, 52-55.

Consistently, he was drawn to prominent, expert men of independent wealth, familiar with a geographically broad range of art and culture, and devoted to cultivating a community. Unlike Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott, he was unsuccessful as a settlement worker. But he shared similar beliefs that trans-Atlantic ties were growing stronger; except for him, it was an international network comprised of public-spirited male experts.

### **Howe: Finding Reform**

Much like Hamilton and Abbott, Frederic C. Howe came from a respected family that prioritized education. Growing up in Meadville, Pennsylvania, however, his life was dominated by tight family budgets, his mother's constant quest to maintain neighbours' respect, and the Methodist Church. His father, owner of a furniture factory and store, was president of the Board of Trustees for the church. College offered little respite. The community at Allegheny College, where Howe matriculated in 1884, was dedicated to its sectarian mission. Revival meetings were held regularly on campus and missionary work took precedence over education. Although admission required entrance exams in Latin, Greek, French, English, and history, it is unlikely his studies were rigorous. Disappointed with coursework, and uninterested in revival or missionary work, Howe joined the Allegheny Literary Society and worked on the school paper. In his "comfortable little world," security was derived from consensus and dominated by an evangelistic psychology where personal failings caused social ills.<sup>15</sup>

Then, at Chautauqua Lake in the summer of 1888, Howe heard a lecture by economist Richard T. Ely, and met the doctoral student and newspaper editor John H. Finley, both from Johns Hopkins University. Together, these men inspired him to see "the big world" beyond his

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<sup>15</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 9-19; Lubove, "Quest for Community," 270-271; Robert H. Bremner, "The Civic Revival in Ohio: Honest Man's Story: Frederic C. Howe," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 8, 4 (1949): 414; Miller, "A Comfortable Little World," in *From Progressive to New Dealer*, chapter one.

parochial hometown. The idea of becoming a newspaperman with a rich background in economics, politics and history, led him to Johns Hopkins in 1889. Studying under Ely, Woodrow Wilson, and Albert Shaw, he “came alive” for the first time.<sup>16</sup> Rather than give lectures in laissez-faire capitalism, Ely taught students that monopoly (“an economic feudalism”) undermined equal opportunity for market access and social mobility.<sup>17</sup> Wilson provided the political counterpart to Ely’s lectures. Focusing on American and British political history, he explained that politics had become a “struggle of vulgar interests” amongst “untrained men” with “ignoble motive.” Therefore, “democracy must be reclaimed.”<sup>18</sup> Shaw may have given the most personally affecting lectures for Howe. In discussing municipal administration, he “painted pictures” of cities that were orderly and beautiful because they were managed by “good” men of business who turned away from their capitalist ventures to create efficient, “business” like enterprises that owned transit and lighting services, and thus “did things for people.” His books on municipal government in Britain and continental Europe would later inspire Howe to travel there, to study “their machinery, their municipal enterprises, their splendid streets, parks, and public buildings.”<sup>19</sup> Looking to the future, Howe was certain that “Anglo-Saxon” people were superior and must “carry on civilization,” and the new moral order that would reclaim economics, democracy, and urban society was emerging amongst educated men. He was honoured to be a part of this “brotherhood of service.”<sup>20</sup>

Historians have correctly emphasized that Johns Hopkins fixated Howe’s attention on social issues. However, this shift is often explained as a new sense of responsibility, the

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<sup>16</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 20, 1; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 271.

<sup>17</sup> Because of this, Ely was one of several professors that comprised an “informal brain trust to the Progressive movement.” Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 154. On Howe’s studies under Ely, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 28; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 271; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 22.

<sup>18</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 6-7; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 271.

<sup>19</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 5-6; Bremner, “Honest Man’s Story,” 414; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Bender, “Intellectuals, Cities, and Citizenship,” 29.

<sup>20</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 7-8.

“unlearning” of America’s genteel tradition, or an emergent yet nebulous desire to remedy society. The actual causes of this awakening—their generative conditions in the culture or political-economy of the post-Civil War generation—have been less clear.<sup>21</sup> Energized by the perceived superiority of European social reform, it is important to add the character traits Howe was starting to revere. The “Johns Hopkins men” of the 1890s were expected to selflessly apply their advanced scholarly training, especially abroad, to societal problems.<sup>22</sup> Although the specific traits would change, the idea of a Johns Hopkins man known for his selfless leadership and cosmopolitan knowledge would continue to influence the leaders he was attracted to, both in America and in Europe, and the reform agendas in which he became involved.

In the spring and summer of 1891, Howe decided to tour Europe with his roommate Westel Woodbury Willoughby. He was inspired by Shaw’s lectures and the general sense he got from his professors that German higher education was superior to anything found in the United States.<sup>23</sup> Oxford University was their first destination, but they found it “was not very hospitable.”<sup>24</sup> Next, they moved on to Germany where they attended lectures in political science and history, including those given by historian Heinrich Gotthard von Treitschke. Soaking up as

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<sup>21</sup> “Unlearning” is Miller’s term for Howe’s shift away from consensus, religious traditions, and traditional authority that dominated his early life. Becoming an “unabashed liberal,” this shift laid the foundations for his New Deal liberalism. Bremner presents a similar argument, yet describes this process as an “evangelistic psychology” he had to “shake off.” Thereafter, social conditions were to blame, not men. This inspired his focus on municipal reform to oust political bosses. Structurally he hoped to subdue their power. Lubove, meanwhile, argues that Howe was unchanged at this time. Order and consensus still dominated his outlook, earning a PhD merely substituted scholarly authority and enlightened businessmen for religion. With this argument, Progressivism is pushed forward and disconnected from a small yet creative school of academics that Hofstadter points to. Using Howe to internationalize Progressivism, Rodgers argues he illuminates how emergent impulses to correct social problems, jealousy toward European social reform, and stubborn beliefs in American superiority converged. On responsibility and “unlearning,” see: Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 28-29. On “evangelistic psychology” and responsibility, see: Bremner, “Honest Man’s Story,” 413-415. On continuity, see: Lubove, “Howe and the Quest for Community,” 271. On academics and the emergence of Progressivism, see: Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 153-155. On convergence, see: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 130-139.

<sup>22</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 8, 32.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 6, 27, 30; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 272.

<sup>24</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 32. Earlier in his biography, Howe associates traditional American universities with British “church institutions” such as Oxford and Cambridge. Innovative and modern universities like Johns Hopkins followed the German model instead. See page 27.

much culture as they could, Howe and Willoughby stayed in students' quarters, ate at students' restaurants, walked as much as possible, and attended the theatre. When the summer semester came to an end, the two men "tramped" through Switzerland, back to Munich, and then into Italy.<sup>25</sup> By contrast, just a few years later, Alice Hamilton and her sister Edith had very different experiences in their year abroad. Instead of "tramping" from one country to the next and socializing with other German students, they mostly kept to themselves and spent their leisure time in refined, cultural places including parks, opera houses, and art galleries. "Fellow" students either elbowed them off sidewalks or lifted them out of their theatre seats. Seemingly in European public space a pervasive sexism greatly affected the experiences young Americans had while studying abroad.

Shortly after Howe returned to America, he graduated from Hopkins in 1892 and moved to New York. Determined to become a respected newspaperman, he was confident the depression of 1893 would not affect him. He was associated with enlightened, cosmopolitan scholars including Shaw, Ely, and Wilson, trained to carry the truth to others, and acquainted with fellow alumni Walter Hines Page, already a respected journalist.<sup>26</sup> But he had no luck finding work. Frustrated that he was not "fulfilling [his] Johns Hopkins traditions" by "help[ing] the world along" through journalism, he decided to try working for a cause.<sup>27</sup> When the

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<sup>25</sup> In *Confessions*, Howe claimed their finances were limited. In their respective biographies, Miller, Reps, and Lubove state that Howe went to the University of Halle, roughly 175 kilometers from Berlin. Rodgers cites the University of Berlin. Yet von Treitschke was at Humboldt University, which is in Berlin. Miller, *Confessions of a Reformer*, 27; John W. Reps, biographical note, "Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports," (2002), <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/howe12.htm> (accessed December 15, 2012); Lubove, "Quest for Community," 272; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139. Howe does not specifically indicate what university in Berlin they attended. Howe, *Confessions*, 32-33.

<sup>26</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 41-42. On Hines and his career in New York, including his friendship with Henry George, see: Burton J. Hendrick, *Training of an American* (1928; repr., Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 196-214.

<sup>27</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 50.

opportunity arose, he joined Charles Henry Parkhurst's purity crusades.<sup>28</sup> Asked to expose taverns in Greenwich Village that were selling whiskey on Sundays, after midnight and to women, and with cheap rooms to rent upstairs, he found himself investigating the same saloon that provided him daily with a warm place to study law and a cheap, hearty meal. Added to that, the barkeep, a young man from Ireland, explained that recently imposed liquor taxes forced saloons to engage in such questionable, if not illegal, business tactics. Taxes had even forced some German saloon owners to sell their establishments to anyone willing to "take a chance"; these men had operated "good family saloons" and perceived barkeep as a "respectable" occupation. If they could no longer look their customers in the eye, they wanted no part of the industry. In Chicago, even Jane Addams and Grace Abbott would come to understand the community needs fulfilled by the saloon, although they remained suspicious of dishonest barkeeps who lured overtired factory girls inside. After speaking at length with the Irish barkeep about the consequences of liquor taxes, Howe also began to understand, much like Addams and Abbott, that economic oppression, not immigrants' corruption or presumed immorality was the problem.<sup>29</sup> If Parkhurst was respected within certain circles for exposing corruption within the New York police force, he also perpetuated the very economic structures that oppressed and divided a community. Howe had to find another way.

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<sup>28</sup> Parkhurst helped to spearhead a five-decade long campaign against vice and corruption in New York. In 1891, he was elected president of the New York Society for the Prevention of Crime, parent organization of the City Vigilance League, and was determined to expose Tammany Hall, including its connections to both government and organized crime. Eventually, his persistence led the New York State government to strike the Lexow Committee that based its inquiry on investigative information obtained by the Society and the League. Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 185-196. On investigative procedures in the Progressive Era, and the paradoxical relationship between control and individualism, see: Jennifer Fronc, "Public Raids, Undercover Investigators, and Native Informants," in *New York Undercover: Private Surveillance in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), chapter 2, especially 35-46.

<sup>29</sup> Howe enrolled in the New York Law School in June of 1894. On his involvement in purity crusades, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 50-55, quotes taken from 52; Bremner, "Honest Man's Story," 415-416; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 33-35. On the opinions of Addams and Abbott regarding saloons, see chapter three.

Howe subsequently supported his studies in law through part-time employment with a firm collecting money owed on the Lower East Side and in the Bowery.<sup>30</sup> Both neighborhoods, dominated by immigrants, were almost independent cities within Manhattan—separated from the mainstream by diverse languages, cultures, and internal economies, especially in the Bowery, infamous for its theatres, saloons, and brothels.<sup>31</sup> As he sat around saloons with police officers, waiting for debtor clients and surrounded by immigrant ward bosses, his fall from dignity seemed complete. The hierarchy and selfish clans these men cultivated formed a political system antithetical to his visions of an orderly, efficient and united democracy reclaimed by scholarly gentlemen. Much like Alice Hamilton throughout Johnny Powers’ campaign in 1898, Howe had a hard time imagining that the immigrant ward boss and machine politics could be integrated within American municipal society. Yet, while he was in New York, Fred started to recognize the value in practical, everyday applications of political values. The ward bosses he watched in the Bowery and Lower East Side represented marginalized individuals, and, more importantly, provided directly for their needs.<sup>32</sup> As they traded food, employment, and better housing for political support, they were developing a governing system that was *of the people*. Politics was a lived reality with a human side, as much as it was an academic endeavour. Equipped with a man’s privileged access to public space, Howe’s urban experiences were eclectic, but provided him almost an insider’s view on ethnic communities.

These experiences broadened his ideas about community leadership and the lines of inclusion. Yet, his mistrust of immigrant wards and their bosses never changed; unlike Addams,

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<sup>30</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 56-57; Lubove, “Howe and the Quest for Community,” *Historian*, 272; Bremner, “Honest Man’s Story,” 416.

<sup>31</sup> Mario Maffi, *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures on New York’s Lower East Side* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 65-97; Sabine Haenni, *The Immigrant Scene: Ethnic Amusements in New York, 1880-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 98-103.

<sup>32</sup> On Howe’s experiences with machine politics on the Lower East Side, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 56-61. As previously discussed, ward bosses were a popular topic of discussion amongst Howe’s contemporaries. In addition to the work from Addams, Wald, and Hamilton referenced above, see: Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities*.

Hamilton, or Grace Abbott, Howe would never grasp the extensive social and cultural changes happening within American urban society as immigrants integrated Old World traditions in their new lives, developed community ties with other immigrants or native-born Americans, and modified different domestic practices, ideas, or values. Several years later, Howe was willing to admit that bosses performed important social and political duties within their community, namely helping newcomers adjust to Cleveland. As a part of Johnson's inner circle, however, he wanted to see the power of the ward boss and the segregation of immigrant communities broken. To start, he argued municipal administration should assume responsibility for guiding new immigrants through naturalization.<sup>33</sup> It would seem that Howe never entertained the idea of collaborating with individuals who maintained social, economic, and cultural ties with their European homeland or try and understand why segregated neighbourhoods were an important salve against Americans' nativism. Unfortunately, prejudice and violence existed within Cleveland much like it did in Chicago, New York, and Buffalo. Late in the 1800s, a Czech immigrant described in *Českoáosada* how "Americans weren't accustomed to seeing these type of people ... barefoot women with scarves ... American youth threw stones at Czech children when they went to town ... Czechs were regarded like an Indian tribe." Subsequently, in 1899, a Czech lodge picnic on the edge of Cleveland drew a curious crowd of Irish onlookers, which eventually led to an altercation that caused the death of a Czech man who was marshal of the picnic.<sup>34</sup> Rather than critically examine the production and perpetuation of prejudice amongst native- and foreign-born individuals at the time, Howe seemingly believed that applying abstract political theory would undermine societal segregation and re-establish social unity. Both he and

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<sup>33</sup> Howe, "A City 'Finding Itself,'" 3989.

<sup>34</sup> Winston Chrislock, "Cleveland's Czechs," in *Identity, Conflict and Cooperation: Central Europeans in Cleveland, 1850-1930*, ed. David C. Hammack, Diane L. Grabowski, and John J. Grabowski (Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 2002), 114.

Johnson, for example, expected to win immigrants' allegiance through tent meetings and a three-cent fare for public owned street-cars.<sup>35</sup> Although ward bosses had demonstrated the importance of action rather than idealism in politics, Howe's preference for reform by prominent men that involved reclaiming democracy and social unity limited his notion of the "people" as well. Public-spirited leadership, even when informed by novel urban experiences and jarring events, would always be influenced by preconceptions of ethnicity, nationality, and Anglo-Saxon culture.

It is worth noting that in saloons in Greenwich Village, the Lower East Side, and the Bowery, his experiences involved mostly local politicians and businessmen. If he disagreed with Italian women over nutrition and hygiene or watched them carry textiles back and forth from factories to their flats, as Hull-House residents Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, and her sister Edith often had in Chicago, this was not a part of his recorded experience. Nor did he ever comment on the diverse languages, religions, and folkways that rendered these neighbourhoods tightly organized, self-contained worlds. He seemingly missed or overlooked the rich cultural practices of daily-life that bound streets like Mott and Mulberry with European country-sides.<sup>36</sup> His only recorded encounters were dominated by men working hard to succeed within the political and capitalist systems of an American city. If they were modifying legal and political practices to suit their contexts, these immigrants understood how New York functioned.

When Howe left New York in the early 1890s, he had not decided how exactly democracy would be reclaimed. His practical political awakening would not happen until he met

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<sup>35</sup> Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public*, 36-42. On Johnson's increased support amongst voting members of immigrant communities, due to his political reforms and social programs including the three-cent fare, see: Adam Walaszek, "Polish Americans," Michael Kopanic, "The Slovaks in Cleveland, 1870-1930," and Matjaž Klemenčič, "Slovenes in Cleveland," in *Identity, Conflict and Cooperation: Central Europeans in Cleveland, 1850-1930*, ed. David C. Hammack, Diane L. Grabowski, and John J. Grabowski (Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 2002), 226-227, 291-292, 333.

<sup>36</sup> Maffi, *Gateway to the Promised Land*, 65-97.

Tom Johnson in 1901.<sup>37</sup> But after Parkhurst and the saloons, Howe was starting to feel energized by a democratic impulse, even if his gendered experiences in public space and membership within a white middle-class limited his concept of “the people.” Miller explains he had important “unlearning” experiences in New York, yet he still equated leadership with educated men who embodied the new moral order he had learned at Johns Hopkins.<sup>38</sup> Deeply disappointed in himself for not finding a way to help initiate it, he moved to Cleveland in 1894.

### **Cleveland: Learning Urban Reform and a Public-Spirit**

When Howe arrived in Cleveland in 1894, he roomed with a former classmate from Allegheny College and his four roommates. In their small apartment on the edge of the red-light district, notorious for its gambling dens, brothels, saloons, Chinese immigrants, and general racial diversity, they slept two to a bed and everything was shared, including their clothing. Together they “drank and played cards,” since “one of the boys who was out of a job served as bartender.” A “colored woman” prepared meals for them. During these first months in Cleveland, he again lived a bachelor’s lifestyle that was increasingly common during the late 1800s and early 1900s. As their presence increased, these young, white men created a unique urban subculture that to a considerable degree revolved around saloons, gambling dens, cafes, sporting clubs, and, for some, brothels. With their apartment’s location, most would have enjoyed living there. But Howe did not stay long; their activities were in the end simply too “boisterous and distasteful.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 94-99; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Bremner, “Honest Man’s Story,” 417-419; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 272-273.

<sup>38</sup> Miller places greater emphasis on Howe’s observations of ward bosses and their efforts to strengthen the community, arguing this illustrates his “unlearning” was continuing. It was not complete, however, as Howe continued to believe in the superiority of his “own kind”. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 74.

Rather than Cleveland's night-life, Howe was more interested in the state of local society.<sup>40</sup> Marred by municipal corruption and "frightful [with] grime and dust" from the "smoke of innumerable black-belching iron furnaces," it was an ideal place to commit to reform and to learn how to finally join the "brotherhood of service."<sup>41</sup> But he needed a bachelor lifestyle that was dignified and diligent. After securing employment with a firm recently established by James and Harry Garfield, sons of President James Garfield, he joined the Charity Organization Society. This, one would have thought, might have satisfied his need to feel socially useful. Unfortunately, it turns out he had little patience for dispensing advice and sympathy amongst the poor. He much preferred meeting regularly with respected Clevelanders to talk reform. Quickly, he decided private charity was futile.<sup>42</sup>

Albert Shaw and Johns Hopkins had awakened in Howe a desire to bring the civilized city to America and to achieve personal prominence, respectively. Rather than work one-on-one with marginalized people, Howe came to promote the architectural reform of the downtown core. He did this by forming the Beer and Skittles Club with Morris Black, a son of Hungarian immigrants who was also familiar with German cities and a lawyer recently graduated from Harvard University. Focused specifically on European civic centres, or groupings of public buildings, they gave illustrated talks on Paris, Dresden, Vienna, Munich, and Budapest at the "obscure" Wohl Hungarian Restaurant. These cities were both beautiful and managed as efficient systems by community-minded officials, evoking Shaw's lectures.<sup>43</sup> Feeling optimistic, they induced Cleveland's chapter of the American Institute of Architects to hold a design competition,

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<sup>40</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139; Bremner, "Honest Man's Story," 416-417.

<sup>41</sup> Baker quoted in Cramer, *Baker: A Biography*, 30.

<sup>42</sup> Howe; *Confessions*, 74, 76-79; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139.

<sup>43</sup> On meeting Black and forming the Beer and Skittles Club, which likely happened in 1895, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 80-81; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 49. On the Wohl restaurant, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 81; George E. Condon, "'Morgue' Where a City Lies Buried," *Plain Dealer*, July 17, 1979, 17; Frances F. Bushea, "Wohl's Hungarian Restaurant," *Plain Dealer*, February 4, 1950, 8.

and asked Harry Garfield, then president of the Chamber of Commerce, to strike a committee. The Chamber obliged. Formed in 1893, it believed the city was dependent on its businessmen. They had to therefore “[serve] as a brain for the city—one that can comprehend the situation, grasp the opportunity, and direct a master hand.” Coined the “new Commercialism” by Edward Williams, vice president of Sherwin-Williams Paint Company and the Chamber, this paternalist outlook also inspired members to help restructure regional labour markets, create housing codes (with Jacob Riis), and develop standards for food inspection.<sup>44</sup> Through securing the help of prominent businessmen interested in reform, architectural development became a common subject in local papers.<sup>45</sup> With Beer and Skittles, Howe and Black gained traction in local politics and reform.

Then Black entered municipal politics in the spring of 1896. Running for the Republican Party, he ousted William Crawford, a notorious ward boss, on simply a promise to be “honest.” Howe had tirelessly campaigned with Black. For a brief period, he could believe that

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<sup>44</sup> Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 22-23. Wiebe points to local pride and self-interest to explain why so many Chambers of Commerce became involved in social reform during this “age of organization.” As capitalists, they were trying to reclaim their cities, and their business prospects, by transposing corporate structure and controlling measures onto reform initiatives. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform*, 18-19. See also: Kenneth Fox, *Better City Government: Innovation in American Urban Politics, 1850-1937* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), 86-89. Weinstein has also shown how corporations consciously guided and controlled economic and social reform at the local, state, and federal level. Essentially, they shaped modern liberal agendas as they emerged so to serve corporate interests and undermine any threat (widely defined) they posed. James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). It is interesting to note that in smaller cities businessmen created order and increased efficiency not by lobbying Council as in Cleveland, but by becoming members of or by leading commissions. Martin J. Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1800-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 133-148, 81-84. In Cleveland, Johnson’s federal plan and nonpartisan cabinet eliminated commissions. Rather than eliminate opportunities to reform politics, it allowed for partnerships, as with the Group Plan.

<sup>45</sup> Examples include- “Successful Sketches,” *Plain Dealer*, March 30, 1895, 10, which addressed grouping public buildings; “City Hall Site,” *Plain Dealer*, June 12, 1897, 10, which presented the Lake Front as a viable site, given the concentration of new commercial and banking buildings around Public Square; “A Sensible Resolution,” *Plain Dealer*, January 13, 1899, 4, which included a statement issued by the Library Board that the new library will be a grouped public building; “Public Buildings,” *Plain Dealer*, January 15, 1899, 4, which discussed that residents were becoming more aware and supportive of public building groupings. And in 1905, William G. Mather indicated that residents had been talking about downtown urban renewal for at least six years. William G. Mather, “Address at the Laying of Cornerstone of Federal Building, 20 May 1905.” Subject file: Early Development of Cleveland’s Group Plan for Public Buildings, Public Administration Library, Cleveland (hereafter PAL). On the public library and public improvements, see also: C.H. Cramer, *Open Shelves and Open Minds: A History of the Cleveland Public Library* (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1972), 89, 141-142.

at last my Johns Hopkins creed was justifying itself. A scholar could break into politics. I had helped to elect one to office. Morris Black and I had made a beginning at providing democracy in Cleveland with the leadership of men who served not from hope of personal gain but from a desire to improve the world.<sup>46</sup>

More than that, Black demonstrated that assimilated immigrants strengthened the social cohesion required for a democracy of “the people.” His friend “lived in an awakened public spirit ... and an elevated municipal consciousness.”<sup>47</sup>

Inspired, Howe joined the Municipal Association as its secretary. Founded in 1896 by Harry Garfield, its membership was comprised of businessmen and attorneys. Much like the new commercialism of the Chamber of Commerce, the Association wanted to inspire civic engagement amongst tax payers, encourage “businesslike, honest and efficient conduct in municipal affairs,” and redefine municipal politics as a public duty.<sup>48</sup> To this end, Howe published a pamphlet in 1897 protesting the ordinances that would extend lucrative contracts held by Cleveland City Railway and the Cleveland Electric Railway. He wanted to see partnerships between council and service companies that served community interests, not private profits. Municipal ownership was one recommendation. If the ordinance was temporarily defeated, Mayor John Farley approved it upon being elected in 1899, helping to spark bitter strikes that same year.<sup>49</sup>

Tragedy struck in March of 1898 when Black unexpectedly died. Howe tried satisfying their “deepened civic responsibility” with residency at the Goodrich Settlement House.<sup>50</sup> Located

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<sup>46</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 83.

<sup>47</sup> Howe quoted in Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 50.

<sup>48</sup> Constitution of the Municipal Association of Cleveland, Article II, quoted in Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 51.

<sup>49</sup> The pamphlet was “The City of Cleveland in Relation to the Street Railway Question.” It was published in 1897. Max West, “Reviews,” *Political Science Quarterly* 13, 1 (1898): 173. Howe, *Confessions*, 85-87; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 52-53, 65.

<sup>50</sup> On Black’s death, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 84; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 50.

Flora Stone Mather partnered with the First Presbyterian Church, or the Old Stone Church on Public Square to found Goodrich in 1896. But in its programs, the settlement did not push a religious mission. Howe quoted in Miller, *From*

in the Hamilton district, it served primarily immigrant families living throughout the area. He had benevolent intentions: Goodrich might, he hoped, satisfy “[his] sense of responsibility to the world.” But he was more excited to substitute “good food and comfortable rooms,” dinner invitations, and guest lectures about immigrants, politics, and cleaning up the city with college educated men and women for his listless work as a lawyer and crowded lake front apartment. In 1898, for example, George E. Hooker and Jane Addams came from Hull-House to visit Goodrich. In the parlor Addams gave an informal talk about settlement work.<sup>51</sup> Howe gave at least one lecture and one address, and initiated a municipal art improvement league.<sup>52</sup> The settlement satisfied certain personal ambitions for reform. Yet, his activities were “anything but fruitful.” Socializing with neighbours, especially club boys, was difficult. The “heavy-footed mothers of many children ... lured from the tenements to our parties” annoyed Howe.<sup>53</sup>

There was another problem with settlement work that spoke to gender divisions within American society. Male settlement workers were more likely to be criticized as “impractical idealists” than their female counterparts. At times, some critics tried to discredit their reform efforts by alleging they were homosexual.<sup>54</sup> The “social brotherhood” established by leading male figures in the settlement movement in New York City was likely not conducive to the “brotherhood of service” that Howe envisioned. Moreover, in Cleveland, prominent (nativist)

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*Progressive to New Dealer*, 50. On male settlement workers in America and their bachelor lifestyle, see: Murphy, *Political Manhood*, 104-124.

<sup>51</sup> It took place on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1898. No title for the talk was given. Starr Cadwallader, “Head Worker’s Report,” *Report: First Anniversary of Goodrich Social Settlement* (1898), 25, 33, Papers of the Goodrich Social Settlement, WRHS.

<sup>52</sup> During his residency, he gave a talk entitled “Taxation in City and State” to the Ohio Wesleyan and Radcliffe women of the College Club, at Goodrich, and presented “English Cities at Work,” at the third annual convention for the League of American Municipalities in Syracuse, NY. “Discussed Taxation,” *Plain Dealer*, February 14, 1899, 10. “Third Annual Convention Will be Held in Syracuse, N.Y.,” *Plain Dealer*, August 6, 1899, 7; “Ohio to be Well Represented,” *Plain Dealer*, September 4, 1899, 3. On the art league, see: “A Municipal Art League,” *Plain Dealer*, February 11, 1899, 10.

<sup>53</sup> On Goodrich, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 75-76.

<sup>54</sup> Roosevelt quoted in Murphy, *Political Manhood*, 173, see also: “Daddy George and Tom Brown: Sexual Scandal, Political Manhood, and Self-Government Reform,” and “The Problem of the Impracticables: Sentimentality, Idealism, and Homosexuality,” chapters 5 and 6.

Church congregations argued residents of settlement houses were socialists wasting their time.<sup>55</sup> If certain individuals had achieved prominence in settlement work, Howe must have realized he would not, or that success required sacrificing his esteem as a Progressive man. Rather than continue at Goodrich, and try to navigate the socio-cultural change immigration both initiated and required, he left. Shortly thereafter he settled into a cluttered apartment with Newton D. Baker. They had been fraternity brothers at Johns Hopkins, and were then practicing lawyers. They were also good roommates. Both were “absent-minded, absorbed in [their] work, [and] indifferent to domestic comforts.”<sup>56</sup> Whether Fred worried about his perceived sexual identity or the relevance of his social politics is unknown. Either way, he missed an important opportunity to theorize pluralism, and experience the personal, social, and cultural connections that immigrants created between the domestic spaces of Cleveland and Europe. Then in 1901, the same ward that had supported Black asked Howe to run for council. He accepted because he “liked being called from [his] law practice” to help organize men to clean up the city, “liked being thought a ‘good citizen.’” Finally, he could “take part in the renaissance of politics” that he and Black had once helped to initiate.<sup>57</sup>

What also appealed to Howe was the opportunity to undermine the power held by men like Harry Bernstein and William Welfeld. Although Cleveland never developed a ward boss system akin to Chicago or New York, as the influence held by Bernstein and Welfeld never extended much beyond their immigrant wards, their control was nevertheless seen by Howe as an impediment to “good government.” “Czar” Bernstein consistently delivered the vote of an

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<sup>55</sup> John Grabowski, “From Progressive to Patrician: George Bellamy and Hiram House Social Settlement, 1896-1914,” *Ohio History* 87 (1977-1978): 40-41.

<sup>56</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 190; Cramer, *Baker: A Biography*, 30-31; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 61. After ending his residency, he remained a Trustee until January, 1910. Meeting of the Trustees, January 31, 1910, Box 1, Folder 2, Papers of the Goodrich Social Settlement, WRHS.

<sup>57</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 90-91, quotes taken from 91.

Eastern European Jewish Ward and Welfeld the vote of a Polish Ward to choice Republican candidates. Of the two, however, it was the Czar that most angered Howe, for he “was the city scandal.” Howe was naturally ready to take “the risk of being dirtied by politics,” since “the sacrifice involved in running for office had to be made” for the overall well-being of Cleveland. Yet, Bernstein owned and operated the People’s and Perry Street Theatres that presented Yiddish entertainment in the Woodland neighbourhood—heavily populated by East European Jews—and established the Perry Bank, which also served a diverse community of immigrants.<sup>58</sup> Naturally, these newcomers felt differently about Bernstein than Howe. When the ward boss announced his campaign for city council in March of 1903, “over 2000 wildly enthusiastic people of his own neighborhood” greeted his announcement.<sup>59</sup>

Although Johnson never argued that men like the Czar were “bad,” since poverty forced someone like Bernstein, whose parents had immigrated from Poland when he was thirteen, “to fight for a living” and such men “got an easier living out of politics than working twelve hours a day in the steel-mills,” the real change in Howe took place when he met Tom Johnson.<sup>60</sup> Initially, he was suspicious of Johnson, given that he had so recently turned on fellow Gilded Age barons by vowing to end the special privileges he had made millions from, including patent legislation and franchise contracts. Nor could Howe understand why Johnson had not waited for a prominent organization, like the Municipal Association, to call on him. But Johnson was a disciple of Henry George, whose single-tax idea carried considerable moral-economic authority

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<sup>58</sup> There exists some discrepancy between what ward Bernstein controlled. Howe claimed it was the Thirteenth, Finegold claims it was the Fifteenth, and the editors of *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland* claim the Sixteenth. Yet, it has been consistently described as Eastern European and Jewish. Finegold associates Welfeld with the Twelfth ward. Quotes taken from Howe, *Confessions*, 93. On ward bosses in Cleveland, see: Finegold, *Experts and Politicians*, 74, 77; “Bernstein, Harry,” *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland*, ed. Grabowski, <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=BH8> (accessed December 12, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> “‘Czar’—A Men of his Word,” *Plain Dealer*, March 19, 1903, 7.

<sup>60</sup> Unlike reformers in other industrial cities, including Jane Addams, Howe would never learn to trust or seen any value in ward bosses. Quotes taken from Howe, *Confessions*, 93-94.

in certain reform circles. Advocates of George's idea were not uncommon, nor were the campaign promises Johnson made; the Chamber of Commerce, at least on paper, was also trying to serve labour and the poor.<sup>61</sup> A single tax structure therefore resonated as it reduced tax burdens on the working class and lowered prices of land, factories, and machinery, opening up the marketplace to smaller investors and entrepreneurs. It signalled that under Johnson, the mayor's office would no longer serve big business.<sup>62</sup>

To eliminate class conflict, a core tenet of George's writings, Johnson created and implemented municipal policy through an inner-circle of "college men with no personal ambitions to serve, students of social problems known to the whole community as disinterested, high-minded, clean-lived individuals."<sup>63</sup> As one of these men, Howe endorsed single-taxation, municipal ownership, as well as many public improvements including bath-houses, playgrounds, and lodging houses.<sup>64</sup> As Johnson had told the impressionable councilmen not long after they both entered municipal politics in 1901, change nation-wide had to be initiated within cities. Johnson had facilitated Howe's political awakening, completing his search for a "brotherhood of service," where distinguished men were united by their desire to serve others, not their personal ambitions.

When in 1901 a resolution was introduced in City Council, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and Johnson that would establish the Group Plan Commission, Howe was "highly

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<sup>61</sup> Although both the Chamber of Commerce and Johnson had a community orientation, there was no strong connection between its leading officers and the Mayor. In *My Story*, for example, Johnson described several instances when they opposed one another. Perhaps his radical decision to turn away from capitalism made any sort of working relationship impossible. Johnson, *My Story*, 89-90, 113.

<sup>62</sup> On Johnson, his single-tax idea, and Progressive reform in Cleveland, see: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 139-140; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 158-160; Wiebe, *Reform Businessmen*, 205-207; Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 26-30. On George's single tax structure, see: Mohl, *The New City*, 168-169; Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People,"* 41-44.

<sup>63</sup> Johnson, *My Story*, 169.

<sup>64</sup> During his one term as councillor Howe pushed legislation related to: public bathhouses, expanding parks and adding such amenities as refreshment stands, playgrounds, planting trees, investigating lodging houses- both their sanitary conditions and whether adding more was appropriate, and expanding street rail-cars. Ordinances 32810, 33091, 33360, 37224, 36555 (1901-1902); R40647, R38591 - 38600, R37345; R37384; R37401; R37906; R38027, R39989; R40208; R40571 (1902-1903); City Council Proceedings, Cleveland City Hall Archives, Cleveland.

pleased.”<sup>65</sup> A unified, proud, and enlightened community was exactly what Burnham hoped to create with a City Beautiful plan.<sup>66</sup> Almost immediately, Howe began to publish articles that demonstrated this aspect of its significance. In *Harper's Weekly*, he lauded the commitment reform men were showing, arguing Cleveland was amongst the most fortunate cities in America since “a small coterie of public-spirited men have brought about a harmony of action among the many political agencies ... and achieved a result which is not far from ideal in its possibilities.” Despite being an industrial centre, “smoke-begrimed overhead and dirty underfoot,” where one-third of its population was foreign-born, hallmarks of a city with an “underdeveloped character of its public spirit,” the Group Plan revealed the city’s willingness “to expend many millions of dollars in the development of the artistic side of its existence” for the betterment of the city and residents’ daily lives.<sup>67</sup> Howe concluded:

Nothing is more convincing of the substantial municipal uplift which has taken place in America, or of the ultimate power of democracy to interest itself in public affairs, than the recent awakening of interest in art and public beauty and a willingness to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to bring their realization about.<sup>68</sup>

### **Transnational Experts with a Public-Spirit**

Just what the connection was between beauty and democracy was not immediately obvious, but the inspiration came primarily from overseas. American art and architecture at the turn of the

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<sup>65</sup> “Lay Out Plans, Then Buy Site,” *Plain Dealer*, October 16, 1901, 11. The Bill was approved by the State Legislature in 1902. Howe introduced the resolution requesting the Governor appoint the architects. “Architects Who Have Won Fame,” *Plain Dealer*, June 2, 1902, 8.

Consistent with the Municipal Association’s promotion of “economic, intelligent, and progressive management of City affairs,” in 1903 he introduced a resolution in Council that centralized control with the architects. Resolution File No. 37970, June 16, 1902. Subject file: Mall, 1900-1910, PAL. He described these measures in published articles. Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3995-3996; idem, “Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548.

<sup>66</sup> For negative assessments on the relationship between planning and business in Cleveland, see: Hines, “Urban Planning and Public Building in Johnson’s Cleveland,” 426-448; J. Mark Souther, “Acropolis of the Middle-West-Decay, Renewal, and Boosterism in Cleveland’s University Circle,” *Journal of Planning History* 10, 1 (2011): 30-58; Kerr, “Employment Sharks and Spying Organizations,” “Businessmen Gone Berserk,” and “The Urban Renewal Doldrums,” in *Derelict Paradise*, chapters 1, 4 and 5; Mackin, *Americans and their Land*, 112-113.

<sup>67</sup> Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 624, 626. See also: Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1726; idem, “Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548.

<sup>68</sup> Howe, *The City*, 248.

century exemplified how extensively Americans travelled abroad to study. It had never been uncommon for cultural producers and privileged young Americans to spend time in Paris. But when urban industrialization and rapid growth after 1870 rendered American cities chaotic, congested places that threatened future economic development, political integrity, and societal strength, more Americans felt an urgent need to better plan their cities. It was universally assumed European cities had superior planning and reform agendas, and so studying abroad became imperative. Moreover, increased attention was focused on the ties between civilization and high culture. Enriching art and architecture carried important significance for most cities and nations within the Western world. If Progressives were concerned about American development, beautification would help to bring about civilization and urban reform.<sup>69</sup>

Scholars have suggested this was connected, in part, to empire. As countries assumed control over “backwards” peoples, certain material and artistic expressions of culture assumed to be superior became a marker of international status. Architecture became a product and function of imperial racial hierarchies.<sup>70</sup> If reformers like Howe were oblivious to the imperialism inherent in City Beautiful, others rejected neoclassicism not because of this international

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<sup>69</sup> In addition to work already cited, see: Isabelle Gournay, “Appendix: Architects and the French Connection in Washington, D.C.,” in *Paris on the Potomac*, ed. Field, Gournay and Somma, 139-156. See also: Kathleen Curran, “The Romanesque Revival and National Education in America,” and “The Romanesque Revival and Protestant Patronage in America,” in *The Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics and Transnational Exchange* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), chapters 6 and 7. On the lure of Parisian culture amongst Americans, see: Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); idem, *We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France Since 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>70</sup> Alan Dawley argues the imperial motif in City Beautiful architecture and the accompanying slum clearance it required overwhelms any democratic ideals. Brody, on the other hand, offers a more engaging and direct discussion of the relationship between Burnham’s architecture and imperialism. Dawley, *Changing the World*, 24-26; Brody, “Building Empire: Architecture and American Imperialism in the Philippines,” in *Visualizing Empire*, chapter 6; Other important discussions of the relationship between architecture, material culture, and imperialism include: Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Gwendolyn Wright, “Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 322-345; Eugenia W. Herbert, *Flora’s Empire: British Gardens in India* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

message, but because it compromised the American democratic experiment. Exceptionalist political traditions required that the U.S. remain distinct from European culture, society, and history. Reminding Burnham and McKim that any national style must both express and reaffirm America's unique national character motivated, at least in part, the work done by Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Irving Pond.<sup>71</sup>

The reformers and professionals who flocked to Europe, because they feared American cities were inferior, had to therefore reject both the taint of European imperialism and allegations of copying Paris. Howe, for example, defended the decision to appoint New York and Chicago architects to the Group Plan commission by arguing that experts were needed so that Cleveland would have “as splendid manifestations of its civic life as it can afford.” To further demonstrate his point, Howe pointed to the work being done, or recently completed, at Columbia University, and to such expositions as the Pan-American in Buffalo, as well as Washington, D.C.<sup>72</sup> As chapter two highlights, these cosmopolitan reformers, politicians, and architects were revered for their dedication to transforming the Gilded Age city and for their civilizing, democratic impulse. But incorporating European architecture within the American built environment is only one part of internationalizing Progressive urban reform. How did celebrating Beaux-Arts architects and their work inform perceptions of international networks comprised of male leaders who were trying to improve their urban communities? Answering this question requires first examining how architects learned about European architecture and integrated this knowledge within their reports, and how this process not only bolstered a public-spirit in urban reform, but allowed men

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<sup>71</sup> On Sullivan, see: Duncan, *Struggle for Form in Society and Architecture during the Life and Times of Sullivan*. On Wright, see: Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 102-155. On Pond, see: Irving K. Pond, *The Meaning of Architecture: An Essay in Constructive Criticism* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918), 179-194.

<sup>72</sup> Howe quoted in “Lay Out Plans, Then Buy Site,” *Plain Dealer*, October 16, 1901, 11. See also, Howe, *The City*, 55. Two years later in 1903, Howe approached the school council to request they consider being a part of or erecting buildings that complimented a civic centre. Discussions for a new school were initiated, in part, by a donation of \$250 000 by Andrew Carnegie. “To Group Buildings: Fred Howe Asks School Council to Consider the Matter,” *Plain Dealer*, May 5, 1903, 10.

like Howe to perceive new didactic relationships between American and European urban culture and educated reform-minded professionals.

Although Howe cited domestic examples of urban civilization when he drew attention to Columbia University, the exposition in Buffalo, and the McMillan Plan in Washington, the influence of European design on these plans should not be underestimated. New York architect Charles F. McKim, a graduate of the Beaux-Arts, was the one chosen to create plans for Columbia's Morningside Campus. A primary reason was his use of axial planning, an approach characteristic of the Parisian school's pedagogy and traditions. Adjudicators appreciated the order and vistas it created.<sup>73</sup> Carrère, born in Rio de Janeiro, attended school in Switzerland before matriculating at the École des Beaux-Arts. Shortly after returning to the U.S., he and Thomas Hasting, an American he had met in Paris, established their own firm. Together they designed the New York Public Library (NYPL) in 1897, a leading example of America's reverence for Beaux-Arts neoclassicism, and the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901 using Spanish Renaissance design.<sup>74</sup>

Given his heavy reliance on neoclassicism and Beaux-Arts design, it is surprising that Burnham only visited Europe for the first time in 1896, three years after the White City. What is more, he traveled there with his wife Margaret and her parents, John and Kate Sherman, for what

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<sup>73</sup> Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of its Architecture and Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 118-128.

<sup>74</sup> On the NYPL, see: Ingrid Steffensen, *Marble Palaces, Temples of Art: Art Museums, Architecture, and American Culture, 1890-1930* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1998); idem, *New York Public Library: A Beaux-Art Landmark* (New York: New York Public Library/Scala, 2006). In the former, Steffensen argues the choice of Spanish Renaissance architecture was done to visually disassociate the fair from Burnham's exposition in 1893. See page 69. Adding to this, Rydell argues its extensive use of colour and ethnological displays and exhibitions was meant to depict a triumphal struggle with nature, and to forecast racial fitness. The aesthetic traditions of Spanish Renaissance allowed Carrère to do this without sacrificing its coordination. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 128-132.

was intended more as a vacation than a study tour.<sup>75</sup> But the party did make time in Greece for Burnham to study its significant buildings.<sup>76</sup> Describing the Acropolis as a structure that rose “out of the centre of the plain like a jewel,” the place truly inspired him. If “its modern buildings [were] lovely,” he still felt that “the spirit of old Greece has not departed. It still clings to nearly everything.” Athens itself was “clean and beautiful.”<sup>77</sup> Upon leaving, Burnham felt he had “the spirit of Greece once and forever stamped on [his] soul.”<sup>78</sup>

When appointed to the McMillan Commission in 1901, Burnham had every intention to make up for his lack of European experience.<sup>79</sup> In March of 1901, he proposed to McKim that commission members take a European tour lasting six to seven weeks.<sup>80</sup> Several days later, Burnham declared during a luncheon with Charles Moore and McKim that he had “talked the matter over with Senator McMillan. The four of [them were] going to Europe in June to see and to discuss *together* parks in their relation to public buildings – that [was their] problem ... in Washington.” They needed several weeks where they were “thinking of nothing else.”<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the government and their “great Uncle George, has the right to expect of us the very best we can give.”<sup>82</sup> This meant touring Dresden, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and certain estates in

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<sup>75</sup> John B. Sherman, a founder of the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company, was a prominent industrialist within Chicago. Sherman had given Root and Burnham their first major commission in 1874, during which Burnham met Margaret Sherman, his future wife. They sailed from New York in January. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 22-23.

<sup>76</sup> Cities toured include: Nice, Cairo, and Malta. See Burnham’s diary entries: February 11, 1896, February 19, 1896, February 23, 1896, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 121, 121-122, 123.

<sup>77</sup> Diary entry, March 15, 1896, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 126.

<sup>78</sup> Diary entry, March 17, 1896, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 127. In addition to the Acropolis, Burnham visited the town of Eleusis, the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, and artifacts from the Mycenae archeological site in Peloponnese. Diary entry, March 16, 1896, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 126-127. See also: Schaffer, *Visionary Architect*, 95.

<sup>79</sup> With McKim, Burnham candidly admitted that he needed to go abroad more than his colleague. Burnham to McKim, April 10, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 143.

<sup>80</sup> Burnham to McKim, March 29, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers.

<sup>81</sup> Emphasis original. Moore quoting Burnham after lunch on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1901. The four individuals Burnham referenced were McKim, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Charles Moore, and himself. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 142-143. Moore served as secretary for the commission and prepared the final report with Olmsted. Saint-Gaudens’s involvement was not discussed until mid-April. Burnham to McKim, April 15, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers; McKim to Burnham, June 1, 1901 and Burnham to Moore, June 5, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 147-148.

<sup>82</sup> Burnham to McKim, April 10, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 143.

England, in addition, of course, to Paris. In Germany, they would learn more than in any other European city, and in the Russian capital they could study unique scales of streets and boulevards.<sup>83</sup>

Paris was their first destination. Staying at the Hotel Continental, their rooms overlooked the Jardin des Tuileries, which they toured two days later. In between, they visited the École des Beaux-Arts and the Bois de Boulogne, and toured the entire city by automobile.<sup>84</sup> Since a stated goal was to study the relationship between buildings and parks, work by André Le Nôtre in the Jardin was particularly important. Le Nôtre had wanted the palace gardens to symbolically express the King's democratic ideals. To accomplish this, physical structures within the gardens were removed, and the formality of the parterres lessened as their geographic distance from the Louvre Palace increased. The structural and visual disconnects between the Jardin and the streets of Paris were therefore less apparent. When Burnham, McKim, Olmsted and Moore visited the Jardin, the Palace housed the Musée and various government departments, offering an interesting convergence of formal, public gardens, culture, and politics. Moreover, since King Louis XIV purchased a significant portion of land beyond the Jardin, it allowed Le Nôtre to create a straight tree-lined avenue that stretched for a little more than two kilometers.<sup>85</sup> Later developed as Champs-Élysées by Haussmann, the avenue provided residents a reminder that power was centralized in the King's title, yet also "stretched" his leadership into the city, implying he was a king of the people. Finally, the boulevard provided visitors approaching Paris with an awe-inspiring perspective. The order, unity, and beauty offered by the Jardin, the Louvre, and Le

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<sup>83</sup> On touring cities in Germany and Russia, see: Burnham to McKim, June 4, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers. On English estates see: Burnham to McKim, April 12, 1901, Box 2, Folder 45, Burnham Papers.

<sup>84</sup> Diary entries June 19, 20, 21, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 149-150. See also: Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 146.

<sup>85</sup> Andrew Ayers, *The Architecture of Paris: An Architecture Guide* (London: Edition Axel Menges, 2004), 42-43. For a more extended discussion of Le Nôtre and Louis XIV, see: Ian Thompson, *The Sun King's Garden: Louis XIV, André Le Nôtre, and the Creation of the Gardens of Versailles* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2006).

Nôtre's boulevard likely influenced Burnham's City Beautiful aspirations for Washington and Cleveland.<sup>86</sup>

In Paris, the group also spent time visiting the Jardin du Luxembourg including the great octagonal basin and fountain at the centre; the palaces of Versailles and Fontainebleau; and the new Gare d'Orsay, recently completed in a monumental Beaux-Arts style.<sup>87</sup> On his own, Burnham also went to Germany to tour Wald Park and a railway station in Frankfurt.<sup>88</sup> After visiting the Villa Borghese, one of the largest public parks in Rome, they sat on the steps of the circular Tempio di Minerva, discussing possible locations for the Memorial Bridge in Washington, D.C. Thereafter they moved on to Venice.<sup>89</sup> Burnham, Moore, McKim, and Olmsted spent four days touring the city by its canals.<sup>90</sup> Curiously, during their final evening in the city, Burnham asked "one of the big, handsome, brown-sashed gondoliers" why he seemed familiar. With "fair English," the man explained that they had met during the Chicago World's Fair. Around the lagoon at night, he had rowed Burnham.<sup>91</sup> Recorded interactions with local, working class residents are, however, extremely rare in the papers of Burnham, Moore, and

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<sup>86</sup> Scholars debate who inspired the imperial nature of Parisian planning, and why. David Harvey associates it more with Haussmann and his ideals of modernity and civilization. Éric Hazen, however, argues the architect-planner was Napoleon's "human bulldozer," although Haussmann was not opposed to rebuilding Paris using sterile boulevards. Playing with the theme of sterility, David Jordan side-steps imperialism by arguing Haussmann's sickly childhood led to an obsession with cleanliness, which motivated his sewer and boulevard plans. David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003). Éric Hazen, *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps*, trans. David Fernbach (New York: Verso, 2011). David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York: Free Press, 1995). See also: Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 23. On the Parisian influences in City Beautiful planning, see: Field, "Interpreting the Influence of Paris on the Planning of Washington, D.C., 1870-1930," in *Paris on the Potomac*, ed. Field, Gournay, and Somma, 117-138.

<sup>87</sup> Diary entries, July, 10, 11, 12, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 153.

<sup>88</sup> Diary entries, July, 15, 16, 17, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 154; Editorial note, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 154 n1. See also: Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 146-147.

<sup>89</sup> On Italy, see: diary entries, June, 22, 27, 29, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 150-151. This conversation took place on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 151. This description from Moore also mentions a visit to the French Academy, the Medici Villa, and the private gardens at the Vatican.

<sup>90</sup> Diary entries on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> all mention some time spent on the canals. July 3<sup>rd</sup> they spent the whole day there. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 152.

<sup>91</sup> Moore explained that Mr. Curtis, originally of Boston and owner of a "sumptuous palace" along a canal, had lent them a gondola and recounted this interaction between Burnham and the gondolier. July 4<sup>th</sup> was their last day in Venice. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 152n1.

McKim. They actively engaged with a wide array of parks, and architecture and planning techniques, but they did not do the same with ordinary European citizens. Like many Americans who traveled abroad, including Alice Hamilton in the 1890s, they spent most of their time with fellow citizens studying, working or touring.<sup>92</sup> Not only did such patterns of interaction influence their experiences abroad, as well as the internationalist ideas expressed by City Beautiful, but it also suggests how idealistic were their perceptions of “the people” and of the democratic ideals embodied in their work.

Once back in the U.S., the commission members began working on sketches for the redevelopment of Washington, D.C. Their work proudly showcased how European architecture would elevate American civilization.<sup>93</sup> Scholars have noted the dominant influence Parisian traditions had over the McMillan Plan.<sup>94</sup> As historian Harvey Levenstein has argued, Americans often perceived French culture as occupying the highest levels of civilized development.<sup>95</sup> The addition of fountains, terraces, and statuary to Union Square, situated in front of the grand Union Station, created an American equivalent of the Place de la Concorde. The Mall, bordered by

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<sup>92</sup> On the time spent with Americans in Europe, see: Dinner with the Abbotts: Diary entry, July 2, 1901; Call on Chester: Diary entry, July 8, 1901, both reprinted in Moore, *Burnham*, I: 152, 153. In Vienna, they were formally hosted by the Secretary of the Legation, Dr. Charles V. Herdliska. Diary entries, July 5, 7, 1901, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 152-153; Editorial note, Moore, *Burnham*, I: 152-153 n4; Robert McCormick to Burnham, June 17, 1901, Box 2, Folder 41, Burnham Papers. McMillan arranged for the Commission to be received and hosted by U.S. Embassies in Europe whenever possible. This includes the embassy in Vienna. Alvey A. Adey, Acting Secretary, Department of State, to Hon. James McMillan, U.S.S., August 13, 1901, Box 1, McMillan Letters, 1901-1902, Papers of Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Moore Papers).

Likewise in Rome, they were aided by the Chargé d’Affaires at the U.S. embassy. Alvey A. Adey, Acting Secretary, Department of State, to Hon. James McMillan, U.S.S., August 13, 1901, McMillan Letters, 1901-1902, Box 1, Moore Papers.

<sup>93</sup> Travel often strengthened national identity, even as it broadened individuals’ perspectives. Whitney Walton, “Internationalism and Franco-American Educational Travel, 1898-1939” in *Crossing the Atlantic: Travel and Travel Writing in Modern Times*, ed. Thomas Adam and Nils H. Roemer (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 50-78. While scholarship has shown the opposite, that travel helps to inspire an imperialist national identity, see: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008). Choy has shown how Filipino nurses’ travel to the U.S., for study and work, had the same effect. Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>94</sup> Schaffer, *Visionary Architect*, 99-100, 120; Field, “Influence of Paris on Washington, D.C.,” 126-130.

<sup>95</sup> Levenstein, *Seductive Journey*; idem, *We’ll Always Have Paris*. See also: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 166.

narrow roadways, rows of elm trees, and public buildings of uniform colour, scale, proportions, and architectural treatment, was patterned after the Champs-Élysées. The Mall, angled slightly southward to realign the Washington Monument with the Capitol and President's House, drew heavily from Beaux-Arts axial planning. The plan also called for filling in the marshy Potomac shores, providing space for a Lincoln Memorial that should be set in a rond-point, or circle, in the same way that the "Arc de Triomphe crowns the Place de l'Etoile at Paris." From this proposed circle, boulevards would radiate out connecting with Potomac Park to the south and Rock Creek to the north, an arrangement similar to the avenues radiating out from several axial points throughout Paris.<sup>96</sup>

Historian Thomas Hines also points to the Roman influences implicit in the McMillan plan. As Moore later recalled, upon their arrival in Rome, the architects were inspired to "discover and to use in the work of a new nation those forms which have satisfied age after age of men" rather than push for originality. Moreover, as they drafted the plan, each man agreed "the heat of [the] capital require[d] that the city should be filled with running water even as is Rome."<sup>97</sup> Similarly, architectural historian Kristin Schaffer delineates how Washington's Union Station incorporated elements of a Roman bath, notably the portico-loggia that runs the length of the façade.<sup>98</sup> The result was the triumphant city-vestibule that Burnham felt every civilized city required.

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<sup>96</sup> Senate Report quoted in Frederick Gutheim and Antoinette J. Lee, *Worthy of the Nation: Washington DC from L'Enfant to the National Capital Planning Commission*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 135, descriptions, 134-135.

<sup>97</sup> Moore quoted in Thomas S. Hines, "The Imperial Mall: The City Beautiful Movement and the Washington Plan of 1901-1902," in *The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 98 n.20, and 87-89.

<sup>98</sup> Schaffer, *Visionary Architect*, 107. See also: James H. McGregor, *Washington from the Ground Up* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 132-134. On Italian influences more generally, see: Luca Molinari and Andrea Canepari, ed., *The Italian Legacy in Washington, D.C.: Architecture, Design, Art and Culture* (Milano: Skira, 2007).

In addition to Roman and Parisian architectural influence over the plans for Washington, D.C., the completed McMillan Plan Report (1902) showcased the breadth of the study tour completed by Burnham, McKim, Olmsted and Moore. Throughout the 171 page report, they included illustrations of an open-air Prater restaurant in Vienna, the Memorial Walk at Tiergarten in Berlin, quays and bridges in Budapest, terraces in Venice, and an avenue at Cirencester and racing on the Iris River at Oxford, both from England.<sup>99</sup> If Paris was perceived as the centre of civilization, which the report did not dispute, the architects also showcased their knowledge of a wide-range of European traditions. Writing at about the same time, leading critic Charles Mulford Robinson emphasized the need for American urban planning to draw on a broad range of superior European cities, and praised City Beautiful for taking this initiative.<sup>100</sup> Recalling Hoganson's argument that during this period cosmopolitanism was revered amongst the middle-classes, the McMillan Plan illustrated a certain respect for knowledge of urban reform and civilization across Europe, expressed through reference to a geographically expansive range of principal places and sites.

The Group Plan for Cleveland followed very much the same sort of intellectual and cultural trajectory. It was replete with references to European architecture. In a photo essay entitled "features suggested in the proposed treatment," three pages demonstrated what places Burnham, Brunner, and Carrière were drawing influence. From Paris, they referenced the Palais-Royal, Versailles, Champs-Élysées, St. Germain, Place de la Concorde, Tuilleries Garden,

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<sup>99</sup> Charles Moore, ed., *Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia on the Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia*, U. S. Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, Senate Report No. 166, 57th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 4-6.

<sup>100</sup> For example: Charles Mulford Robinson, "Planning for City Beauty," *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 21 (September 1906): 230-231; idem, "The Remaking of Our Cities: A Summing Up of the Movement for Making Cities Beautiful While They Become Busy and Big; A Chain of Great Civic Improvements which mark A New Era of Urban Development," *World's Work* 12 (October 1906): 8046-8050, as provided by John W. Reps, "Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports," (2002), [http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/robin\\_04.htm](http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/robin_04.htm) and [http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/robin\\_03.htm](http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/robin_03.htm) (accessed July 2009).

Fontainebleau, and Jardin du Luxembourg. But also one site each from two German cities: the Zwingerhof in Dresden and the Unter den Linden in Berlin; from Madrid, the terraces, fountain and reflecting pools found in a (unnamed) park; from London the Rotten Row; from Italy the terraced garden of Royal Palace in Caserta and Boboli Gardens in Florence; and, finally, a broad garden pathway lined with statuary that led to the Royal Palace Belvedere in Vienna.<sup>101</sup> Similar to the report of the McMillan Plan, Burnham and his colleagues expressed a preference for Paris.<sup>102</sup> Yet higher orders of urban civilization transcended national boundaries in Europe; cities in Germany, Italy, and England were all in some way superior to those in America. As Robinson astutely argued, initiatives like City Beautiful gave the impression that America was joining a movement comprised of “many nations, several languages, and many specialities, all proved themselves one brotherhood in the joyous and earnest new crusade for beauty of town and city.”<sup>103</sup> Beginning with *The City: The Hope of Democracy*, published in 1905, Howe’s examinations of urban civilization in Paris, Berlin, Munich, and Vienna would present a similar argument.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, in America, city councils had realized the need for architectural, political, and social reform, allowing cities like Washington and Cleveland to join this transnational movement dedicated to higher orders of municipal organization.<sup>105</sup>

But if architects and reformers focused on urban and political reform had limited or idealistic ideas of how government would actually be “of the people,” this did not undermine the “cosmopolitan dignity” of City Beautiful, nor the male leadership associated with it.<sup>106</sup> Projects

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<sup>101</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, “Photographs of Executed Work,” *The Group Plan Report*.

<sup>102</sup> In the short report submitted to Tom Johnson, the architects emphasized several sites in Paris. Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*, 1. See also: Brunner, “Cleveland’s Group Plan,” as provided by Reps, “Urban Planning, 1794-1918,” <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/brunner.htm> (accessed September 21, 2010).

<sup>103</sup> Charles Mulford Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities: of The Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1901), viii.

<sup>104</sup> Howe, *The City*, 56, 240.

<sup>105</sup> Howe, *The British City*, 209-210, and “The City of To-Morrow,” 336-363.

<sup>106</sup> On cosmopolitan dignity, see: Attorney-General quoted in *Senate Report*, 13.

like the McMillan Plan required men big enough to subordinate themselves to the accomplishment of a great purpose, Burnham argued.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, in the published report Secretary of War Elihu Root described how it was with an “admirable spirit that [the Commission seeks to restore and develop the original designs of President Washington and L’Enfant.”<sup>108</sup> The “upbuilding” of the capital would only be achieved with “patient,” “steadfast,” “intelligent” and “very hearty” cooperation between the divisions of the federal government, the architects and businessmen affected by local changes.<sup>109</sup> Alexander J. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, provided the perfect example when he agreed to relinquish their station on the south side of the Mall and to remove their tracks.<sup>110</sup> In 1905, the architects, politicians, and invited guests at the annual dinner for the American Institute of Architects, celebrated his actions.<sup>111</sup> Of course, Cassatt explained that he was “very glad to feel that [he could] contribute so much toward the work that” they were doing, and that the architects “were sincere and public spirited ... and it gave him great pleasure to say that he was ready to take that location.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Burnham to Lyman J. Gage, Treasury Department, November 16, 1900, Box 2, Folder 33, Burnham Papers. See also Burnham to Albert B. Wells, April 18, 1901, Volume 8, Outgoing Correspondence, Burnham Papers.

<sup>108</sup> Root quoted in *Senate Report*, 13.

<sup>109</sup> Moore, *Senate Report*, 19.

<sup>110</sup> Cassatt’s actions were not entirely public-spirited as it involved little sacrifice on behalf of a greater good. The Pennsylvania purchased a controlling stake in the B&O railroad, which also traversed the Mall. With their main competition eliminated, Cassatt was free to move the tracks. Moore, *Burnham*, I: 154-155, 212-213; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 148-149.

Jon Peterson presents Cassatt’s actions as more the result of Burnham and McKim’s strategic planning when it came to presenting sketches. It was a triumph for the architects, for professional planning, and for urban renewal. Alan Lessoff and Howard Gillette argue Burnham had to push harder to persuade Cassatt. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 92-93. Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: Politics, “Corruption,” and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861-1902* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 258; Gillette, *Between Justice and Beauty*, 98-99.

<sup>111</sup> When his name and actions were mentioned by Elihu Root, the guests in attendance at the 1905 AIA dinner gave “hearty cheers.” He was also seated at the head table with the President of the AIA, the French Ambassador, the Secretary of State, and prominent Beaux-Arts architect George Post, amongst other dignitaries, members of congress, and architects. Root, “The Simple Life,” and “Table A,” in *Promise of American Architecture*, ed. Moore, 44, 77.

<sup>112</sup> Minutes of Commercial Club meeting, including script of illustrated discussion of city planning, and interim report of Committees on Plan of Chicago. January 25, 1908, Box 61, Folder 15, Burnham Papers.

In the Group Plan report, Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère appealed for the same cooperative, “big-visioned” spirit, alongside the neoclassical European architecture and municipal art recommended for Cleveland’s uplift. They argued that it was the responsibility of “public authorities” to re-establish visual harmony within cities by doing away with “the jumble of buildings that surround us in our new cities,” and that was destroying residents’ “peacefulness and ... repose.” Applying their expertise, they would replace it with “simplicity and uniformity ... [and] beautiful designs entirely harmonious with each other.”<sup>113</sup>

Members of the Chamber of Commerce, businessmen, and councilmen were familiar with Burnham’s practice prior to the Group Plan; they may have also been aware of his Progressive-like commitment to community uplift.<sup>114</sup> Residents likely remembered the White City of 1893 and were excited to have its lead architect planning the redevelopment of their downtown.<sup>115</sup> But what added to the authority of Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère within Cleveland was their familiarity with European art, architecture and planning. One article in the

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<sup>113</sup> Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, *The Group Plan Report*, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Hines describes Burnham as an upper-class Progressive Republican who believed in uplift but had a very naïve conception of what that actually meant. But he had designed and constructed several important Chicago School buildings including the Society of Savings on Public Square in the early 1890s. Also, beginning in 1901, he began meeting with railroad presidents who wanted him to design a new railroad station, and did a few sketches for a new public library. Friends in Cleveland kept him abreast of group plan resolutions introduced in Council. It seems other prominent men in Cleveland shared his ideas of uplift. Burnham to M.E. Ingalls, October 15, 1901, Vol. 10; Burnham to Newman, June 5, 1902, Vol. 11, Outgoing Correspondence, Burnham Papers.

<sup>115</sup> For example: “Architects Who Have Won Fame,” *Plain Dealer*, June 2, 1902, 8. Despite the abundance of European references and illustrations in the Group Plan Reports of 1903 and 1907, Kerr argues it was influenced by the White City. Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 23.

The influence of the White City has been considered by many scholars. A classic treatment from Trachtenberg demonstrates how it signalled the closing of the Gilded Age and the beginnings of utopic visions of the modern city-coordinated, orderly, clean, efficient, aesthetically pleasing, and fueled by consumption. “White” is not to be taken lightly. Class conflict and non-white races were not only excluded, but social tensions were provoked by the Fair. Rydell likewise examines the containment and separation of exotic “other” races on the Midway. As America moved out of the chaotic Gilded Age, it offered visual and spatial lessons in control, evolution, civilization, and morality. Gender played a role here, too. Situated in-between the Court of Honor and the Midway, the Women’s Building implicated the American woman and her domesticity in both the protection and advancement of the American nation-state. The technologies and social innovation showcased at the Fair, contained messages powerful and comprehensive regarding the emergence of a modern, civilized (and civilizing) nation-state. Howe was seemingly oblivious to its (masculine) imperialism, preferring the efficiency of an expert planning commission. Trachtenberg, “White City,” in *The Incorporation of America*, chapter 7. Rydell, “The Chicago World’s Exposition of 1893,” in *All the World’s a Fair*, chapter 2. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 32-35. Howe, *Confessions*, 114.

*Plain Dealer* applauded the McMillan Plan for Washington D.C. not only because it would raze old buildings, saloons, and “questionable resorts,” but would also render the capital “one of the most strikingly beautiful in the world.” Inspiration for the general plan of improvement was derived from the “principal European cities.”<sup>116</sup> Clevelanders should watch developments carefully since “the same plan [had] been advocated ... for beautification.”<sup>117</sup>

Not everyone in Cleveland agreed that architects from Chicago and New York should redevelop their downtown. Howe defended the appointments by highlighting precedent. Thomas Jefferson and George Washington had used Parisian architects.<sup>118</sup> The Group Plan “[was] the most significant forward step in the matter of municipal art taken in America. It [was] comparable to the designs of Napoleon III, who remade Paris, with the aid of Baron Haussmann, or to the prescience of Jefferson, who called to the aid of the new government a distinguished architect in the laying out of the national capital on its present scale.”<sup>119</sup> By following the example made by the founding fathers, urban architecture and governance was reviving democratic traditions unspoiled by Gilded Age corruption. Furthermore, using men familiar with Parisian design signalled a maturation of American aesthetics, traditions, and pedagogies.

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<sup>116</sup> “To Beautify Washington,” *Plain Dealer*, August 2, 1901, 5.

<sup>117</sup> “A New Plan for Beautifying the National Capital,” *Plain Dealer*, February 25, 1900, 11.

<sup>118</sup> “Are Backed Up by Precedent,” *Plain Dealer*, June 15, 1902, 10.

Criticism also came from Frank .E. Cudell, a German architect who came to Cleveland in 1867 and practiced until poor health forced him into retirement in 1890. His objections included the involvement of the Chamber of Commerce, the appointment of nationally prominent architects from Chicago and New York, the appointment of local Beaux-Arts architect J. Milton Dyer, and plans to situate the Post Office such that it imposed upon Wood Street, narrowing it by as much as 4 feet, and locating City Hall furthest from Public Square, the traditional central civic space, at the northern end of the Mall. Cudell seemingly disdained Beaux-Arts architecture and planning traditions as much as he regretted the ways urban development imposed upon organic growth in Cleveland. He also criticized Johnson’s Market House Commission for deciding to raze a certain portion of the West Side, where many Germans lived, for the construction of a new market. Cudell felt local residents and businessmen should at least be consulted and both the usage patterns and problems caused by congestion of the area were not adequately studied. On Cudell’s criticisms, see: F.E. Cudell to Johnson, January 11, 1902 and August 16, 1902, Reel 2, Tom L. Johnson Papers, WRHS.

<sup>119</sup> Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 626. See also: Howe, *The City*, 244-245.

More importantly, Howe spoke to the transnationalism of beautification. “Higher orders of civilization,” characterized by a generous and cooperative democratic spirit, as well as splendid buildings, cultural institutions, and municipal art had developed in Rome, the “mistress of the Mediterranean”; the medieval Italian cities of Florence, Venice, and Milan; and “in later centuries,” the major French and German cities. Americans at that time continued to flock to France and Germany, including leading architects Burnham and McKim. Moreover, under Burnham’s tutelage, Cleveland would be the next city in America to achieve these higher orders of aesthetic beauty and democratic reform. “As a developed whole,” the Group Plan brought to mind “such avenues as Champs-Élysées in Paris, or the sunken garden of the Luxembourg” while the “designs of all the buildings [were] derived from the historic motives of the classic architecture of Rome.” Added to that, the mall would be surrounded by public buildings like the Federal Building and City Hall, as well as “the Chamber of Commerce [and] ... the Board of Education, while private initiative has undertaken the erection of a splendid music-hall [and] museum.”<sup>120</sup> As industrial prowess continued to fuel economic riches, “all those elements of high civilization that have previously made [principal] ... cities ... centres of art, culture, and refinement” would soon distinguish Cleveland. Sponsored by civic-minded businessmen of the Chamber and the Office of the Mayor, and guided by Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère, the city was about to shift from an industrial accident, an urban frontier, to a place with “a higher order of municipal organization.” From “this brick and mortar life,” there would emerge “a city sense.”<sup>121</sup> (Figure 12)

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<sup>120</sup> Quotes taken from Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 626. On Howe’s historical definition of transnational architecture and city development, see also: Howe, *The City*, 240, 242.

<sup>121</sup> Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3988. See also: Howe, “The Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548. Howe, “Plans for a City Beautiful,” 624. Howe, *The City*, 47, see also 44-46



Figure 12: Panoramic view of Public Square showing the construction of the Federal Building, the first neoclassical public buildings of the Group Plan. It was completed in 1910. Along with the Public Library, it would serve as the southern boundary of the Plan. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University.

Burnham, Brunner, and Carrère clearly conceived of cities in a “big-visioned” way. This overlapped with Johnson’s desire to “have an executive who can think in large figures.” He wanted men who could “adopt and carry out plans, which, to other men, would seem too large or too hazardous for a city to undertake.”<sup>122</sup> Howe had found a position of prominence within reform that fulfilled the Johns Hopkins’ “brotherhood of service.” Together as men dedicated to the “community,” Howe, Johnson, and the three architects would willingly bear the cost, inconvenience, and political and public disagreements necessary to build a more cohesive, orderly and beautiful modern city.

### **Howe: European City Administration and Public-Spirited Governance**

All of this inspired Howe to return to Europe to study city administration. Although the Group Plan initiated systematic architectural development using a plan comparable to Haussmann’s

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<sup>122</sup> On Johnson’s skill for large plans, and Cleveland’s example to America, see: Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1727-1728. That Johnson provided this kind of leadership was re-stated in 1908 in *Commons and the Charities* when Howe argued that “Cleveland, under the administration of Tom Johnson, has demonstrated that the more the city does for the people the more the people love the city in return.” Howe, “Cleveland Group Plan,” 1548.

designs for Paris and Johnson's municipal reforms would "unleash democratizing economic growth," rendering Cleveland an example of "instincts" that were "so essentially democratic," there was still more to learn from Europe.<sup>123</sup> This time he went not to study European civic centres or at German universities, but to learn from, and socialize with, public-spirited municipal officials like him.

In 1906, Howe went to the United Kingdom for two months. He set his first sights on Glasgow, an industrial city known since 1869 for its municipal ownership of public utilities: gas, electric lighting, and telephones.<sup>124</sup> More recently in 1894, council overtook its streetcar system, rendering its municipal ambitions world famous amongst urban-minded reformers. Private franchises had refused to extend service beyond the profitable inner core. Determined to find a way to disperse its populace more evenly, the city assumed control of the cars and lines. This forced the franchise to give up its remaining omnibuses after a few months.<sup>125</sup>

Howe was eager to learn how providing its people with these services affected a collective, democratic city sense. He spoke "with all sorts of men"—businessmen, town councillors, newspapermen, police and fire officials, clerks, bath-house custodians, and tram-car conductors, as many as possible. He asked all of them about their opinions of the city and its government. He found their devotion to the city was universal.<sup>126</sup> Regardless of class, these men

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<sup>123</sup> Howe, *The City*, 244-245; Howe quoted in Stromquist, *Reinventing "the People"*, 44; Howe, *The City*, 243.

<sup>124</sup> In 1906, Howe candidly admitted that he went abroad to learn about city administration. Howe, "Glasgow," *Scribner's Magazine* 40, 1 (1906): 98. The article was reprinted almost verbatim as "Glasgow—A City of Thrift and Conscience," in *The British City*, chapter 8. This article/chapter discussed style of leadership, the provost in particular, but it focused more on public ownership of the trams, showing the economic benefits to the city through a cost analysis, and to civic unity by speaking with the men who worked and rode the streetcars. Before Howe went to the U.K., he wrote a lengthy paper arguing that privilege corrupted municipal politics in America through franchises, and that municipal ownership would resolve these issues. This suggests that he went to Glasgow not to learn about municipal administration more generally, but municipal ownership specifically. Howe, "The Case for Municipal Ownership," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association* 2 (1905): 89-104; idem, "The Case for Municipal Ownership," *Publications of the American Economic Association* 7, 1 (1906): 113-132.

<sup>125</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 121-122. See also: Howe, *The British City*, 177-178.

<sup>126</sup> Howe, "Glasgow," 98. Several years later he made the comment that he had "interviewed many British Officials and businessmen, and nowhere" had he heard a desire to return to private franchises. Howe, "Municipal Ownership:

were proud of Glasgow. City officials provided them with a higher standard of living, understood and were responsive to their needs, and facilitated opportunities for respected, stable careers. Amongst city employees this was particularly noteworthy. They carried out their work with a “fine *esprit de corps*” and were “zealous in their effort to serve the community.”<sup>127</sup> Being honest, “awakened,” and active both economically and politically therefore defined citizenship in Glasgow.<sup>128</sup> “Municipal ownership,” he explained, “fosters interest in municipal affairs.” Amongst men, respect was earned by paying taxes and supporting legislation that served the larger community before personal interests.<sup>129</sup>

There was graft, but local political culture had developed such that it was uncustomary for men in authoritative positions to accept money in exchange for favours. With municipal ownership, there simply were no companies or capitalists that were owed favours once an election was over. Moreover, “each man runs his department as he would a business. He [chooses] the best men,” paid them a proper wage, and guaranteed their jobs. In this way, the “purse” and the pride of a community’s “best talent” were tied to civic interest, rendering it difficult for privilege to corrupt those men occupying lower and middling political positions.<sup>130</sup> That being said, posts must still be powerful. Men of talent would not be attracted otherwise.<sup>131</sup> Just like in America, social prominence underwrote European democratic municipal reform.

His interpretation of municipal ownership reveals a great deal about Howe’s transnational urban experiences. In Glasgow, he seems to have spent most of his time with men who worked

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The Testimony of Foreign Experience,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 57 (1915): 204.

<sup>127</sup> Emphasis original. Howe, “Municipal Ownership--Testimony of Foreign Experience,” 202.

<sup>128</sup> On awakened, see: Howe, “The Case for Municipal Ownership,” (1905), 103. On citizenship, see: Howe, “Glasgow,” 98, 102, 104.

<sup>129</sup> Howe, “Glasgow,” 106, 104.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, on the absence of graft, see: 98-100, quotes taken from 100,104. On attracting the “best men,” see also: Howe, “The Case for Municipal Ownership,” (1905): 96.

<sup>131</sup> Howe, “The Case for Municipal Ownership,” (1905): 103.

in politics, in business, or for the city. Of the foreigners he mentions, most can be identified as men, and men of station at that. This includes the Canadian Postmaster-General, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Mayor of Frankfurt.<sup>132</sup> Nor in his work on municipal ownership does he ever mention women active in reform, politics, or economics. If he had privileged access to public space, his perceptions of it were heavily gendered.

Moreover, Howe does not hesitate to point out that municipal ownership created opportunities to clear slums. City officials replaced them with model public-housing that provided healthier, cleaner conditions. In this respect, “clearance schemes” were “splendid,” and rents returned a profit to the city.<sup>133</sup> In *The British City*, a book resulting from the two months he spent researching in the U.K. in 1906, the efforts to clear slums in London and to offer new public housing were again lauded. Curiously, neither City Beautiful plans for Washington nor Cleveland accommodated those displaced by new public buildings. If Howe was unable to connect with the poor and foreign-born—unlike Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott—at least he recognized efforts by leading men to care for the working class. On the one hand, these efforts resolved class conflict and rendered municipal democracy of the people. On the other hand, public housing received Howe’s praise not for the amenities new dwellings offered, but for the “conscious purpose” it expressed.<sup>134</sup> Municipal ownership attracted honest “big men” to civic affairs rendering the city the taxpayer’s “parent. It care[d] for him” and was “so big in its kindness and goodness.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Also mentioned are delegations from Belgium and South Africa, and a few Americans. But no identifying details are given. Howe, *The British City*, 177-178.

<sup>133</sup> Howe, “Glasgow,” 99, 106, 108.

<sup>134</sup> Howe, *The British City*, quote taken from 226, see also: 215-217, 226-227. Historian Friedrich Lenger argues, however, that accommodations were inadequate and the poorest peoples were not given a home, or, if so, one that was too small. Friedrich Lenger, *European Cities in the Modern Era, 1850-1914* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 125-126.

<sup>135</sup> Howe, “Glasgow,” 106. The city, “she” was also described as being “as frugal as a [Scottish] parent.” (108)

Apart from a brief mention of parks and a municipal art gallery, Glasgow was not a beautified city in Howe's opinion. And although London had achieved some beautification, it was still beholden to privilege.<sup>136</sup> This may explain why cities in the U.S. were still favourably compared to those in Britain. In places like Cleveland, reformers were open-minded and experimented with new ideas. Free from inherited land-ownership and political power, it was easier to centralize power in the offices of honest, good men who could then develop helpful services and amenities including beautification and public parks. Great Britain, for the most part, lacked this "generous democratic sense."<sup>137</sup>

If Howe was confident Cleveland was becoming part of a transnational urban civilizing movement, he was not ready to stop studying reform in Europe. The Chamber of Commerce was voluntarily supporting colleges, libraries, hospitals, social settlements, new playgrounds amongst other social activities that should be under municipal control. But only in Glasgow and German cities were such activities efficiently and generously overseen by the town-hall.<sup>138</sup> In 1909, he went abroad again, socializing with leading men in different cities across the continent. This time he spent six months in Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark.<sup>139</sup> At the time, a Rigsdag election was ongoing in the last of these, where a key issue was bolstering domestic military capabilities, or simply "preparedness." In discussing the proposal as it was presented to voters, Howe

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<sup>136</sup> Similar to *The City*, Howe's central argument in *The British City* was the struggle between privilege and democracy. The former consistently undermined an "honest" and public-spirited government of the people. On London's plans for beautification, see: Howe, *The British City*, 224-226. On privilege in London, see: Howe, *The British City*, 260-271, 293-302, 303-319. On ugliness, see: Howe, *The British City*, 243, 260-268; idem, *The City*, 241.

<sup>137</sup> Howe, *The British City*, quoted 242, 240-244. For negative characteristics of American cities, see: 230-232.

<sup>138</sup> Howe, "Cleveland's Education through its Chamber of Commerce," *The Outlook* 83, 13 (1906): 739-740. On centralized power, bureaucracy, and masculinity, see: David Moran, "The Gender of Bureaucracy," in *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities, and Managements*, ed. David L. Collinson and Jeff Hearn (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 43-60; Stivers, "Finding a Usable Past," and "The Other Side of Reform," in *Bureau Men, Settlement Women*, chapters 1 and 3; Rosenberg, "Money and Manliness," 177-198.

<sup>139</sup> Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 117. In *Confessions*, Howe briefly mentions going to Europe in 1909 "to think things out". But he does not discuss where he went, how long he was away, and any touring or studying that he did for the articles he later published. Howe, *Confessions*, 225.

apparently spent more time with candidates, and focused on political dialogue than the opinions of ordinary citizens.<sup>140</sup> The desire to understand how a united, dignified and fraternal culture was developed in cities by public-spirited officials meant his transnational experiences increasingly centered on these prominent city-men.

Germany figured more centrally in Howe's experiences abroad. Even in *The British City*, published in 1907, his allegiances for Berlin, Düsseldorf, amongst others, were strengthening. Anticipating a time when Americans "would study beauty just as do the German cities," and have the same "sense of the dignity and the possibility of the city," he traveled there to speak with local leaders.<sup>141</sup> In an article published by the *Plain Dealer*, Howe tried to encourage readers to follow the German example by describing what Cleveland and Düsseldorf had in common. Both were located at the core of an industrial region, had grown quickly since the late 1800s, and were planning to group public buildings. But in Düsseldorf, business men understood their obligation to contribute to the physical and social needs of a unified and dignified city. When speaking of its mall, he lauded their contributions to beautification. It was

lined with fine hotels, restaurants and a few private houses ... The city erected a splendid high school and just beyond the provincial post office. Close beside the latter the German steel trust erected on city land an office building that suggests a great public structure instead of a business office. It [was] as artistic as anything in the city and [was] adorned ... with the finest kind of art. Running through the center of the mall is a sunken garden with a flowing stream at the bottom and covered over with generous shade trees.<sup>142</sup>

Furthermore, the city had reclaimed and developed three miles of its waterfront, a planning objective Johnson was trying to initiate in Cleveland, with Burnham's help.<sup>143</sup> With its esplanade, driveway, and park and playground flanked by an art gallery and public buildings, Düsseldorf offered "a monumental piece of work." While both this project and the mall had

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<sup>140</sup> Howe, "Incomplete Preparedness," *The New Republic* 6 (February 6, 1916): 94.

<sup>141</sup> Howe, *The British City*, 244, 354.

<sup>142</sup> Howe, "German City has Solved Problems Like Our Own," *Plain Dealer*, June 13, 1909, 7.

<sup>143</sup> Burnham to Tom L. Johnson, September 15, 1900, Box 1, Folder 9, Burnham Papers.

required financial sacrifices by businessmen and heavy debt burdens for the city, they endorsed the long-term benefits for residents, for land prices, and for the development of a civic spirit. Reverence was shown to enlightened industrial interests through placement of statues of businessmen, as great men at one end of the mall.<sup>144</sup>

With this article, and others that followed, Howe was building an argument that businessmen “who rule the German cities ... have risen above the interests of their class. They have built cities for people, for all the people.” Not only did they proudly pay municipal taxes, they “accept[ed] their burdens willingly and [took] pride in the development of the city.”<sup>145</sup> Similar to public-spirited city men in Glasgow, they had municipalized savings and mortgage banks, street railways, gas, electric-lightening, and water companies, and erected public housing. Düsseldorf seemed to “[own] more things and [do] more things for its people” than any other city in the world.<sup>146</sup> City officials were therefore applauded for “treating the new behemoth of civilization as a creature to be controlled, and made to serve rather than to impair or destroy humanity.”<sup>147</sup> In each of these cities, Howe was suggesting that both the personal character and reforms enacted by these men engendered city unity. Their success and their dedication evoked a certain willingness and cooperation from residents.

Both Glasgow and Düsseldorf were revered for municipal socialism. But as suggested by his comments regarding the mall in Düsseldorf, Howe believed German cities had an advanced appreciation and comprehension of urban beautification. In part, this dignified and fraternal city sense was inspired by city mayors. During his visit in 1909, Berlin’s mayor had once been a

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<sup>144</sup> Howe, “German City has Solved Problems Like Our Own,” 7. On debt incurred by German cities, see: Howe, “Where the Business Men Rule,” *The Outlook* (January 25, 1913): 207.

<sup>145</sup> Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 248-249; Howe, “The German and the American City,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 49, 4 (1911): 489. Similar arguments were made in “City Building in Germany,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 47, 5 (1910): 601-613, and “Where the Business Men Rule,” 202-209.

<sup>146</sup> Howe quoted in Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 123. On municipal ownership in Germany, see: Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 249; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 122-125.

<sup>147</sup> Howe, “City Building in Germany,” 602.

practicing lawyer in Breslau. After achieving a certain amount of success, he became “interested in city administration, and [was] determined to make [it] a profession.” German city administration was controlled by an extraordinarily strong, professional bureaucracy. Along with social programs, these men understood the importance of a beautiful, orderly and efficient city that elevated residents’ pride and daily standards of living. The city to them was a complete system. “Look[ing] out from the city hall on his city,” a mayor saw every park, school, museum, factory, and boulevard as a composite piece in a larger municipal system. Consequently, they made sure officials completed public improvements and placed public art throughout their cities. Efficiency was increased with wide boulevards and orderly transit, and beauty was enriched through art and architecture. Residents, therefore, trusted municipal government.<sup>148</sup>

Between 1909 and 1913, Howe continued his municipal investigations in Europe, which expanded not only his experiences and his cosmopolitan knowledge, but his sense that a transnational urbanism connected cities across Europe. He went to Vienna, Brussels, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Dresden, Liverpool, and London and spoke with officials, businessmen, and leading elected officials.<sup>149</sup> German cities remained in his opinion “the most democratic [municipal] administration[s] in the world,” despite “the autocratic nature of the German Government.” This was “largely traceable to the big vision of the city, to an appreciation of the necessity of controlling the predatory greed of the few for the welfare of the many. The German city was therefore an experiment-station for all of us.” By “us,” perhaps he was referring to other city-minded reformers and professionals he had met during his travels, as had happened in Glasgow, or to his American readers, so to motivate them to study the example offered by German cities. Either way, his statement indicates a strengthening belief that the public-spirited culture that

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<sup>148</sup> Howe, “The German and the American City,” 487, 491. Similar arguments were made in “City Building in Germany,” 601-613, and “Where the Business Men Rule,” 204-205.

<sup>149</sup> Howe, *European Cities at Work*, viii.

characterized the city-men in power and their municipal traditions were universally applicable. Work published throughout 1913 continued to illustrate his perception of a strengthening municipal transnationalism.<sup>150</sup>

Everywhere in Europe the city is governed by merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and professional men. Everywhere the city does many things which we would call Socialism. Germany, Austria, England, and to a growing extent, Italy, Belgium, and France, see in the city a means for promoting business and commerce, an agency for convenience and happiness. To an increasing extent the city is making war on poverty and disease. This idea of the city as a joint stock undertaking for doing things by us left in private hands or not done at all is what most distinguishes the cities of Europe from our own. The European city has a community sense. It enjoys something of the sovereignty of the nation.<sup>151</sup>

More European cities were municipalizing street railways, extending them into the suburbs where healthy and affordable housing was being constructed.<sup>152</sup> Whether or not men like Howe who continuously travelled to new places for didactic tours were increasing in number, he seemed to believe that certain ideas regarding urban development were pervading a growing number of European cities.

In the early 1910s, the body of work Howe produced went further afield. In Budapest, he learned how the city established a municipal bakery that was cleaner and cheaper, breaking the “bread trust.” In Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium, a new municipal tax on land speculators developed in Frankfurt by Mayor Franz Adickes, had been adopted.<sup>153</sup> Orderly and clean open-air markets held within old guild halls or new market buildings, which Howe likened to an active civic centre, were noted not only in Bremen and Frankfurt, but also Antwerp, Brussels, Paris and Vienna.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Howe, *European Cities*, xviii-ix; idem, “Where the Business Men Rule,” 209.

<sup>151</sup> Howe, “Where the Business Men Rule,” 206.

<sup>152</sup> For these efforts in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, see: Howe, “Where the Business Men Rule,” 206.

<sup>153</sup> Howe, “Where the Business Men Rule,” 206, 208.

<sup>154</sup> Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 121-124.

Also in Vienna and Budapest, Howe felt the same “big-visioned,” “intelligent” planning common in Germany had been applied, especially in the Austrian capital.<sup>155</sup> Much of its land was publicly owned, allowing planning commissions to cheaply and efficiently develop comprehensive plans. After demolishing the inner city, a grand circular boulevard, known as the Ringstrasse, was constructed on top of the original fortifications. Along it, public buildings including the State Opera House, Parliament Building, Palace of Justice, the University, Town Hall, Art Museum, amongst others, were constructed. Spatial provisions were also made for parks and formal gardens. Although a different shape, it formed a magnificent civic centre that Howe likened to those in Köln, Bremen, and Frankfurt. Located in the core of a growing city, it both inspired and organized the “official and recreative [*sic*] life of the city.” Moreover, the plan was established with a “far-sighted business intelligence and ... utmost concern for harmony.” The city, for example, had retained the rights to the land until it was perfected. Vienna “was able to carry forward a colossal planning project” without incurring significant debt, and ensure development was carried out “in the interest of the whole community.” The result was “one of the most beautiful cities in the world,” whose splendor vied with Paris.<sup>156</sup>

For all the energy and attention Howe dedicated to beautification and municipal administration, particularly the democratic promise offered by both approaches to reform, he was never truly convinced of women’s suffrage until much later in life. Ironically his wife, Marie Jenney Howe, was a well-established and outspoken advocate in Iowa before she met Fred. His ambitions and preference for a domestically-oriented wife, however, prevailed until Marie founded Heterodoxy in Greenwich Village in 1912.<sup>157</sup> This is not to say that all women, even immigrant women, shared Howe’s traditional views. As early as the late 1890s, Polish women

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<sup>155</sup> On Budapest, see: Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 34-35.

<sup>156</sup> Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 15, 22, 31-34.

<sup>157</sup> Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 88-91, 166-168; Howe, *Confessions*, 234.

began to organize for suffrage in America. And in 1902, the women representing four leading Polonia organizations established the Polish Women's Alliance in America (PWA), to strengthen their efforts. Although its founders were perhaps atypical immigrant women, well-educated with profitable careers, they successfully created a sense of enthusiasm amongst Polish women, despite the heavy demands of housekeeping and work, and the resistance of their male relations as well as more traditionally-inclined immigrant women.<sup>158</sup>

Cleveland's leading suffragists were white, well educated, middle- and upper-class women that included Elizabeth Leopold Baker, wife of Newton D. Baker, and Belle Sherwin, whose father had founded the Sherwin Williams Paint Company. Yet, they were politically savvy enough to know the importance of campaigning amongst working-class immigrant women (perhaps due to the efforts of national organizations like the PWA), and distributed leaflets, spoke in local shops and factories, and enlisted workers to march in suffrage parades. Although a 1912 referendum to amend the Ohio constitution, changing the definition of voter from "white male" to "every citizen," was defeated, the combined efforts of leading American women in Cleveland and national ethnic organizations had energized local Hungarian, Polish, and Italian women. Writing to *Głos Polek*, the PWA weekly newsletter in 1913, one Polish woman of Cleveland poignantly captured at least one reason why political rights had become so important.

An acquaintance of mine ... complained a lot for a lack of time. I had so much work, she was telling me, that I didn't have a moment for myself, I'd no time for reading, for thinking, no time to entertain myself, even go to church and to pray on Sunday. Sometimes I needed so much a moment of rest but there is so much work and the work which never ends that any rest wouldn't be possible ... She has a couple of children, mainly smaller and older, but there is not much help from them in the house, because the older ones go to school and the younger ones can't work and need continuous care themselves. She sews herself, does laundry and cooks, cleans the apartment herself,

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<sup>158</sup> David C. Hammack, "Central Europeans in Cleveland, 1850-1930," in *Identity, Conflict, and Cooperation*, ed. Hammack, Grabowski, and Grabowski, 36; Adam Walaszek, "The Polish Women's Alliance in America: Between Feminism and Patriotism-Immigrants and Their Children in the USA, 1898-1930," in *Ethnic Fraternalism in Immigrant Communities*, ed. Matjaž Klemenčič (Maribor: University of Maribor, 1994), 199-200.

finally she takes care of all house businesses. Many of our women are in a similar position, one may say that all of us live in such conditions, only very few can manage differently. If, however house work would absorb us exclusively and totally what would happen to our community after some years? If everyone would think only about himself and would only care about his own comfort, we would disappear in Americanism and there would be no trace of us ... Polish women don't support a matter so important for today and for the future as the problem of women's equal rights.<sup>159</sup>

Late in August that same year, women from an Italian ward registered to vote in an upcoming special election for lesser municipal offices in “remarkable” numbers: forty-one women to thirty-seven men. The following month, Hungarian women gathered at The Hollenden, a prominent hotel on Public Square, to hear the Hungarian pacifist and feminist Rosika Schwimmer speak about the importance of women's enfranchisement. Then a few weeks later on October 4<sup>th</sup>, approximately ten thousand women, representing at least eight different machining companies and at least a “dozen nationalities,” including Hungary, Poland, and Italy, were dressed in the same white outfit with a yellow rose pinned to their shoulder and paraded in a long column down Euclid Avenue. As they streamed past, crowds cheered and cynics were silenced. The women failed to convince Ohio's enfranchised male citizens, however. The 1914 referendum was lost by an even wider margin than in 1912.<sup>160</sup>

Not all suffragists were as liberal-minded as Mrs. Newton and Miss. Sherwin. There was a pervasive resistance to enfranchising individuals that were not native-born Americans.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Translated quote taken from Walaszek, “The Polish Women's Alliance in America,” 199-200.

<sup>160</sup> “Women at Booths Surprise Officers,” *Plain Dealer*, August 31, 1913, 7; “Will Talk Votes at Four Meetings,” *Plain Dealer*, September 22, 1914, 10; “Crowds Applaud Women in Pageant for Ballot,” *Plain Dealer*, October 4, 1913, 1; Marion Morton, “How Cleveland Women Got the Vote—and What They Did With It,” *Teaching Cleveland*, [www.teachingcleveland.org](http://www.teachingcleveland.org) (accessed December 11, 2013). Originally, Hungarian women had planned to wear “the costumes of their motherland,” but decided to dress in white after the outbreak of World War One. “Will Address Nurses,” *Plain Dealer*, September 25, 1914, 25.

<sup>161</sup> On resistance to enfranchising immigrants, including women, see: Louise Michele Newman, “The Making of a White Female Citizenry: Suffragism, Antisuffragism, and Race,” in *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 2; Ellen Carol DuBois, “Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909,” *The Journal of American History* 74, 1 (1997): 36-40; Edwin L. Godkin, *Problems of Modern Democracy: Political and Economic Essays*, ed. Morton Keller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 126-134; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 214.

Despite such nativism, or perhaps because of it, immigrant women in Chicago and New York embraced suffrage, even when the idea was new to them. In Illinois, for example, a bill was passed in the spring of 1913 that gave women the right to vote in presidential elections and in some municipal, county, and state elections. The following spring, Grace and Edith Abbott worked hard “to get the women in the neighborhood intelligent about their right to vote and trying to get them to register and vote in the April primaries.” Most of the immigrant women of the Near West Side that they spoke with were pleased to hear they could now vote, and often asked rhetorically “do you really mean I can vote just like a man?” Yet the immigrant men Edith and Grace encountered were sometimes “scornful and ... disagreeable,” saying “you’re not going to vote!” in a “noisy, threatening voice” to his wife before turning to the sisters to argue that he would never “have [his] wife going out to a rough place like the polls to vote.” Sometimes, they could convince husbands by explaining that at Hull-House there would be a voting station and Jane Addams would be serving as an election officer.<sup>162</sup>

In New York City, vigorous and inclusive campaigns to enfranchise women, including immigrant women, had begun earlier than in either Chicago or Cleveland, indeed as early as 1907. Previously, local suffrage efforts had been dominated by conservative upper-class women who limited their campaigns to one another’s parlors. When a younger generation of women returned to New York in the early 1900s, women like Harriot Eaton Stanton, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who believed more in women’s economic rights than their virtuous morality, there began a significant resurgence of activity and many new organizations appeared with increased support. Inspired by British suffragettes’ militancy and Fabianism, Blatch established the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women and recruited Jewish working-class women from neighbourhoods like the Lower East Side by ensuring League membership was

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<sup>162</sup> E. Abbott, “Votes for Women in Illinois,” Box 91, Folder 4, EGAP.

open to any self-supporting woman, working-class or professional. At the first meeting, held at Cooper Union in April of 1907, the turnout was a substantial, enthusiastic “undulating mass.” Within two years, over one thousand women had joined. At about the same time, the National Progressive Women’s Suffrage Union was established and once again its primary members were Jewish women, from either the Lower East Side or Harlem. Because the Union went to “the people direct, in the streets, on the highways and byways,” which shocked the established suffrage organizations, they were the first suffragists to host open-air meetings, which attracted crowds numbering in the thousands, to attempt a foot parade, and, most importantly, to approach the urban working class in public leisure spaces and while men and women travelled home from work. Undeterred, they even demonstrated outside of factories and formed alliances with workers on union and labour issues. In November of 1909, for example, they addressed a meeting of striking necktie workers and subsequently addressed the workers’ union, where at least forty Jewish women reportedly left with suffragette buttons.<sup>163</sup>

Inspired by the enthusiasm of working class Jewish women, Lavinia Dock, a nurse at Henry Street House, and Elizabeth Freeman organized the Wage Earner’s League in 1911. Once again, it was immigrant women from the Lower East Side, most of who worked as shirtwaist makers, bookbinders or gold leaf layers, who showed the most interest in realizing their political rights. When meetings were held in the pro-suffrage sections of the Lower East Side, women “literally packed the halls” and “many more would have entered if it had been possible.” Subsequently, the Political Equality League (PEL) was established in 1909 by Alva Belmont, a wealthy New York socialite who dedicated her time and money to suffrage. Within two years, eleven branches of the PEL had been established and were being used to reach the working-class

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<sup>163</sup> Elinor Lerner, “Jewish Involvement in New York City Woman Suffrage Movement,” *American Jewish History* 70, 4 (1981): 444-447.

immigrants and African-Americans of New York City. And Belmont's efforts were not in vain, "an army of tenement mothers and working women marched with [her]" in suffrage parades.<sup>164</sup> Much like Belle Sherwin and the Abbott sisters, the women in New York City who organized suffrage campaigns amongst the immigrant working-classes were native-born Americans, well-educated, and at least middle-class. Consistently, immigrant women in these major industrial cities embraced the opportunity to express themselves politically. So enthusiastic were Jewish women in south Manhattan, that the monthly calendar published by the Women's Suffrage Party in its journal, the *Woman Voter*, was dominated by upcoming events and activities occurring within Jewish neighbourhoods on the Lower East Side.<sup>165</sup> Many Jewish immigrants had come to America looking for independence and personal autonomy, and a number of these women had participated in different labour and political movements in Europe before leaving for the U.S. As one woman clearly argued, "I want something more than work and more than money. I want freedom."<sup>166</sup>

Given Howe's close ties to Baker and Sherwin as well as women's suffrage in the Mid-West, and his intentional efforts to stay abreast of political news in the United States and political reform in Europe, it seems unlikely he was unaware of women's efforts in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York City to obtain the right to vote, and women's participation in various movements in Europe. No matter how articulate, well organized, inclusive, or united was a campaign, Howe's vision of a reformed society and reclaimed democracy remained tethered to male experts with a European connection and who expressed a certain devotion to the public interest.

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid, quotes taken from 447.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 449.

<sup>166</sup> Elinor Lerner, "Immigrant and Working Class Involvement in the New York City Woman Suffrage Movement, 1905-1917: A Study in Progressive Era Politics" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 149.

## Conclusion

Municipal ownership in Glasgow and German cities, Düsseldorf in particular, and the attention paid in Germany to beautified public spaces remained at the core of Howe's transnational urban experiences. By the time *European Cities at Work* was published in 1913, he was arguing that Americans cities had awakened. The playground movement, commission government, public ownership of public-service corporations, and, most importantly, comprehensive planning and building of cities had pervaded urban reform culture and changed residents' lived realities. In Cleveland, partnerships between the Chamber of Commerce and Mayor Johnson's cabinet had rendered the city a pioneer in urban reform movements. Yet America still lagged behind Europe. If cities like Cleveland had recently joined a long-established and rapidly expanding international movement aimed at reaching higher levels of urban civilization, this movement had been transcending European national boundaries for a longer period and, at Howe's time of writing, it was happening faster. The problem in the U.S., he explained, was that traditions of capitalism and individualism kept enlightened businessmen and professionals from taking political office. This context made it difficult for most men to comprehend how thinking "in big community terms" would be to their benefit. But Johnson, as an enlightened businessman who wanted to democratize economic opportunity, and the City Beautiful architects, as cosmopolitan public-spirited professionals built visions of the whole urban system, energized Howe. After defending the Group Plan in the early 1900s, he began traveling to and writing about reform movements first in Glasgow, then in Germany, and then in different cities across Europe. By the eve of the First World War, his writings suggest that a contemporaneous and vibrant international reform movement existed. Men like Howe were bringing America into this network of public-spirited expert men, either professionals or businessmen. A driving force behind this movement, not to

mention Howe's desire to remain in Europe studying municipal administration and architecture, was the generous, prominent, educated, and cosmopolitan male leader who willingly gave up his previous positions to commit himself to building a community. These men understood the long-term economic, political, and social benefits for a city when it was orderly, efficient and helpful. Best embodied by the German mayors, they created business-like bureaucracies that facilitated municipalisation; offered residents educational, cultural, and health services; initiated city beautification that encouraged civic pride; and provided stable employment that tied their personal and familial prosperity to the overall wellbeing of the city.

Several years later, Howe romantically recalled traveling "all over Germany with the Labor members of the British Parliament, who fraternized freely and cordially with German Socialists and Labor members. They spent weeks in Germany, and the only suggestion of nationalism was the difference in speech."<sup>167</sup> Appearing in a special issue of *The Survey* dedicated to peaceful reconstruction after the war, his primary intention was to protest investment capitalism. But the article makes it clear that he believed and participated in an international community before the war. Much like Hamilton and Abbott, he would be shocked when the violence erupted, and would remain opposed to American participation. Although his admiration of Germany was increasingly ambiguous, he struggled to accept waging war against a nation that had pioneered important urban and social reform.<sup>168</sup> Compared to Hamilton and Abbott, however, Howe's most poignant experiences leading up to 1914 happened abroad. If Cleveland's cosmopolitan Group Plan and its public-spirited professional male leaders inspired him to travel and study overseas, it was in Glasgow, Düsseldorf, and Vienna that he grew to believe in transnational social movements and international networks as the basis of something

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<sup>167</sup> Howe, "Reservoirs of Strife: The Distribution of Wealth in Relation to the Invisible Causes of War," *The Survey* 33 (March 6, 1915): 615.

<sup>168</sup> Robert Hartje, "Introduction," *Why War* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1972), 9-11, especially 10.

that might transcend the class conflict that was tearing American urban society apart. Residing at Hull-House, learning from and collaborating with immigrants, meanwhile, led Alice and Grace to imagine how everyday people bound intimate domestic spaces together in a larger community.

As collegial and congenial as the urban internationale may have been, Howe's publications suggest any community he perceived was limited to educated male professionals. While Howe was touring in Scotland and Germany, Alice and Grace remained at Hull-House, working to comprehend the socio-cultural changes immigration had caused and would require. In the process, they forged novel public identities as settlement workers that were oriented beyond the nation-state. Their knowledge of the emerging cultural and social connections between Europe and America formed the basis for an internationalism that was inclusive, dynamic, and diverse. Rather than class or gender, they emphasized their "fellow man." The gendered urban experiences of two women and one man had left them with rather different ideas of peaceful internationalism. But what effect would the war have on their respective opinions? Would the mob-psychology of wartime nationalism, which absolved creative thinking, nullify their divergent transnational experiences? Or would questions surrounding peaceful reconstruction illuminate even further the differences in their perceptions of America's international position and responsibility in an emergent new world order?

## CHAPTER FIVE

### From Chicago to Zürich: Practising Pacifist Internationalism

*Later on, when we were taken around by one of the leading philanthropists of Berlin we saw how work has been provided for those who need it, for the women especially. I had a curious sensation on that expedition of having seen and heard it all before; and then I remembered that just a little while ago in Brussels I had seen gentle Belgian ladies organizing work for the Belgian poor in exactly the same way as these gentle German ladies were doing it for the German poor. Both in Paris and London it was the same.<sup>1</sup>*  
— Alice Hamilton, 1915

*Out of a struggle, in which consideration ... of the oppressed has had no part, there can come only more hatred and further injustice, unless international sympathy finds organized expression.<sup>2</sup>*  
— Grace Abbott, January 1915

The First World War fractured, if not altogether severed, the loose ties that bound Progressives into a reform movement.<sup>3</sup> John Dewey and George Herbert Mead famously argued intervention

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<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, "At the War Capitals," in Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, and Alice Hamilton, *Women at The Hague: the International Congress and its Results*, ed. Marilyn Fischer and Judy D. Whipps (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), 16.

<sup>2</sup> G. Abbott, "Report of the Director," *IPL Report*, January 1, 1915, 23.

<sup>3</sup> McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, 281-288; Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (1959; repr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 361-386; Painter, "The European War Takes Over," in *Standing at Armageddon*, chapter 11. Historians debate when and why Progressivism began to decline. Wiebe offers an interesting counter-argument to May and Painter, amongst others. War-time patriotism reflected a wide-spread desire to discipline American society, and the war-time preparations made by Wilson's administration demonstrate that society was already re-ordered. Moreover, as bureaucracy swelled under New Freedom legislation, reformers became government employees. The Progressive impulse(s) was shifting away from re-organizing society, for its overall improvement, toward maintaining a new status quo. If the war accelerated the culmination of Progressivism, it also made it irrelevant. Although McGerr argues American participation and Progressives needed one another, which helped to divide reformers, a cultural return to individualism and pleasure was emerging that undermined Progressivism as it allowed the middle-classes to shirk collective responsibilities. It had been inspired by technology, new forms of commercial culture, and, ironically, such economic reforms as the 8 hour work day. Despite this, some Progressives saw increasing consumption as a way to continue pushing labour legislation. Taking a slightly different approach, Stromquist points to the labour unrest of 1909 as it dampened aspirations for a collective social democracy, causing a slow dissipation of reformers' energy. It was over before the War began. Wiebe, *A Search for Order*, 286-296. McGerr, "The Promise of Liberation" and "The Pursuit of Pleasure" in *A Fierce Discontent*, chapters 7 and 8. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The White Label Campaign of the National Consumers' League, 1898-1919," in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judd (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 17-36. Stromquist, "Class Wars and the Crisis of Progressivism," in *Reinventing "The People,"* chapter 7.

would remake the nation and the world along democratic lines.<sup>4</sup> Others disagreed. Jane Addams' Hull-House experiences and pragmatist faith in international fellowship made envisioning the "regenerative results of war" impossible.<sup>5</sup> Certain Progressives feared it would subvert President Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at home, which had seemingly enshrined elements of social justice in federal policy.<sup>6</sup>

Rich trans-Atlantic ties were also endangered by war. As we have seen, Fred Howe, Grace Abbott, and Alice Hamilton were among the thousands of American intellectuals, journalists, social workers, and reformers who studied and toured European cities around the turn of the century, and had constructed lasting relationships with Europeans citizens. Into the 1910s, Howe continued his enthusiastic tours of Scottish and German cities, honing his expertise in architecture, public improvements, and governance. In Chicago, meanwhile, Hamilton and Abbott interacted with diverse immigrant cultures under the shadow of Congressional investigations into immigration restriction. This allowed Hamilton to realize that alternative cultural practices could be commonsensical, and Abbott to recognize the importance of understanding the immigrant experience and disseminating this knowledge. By trying to improve immigrants' lives, they both moved toward a form of cultural pluralism, and toward

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<sup>4</sup> John Dewey and Randolph Bourne famously sparred over this issue. Robert Westbrook, "Pragmatism and War," in *Pragmatism, Nation, and Race: Community in the Age of Empire*, ed. Chad Kautzer and Eduardo Mendieta (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 242-245; James Livingston, "War and the Intellectuals: Bourne, Dewey, and the Fate of Pragmatism," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 2, 4 (2003): 431-450. John Dewey, "The Future of Pacifism," in *The Middle Works: Essays on Philosophy and Education, 1916-1917*, Vol. 10, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 265-270, especially 266. On Mead's support for the war, see: Mary Jo Deegan, *Self, War and Society: George Herbert Mead's Macrosociology* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2008), especially 35-43, 155-159.

<sup>5</sup> Harriet Hyman Alonso, "Jane Addams: Thinking and Acting Locally and Globally," *Journal of Women's History* 16, 1 (2004): 148-164; Sarvasy, "A Global 'Common Table,'" and Fischer, "The Conceptual Scaffolding of *Newer Ideals of Peace*," 183-202, 165-182; Marilyn Fischer, "Cracks in the Inexorable: Bourne and Addams on Pacifists during Wartime," *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society* 46, 2 (2011): 283; Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 75-76.

<sup>6</sup> Lewis Gould, *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of Modern American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 163-168; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 56-58.

understanding Chicago as a node within networks of personal and cultural relations that bound diverse nations together. When the European war broke in the summer of 1914, and “everywhere [they] mouthed phrases of horror and disbelief,” they used their experiential knowledge of transnationalism to maintain, if not rebuild, an inclusive internationalism that promoted universal well-being and freedom, which would soon be known as self-determination.<sup>7</sup>

Their approach to peace was informed, at least partially, by pragmatism and feminism. Not only was Hamilton associated with both Dewey and Mead, and Abbott with the latter, but as Virginia Robinson explained, “pragmatism [was] in the air and everybody start[ed] with it as a basis.”<sup>8</sup> While it is difficult to determine which philosophical principles these women adopted and applied, certainly they resisted the standard bifurcations of immoral/moral, American/un-American, honourable/evil, that had informed genteel America. This meant both Hamilton and Abbott maintained an open-mindedness in new social circumstances, acquired knowledge through human cross-cultural interaction, and, as activist-academics, believed in applied scientific theory that actually helped their “fellow man.”<sup>9</sup>

In theory, pragmatists like Mead shared their feminist ideals. They were against oppression, and worked to undo the societal conditions and long-standing “truths” about the male

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<sup>7</sup> On Progressives’ shock in 1914, see: Dawley, *Changing the World*, 35-39; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 273-279. On shock amongst female pacifists in America, see: David S. Patterson, *The Search for Negotiated Peace: Women’s Activism and Citizen Diplomacy in World War I* (London: Routledge, 2007), 21; Carrie A. Foster, *The Women and the Warriors: The U.S. Section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1946* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 10. On liberal internationalism amongst the WPP and WILPF, includes: Catia Cecilia Confortini, “Feminist Peace,” in *Intelligent Compassion: Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 1; Linda K. Schott, *Reconstructing Women’s Thoughts: the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom before World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 61-68, especially 64-66.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson quoted in Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 67. On Hamilton, see: Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 126, 205; Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 87-88. Mead was first vice-president of the IPL from 1908 to 1918, and worked with Sophonsiba Breackinridge, her former advisor, and her sister Edith on social surveys sponsored by the University of Chicago Settlement. *IPL Annual Reports*, vols. 1-9. Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 211, 45.

<sup>9</sup> Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*; Livingston, *Pragmatism, Feminism, and Democracy*, 7-12; idem, “War and the Intellectuals,” 435-436.

character that caused it. Ideally, an inclusive society would recognize divergent expressions of self-hood, where identity was a function of interdependence, association, and an ever shifting social-consciousness.<sup>10</sup> That said, no one advocated radical feminist tenets including women's sexual expression, the pursuit of male-female psychological intimacy, and cooperative housing for married professional women.<sup>11</sup> Horace Kallen's idea that democracy should allow for an atomistic diversity was not popular amongst Hamilton, Abbott, Jane Addams, Mead or Dewey either. As Everett Helmut Akam argues, progressive-pragmatists tried to reconcile community with diversity in ways that proved especially difficult to sustain during wartime.<sup>12</sup> In the immigrant-dominated 19<sup>th</sup> ward, being members of its public sphere taught both Hamilton and Abbott that it was necessary for native- and foreign-born to assimilate to one another, as Randolph Bourne and John Dewey believed, rather than force a "cultural Anglo-Saxondom."<sup>13</sup>

It was clear to Hamilton and Abbott that the war posed in much more stark terms how difficult it was in practice to sustain the personal and cultural ties that had increasingly been binding Europe and America. If any sort of peaceful international order was to be restored after the war, Hamilton and Abbott came to believe, while the U.S. was still neutral, that they needed to see war-torn Europe "for themselves." Their travels revealed for both women the need to

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<sup>10</sup> Aboulafia, "Was Mead a Feminist?" 146-147, 156-157; Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 209-211; Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, especially 265-277; Livingston, *Pragmatism, Feminism, and Democracy*, 9-10; idem, "War and the Intellectuals," 436-437; Clara Fischer, "Consciousness and Conscience: Feminism, Pragmatism, and the Potential for Radical Change," *Studies in Social Justice* 4, 1 (2010): 67-85.

<sup>11</sup> In the 1910s when Americans began to use the terms "feminism" and "feminist" to describe women's agency, exactly what this meant and how it should be achieved were interpreted widely. Following work done by other historians, sexual freedom and the reconfiguration of domestic gender roles are here considered radical. Gerald W. MacFarland, *Inside Greenwich Village: A New York City Neighborhood, 1898-1918* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 199-201; Hayden, "Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Her Influence," in *Grand Domestic Revolution*, part 5. On the more conservative strains in Hamilton's feminism, see: Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 2-3. On Abbott's feminism, including its influence over her reform initiatives, see: Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*.

<sup>12</sup> Kallen, "Democracy versus the Melting-Pot," 59-117, especially 116-117. Akam, "'Transnational America' versus the Melting Pot," in *Transnational America*, chapter two.

<sup>13</sup> John Dewey quoted in Akam, *Transnational America*, 77. See chapter 3. On Abbott more specifically, see also: Gonzalez, "Complicating Citizenship," 56-75; Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, 88-91; Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People,"* 138-139.

adapt and rebuild the transnationalism they had witnessed in Chicago. Beginning with the summer of 1914, this chapter considers this process by examining Hamilton's and Abbott's actions both in the U.S. and abroad. Their shock suggests that in Chicago they had come to believe inclusive networks had replaced Old World bifurcations. When they returned from the International Congress of Women in The Hague in 1915, where women had created an important transnational organization, their pacifism was strengthened; yet neither Hamilton nor Abbott knew how to overcome "objective truths" that Germany was evil and Germans were enemies. Hamilton grew increasingly skeptical and cynical toward domestic nativism, while Abbott organized new opportunities for dialogue between immigrants, and wrote about her experience. Once the armistice was signed in 1918, both women returned to Europe—Abbott on behalf of the Children's Bureau, and to help establish the International Labour Organization, and Hamilton to attend the follow-up women's Congress in Zürich in the spring of 1919. If Randolph Bourne was right to argue that war-time nationalist mob-psychology rendered pragmatism impossible, their feminist disposition made trying to acquire knowledge about post-war Europe, nation-state interconnectedness, and international unity ever more urgent.

### **1914: Shattered Pacifism and Pluralism**

The outbreak of war caught Alice Hamilton by surprise. That same year, the United States Department of Labour had asked her to attend the International Congress for Occupational Diseases in Vienna in mid-August. After accepting "with much alacrity," she and another colleague created a list of places they wished to visit after the proceedings had ended. Many were in Germany: rubber factories in Leipzig, the model towns of Essen and Solingen, and centres of lead work both there and in England. She was even "confident that nothing would

interfere with [their] plans” to travel between Italy, Germany, and England. Quite strongly this suggests “how remote, how unbelievable, a European war then seemed.”<sup>14</sup>

Amongst professionals and academics in the U.S., international conferences had become so commonplace that modern science had created a new world-spirit on the basis of collaborative research, however informal.<sup>15</sup> Hamilton’s professional associations made it that much more difficult to predict that in Montréal, Québec, marching crowds would be singing “God Save the King” and “Marseillaise,” and that most passengers aboard the *Anchor Line* would be Canadian volunteers heading for Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Hull-House also had a powerful effect on Hamilton’s personal position. Writing many years later, she recounted how such naivety

was especially true of those who lived in settlements for we saw emigrants from countries in Europe which had bitter, centuries-old feuds living side by side in harmony. Croats and Austrians, Greeks and Bulgars, Poles and Germans seemed to leave their antagonism behind when they reached these shores and certainly their children felt none of it in school and in our social clubs. We could not help believing that in the old countries also these hatreds were dying down.<sup>17</sup>

After managing the Well-Baby clinic, attending the Yiddish theatre, and spending many hours in the parlor watching groups of Europeans come and go, Hamilton had become accustomed to a

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<sup>14</sup> She traveled with Katherine Ludington, a wealthy socialite from an old Connecticut family. During the 1910s, Ludington was elected president of the Connecticut Women’s Suffrage Association and worked tirelessly for suffrage, often using her wealth and connections in support of the cause. Later, she was active in the League of Women Voters and the United Nations Association. Carole Nichols, *Votes and More for Women: Suffrage and After in Connecticut* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 19. On their travel plans, see: Hamilton, *ETDT*, 137. Alice also traveled abroad for professional reasons in 1911. Deegan, *Addams and the Chicago School*, 87-88.

<sup>15</sup> R.A. Millikan, “Conrad Röntgen,” *Science* 41,1056 (1915): 462- 463; C.C. Eckhardt, “The Old Internationalism and the New League of Nations,” *The Scientific Monthly* 8, 5 (1919): 337-441; Martin H. Geyer, “One Language for the World: The Metric System, International Coinage, Gold Standard, and the Rise of Internationalism, 1850-1900,” and Madeleine Herren, “Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteen Century,” in *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, ed. Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 55-92, 121-144.

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 138. At this time, the tensions were mounting in Eastern Europe. Within a week, Austria-Hungary would declare war on Serbia; Germany would declare war on Russia and France, and then invade Belgium; and Britain would declare war on Germany.

<sup>17</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 137-138.

heterogeneous society where individuals of different national, religious, and ethnic backgrounds learned to live alongside one another. By providing a public place unassociated with a particular group or political agenda, Hull-House offered immigrants the opportunity to go through a process of resocialization, during which they learned how to associate with diverse groups (including native-born Americans), as they modified their own traditional cultures to accommodate novel domestic ones in Chicago. But this did not require Americanization. Immigrants could successfully live in American society if both native- and foreign-born residents accommodated one another's specific circumstances, background and cultural practices. Hamilton, who had learned to anoint babies with oil and accept bacon and cupcakes as appropriate snacks, satisfied Italian women's religious beliefs and lived reality in order to help care for their young children and satisfy her own standards of domesticity, public health, and hygiene. Collaboration, open-mindedness, and a concern for the well-being of all individuals had provided the foundations for social cohesion in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. And the easy affinities between scientists in America and Europe strengthened her assumptions that interconnectedness and cohesion characterized global systems. Until war erupted, that is.

If Grace Abbott was less forthcoming about her reactions during the summer of 1914 evidence suggests she was nonetheless bewildered. After her first cases, she was inspired by immigrants' strength of character and sense of loyalty to their fellow neighbors. Shortly thereafter, she even explained to her mother her optimism regarding peaceful co-existence between the world's nation-states.<sup>18</sup> This optimism was shattered in August 1914. The IPL was subsequently flooded with requests for assistance. This included helping individuals to find family members and significant others en route to America when war erupted; to send money to

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<sup>18</sup> Gonzalez, "Immigrants in Our Midst," 311. E. Abbott, Box 90, Folder, 3, EGAP. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 53.

family and friends living in Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania; or to locate family members that had been displaced. To address such “absurd and needless suffering” on both sides of the Atlantic, they increased the help they offered to immigrants.<sup>19</sup> Despite having lost the financial support of twenty individuals and ten organizations, they hired an additional staff member to help ease the work load, allowing other staff to continue focusing on immigrants’ housing and employment needs.<sup>20</sup>

Abbott’s commitment during those early months reveals her sense that cities like Chicago were bound within transnational networks underwritten by intimate ties. In the IPL report for the year 1914, she stated clearly that “the human relationships and community of ideals which [came] with immigration, although little recognized, have a much more important bearing on the destiny of Europe and the United States” than commercial relationships. The flood of cases the IPL received in the summer and fall of 1914 illustrated how deeply entangled Chicago had become in the world. Even before she attended the Congress at The Hague, Grace argued that “out of a struggle in which consideration of the wrongs of the oppressed has had no part there can come only more hatred and further injustice, unless international sympathy finds organized expression.”<sup>21</sup> To that end, she took comfort knowing that the IPL

was organized not only to serve all nationalities and all creeds, but to try to break down the forms in which racial injustice so frequently appear in the United States. All the members of the League have in a sense subscribed to the doctrine of Garrison that “our countrymen are all mankind,” and personally, I feel grateful that because of immigration

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<sup>19</sup> G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 21-23, quote taken from 22; idem, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 267-278; E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP.

<sup>20</sup> Breckinridge, “Report of the Secretary,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1916, 5-6; G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1916, 10, 12. In 1915, 796 girls were visited, only 106 of which had arrived during that year. In 1914, 2144 girls were visited, suggesting the immediate effect WWI had on immigration. G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 7.

<sup>21</sup> G. Abbott, “Report of the Director,” *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 21, 23. See also: G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 267.

this is so literally true [and] American opportunity for world service is for this reason unique.<sup>22</sup>

As historians Jeanne Petit and Suronda Gonzalez have argued, Abbott believed immigrant men and women could offer significant contributions to domestic economics, politics, and the community without having to sacrifice their European traditions. But the success of these individuals and their children in an inclusive, democratic society required government protection from the exploitation and oppression caused by anti-immigrant biases.<sup>23</sup> Certain reformers had argued for a homogeneous middle-class society; Abbott did not believe this was a necessary precondition for social harmony. During the war, however, as American nativism gained strength Abbott's position became increasingly controversial. How could she press cultural pluralism when domestic, European, and international circumstances were changing so rapidly? Would pragmatist-feminist principles of open-mindedness, lived reality, and helping others regardless of their background help either her or Hamilton to salvage or re-establish transnational networks?

### **Learning Pacifist Internationalism**

When war broke in Europe, women active in political reform, suffrage in particular, were slow to establish a national pacifist organization and an agenda. As Leila Rupp points out, the International Council of Women and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance stopped their activities, meetings and congresses.<sup>24</sup> Women who had been active in international organizations

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<sup>22</sup> G. Abbott, "Report of the Director," *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1915, 23. The reference Grace makes is to William Lloyd Garrison's "Declaration of Sentiments Adopted by the Peace Convention" that was prepared for the Boston Peace Convention, September 18, 1838. The quote in full is: "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury."

<sup>23</sup> Petit, *Men and Women We Want*, especially 53-56; Gonzalez, "Complicating Citizenship," 56-75.

<sup>24</sup> Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 26. The International Council of Women was the first women's organization to work across nation-state borders to collectively advocate for women's human rights. It was established in April of 1888 at a meeting in Washington, D.C. Founded in Berlin in 1904 by Carrie Chapman Catt and Millicent Fawcett, the

were suddenly cut off from any sort of community or avenue for activism. The first protest did not happen until the Peace Parade on August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1914, an event organized by Lillian Wald and Fanny Villard. About 1200 women, including Frederic Howe's wife Marie Jenney and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, dressed in either black or white clothing with a black armband, marched along 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue in New York. They were silent except for the beat of muffled drums. Wald, careful not to embarrass President Wilson, prohibited speeches or banners promoting a partisan peace, provided he endorsed the demonstration, which he cautiously did. Apart from a general anti-war message, the protest did not propose any specific objectives.<sup>25</sup> Inspired by Wald's political savvy, Paul Kellogg, editor of *The Survey*, along with Addams, asked that the Henry Street House serve as a meeting place for pacifists, giving them a place to determine their position and aspired outcome.<sup>26</sup> At the first two meetings, held in September 1914 and January 1915, an impressive collection of left and liberal-left Progressives met to debate what course of action Wilson might follow and how they could lobby for peace. Along with Wald, Addams, and Kellogg, Emily G. Balch, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, Felix Adler, Hamilton Holt and Frederic Howe attended.<sup>27</sup>

At this point, Wilson had not decided what position America would take. Colonel Edward M. House, his personal emissary, was sent to Europe to meet with English, French and

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International Woman Suffrage Alliance was also an international organization that promoted women's rights, but focused more exclusively on enfranchisement.

<sup>25</sup> Patterson, *Search for a Negotiated Peace*, 25-28; Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 56-57.

<sup>26</sup> Patterson, *Search for a Negotiated Peace*, 27.

<sup>27</sup> Felix Adler was a German-American professor of political and social ethics at Columbia University, active in tenement house reform and founder of the Ethical Culture movement. Hamilton Holt promoted prohibition, immigrants' rights, international peace (with the League to Enforce Peace), and was a founding member of the National Association for American Colored People (NAACP). The meetings they attended at Henry Street House resulted in the establishment of the Anti-Preparedness Committee, which was renamed the American Union Against Militarism in April, 1916. Howe was invited to join the AUAM, but his name disappeared from the record after the second meeting. His political activities during the war will be discussed in detail in chapter 6. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 248-249. On those who attended the first meetings at Henry Street, see: C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 225-226.

German leaders. In the meantime, the President rejected all proposals for peace conferences. Frustrated with the government's foot-dragging, Rosika Schwimmer and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Hungarian and British pacifists respectively, coordinated a lecture tour promoting the idea of international mediation led by the United States. Their tour went as far west as Milwaukee and as far south as Nashville.<sup>28</sup>

Addams, watching carefully from Chicago, was eventually convinced by Schwimmer to organize a mass meeting of women dedicated to peace in Washington, D.C. Held January 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>, 1915, it drew approximately 3,000 women from around the country, mostly suffragists representing established temperance societies and teachers' associations, and organizations including the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's League of the Socialist Party, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to the federal capital. Settlement workers, women like Hamilton and Abbott, were also well-represented. Despite their differences, these women maintained throughout the conference that international life required eliminating war, as the European conflict was incompatible with the interests of feminists and humanitarians. Implicit within this position was the idea that peace and freedom from oppression were inseparable; suffrage was essential for peace.<sup>29</sup> As leading Hull-House residents who supported pacifist

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<sup>28</sup> Patterson, *Search for a Negotiated Peace*, 27-29, 35-46; Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 10-11.

<sup>29</sup> Lela B. Costin, "Feminism, Pacifism, Internationalism and the 1915 International Congress of Women," *Women's Studies International Forum* 5, 3/4 (1982): 306-308; Patterson, *Search for a Negotiated Peace*, 40-47; Alonso, *Peace*, 62; Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 27; Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 11.

The opposite is also true. As Philip N. Cohen argues, white women used the urgency of war to press their own racially exclusive nationalistic political agenda. While Allison Sneider shows how women's efforts to grant suffrage in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, motivated by the idea of global democracy, actually extended and strengthened America's imperial control over these colonies. Historians have also produced less critical assessments of women and their war-time activism. Kimberly Jensen makes the compelling argument that they promoted their political rights by first rejecting men's "natural" martial prowess, especially assumptions that it represented citizenship and nationalism. Subsequently, they pursued civic participation through the military, often as nurses, arguing this defined citizenship. Philip N. Cohen, "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21, 3 (1996): 707-727. Allison Sneider, "Getting Suffrage in an Age of Empire: The Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1914-1929," in *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Women Question, 1870-1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 5. Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

internationalism and equal opportunity for women, Hamilton and Abbott endorsed establishing the Women's Peace Party and its founding resolutions. Amongst them was a call for ongoing conferences of neutral nations, a "'Concert of Nations' to supersede the 'Balance of Power,'" substituting an international police force for national forces, and a commission appointed by the U.S. federal government that would promote peace.<sup>30</sup> If women had been slow to organize initially, by January they were confidently expressing "plans of international reconstruction." While these resolutions conveyed a preference for American-led efforts, they were welcomed by European pacifists, British in particular.<sup>31</sup> Women had, in fact, been pioneering an international consciousness through different peace and suffrage organizations since the late 1800s. The resolutions from the WPP reaffirmed a feminist-pacifist consciousness at a key moment.<sup>32</sup>

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See also: Lynn Dumenil, "Women's Reform Organizations and Wartime Mobilization in World War I-Era Los Angeles," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, 2 (2011): 213-245.

The ways Addams, Balch, Breckinridge, Abbott, Hamilton, amongst others, combined enfranchisement with peace also alienated a significant portion of suffrage activists. Those women who joined the war effort and celebrated their participation in national patriotism, did so at least in part because their political and economic marginality left them especially vulnerable. Moreover, loyalty to the nation-state was a natural response for women who had been socialized as intellectual dependents. Mainstream suffragists recognized, and possibly believed, that disloyalty to the war posed a greater threat to their political rights than the war itself. The women belonging to Addams' circles therefore represented a minority, even as they pressed for suffrage.

<sup>30</sup> Addams was elected Chairman, and Breckinridge, treasurer. Resolutions number 1, 7, 9, 11, "Platform Adopted at Washington, D.C., January 10, 1915," Reel 43, Folder 165, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition.

<sup>31</sup> Marie Louise Degen, *The History of the Women's Peace Party*, intro. Blanche Wiesen Cook (1939; repr., New York: Garland Publishers, 1972), 11. Patterson also points out how the WPP resolutions borrowed from the Union of Democratic Control, a British organization opposed to militarism within government policy, as well as critiques of "old" diplomacy made by international reformers. Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 48.

<sup>32</sup> Leila Rupp, "Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888-1945," *American Historical Review* 99, 5 (1994): 1571-1600, reprinted in Karen Offen, ed., *Globalizing Feminisms, 1789-1945* (London: Routledge, 2010), 139-152; Rupp and Verta Taylor, "Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism," *Signs* 24, 2 (1999): 363-386. Rupp has also examined how limits placed on women's pioneering international activism, mostly by racism and imperialism, led to a "more global internationalism" later in the twentieth century. This is compelling for the suggestions it offers regarding the resonance of women's collective organizing. Rupp, "Challenging Imperialism in International Women's Organizations, 1888-1945," *NWSA Journal* 8, 1 (1996): 8-27.

Scholars of women or peace, or both, have also argued that 1914 caused a shift in women's reform, and in Progressive movements more generally, toward relatively cohesive activity amongst left and liberal-left individuals. Using the Spanish-American War as an example, which Harriet H. Alonso argues did not prompt women to organize, she then shows how the January conference reflected a new organizational trend in women's history. Alonso, *Peace*, 56, 63-64. Marchand delineates how a conservative and elitist peace movement was replaced when anti-war Progressives, women included, were not only politically provoked but given reasons to establish such organizations as the AUAM. Marchand, *Peace Movement and Social Reform*, 240-251. See also: Pamela Paxton,

Although it alienated anti-suffragist pacifists, political enfranchisement was a key issue since many of the women gathered believed that a profound connection existed between freedom and peace.<sup>33</sup> Quite explicitly, resolutions reflected this position by calling for “the further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women” and that both “men *and* women” be included on the commission to advocate for peaceful internationalism.<sup>34</sup> If the platform as a whole helped to revive an international identity for the women gathered, certain resolutions were important for their clear identification of women as biologically and culturally separate but equal. Emphasizing their unique political disposition risked weakening women’s legitimacy within certain political or social circles. Regardless, the platform of the newly established Women’s Peace Party articulated a powerful identity for women.<sup>35</sup> And this may help to explain why Abbott, a long-time suffragist, wanted to travel to Europe with the WPP. The resolutions likely resonated with her commitment to suffrage. Furthermore, her involvement with the IPL, including efforts to politically mobilize immigrant women in municipal elections in 1913, suggests Abbott believed strongly that suffrage, as a step toward freedom, was also necessary for peace.<sup>36</sup>

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Melanie M. Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green, “The International Women’s Movement and Women’s Political Representation, 1893-2003,” *American Sociological Review* 71, 6 (2006): 898-920

<sup>33</sup> Alonso, *Peace*, 63.

<sup>34</sup> Emphasis added. Resolutions number 6, 11, “Platform Adopted at Washington, D.C., January 10, 1915,” Reel 43, Folder 165, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition.

<sup>35</sup> Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 12-14. On the argument that women’s unique social and biological attributes delegitimized their political activism, see: Marchand, “The Maternal Instinct,” in *Peace Movement and Social Reform*, chapter 6; Susan Zeiger, “She Didn’t Raise her Boy to be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War,” *Feminist Studies* 22, 1 (1996): 6-39. Fischer has also argued that Addams used rhetoric of maternalism to make a much different pacifist-feminist agenda seem less threatening. Marilyn Fischer, “Addams’s Internationalist Pacifism and the Rhetoric of Maternalism,” *NWSA Journal* 18, 3 (2006): 1-19. On the regressive effects of maternal thought or war, or both, for women, see: Patrick Wilkinson, “The Selfless and the Helpless: Maternalist Origins of the U.S. Welfare State,” *Feminist Studies* 25, 3 (1999): 571-597; Gwendolyn Mink, *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare States, 1917-1942* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Maurine W. Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States*, rev. ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

<sup>36</sup> On Abbott’s commitment to suffrage, see: E. Abbott, “Votes for Women in Illinois,” Box 91, Folder 4, EGAP; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 41-58.

Hamilton, however, was more skeptical. When she agreed to accompany Addams to the International Congress of Women (ICW) at The Hague that spring, she confessed her decision was made “not on very noble grounds.” She found the delegation of forty-seven women a “chaotic lot of half-informed people, and muddled enthusiasts, and sentimentalists” with only “a few really informed ones.” Some of the activities that most annoyed her were the “poems and impassioned appeals and ‘messages from womankind’ and willingness to die in the cause.” To her, “the whole thing look[ed] absurdly futile.”<sup>37</sup>

As the women crossed the Atlantic, the delegates were able “to meet and study and deliberate together,” “some days ... morning, afternoon, and evening,” and became a coherent group focused on practical politics. By the time land was sighted, they were finalizing their recommendations, including what would be called the “Wisconsin Plan” for “continuous mediation,” authored by Julia Grace Wales. In Rotterdam, Emily Greene Balch, a friend of Addams and Breckinridge, was confident in their delegation and its objective.<sup>38</sup> Hamilton’s opinions, however, had improved only slightly. She felt Addams, as the delegates’ leader, “ha[d] done a good job with not very promising material,” thanks in large part to the assistance provided by Abbott, Breckinridge, and Balch. Regardless, Alice speculated she would “always be a doubting Thomas and a pessimist.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, April 5, 1915, and Hamilton to Mary Rozet Smith, April 22, 1915, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 184-185, 185-186. Other women involved in settlement work were also initially hesitant about the ICW in 1915. Emily G. Balch, founder of Dension House in Boston, described in a letter written for the students of Wellesley College that upon leaving in April “it looked doubtful to [her], as it did to many others, how valuable the meeting could be made.” Emily G. Balch, “Journey and Impressions of the Congress,” in *Women at The Hague*, ed. Fischer and Whipps, 7. The letter from Balch was to the students of Wellesley College, May 5, 1915; it was reprinted in *The Wellesley College News* and in part in *Jus Suffragi*, London.

<sup>38</sup> Balch, “Journey and Impressions,” 8. See also: Gwinn, *Road to Internationalism*, 83. The Wisconsin Plan called for continuous mediation without armistice. Its author, Julia Grace Wales, a Canadian teaching at the University of Wisconsin, also went to The Hague. Other political positions under debate were democratic control of diplomacy, or neutralization of the seas. Hamilton to Smith, April 22, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 185-186.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton to Smith, April 22, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 186. Onboard, Breckinridge and Abbott were in the next cabin to Alice and Addams. Their doors were left open, allowing them to be “very chummy.” Because of

At the Congress, the Americans joined with roughly 1100 women from Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Hungary, amongst other European nations. It was truly an impressive collection of neutral and belligerent individuals during the war, who gathered to protest against their status as *non-citizens*, without political recognition women were subject to decisions made by patriarchal governments. Because of this, most resolutions received unanimous support.<sup>40</sup> This included the statement “that women should be granted equal rights with men,” demanding their political enfranchisement; and that “the right of people to self-government . . . autonomy and a democratic parliament” should be extended to individuals suffering because of political oppression. Most of the other planks recommended ways to develop and maintain peaceful international unity: new curriculum for children’s education, Wales’ idea of “continuous mediation,” a second conference after the war, disarmament, and a lasting postwar “society of nations.”<sup>41</sup>

As with the WPP resolutions, the ICW resolutions were informed by feminist ideals.<sup>42</sup> David Patterson considers the empathy expressed in resolutions protesting the suffering caused by war to be central to feminist language at the time.<sup>43</sup> Linda Schott takes this argument further by arguing that pacifism was inseparable from the delegates’ feminism. Many were dedicated to professional or voluntary activities including settlement work, teaching or nursing, activities that

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this, Alice found she liked Grace “better all the time.” (186) Patterson also notes tensions between the women, caused mostly by class. Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 65

<sup>40</sup> Andrew M. Johnston, “Rebuilding Internationalism in Europe: American Women, Feminist Pacifism, and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1919-1922” (unpublished paper presented at annual conference for the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, Hartford, CT, June 28-30, 2012); Foster, *The Women and the Warriors*, 14; Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 67, 75; Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 27-28; Alonso, *Peace*, 68-69.

<sup>41</sup> “Appendix III: Resolutions, Adopted by the International Congress of Women at The Hague, May 1, 1915,” in *Women at The Hague*, 69-73.

<sup>42</sup> Historians have also questioned presumed relationships between women and peace. Examples include: Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Jean Bethke Elshstain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 76-77.

emphasized societal well-being and applied nurturing instincts within public settings. By so doing, they often tried to serve immigrants, vulnerable women, amongst others. If the ideology of separate spheres framed their professional personas, these women believed caring for others regardless of nationality, ethnicity, or gender was a cornerstone of peace. As Addams argued, “peace was not simply the absence of war; it was actively caring for all people.” This is not to say that female pacifists always supported a “maternalist” position. For some, it was not biology that enabled them to preserve and sustain life, but their historical and social roles in care-giving.<sup>44</sup> While amongst others, including Addams, empathy within this context was symptomatic of a desire to move beyond essentialist categories of national, ethnic, and gendered identity, by working to maintain a transnational consciousness. By so doing, the women gathered would thwart the “reckless sacrifice of human life” and the “horrible violations of women which attends all war.”<sup>45</sup>

By highlighting the emphasis placed on women’s political participation and democratic ethics, scholars have argued that overcoming their limited agency inside nation-states through the establishment of multi-national organizations allowed women to reconceptualise the *international* as a “feminine sphere.” Rupp makes this point by delineating women’s involvement in the nascent League of Nations. Inspired by The Hague in 1915, Allied suffragists eagerly contacted Wilson in 1919 to ask if the Peace Congress would appoint a commission of women to report on women’s issues. While he sympathized with their cause, he recommended

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<sup>44</sup> Schott, “Unity Amongst Women, 1915,” in *Reconstructing Women’s Thoughts*, chapter 2, Addams’ quote taken from 19. See also: Alonso, *Peace*, 9-12; Amy Swerdlow, *Women Striking for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 30-32; Sara Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002).

<sup>45</sup> Quoting Resolution 1.2, “Appendix III: Resolutions,” in *Women at The Hague*, ed. Fischer and Whipps, 69. In addition to the work already cited on empathy, peace, and cosmopolitan democratic ethics, see: Andrew M. Johnston, “Mead, Addams, Balch: Feminism, Pragmatism, and the Vicissitudes of Liberal Internationalism,” in *La Grande Guerre et le Combat Féministe*, ed. Claire Delahaye and Serge Ricard (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2009), 93-126; Marilyn Fischer, “A Pragmatist Cosmopolitan Moment: Reconfiguring Nussbaum’s Cosmopolitan Circles,” *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 21, 3 (2007): 151-165.

they focus on international issues, rather than strictly national ones including suffrage. Taking this advice seriously, they emphasized education, hygiene, and the trafficking of women and children, and presented suffrage as a right contingent on “democratic development” within particular countries during their hearing before the Peace Congress. Their strategy worked: article 7 of the Covenant of the League of Nations declared that any position was open to women, allowing them to sit on commissions devoted to these topics. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, therefore, their participation in the League was relatively greater than in most national governments.<sup>46</sup>

Looking at the early war years, Alonso offers similar conclusions. In the Netherlands in 1915, the delegates were politically motivated yet disenfranchised. Between them “mutual friendship” characterized by a powerful spirit of “solidarity” was quickly established. What motivated it was their shared belief that ending victimization and oppressive conditions required women’s equal political participation. To this end, they established a constitution, issued resolutions, sent official delegations to meet with national representatives, and created an international organizational structure.<sup>47</sup> Despite their disenfranchisement within their home countries, at the international level they were determined to participate and be recognized. More than simply the right to vote, women’s politicization was a corollary of the democratisation of nations. As Catia Cecilia Confortini and Glenda Sluga argue, self-determination for both women and oppressed people was essential since “only in freedom [was] permanent peace possible.” Implicit in this, of course, was the assumption that that war did not represent the real will of the people, especially any individual without the right to vote. Equal representation of men and women, and democratic parliaments were core features of the internationalism that resulted from

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<sup>46</sup> Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 210-217.

<sup>47</sup> Alonso, *Peace*, 66-69.

The Hague Congress.<sup>48</sup> As Addams argued shortly after returning to the U.S., restricting women's enfranchisement to maternal issues in municipal and state politics stymied an inclusive, cooperative and collective global consciousness.<sup>49</sup>

It seems unlikely that Hamilton or Abbott agreed that women's long-established place within the home rendered them more capable in peace work. But within Chicago's immigrant communities, they had both passionately embraced the service ethic that Schott highlights. Compared to the 1890s when Hamilton openly expressed degrading opinions of her immigrant patients and colleagues, her belief that all humans deserved health, peace, and freedom from oppression was much more deeply felt by the time the war erupted. Having spent the early portion of her career establishing her reputation as a research scientist in a "male" profession, Hamilton's opinions had shifted as she dedicated more time and energy to public and family medicine in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. Similarly, Abbott had been reluctant to give up teaching and law. Only four years after Breckinridge had appointed her Director of the IPL and she had committed to living at Hull-House, she traveled to Eastern European to try to mimic the experience of coming to America. Consequently, both Hamilton and Abbott likely agreed that the voices of pacifist women were powerfully "united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, and who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burdens of war."<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Alice and Grace had both gone to great lengths to not only aide immigrants, but to learn to recognize prejudice, social and logistical, so to challenge it. In 1915, feminist empathy for universal well-being, and the desire to undo political attitudes and

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<sup>48</sup> A 1915 Congress delegate quoted by Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion*, 75, see also: 9, 75-76; Glenda Sluga, "Female and National Self-Determination: A Gender Re-Reading of 'The Apogee of Nationalism,'" *Nations and Nationalism* 6, 4 (2000): 495-521. Using Balch as an example, similar arguments are made by: Gwinn, *Road to Internationalism*, 90; Melinda Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 9-11.

<sup>49</sup> Addams, "Women and Internationalism," Addams, et al, *Women at The Hague*, especially 59-61. See also: Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion*, 8-11.

<sup>50</sup> Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts*, 73, 69.

structures that perpetuated all systems of oppression, including women's disenfranchisement, likely resonated with them both.

The only resolution at The Hague Congress that caused significant debate was Schwimmer's proposal that delegates travel to warring and neutral nations—including the United States—to meet with heads of state to encourage continuous mediation.<sup>51</sup> In Emily Balch's opinion, the resulting peace plan, including Schwimmer's resolution, was not only "a very able document," but "the best peace platform that has yet been drawn up."<sup>52</sup> Hamilton, however, recalled sarcastically how "[o]nly Madame Schwimmer could sweep the Congress off its feet and she did it several times, notably at the end when she succeeded in having them pass the resolution which filled most of us with dismay." Her opinions remained firm even when Addams, selected to lead one of the envoys, asked Alice to be her traveling companion. From her hotel in The Hague, just a few days before they were to leave on this expedition, she confided to Mary Rozet Smith that these diplomatic missions were a "singularly fool performance," and logistically impossible. If The Hague conference pioneered women's loyalty to an international collective, Hamilton was not an enthusiastic participant.<sup>53</sup>

Two things overrode Hamilton's skepticism, allowing her to accept Addams' invitation.

The first was simply her deep loyalty to Addams. The second and more important reason was her

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<sup>51</sup> As Addams described, the Congress endorsed a plan "for a conference of neutral countries without diplomatic, but with scientific functions, to offer continuous mediation, inviting suggestions from all of the belligerent nations and submitting to them all, simultaneously, such proposals for peace as should appear most reasonable." Addams quoted in Judy D. Whipps, "Introduction," in *Women at The Hague*, ed. Fischer and Whipps, xvii.

The countries were divided between two envoys comprised of official ICW delegates and travelling companions. Addams and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Amsterdam, were the official delegates in Hamilton's party. The other companion was Wollften Palthe, The Hague. Addams and Jacobs were asked to visit London, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Berne, Rome, Paris, Le Havre, and The Hague. The second delegation included Emily Greene Balch, Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, Crystal Eastman of Scotland, and Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann of Holland. They visited the Scandinavian countries and all except Schwimmer went to Russia. Julia Grace Wales accompanied them on their Scandinavian tour. Hamilton, "At the War Capitals," 15; Foster, *The Women and the Warriors*, 14-15; Gwinn, *Road to Internationalism*, 86-87.

<sup>52</sup> Balch, "Journey and Impressions," 11.

<sup>53</sup> Hamilton to Smith, May 5, 1915, Sichertman, *A Life in Letters*, 190. On The Hague conference and resulting WILPF as a pioneer, see: Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 119-121.

conviction that “the world is not all Anglo-Saxon and that other people feel very differently.”<sup>54</sup> Despite being so uncertain about the abilities of women delegates and private diplomacy, she may have felt it necessary to try applying cooperation and inclusivity before she could embrace such new ways to “love [her] fellow man.”<sup>55</sup> While war-time nationalism, which Randolph Bourne would soon describe as mob-psychology, burgeoned, Hamilton remained open to understanding individuals’ changed opinions and circumstances within a volatile global system. This process of skepticism, open-mindedness, and experimentation, echoed her first years at Hull-House, and, whether she would have called it that or not, the pragmatic principles espoused by the Chicago circle around Addams.

Abbott also traveled with the American delegation to The Hague in 1915, and subsequently stayed in Europe. Similar to the voyage across the Atlantic when Grace was a leader in facilitating and managing meetings between delegates, she and Breckinridge “helped [Addams] as nobody else could have” at the Congress. During the first week of May, they also accompanied Addams to Amsterdam to provide whatever support she needed.<sup>56</sup> While Addams lectured with Schwimmer, Pethick-Lawrence and German feminist Lida Gustava Heymann, they visited Dutch charities, the Amsterdam School of Philanthropy, immigrant neighbourhoods, and art galleries.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, Alice remained in The Hague with Mabel Kittredge; they were arranging travel for themselves, Abbott, and Lucy Biddle Lewis into occupied Belgium.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Hamilton to Smith, May 5, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 190.

<sup>55</sup> Siegfried argues Hamilton refused to accept a theory, idea, or institution before testing to see if it actually benefited another person. Siegfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, quoted 263, 262-266.

<sup>56</sup> Hamilton to Smith, May 5, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 189-190, quote taken from 190. After the Congress, Alice admitted to being “really lost in admiration of their ability, their clearness and quickness.” (190)

<sup>57</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 56. It is interesting that Costin does not discuss why Grace and Nisba were in Holland. Rather than mention Addams’ lectures or the support they had provided during the Congress, Costin presents the trip as a chance to escape war-time complications by visiting the country-side and touring the city.

<sup>58</sup> Hamilton to Smith, May 5, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 189. See also: E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” March 21, 1950, Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP. Hamilton described Kittredge as “Norah’s landlady” and her “special crony.” In addition, Kittredge was an associate of Henry Street House, both founder and president of the

Although Abbott did not leave a record comparable to Alice Hamilton's, the rich family letters written by Alice suggest Grace felt the Congress and European tours were important expressions of protest against the First World War. As feminists they were emphasizing the need for women's political organization, for preventing individuals' suffering, and for guaranteeing universal well-being. As pragmatists, they were traveling abroad to observe the changed international system. This would allow the women involved to conceive of peaceful internationalism after the war in ways that were based not in abstraction and vague ideals, but experience, both their own and that of others. Would this be enough to resist declaring Germany and its women enemies? And would their travels help to preserve a spirit of internationalism that Chicago's "ethnic diversity" and transnational ties had underwritten before the war?

Hamilton and Kittredge left for Belgium sometime around the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, 1915. Almost immediately they had their first encounter with local women. They were near Liège, changing trains, when a "knot" of "lower middle class" women desperately recounted their war-time experiences, including being lined up along a wall with machine guns aimed at them, and expressed their "eager gratitude to America, their powerful friend ... whose opinion even Germany was bound to respect." Skeptically, Hamilton argued "this is impossible. The Germans are not monsters," which only provoked them to describe how their monstrosity was fueled by alcohol, "and they were always drunk."<sup>59</sup>

As they approached Brussels, the destruction from shellings became worse. Entire villages stood silent, the buildings pulverized by hand bombs. The capital, once a vibrant place

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Association of Practical Housekeeping Centers, and had a particular interest in school lunch programs. She and Hamilton became close friends. Hamilton to Smith, April 22, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 186; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 188. Biddle was from a prominent Quaker Pennsylvania family, and a committed pacifist. At the Congress, she represented her state's branch of the WPP. She later served as National Chairman of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom.

<sup>59</sup> Hamilton to family, May 15, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP. Hamilton does not specify what she meant by "lower middle class." Presumably, she meant entry level clerical staff, perhaps typists.

filled with cafés and people, was now “silent as the grave.” The noisy “echoes” made by their cab and their footsteps were “startling.” The only people they saw in the streets were gathered around posters publicizing changes to legal codes and by-laws, and German victories.<sup>60</sup>

The first thing Hamilton and Kittredge did was visit the American Legation. Once there, however, an anxious attaché explained that thousands of German spies were scattered throughout Brussels. The women must rebuff any suspicious individuals and refrain from expressing their true opinions. After vowing to heed his advice, they met with Minister Brand Whitlock, former mayor of Toledo, Ohio and long-time friend of Frederic Howe. Tragically, Whitlock was “too sympathetic and imaginative and passionately moved by suffering” caused by the ongoing war to handle the stress associated with his post, for he appeared “saddened” and “hopeless.” But as long as the Germans allowed American wheat to be imported through the Commission for Relief in Belgium, he had to stay. British officials had refused to grant the Commission the required shipping permits. If nothing else, Hamilton was learning how vulnerable transnational connections actually were. Even at the Relief Commission, workers were suspicious of their request to observe their work.<sup>61</sup>

That evening, Hamilton and Kittredge were reunited with Abbott and Biddle and the four women agreed to take seriously the warnings from the attaché. Instead of open discussion and debate as they were used to in American cities like Chicago, they spoke in hushed whispers, sternly snubbed delicate questions, abstained from writing, and read nothing except German papers “with its rejoicings over the Lusitania.” Because Alice spoke both French and German, they feared she was the one most likely to be followed, and the one who must guard her actions

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid. While Alice was in Belgium, Addams went to London to present the ICW petition for a mediation conference to the heads of state.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. On the Commission, see: Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 120-123.

most carefully. Whether or not they were right to be concerned about her specifically, each of these women was recognizing that others viewed them with suspicion because of their nationality. Regardless, they spent the next few days exploring.<sup>62</sup> At least once, Whitlock helped them “to see the results of the war.”<sup>63</sup> They visited large tents filled with aid packages from Canada, Australia, and the U.S., and a soup kitchen where upwards of eight thousand people came on a daily basis. Hamilton spoke with as many people as she could, allowing her to feel she “gained an impression, which the others shared, of great dignity and reserve and of an immeasurable sadness and weariness.” German soldiers, however, were not the cause of such distress. Rather, individuals felt bitterly about having been betrayed by their German friends during the siege. Much like the women at Liège, residents asked eagerly whether America would protect and support them.<sup>64</sup>

The only crowded streets they encountered were in Leuven, a small yet once wealthy university city, on the day of the Ascension. Amongst the first things Alice recalled were the “blocks of fine homes [now] destroyed.” The crowds seemed to embody their destruction: “the streets were ... very silent. People filed by the ruins, looking at them almost timidly, whispering and glancing at the soldiers who stood everywhere.” This continued on the tram back to Brussels; it felt more like returning from a funeral than a holiday. Apart from one woman who whispered descriptions of the atrocities that had happened in Leuven, how desperately they needed American wheat, and how the best outcome for Belgium was a compromise peace such

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<sup>62</sup> Hamilton to family, May 15, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP.

<sup>63</sup> E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP.

<sup>64</sup> Hamilton to family, May 15, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP. Edith also mentions the group’s visit to the soup kitchen. E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP.

that the Germans did not feel victorious or defeated, no one answered Hamilton's questions that day.<sup>65</sup>

En route back to Amsterdam, Hamilton, Abbott, Biddle and Kittredge spent one night in Antwerp. German officials had denied their request to spend a full day touring the city. They had only twelve hours before their departure. But the women "did not mean to be cheated out of everything." Skipping dinner, they ordered a cab for a night-time tour. First, they asked to see the Cathedral, which was "almost unbelievably lovely." Thereafter, they asked the driver "to show [them] where the shells had fallen and he drove [them] all around". The damage was scattered throughout the city. To her family, Alice described how "[r]ich and poor suffered alike, the boulevards perhaps rather more than the slums." The following day, they arrived in Amsterdam, relieved to be able to read newspapers aloud in public places and discuss openly their opinions on just about any topic.<sup>66</sup>

In Amsterdam, they also reunited with Jane Addams who had just completed her ICW meetings in London. For several hours, Addams described interviews with Herbert Henry Asquith, then Prime Minister of the U.K., and Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Secretary, dinner with Lord Chancellor Richard Haldane, and tea with the Bishop of London. As well, she recounted her meetings with Graham Wallas, English socialist and leader in the Fabian Society, "Mr. Russell" (presumably pacifist philosopher Bertrand Russell), Ramsay McDonald, founding member and principal leader in the British Labour Party, amongst others. She had also attended a large public meeting where "she was given a real ovation." Asquith reassuringly shared his belief that the female envoys from The Hague meeting were not "a very foolish performance" as "it

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<sup>65</sup> Hamilton to family, May 15, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

may be of some good. At any rate it [was] worth trying.”<sup>67</sup> The tone of Hamilton’s letters home at this point began to change. She provided her family with more details of Addams’ work, perhaps trying to convince herself that these tours of warring capitals were not actually “hopelessly melodramatic and absurd.” In a letter to Bowen, she conceded that when they “talked to the foreigners [they] saw that in their eyes it was both dignified and important” that an American delegation—even one composed solely of women—was pressing mediation.<sup>68</sup>

After leaving Amsterdam, Abbott parted ways with Hamilton and Addams. As she made her way back to America, she stopped to visit an “old Hull House friend who was in a camp for German prisoners of war in England.”<sup>69</sup> Hamilton and Addams continued their tour of belligerent capitals, along with Dr. Aletta Jacobs and Wollften Palthe from Holland.<sup>70</sup> First, they traveled to Berlin, which was in reputed perfect order, except for “walls ... placarded and the windows full of appeals for money and for all sorts of objects; for blinded soldiers, for the relief of widows of the heroes of a certain battle, for a woman’s fund to be made up of pennies and presented to the Kaiser, and ... long lists of the latest casualties.” These were “the most terrible of all.” Vienna was more desperate than Berlin. There they witnessed bitterness, food shortages, and strict rationing.<sup>71</sup> In Milan, they came “face to face with [Italian] war paint,” owing to Italy’s then recent decision to join the war. Not only was the city under martial law, “the streets were decked with the flags of the five allies and placarded with posters reading ‘*Vogliamo Salandra.*’” Rome was similarly joyous as it celebrated Constitution Day with parades, flags, and “enormous crowds” of vacationing citizens. The city was devoid of foreigners. By the time they reached

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Hamilton to Bowen, May 16, 1915, Sicerhman, *A Life in Letters*, 192.

<sup>69</sup> The camp was apparently in London. E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP.

<sup>70</sup> As stated above, Addams and Jacobs were asked to visit London, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Berne, Rome, Paris, Le Havre, and The Hague, as official ICW delegates. Hamilton and Palthe were travelling companions. The second delegation, which included Balch, Schwimmer, Eastman, and Ramondt-Hirschmann as members, visited the Scandinavian countries and Russia.

<sup>71</sup> Hamilton, “At the War Capitals,” 16, 20-21; Hamilton to family, May 31, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP.

Berne, Switzerland, at the end of May, Alice was so tired of war-stricken cities that “it [was] a comfort to see ... fat, rosy children, and ... white bread again.”<sup>72</sup>

As she had in Belgium, Hamilton spoke with residents in each capital they visited. For she was “not travelling around to argue with people and convince them” of anything, but was “trying to ... get at the attitude of the different countries, and so [she] listened when they talked ... about the causes and conduct of the war.” Often she found Germans’ “point of view ... [was] so utterly different ... that no amount of mental gymnastics” would help Americans understand how they “really see things.” Respected historian Hans Delbrück, for example, dismissed their opinion that Wilson could not sacrifice his “moral influence” through armed mediation, and considered the sinking of the *Lusitania* “absolutely justified.” Albert Südekum, a prominent reformer who had stayed at Hull-House in 1913, was unrecognizable in a German uniform. And then, during their short visit to Budapest, the high cultured men and women they met who seemingly had “little war feeling,” despised both Italy and Prussia. Their anger toward these countries suggested a felt need for vengeance.<sup>73</sup>

Not wanting to accept that “ultrapatriotism” defined Germany, Hamilton listened to people who were “free from bitterness, [and] so deeply sorrowful over the war.” This included a small organization dedicated to helping prisoners of war, and the *Bund Neues Vaterland* (New Fatherland Union) dedicated to pacifism. During a reception given for Addams by the prominent Lyceum Club of Women, Hamilton found only one member “was bitter and unjust.” Even the pro-war journalist Maximilian Harden was not the “fire-eater” they had expected. His opinions were “perfectly fair” towards America and “fairer” toward England. Then they met Prince Lichnowsky, a former Government official who “had known and loved England” and believed

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 23; Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Hamilton to family, May 31, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP; Hamilton, “At the War Capitals,” 18. On Südekum, see also: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 277

“the two countries had come to understand each other,” causing him to mourn bitterly the consequences of war.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps Lichnowsky would have found solace in Hamilton’s conversation with an upper class woman in Budapest who proudly told her both Russian and English nationals were welcome in the city. Even when war broke-out, over five hundred British citizens were there and only a dozen had been interned. Hamilton appreciated these “fine worth while [*sic*] people” who seemed to share her concerns for inclusion, creative and critical thinking, and universal well-being.<sup>75</sup> With confidence, she could report to her family and argue in the book she co-wrote with Addams and Balch, *Women at The Hague*, how “absurd” it was “to say there [was] no feeling for peace in Germany, that the country [was] as one man, that [was] only newspaper talk.”<sup>76</sup> Alice had seen the effects of heightened nationalism across Europe, and found it everywhere disconcerting, but she was nevertheless coming around to the idea of continuous mediation.

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Hamilton lamented that “the most extravagantly bitter statements [were] made, not by Europeans themselves, but by the American sojourners in Europe.” Even though she had been a sojourner in 1894 and had celebrated her return to America, living at Hull-House had taught her to live and work with immigrants from a wide-range of nations. If the 19<sup>th</sup> ward was a microcosm of a transnational community formed through human and cultural networks binding America and Europe together, Alice understood that peaceful unity was *theoretically* possible. But it required maintaining an open mind, acknowledging the legitimacy of other cultural traditions and practices of daily life, undoing societal attitudes and structures that caused oppression, and being always concerned for universal well-being. Moreover, as she toured the belligerent capitals with Addams, she met individuals

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid. Ibid, 18-19.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 22. Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. Ibid, 16.

with a similar frame of mind, and, perhaps more importantly, learned how war destroyed the personal transnational ties that underwrote internationalism. Americans' pro-war patriotism, evident as early as the spring of 1915, was therefore unusually "distasteful." To make her point, she wrote of haranguing an American nurse for proudly purchasing German and Austrian "trophies of French battlefields," including helmets, knapsacks, fragments of uniforms, and bayonet ends.<sup>77</sup> Privately, in her letters home, she also criticized the American ambassador in Berlin, James Watson Gerard, and his wife, Mary, calling them "lightweight" and "undiplomatic." She was frustrated by their lack of interest in German culture and of effort to understand citizens' viewpoints. Rather than maintain lines of communication, they prematurely announced in 1915 that an American declaration of war was imminent.<sup>78</sup> The nurse and the Gerards had succumbed to "ultra-patriotism," such that Germany and its people could now only be seen as war-mongers. Similar to the Hungarian pacifists who despised Italy, such attitudes would re-create nationalistic tensions and divide democratic nations after the war. The attitudes held by these Americans contradicted the pragmatist-feminist principles Hamilton was using to comprehend a changed international context and how the foundations for peace could best be laid.

This is not to say that Alice always practiced her transnationalism perfectly. When she met a young German official from Munich who was excited to learn she had studied there, his political position in war-time and the power he yielded over her passport rendered any kind of connection impossible. Furthermore, as she and Addams traveled to warring and neutral capitals, they faced criticism over America's sale of munitions to the Allies. Each time, they "stood up stoutly for [their] country" by arguing that "for [America] to change international law and

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 24-25.

<sup>78</sup> Hamilton to family, May 31, 1915, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP.

custom in the middle of the present war in favor of Germany ... would be an unneutral [*sic*] act.”<sup>79</sup> If neutrality motivated their arguments, these conversations suggest Hamilton and Addams sometimes favoured, if only implicitly, the Entente powers.

Historians have presented The Hague Congress and the diplomatic efforts by both delegations as important benchmarks in the evolution of both international peace and feminism, even if the women were unable to produce tangible diplomatic results.<sup>80</sup> The ever-optimistic Addams conceded that the results of their interviews were at best inconclusive. Colonel House agreed. After they met in Washington, in July, he told Wilson that Addams provided no new information about the attitudes of European political and social elite.<sup>81</sup> Around the same time, she gave a speech at Carnegie Hall during which she tried to undermine the idea that war was a noble endeavour by relaying soldiers’ stories of being forced to abuse alcohol before entering battle. The press lambasted her for these comments, alleging she was unpatriotic and trying to “demasculinize the nation’s sons.”<sup>82</sup> Former president (and ally in the Progressive, or Bull Moose, Party) Theodore Roosevelt also attacked her, calling her a “Bull Mouse” and “one of the shrieking sisterhood.”<sup>83</sup> Undeterred, Addams and Balch each met with Wilson, hoping to convince him to initiate mediation efforts through a conference of neutral nations. Throughout

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid. Hamilton, “At the War Capitals,” 17, 18.

<sup>80</sup> Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 210-211; Gwinn, *Road to Internationalism*, 85, 90-92; Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion*, 9-11.

<sup>81</sup> Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 113, 122. See also: House to Wilson, July 17, 1915, July 19, 1915, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (hereafter *PWW*), ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 33: 516, 532-33; Woodrow Wilson to Edith Bolling Galt, August 18, 1915; Balch to Addams, August 19, 1915; Lansing to Wilson, September 1, 1915; and Wilson to Lansing, September 1, 1915, *PWW*, 34: 243, 250-52, 397-99.

<sup>82</sup> Alonso, *Peace*, 69-70; Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 114-115. For an excellent discussion of the associations made between morality, men, and war, see: Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

<sup>83</sup> Roosevelt quoted in Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 115.

the fall, however, they became convinced he was moving toward preparedness. In December, he confirmed their suspicions by announcing a full preparedness program.<sup>84</sup>

Hamilton, despite these obvious setbacks, maintained her pacifism. More compelling was her changed attitude toward the ICW delegation. A few days after Addams' fateful Carnegie speech, Hamilton explained how "the more [she thought] over that time ... in Europe the more the wonder of it [grew on her] and it [seemed] impossible to even begin to thank [Addams] for giving it to [her]."<sup>85</sup> Hamilton may have been trying to compensate for the media's criticisms, and to reassure Addams their efforts were not in vain. But it is still hard to overlook how different her thinking was compared to her comments from 1898 or even from early 1915. Rather than muse how quickly Germany would fade from memory without any lasting influence, or what kind of a fool's performance private diplomacy actually was, Alice had been deeply moved by her experiences in the spring of 1915.

### **Experiencing Nativism, Committing to Internationalism**

Grace Abbott also "came home a stronger pacifist than ever."<sup>86</sup> She had gone to The Hague to test her pacifism by debating with women of different nationalities. In Belgium, she had experienced the harsh realities war imposed on civilians. Abbott was so struck by the innocent suffering of civilians that she could only conclude that a new scheme of attitudes and values was

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<sup>84</sup> Alonso, *Peace*, 69-70. Wilson met with Addams in July and Balch in August. Over the next three months, he met with at least 6 other mediation groups. Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 122. Late in October, the national executive of the WPP wrote to Wilson, making a last protest against preparedness. Jane Addams, Lucia Mead Ames, Anna Garlin Spencer, Alice Thatcher Post, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge to Wilson, October 29, 1915, *PWW*, 35: 134-135. On Wilson's announcement and the disappointment it caused Addams and within left and liberal-left Progressive circles, see: Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 62-63.

<sup>85</sup> Hamilton to Addams, July 20, 1915, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 195. Addams also enjoyed Hamilton's company, describing her in a letter as a "lovely traveling companion." Addams to Clara Landsberg, May 26, 1915, Box 1, Folder 7, HFP.

<sup>86</sup> E. Abbott, "A Pacifist in the First World War," Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP.

necessary. Yet during the war years, nativism was growing in American society as well. The opportunity for establishing an enriched society, that both exemplified and supported a spirit of international unity, was closing. Costin attributes Grace's opinions in 1916 to her experiences at Hull-House where she learned how Russian literature and Italian opera gave more to Anglo-Saxon Americans than Puritanism ever could.<sup>87</sup> Gonzalez sees Grace's initiatives that same year as the continuation of her commitment to fighting domestic nativism on behalf of social justice.<sup>88</sup> The domestic and international sides of this commitment acknowledge Abbott's growing awareness of American interconnectedness with Europe and the world. Yet, what energized Abbott's commitment to a distinctly feminist concern with universal well-being and the desire to subvert the bifurcations that threatened international unity was her exposure to others' shifts in identity, context, and social consciousness.

A year after returning from Belgium, Abbott chaired a conference dedicated to promoting the opinions of immigrants—born in “weaker” nation-states—regarding the war, peace, and citizenship. She first suggested it during a WPP meeting of the Delegates to the International Conference after the War, while discussing a proposal from Madeline Doty for a small conference on world welfare.<sup>89</sup> As Doty explained, the New York branch of the WPP had been planning to assemble prominent men from different warring nations including the humanist Romain Rolland of France (then exiled in Switzerland), the pro-war journalist Maximilian Harden of Germany, and League of Peace scholar G. Lowes Dickinson of England. Grace, however, felt that it “might be enlarged, and that eminent foreigners in this country might be asked to take part” since it was important that “representative foreigners resident in America be

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<sup>87</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 57-58, quote taken from 57.

<sup>88</sup> Gonzalez, “Immigrants in our Midst,” 339-347.

<sup>89</sup> Born in New Jersey, Doty was a feminist, lawyer, prison reformer, journalist, and pacifist. She later served as International Secretary for WILPF and Editor for *Pax International*.

[asked] to consider international problems.” In this way, “international relationships within ... [American] borders [could] be developed through sympathetic conferences with representatives of our own foreign populations.” Moreover, Grace believed “such a cosmopolitan conference ... would illuminate the situation of weaker nations.” After some discussion, Addams approved the initiative and appointed an organizing committee that included Abbott as chair, and Anna Garlin Spencer, Lillian Wald, Mary McDowell, and Elizabeth Thacher Kent as members.<sup>90</sup>

As Abbott organized the December conference, she published in *The Survey* an article entitled “Democracy of Internationalism,” which delineated the role America could play in strengthening international unity. Her argument focused on Kallen’s emerging idea of cultural pluralism, “mutual-adjustment” (between immigrants and Old Stock Americans), and the extensive “intimately personal connections” that bound America and Europe together. Published as suspicions mounted against “hyphenated citizens,” Abbott was intentionally countering ethnic prejudice and nativism provoked by war. Even Wilson, whom she supported in the 1916 election, joined Roosevelt in arguing for a homogenous middle-class society where the foreign-born swore allegiance only to the U.S.<sup>91</sup> But for Abbott, a “tyrannical Americanism” meant

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<sup>90</sup> G. Abbott quoted in Alice Thatcher Post, “Notes; Meeting of the Executive Board of the Women’s Peace Party with the Delegates from the United States to the International Congress of Women to be held at the time of the Peace Conference at the End of the War,” June 10, 1916; unsigned, “Minutes of the Executive Board of the Woman’s Peace Party with the Delegates to the International Congress after the War,” June 10, 1916. See also: Breckinridge, “Actions Taken at Meeting of Delegates to International Conference at End of War,” June 10, 1916. All records found in Reel 11, Box 4, Collected Records of the Women’s Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition (hereafter Records of the WPP).

Anna Garlin Spencer was an educator, feminist, and the first woman ordained as an Unitarian minister in the state of Rhode Island. She was also associated with the New York Society for Ethical Culture, the NAACP, amongst other organizations. Mary McDowell was a fellow settlement worker from Chicago who established and directed the University of Chicago Settlement in 1894 in Back of the Yards, an Eastern European neighbourhood near the Union Stock Yards. Elizabeth Thacher Kent, wife of Congressmen William Kent, campaigned vigorously on behalf of her husband, women’s rights, international peace, and orphaned children. She also lived in Chicago.

<sup>91</sup> G. Abbott, “Democracy of Internationalism: Which We are Working Out in Our Immigrant Neighborhoods in America,” *The Survey* 36, 19 (1916): 479. See also: G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 271-273. As Costin explains, Abbott had supported the Progressive Party in 1912 because of Roosevelt’s suffrage plank and the recognition he gave to Addams and Hull-House. In 1916, she voted for Wilson because he supported child labour protection, vetoed immigration restriction, and stood for peace. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 46-49, 58. On the strengthened connection between social reformers, or the liberal-left, and Wilson, see also: Knock, “Raising a

perceptions of “one’s civilization [were] higher than ... the ... rest of mankind” were pervading society, rendering others an “enemy” to be conquered and controlled. As the U.S. began to play its part “in the settlement of world questions,” this perception would perpetuate arrogant, national selfishness and more international divisions. Rather, they should be listening to immigrants who were asking the world to give freedom to their people. Drawing heavily on her everyday experiences within the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, she explained how different nationalities once divided by inherited hatreds had learned to live together on the same street or in the same tenements, and certain native-born Americans were neighbours, friends, and business associates with immigrants. A democratic precedent had already been established: some individuals had learned how to adjust to the diversity that resulted from different social and political environments, and recognized “the common interests that unite all people.” If only more people would use their “imagination” to both understand that their community was comprised of “many races and, by the closest of human ties, [was] related to all the [sic] world,” America could initiate an inclusive and cooperative internationalism that guaranteed freedom.<sup>92</sup>

Abbott’s conference was held in Washington, D.C. on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of December, 1916, with the prodigious title, Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities. It pushed a clear agenda of ethnic inclusiveness and internationalism. Abbott, who had just given an address entitled “Dependent Nationalities in Relation to World Peace” at the WPP’s annual meeting, invited fifteen foreign-born individuals representing the Irish, Poles, Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Russian, Romanian Jews, Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians, Ukrainians, Syrians, and Armenians to

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New Flag: The League and the Coalition of 1916,” in *To End All Wars*, chapter 6. On Wilson’s views of hyphenated immigrants, see: Gary Gerstle, “Race and Nation in the Thought and Politics of Woodrow Wilson,” in *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War, and Peace*, ed. John M. Cooper (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 98-102; Hans Vought, “Division and Reunion: Woodrow Wilson, Immigration, and the Myth of American Unity,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, 3 (1994): 25-26; idem, *The Bully Pulpit*, 94-101. Vought is careful to point out that Wilson was less welcoming of Asian immigrants (101-103).

<sup>92</sup> G. Abbott, “The Democracy of Internationalism,” 478-480. See also: G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 269, 278-279.

her conference. Despite the sporadic eruption of tensions (between Polish and Ukrainian delegates in particular), she remained confident that it “had been a very useful attempt to set out some of the unsolved problems that were very surely to be a legacy from the war.”<sup>93</sup>

Gonzalez believes Abbott’s ultimate objective was to see immigrants’ knowledge inform American foreign policy, thereby rendering the global perspectives held by officials in Washington actually representative of American “ethnic diversity.” By making this argument, however, Gonzalez assumes Abbott’s internationalism was framed by, if not limited to, a nation-state abstractly dedicated to social justice, rather than a desire to rebuild internationalism by focusing on personal and cultural ties between ordinary people that had bound together American and European society.<sup>94</sup> But the Conference of the Oppressed and Dependent Nations reflected Abbott’s ongoing intention to show how the war had affected individuals’ lived realities and dispositions, and how these changes could influence future unity. By initiating dialogue and the exchange of information, both native- and foreign-born residents of America could learn from one another, and empathize with, if not imagine sharing, their perspectives. Bifurcations, including honourable/evil, citizen/enemy, heightened by war-time nativism, could therefore begin to dissolve. “Public opinion,” the conference circular stated, “should grow out of the experiences of the American representatives” of each oppressed or dependent nationality. If

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<sup>93</sup> Announcement, 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting of the WPP, December 8-10, 1916, Washington, D.C. Reel 34, Folder 165, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition. Grace’s position that pluralism had to be supported and protected by the government may have also been shared by the WPP. During their 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting in December 1916, an agenda item during the business session was “action ... taken by our Government to establish Federal Control over Aliens.” After printing, a hand-written note replaced ‘control’ with ‘protect’. “Business Sessions,” December 8, 1916, 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting of the WPP, Reel 43, Folder 165, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition. On the nations represented, see: E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War” and “New Horizons,” Box 91, Folder 9 and 11, EGAP; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 57. The latter references the *Chicago Record-Herald*, and includes Albanians, whom Edith did not mention. Quotation taken from E. Abbott, “A Pacifist in the First World War,” Box 91, Folder 9, EGAP. See also: G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 280-281.

<sup>94</sup> Gonzalez, “Immigrants in our Midst,” 348-349. Degen presents a similar argument. She explains the Conference sought to inform public opinion since America, as the most powerful neutral nation, “might be able to exert an important influence on the terms of peace in the direction of a durable peace based on international justice.” Degen, *Women’s Peace Party*, 177.

only residents within the U.S. could learn to look beyond their national jealousies to appreciate immigrants' European cultures, then the U.S. could "bring to these world problems both understanding and sympathy" so to strengthen a peaceful spirit of international unity.<sup>95</sup>

Though the numbers of new immigrants to Chicago decreased significantly after 1914, Abbott continued to put her theory into practice at the IPL. On behalf of one Belgian girl, for instance, Abbott corresponded with Whitlock about the well-being of her family. Regularly, she and her staff helped others send money to Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Greece, and France. As hundreds of letters from war-torn Europe arrived in Chicago, relaying tragic stories of starvation, violation, or death, Grace had come to understand the urgency behind sending money.<sup>96</sup> Should the U.S. declare war and the postal service was affected, immigrants' families left behind in Europe would suffer even more. American society, in this sense, extended far beyond its borders and the narrow sphere of interests defined by its capitalists and political leaders, and the Allied powers. The pragmatist-feminist principles that had been such an important part of the academic context at Hull-House continued to influence Grace's actions and decisions implemented by the IPL. Helen Campbell, Superintendent of the IPL, suggests this when she described in 1917 how "[t]he organization can only hold itself in readiness to perform the services needed by the immigrant as conditions change."<sup>97</sup> This even included immigrants who had come to America from any of the Central Powers, such as Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Abbott did not want to sacrifice her commitments to universal well-being, inclusiveness, and open-mindedness.<sup>98</sup> Responding to the promise made by "President Wilson ... to assist in the

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<sup>95</sup> Program, Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities, Reel 10, Box 3, Records of the WPP.

<sup>96</sup> Abbott, "Report of the Director," *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1917, 18-19. On correspondence and transnational connections, see: Errington, "Webs of Affection and Obligation," 1-26.

<sup>97</sup> Helen Campbell, "Report of the Superintendent," *IPL Annual Report*, December 31, 1917, 26.

<sup>98</sup> In 1916, 366 Italians, and 64 Germans, this included those "from Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia," came to the IPL to report an injustice or seek advice. Also, 58 Italians applied to the IPL for help finding employment. For the year ending December 31, 1917, numbers for the former were: 659 Italians and 45 German "from Germany,

formation of a League of Nations,” Abbott boldly expressed her hope that residents in America would “have the imagination to use the possibilities which [were theirs] because” the long-established flow of people back and forth across the Atlantic had created strong, intricate ties that permeated America and European nation-states.<sup>99</sup>

Abbott’s enthusiasm was not evidently shared by the patrons who traditionally had supported the IPL. Contributions decreased dramatically throughout 1917. Abbott then accepted Julia Lathrop’s offer to permanently join the Children’s Bureau in Washington, and help administer the first federal child labor law and carry out a series of studies investigating children’s welfare within belligerent countries.<sup>100</sup> This work, where she established her reputation as an expert within the federal bureaucracy, occupied her for the rest of the war. She was nominated as a delegate to the first postwar conference of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom in Zürich in the spring of 1919 by executive members of the WPP, but she chose to stay with the Children’s Bureau and work with Lathrop toward developing new international institutions devoted to child welfare.<sup>101</sup>

Hamilton, meanwhile, remained in Chicago, observing how the war was affecting Midwestern society. Like Abbott, she detested the nativist “undiluted Americanism” that gripped U.S. society during the war. In the spring of 1918, she told her sister Edith that “hatred and

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Austria-Hungary, and Russia.” Campbell, “Report of the Superintendent,” *IPL Annual Report*, December 31, 1917, 18.

<sup>99</sup> G. Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, 279, 281.

<sup>100</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 97, 112-113.

<sup>101</sup> Records suggest Abbott initially accepted their invitation to act as a delegate. Minutes, WPP Executive and Delegates to the International Congress of Women after the War, June 10, 1916; WPP Executive Meeting, November 23-24, 1918, Reel 11, Box 4, Records of the WPP. Although female bureaucrats pushed women’s issues, they did not necessarily endorse a maternalist position regarding women’s rights. Instead women like Grace embraced a professional persona as they pushed equality, especially of opportunity and living standards. That said, her political approaches helped to engender a conservative strain within a feminist “women’s program.” Muncy, “Consolidation and Expansion of the Dominion: The Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act,” in *Female Dominion*, chapter 4.

intolerance are growing so fast that it makes one sick.”<sup>102</sup> She could not help wondering whether “England, France, Italy, our own country, are not we all going, or planning to go, back to the same sort of thing after war is over.” With characteristic skepticism, Hamilton went further: “if victory is to bring what we need, that would be all right, but I have no faith that it will.”<sup>103</sup> In her opinion, “good will come only through something else, revolution probably. Not Taft’s League to Enforce Peace, but something terrible and destructive and ‘gründlich’ [thorough].”<sup>104</sup>

By 1918, only three years after her first skeptical foray into private diplomacy, Hamilton was frustrated. Her pacifism had become a “hindrance.”<sup>105</sup> Despite having rich experiences in Chicago and Europe, and at the ICW, she simply could not translate this into practical tenets that would support real programs for the reconstruction of international peace. Wilson only added to Hamilton’s aggravation, even though many of the liberal internationalist ideals he came to embrace bore a striking resemblance to those approved by The Hague Congress. Early in 1918, the president stood before the U.S. Congress to explain his goals for a peaceful and stable postwar world order that moved away from reigning imperial structures. Known as the Fourteen Points speech, it signalled his commitment to reductions in armaments, open diplomacy, an “association of nations” that would guarantee the “political independence and territorial integrity” of “great and small nations alike,” and recognize the interests of colonial people.<sup>106</sup>

Wilson’s endorsement of such an agenda for a new world order had been growing steadily since

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<sup>102</sup> By this time, Edith was a renowned Classicist and headmistress at the Bryn Mawr Preparatory School for Girls in Baltimore. Hamilton to Edith Hamilton, May 25, 1918, Reel 28, Folder 616, HFP.

<sup>103</sup> Hamilton, “Saturday morning,” [1918], Reel 28, Folder 602, HFP.

<sup>104</sup> Hamilton to Edith Hamilton, May 25, 1918, Reel 28, Folder 616, HFP.

<sup>105</sup> Hamilton, “Saturday morning,” [1918], Reel 28, Folder 602, HFP.

<sup>106</sup> The timing of Wilson’s speech, of course, was intended to counteract the publication of the Entente powers’ secret wartime agreements by the Bolsheviks. Both Wilson and Lloyd George were compelled in the winter of 1918 to ennoble their cause by announcing ambitious and idealistic war aims and to offset the cynicism that might otherwise have set in amongst the people of the democracies. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 40. On the influence of exceptionalism in Wilson’s new world order, see: Lloyd Ambrosius, “Democracy, Peace and World Order,” in *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson*, 225-228.

the 1916 presidential campaign.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, several resolutions passed by the ICW at The Hague in 1915 were reflected in his points.<sup>108</sup> Not surprisingly, Addams declared the Fourteen Points a “profound and brilliant ... program of international organization.” It was everything the WPP could have hoped for.<sup>109</sup> Hamilton, however, was annoyed by his refusal to engage with the British Labour Party, whom she considered “the only freedom-loving” group, because Wilson worried it would hamper the war effort.<sup>110</sup> Despite his proclamations in Congress and the WPP’s official enthusiasm, she simply could not agree that being in war against Germany would make the “world safe for democracy.” After having adjusted her own beliefs, personal and scientific, she felt herself a member of Chicago’s pluralist urban community united by its respect for diversity. To perpetuate violence against countries whose citizens lived in large numbers in cities nation-wide threatened the continued development of this social cohesion and unity. Bitterly, she described to her sister Edith how,

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<sup>107</sup> Knock, “The League and the Coalition of 1916,” *To End All Wars*, chapter 6.

<sup>108</sup> Historians continue to debate whether or not The Hague resolutions influenced Wilson. John Milton Cooper argues a plan drafted by a standing committee of experts, modified by both House and the President, provided the foundation for the Fourteen Points. He does not mention the WPP or Addams. In her biography of Addams, Louise Knight takes the opposite approach. Arguing that The Hague resolutions impressed Wilson in 1915, and six of his fourteen points were based on them, she suggests the ideas Addams presented stuck with him. Patterson takes something of a middle ground by arguing that Wilson never wanted to alienate Addams, Wald, or Balch, yet during the early war years he simply could not consider mediation and was relatively unmoved by The Hague resolutions. Although Colonel House was most influential in developing foreign policy after 1916, liberal internationalism represented by reformers like Addams, Wald, and Balch grew stronger and resonated with the President. Knock pushes the connection between Progressive reformers and Wilson further. It is difficult to be certain whether American women prominent in the WPP, whom Wilson met with after they returned from Europe and the resolutions from The Hague, informed his internationalism, specifically continuous mediation. But, Knock argues, Addams and Balch placed in his hands a pioneering document at a time when his own opinions were going through a critical shift. Their viewpoints ought to be counted amongst the many left and liberal-left reformers who shaped the President’s foreign policies. John Milton Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 421-423. Louise W. Knight, *Jane Addams: Spirit in Action* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 222-223. Patterson, *Search for Negotiated Peace*, 125, 131-132, 336. Knock, “The League and the Coalition of 1916,” *To End All Wars*, chapter 6, especially 51-52.

<sup>109</sup> Addams quoted in Knock, *To End All Wars*, 146, see also: 145, 147; Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 28. See also: Minutes, WPP Executive Meeting, November 23, 1918, Box 4, Reel 11, Records of the WPP.

<sup>110</sup> Hamilton, “Saturday morning,” [1918], Reel 28, Folder 602, HFP. It would seem she was not aware that Arthur Henderson, a Labour cabinet minister, sat on a five member war cabinet formed in the summer of 1917. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 281.

the Governor of Iowa has just forbidden the Germans to worship God in the churches in their own tongue, just as if he had not the example of Poland and Bohemia and Slovak Hungary before his eyes. In one of the suburbs people must not sing German songs in their own homes. You will say that this is not a terrible hardship and really that is not the side of it I am thinking about, it is the effect on our own selves.<sup>111</sup>

Moreover, Alice had come to understand that within areas like the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, individuals' personal and familial connections with Europe allowed them to empathize with another's situation regardless of nationality even in such emotionally charged circumstances.

Poor people do not ... [show intolerance], thank Heaven. Mrs. Cesario came to see me yesterday morning, her son has just sailed, and she said in a whisper "I pray for all of them, the Germans and the Austrians just like the others. All mothers are the same. And the boys too. What could they do. God permitted it and so it had to be, who knows why." The lovely thing about poor people is that they are never afraid to say simple and obvious things.<sup>112</sup>

Because the U.S. had declared war against Germany in April of 1917, almost a year before Wilson made his Fourteen Points speech, it was increasingly difficult for everyday contact between neighbours of certain nationalities, ethnicities, or religions to occur. If these imagined transnational bonds could not freely develop in a polyglot society like the United States, Hamilton had come to doubt the prospects of an inclusive internationalism established by the same society, even when led by Wilson.

That same year, Hamilton met George Hebert Mead's nephew, Raymond Swing who had worked in Germany as a journalist from 1912 until 1917. He criticized America's entry into the war, insisting it would only bring more horror. By explanation, he described how the German people, both in the cities and the countryside, were suffering. Just as Hamilton and Abbott had done in 1915, Swing had spoken extensively with locals and had observed their daily lives. Rather than declare war, Swing would have preferred to see American officials keep "their head

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<sup>111</sup> Hamilton to Edith Hamilton, May 25, 1918, Reel 28, Folder 616, HFP.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. Although Alice does not specify, Mrs. Cesario may have lived in or near the 19<sup>th</sup> ward since at the time Alice was still a resident at Hull-House.

and temper” and maintain an open mind toward the German condition. Tragically, he argued, men like Ambassador Gerard and President Wilson had convinced ordinary citizens that “the whole world hates Germany,” causing them to feel the same way toward Allied nations.<sup>113</sup> On both sides, ordinary people had been locked into divisive judgements of other nationalities.

Hamilton, writing to her sister Edith, described Swing as “amazingly moderate, not pro-German at all, but not anti anything [*sic*].” He also struck a middle ground between Bourne’s pessimistic arguments that pragmatism had surrendered to wartime “mob-psychology” (Swing’s uncle George supported the war after all) and the “optimism-haunted mood” that surrounded Wilson’s messianic quest to re-make the world.<sup>114</sup> Marilyn Fischer has shown how Addams tried to do this with her speaking engagements on behalf of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. She encouraged audience members to “reconstruct their experiences with food conservation” so to view it not as a patriotic act against an unknown enemy, but as “contributions to ... an international community bound together by humanitarian commitments and care.”<sup>115</sup> Addams, as well as Swing, may have motivated Hamilton to believe there “were some thinking people who are far from being sure that we are going to help the world by jumping into the mess.”<sup>116</sup>

Ever the skeptic, Hamilton was likely convinced of at least a few things as the war was ending. The first was that open dialogue and diplomacy were preferred to violence. The latter made it difficult if not impossible to learn from and cooperate with citizens of belligerent nations; it merely provoked “ultra-nationalism” amongst both Germans and Americans, creating a legacy of hatred for the post-war period that would inhibit reconstruction and reconciliation. Throughout 1918, as Hamilton grew increasingly frustrated, the scheduled second meeting of the

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<sup>113</sup> Hamilton to Edith Hamilton, “Sunday afternoon,” [1918], Reel 29, Folder 640, HFP.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid; Bourne, “Twilight of Idols,” 182.

<sup>115</sup> Fischer, “Bourne and Addams on Pacifists during Wartime,” 285-286.

<sup>116</sup> Hamilton was also criticizing the intellectual superiority assumed by *The New Republic* during the war-years. Hamilton to Edith Hamilton, “Sunday afternoon,” [1918], Reel 29, Folder 640, HFP.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (as the ICW was now called) in Zürich became an anticipated event.<sup>117</sup> Now that Wilson had implicated America in the maelstrom, ordinary women from warring and neutral nations would come together once again after the war had ended. Their concrete actions and active displays of cooperation, integration, and universal concern for humanity, things Alice and Grace had learned in the 19<sup>th</sup> ward and tried to uphold during the war, might help to better articulate a pacifist international structure. But could they understand how society, international and domestic, had changed? Would these new experiences translate into workable theories for reconstructing world peace?

### **Experimenting with Post-War Order**

Grace Abbott did not attend the Zürich peace conference in the spring of 1919. Instead she and Julia Lathrop organized a series of conferences dedicated to child welfare that would be held across the U.S. These conferences would conclude Children's Year, which the Bureau had formally inaugurated in April of 1918.<sup>118</sup> Inspired by "international questions that had grown out of the war" and the ties formed when Children's Bureau staff members had worked with the International Red Cross, Abbott and Lathrop decided to invite child welfare experts from Britain, France, Japan, Belgium, and Serbia to attend.<sup>119</sup> They may have also wanted to re-establish "scientific internationalism." Prior to World War I, social reformers, scientists, and medical

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<sup>117</sup> At the ICW in 1915, delegates founded the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. It was officially based in Geneva, and Addams was president. It survived the war, but barely. By the end of the war, it had lost nearly all of its members. The ICWPP was predecessor to the WILPF. Schott, "Differences Among Women, 1915-1919" and "Unity within Diversity, 1919-1924," in *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts*, chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>118</sup> Edith incorrectly dates the start of Children's Year as April, 1919. It was actually April, 1918. Children's Year received \$150 000 in funding from Wilson's special fund. E. Abbott, "Grace Abbott and Hull House, 1908-1921, Part II," *Social Service Review* 24, 4 (1950): 517; Anna E. Rude, "The Children's Year Campaign," *American Journal of Public Health* 9, 5 (1919): 346; Kristen Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood: The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-1946* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 73. On the relationship between advocacy of children's welfare and peace, see: Dominique Marshall, "International Child Saving," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula S. Fass (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 474-477.

<sup>119</sup> E. Abbott, "A Sister's Memories," 399; Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood*, 74; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 117.

practitioners had shared their research at international conferences and journals, which proliferated during the late 1800s and early 1900s. This had gone a long way toward creating professional international communities. By studying conditions abroad and by inviting European medical and science professionals to America, it seems probable they hoped to revive older trans-Atlantic patterns of exchange. While sharing scientific knowledge and technical advances would not directly solve contemporaneous problems, it could help to initiate understanding and unity by re-establishing friendships and dialogue amongst colleagues.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, by disseminating new information about child and maternal conditions in war-torn countries, they may have also been trying to develop solidarity of “humanitarian commitments and care” that transcended national boundaries, as Addams had tried to do when promoting the Commission for Relief in Belgian.<sup>121</sup>

Late in December 1918, six weeks after the armistice had been signed, Abbott and Lathrop departed for Europe. The voyage was relatively uneventful. Amongst the few things Abbott noted in a letter to Edith was political gossip from a mutual colleague regarding Charles Edward Merriam, a professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and a conversation with Katherine Davis about her plans to organize an international conference for female physicians on social education that would be hosted by the Y.W.C.A.<sup>122</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the war, large numbers of scientists and university women came together to create, amongst other organizations, the International Research Council and the International Federation of University Women. This effort by Davis may not have been a part of either, but meeting her

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<sup>120</sup> On science and internationalism, see: Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, “Introduction: The Mechanics of Internationalism,” in *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, ed. Geyer and Paulmann, 15-18.

<sup>121</sup> Fischer, “Bourne and Addams on Pacifists during Wartime,” 285-286.

<sup>122</sup> Grace to Edith, December 27, 1918, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP.

allowed Abbott and Lathrop to begin learning that other American women felt the same urgency to promote cooperation and understanding after the war.<sup>123</sup>

Their first destination was London. Lathrop had convinced Abbott to help create the International Labor Organization (ILO), to be proposed with the Paris peace settlements as an agency that would promote workers' rights. For Lathrop, it was important Abbott attend ILO meetings since without a strong representative, issues related to women and children would go unnoticed. For Abbott, the organization appealed to her concerns of labour and justice.<sup>124</sup> Abbott also attended a Labour Party meeting at Albert Hall where Wilson's Fourteen Points were discussed at length. And together they met with a long list of people whom they knew directly or indirectly through other Hull-House residents.<sup>125</sup> If nothing else, the combined Children's Bureau and IPL activities indicates Abbott was meeting with other individuals who shared her focus on international and reform issues to learn what they had experienced, how their personal, political and societal contexts had changed, and how they perceived the ruptured international system, if not the prospects for peaceful reconstruction.

But Abbott also knew it was important go abroad to "look into things you want to know about."<sup>126</sup> In letters to her sister Edith, she carefully described the changed atmosphere within cities, ordinary individuals' perspectives, and suffering, especially of children, in this new postwar period. Her trip was therefore similar to Belgium in 1915. Beginning with Liverpool, she described how the "effect of the war [was] apparent at once." The city felt distraught. There were very few hotel rooms, strict rationing, and "practically no porters at the Station everyone

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<sup>123</sup> Iriye, *Global Community*, 23-24.

<sup>124</sup> Gonzalez, "Immigrants in Our Midst," 368. See also: E. Abbott, "The Compass," n.d, Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP. The International Labor Organization was established as an agency of the League of Nations in 1919. It was comprised of scholars, social policy experts, and politicians who were dedicated to labour reform and used the new field of international labour law to achieve their objectives.

<sup>125</sup> The meeting occurred on the 5<sup>th</sup> of January. Grace to Edith, January 4, 1919, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP; Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 114.

<sup>126</sup> G. Abbott quoted in Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 113.

wildly trying to get the few that there were and all kinds of men carrying trunks on thier [*sic*] shoulders.” The presence of Canadians and Australians was so overwhelming that “[t]he city seems to be very full” of them.<sup>127</sup>

Although neither woman had scheduled Bureau meetings, Grace met with Dr. John Rickman to talk about the work his research assistant had done in Russia. Rickman, an English doctor, was working with the Friends War Victims Relief Unit in Russia. The “very interesting” report he provided her, may have been an early draft of an article describing Russian peasant life, food supplies, and conditions of public and maternal health. Through Lathrop, Abbott was already familiar with the work of Mme. Alexandra Kollontai, a Bolshevik who had studied in America from 1915-1917. In 1918, Lathrop had relied heavily on a report by Kollontai that discussed maternity benefits and insurance.<sup>128</sup> Taken together, it seems unlikely Abbott worried that Revolutionary Russia was an enemy antithetical to internationalism. Instead, she was approaching the post-war context with an open-mind, and wanted to find ways to work with new global partners that would benefit ordinary individuals.

As planned, Abbott and Lathrop twice visited Paris in January of 1919. Grace found it was a very different and “difficult” city after having been ravaged by four years of war. Women everywhere were dressed in black, the shops were pathetic, except for jewelry displays, and the cost of living was appalling.<sup>129</sup> Parisians were also divided over the role America should play in Europe after the war. On the one hand, “Paris seem[ed] shocked” by the way U.S. officers were acting, and it was rumored the French wanted them to leave as quickly as possible. Various

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<sup>127</sup> Grace to Edith, December 29, 1918, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. Dr. John Rickman, an Englishman, had worked as a country doctor with the Friends’ Relief in South Russia from 1916 to 1918. The secondary is identified only as “Amelia.” If Grace had not supported using Kollontai’s work, she inherited the accusations of socialism initially used against Lathrop. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 144-145.

<sup>129</sup> G. Abbott to Julian W. Mack, January 23, 1919, Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP. In between their visits to Paris, Abbott and Lathrop traveled to Brussels, witnessing the “desolate battlefields and war-ravaged areas.” E. Abbott, “Geneva,” Box 93, Folder 6, EGAP

American organizations including the Red Cross, the Army, the Y.M.C.A., and individuals, were also “winding down” their efforts. Even the Children’s Bureau planned to end its operations on the first of April. Pressure from the French, a general lack of morale, and pending peace talks had convinced the Americans behind these efforts it was time to return to the U.S. On the other hand, Grace heard people argue, although the peace talks had not yet begun, “that Wilson has been of the greatest help” and “[t]he English and the Americans will really decide what is to be done,” rather than Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France.<sup>130</sup> When at the end of January Grace finally left Paris, dismayed that recovery was still uncertain as a kind of arrogant individualism waxed and confidence in international organizations waned, “the town [was becoming] full of Americans,” reporters like Oswald Garrison Villard, a contributor to *The Nation*, and Tiffany Blake of the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>131</sup> While residents struggled through a dismal period, they may have appreciated the reporters even less than aid workers. Only Wilson could stir locals’ enthusiasm.

For the first time since 1915, Abbott traveled to Brussels, through the “region where some of the fiercest fighting [had taken] place.” The train they took, the only one that traveled daily to the capital, was over-crowded with women, children, and soldiers such that “the accumulation of fatigue [was] generally shared.” Her tone brightened when describing for Edith how “everyone was nice to a very poor woman who piled in with two children and a full assortment of immigrant luggage. A French general held one of the children and gave all his lunch to them.”<sup>132</sup> It may have reminded her of the cooperation, support, and kindness that

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<sup>130</sup> Grace to Edith, January 12, 1919, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP. See also: Grace to Edith, February 4, 1919, Box 3, Folder 2, EGAP. “Mr. Villard” is presumably Oswald Garrison Villard, contributor/editor of *The Nation*, and son of Fanny Garrison Villard, prominent member of the WPP, American Women Suffrage Association, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Blake worked with the *Tribune* until 1939.

<sup>131</sup> Grace to Julian W. Mack, January 23, 1919, Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP.

<sup>132</sup> Grace to Edith, January 25, 1919, Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP.

immigrants had shown one another in Chicago's Near West Side, and suggested that a concern for universal well-being could still be counted as a common interest.

Brussels, however, was "a very sad place." Residents were "paralyzed" after having "suffered so many indignities and inconveniences." Although most believed that "Belgium [was] going to recover more quickly than France—their men were not killed in such large numbers" and there was more food—residents expected a "large indemnity." Moreover, they "seem[ed] to feel that [Wilson's] coming to Europe has been a great help," and were confident a League of Nations would be formed. On the surface they shared the same objectives for international peace as Abbott, Hamilton, and Addams. But after witnessing their shared vengeance, Grace questioned how Wilson and a League would "be much good."<sup>133</sup>

Early in February, Lathrop travelled back to the U.S., leaving Abbott in Europe by herself. Over the course of the next two months, she interviewed labour officials, school personnel, judges, and directors of orphanages, maternity centres, and crèches as far away as Rome. By the time she left for Washington, she had acquired an in-depth knowledge of the conditions children and women faced now that the war was over. In Costin's biography of the Abbott sisters, this assignment played heavily into Grace's deepening commitment to social justice for children.<sup>134</sup> However, her efforts to experience post-war Europe, to observe cities, and to speak with people suggests she also wanted to learn how social consciousness had changed. Although she discovered that Europeans understood Wilson in ways that served narrowly conceived nationalistic goals, Abbott's willingness to travel widely across Europe and to not only acquire, but record new urban experiences suggests she was not ready to give up on an inclusive and cooperative internationalism. Since August of 1914, the war had been testing her

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 114. See also: Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood*, 73-75.

commitment. It had dramatically altered the bonds between European and American domestic spaces—palpably in Chicago—but Grace embraced the transnationalism offered by the ICW at The Hague and the opportunity to travel to occupied Belgium, hoping to comprehend how “international relationships” were changing. This process of exposure, experience, and learning, continued through to 1919. As a result, she avoided perceptions of Germans, Bolshevik Russians, Italians, and Austrians framed by the “objective truths” promoted in jingoistic and reactionary presses, and could still “imagine” the “human ties ... to all the [*sic*] world.”

Just as Abbott was leaving Europe, Hamilton left New York City with Addams, Emily Balch, Jeannette Rankin, Lucia Ames Mead, Mary Church Terrell, and Alice Thatcher Post, wife of Louis Post, a friend of both Edith Abbott and Fred Howe, for the Women’s International Congress in Zürich that began on May 12<sup>th</sup>.<sup>135</sup> This was Hamilton’s first trip abroad since 1915. Much as for Abbott, it was her opportunity to experience first-hand the destruction, personal suffering, and how, if at all, people had changed.

Hamilton’s confidence was significantly different compared to 1915. She had since learned enough about citizens’ and politicians’ ultra-nationalism to know that a new balance between nationalism and internationalism must be struck. Rather than worry about the prospects of the Congress and fawn over a few delegates, she astutely evaluated different Americans traveling abroad. Most were “silly,” “pretentious,” or gullible. Members of the Y.M.C.A. were “awful,” “entertainers ... of the cheapest vaudeville class, hard and vulgar.” Of the Congress delegates who had seen their shows, most were “sick to think that [the association’s] money [had

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<sup>135</sup> Jeannette Rankin was the first woman in the House of Representatives, elected in Montana in 1916 and 1940. Lucia was the wife of Edwin D. Mead. Together they were leading pacifists, writers, and social reformers of the U.S. and international peace movement. Alice Thatcher Post was the wife of Louis Freeland Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Wilson. She not only traveled to The Hague as a delegate, but was also vice-president of the American Anti-Imperialist League and of the Women’s Peace Party. Terrell was the first African-American woman appointed to the Board of Education in Washington, D.C., and one of two African-American women to attend the peace congress in 1919. Since women from defeated countries could not travel to France, the executive committee chose Switzerland. Hamilton, *ETDT*, 188; Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 29-30; Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 218-219.

been] spent to send stuff like that way across the ocean to our soldiers.” Girls from the Red Cross, meanwhile, were “quiet pleasant,” especially Caroline Dudley, “a radical young thing.” She hoped that Dudley would revive Red Cross senior officials who were “very unquestionably fervent and pretty dull.” But it was four members of an industrial commission from the Y.W.C.A. that most stood out: they were “very nice women, exactly the sort one would like to have represent [America] in Europe.”<sup>136</sup>

Also onboard were nine Boers from South Africa. These “heavy, serious men” were going to the Paris Peace Conference to ask for independence for the Transvaal and Orange River, two colonies in the Union of South African, a British dominion. This was a noble goal that coincided with Wilson’s promise of self-determination. Yet, as Hamilton spoke with one of them, she was dismayed to learn they had little to no complaint against the Empire. They simply wanted to run these states without oversight or intervention. “Self-determination” therefore, meant little more than the perpetuation of imperial power relations, where an entire class of people were oppressed because of race-based biases. Alice got her first glimpse into how little the balance of power would change after the war.<sup>137</sup>

Their first destination was Paris. The Peace Conference had already commenced, and Alice’s diary was “full of records of lunches, teas, dinners, even breakfasts, with those [they] knew or came to know,” including journalists William Allen White and Ida Tarbell, friends of

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<sup>136</sup> Hamilton to Smith, April 13, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 219-220. The senior officials were Eliot Wadsworth, vice-chairman of the central committee of the American National Red Cross, and Helen Fidelity Hoffman Draper, prominent volunteer with the Red Cross who went to Europe to oversee demobilization of female Red Cross workers.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. The Union remained a self-governing dominion until 1960. In Paris, however, the Terms of Peace granted it the administration of the German South-West African colony as a League of Nations mandate. Effectively, the colony became a province of the Union. Margaret McMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2003), 48.

Fred Howe.<sup>138</sup> Just as Grace had observed, numerous reporters, essayists, and representatives had come from an array of countries, hoping to learn first-hand what shape the post-war world would take. Rather than anticipation, Alice noted that their “misgivings . . . as to the coming treaty of peace” were palpable. “A general distrust of the three men who held the destiny of the world in their hands” was common. Clemenceau was vengeful and short-sighted, David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the U.K., was “too ready to compromise,” and Wilson was “arrogant but bewildered, ignorant,” and surprisingly “unwilling to consult his own experts.” Moreover, the women were frequently told that Wilson was not taking advantage of his leverage, especially over Clemenceau. It became hard for Hamilton and Addams to believe the “victors” would acknowledge political freedom, a step required in guaranteeing the right of self-determination. Consequently, they “could not feel pride in the part Americans were playing in the formulation of the peace terms,” including reports they heard that Germany’s African colonies would be allocated to Portugal, despite the latter’s “atrocious treatment of the Negroes in . . . cocoa plantations.”<sup>139</sup>

Hamilton made sure she also met with compassionate Europeans who worried about the conditions ordinary people faced. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian explorer, told her about his investigations into “the relief of the starving” in Russia.<sup>140</sup> Subsequently, during a luncheon, talk turned to Bolshevik Russia and the Allied blockade of food and medical supplies into the Central Powers, one guest defended it and another was unsure but willing to consider it a viable option. Only Nansen openly criticized the blockade. This made Alice envious of “the small neutral

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<sup>138</sup> In addition to White and Tarbell, Alice used her diary to list meeting with: Lincoln Steffens, Felix Frankfurter, Julian Mack, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., Oscar Straus, Lillian Wald, Henry Nevinson, Frank Simonds, Manley Hudson, Charles Crane, Ethel Sidgwick, Romain Rolland, his sister Madeleine, and Fridtjof Nansen. Hamilton, *ETDT*, 188-188. They also met with Colonel Edward House and Hebert Hoover. Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 29.

<sup>139</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 189-190. On the Peace talks, the personalities of Wilson, George, and Clemenceau, and the secret treaties, see: McMillan, *1919*, 5-7, 14, 21-22, 275; 38, 41; 28-29, 34-35, 173-174.

<sup>140</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 188-189. On Nansen, see: McMillan, *1919*, 81.

countries which had kept their sanity and their human capacity for pity and kindness during those savage years.” Countries like Norway “seemed to [her] like wise and experienced old women looking on while a crowd of hotheaded youths cracked each other’s heads, knowing that they had no strength to stop the senseless fight, but ready to step in and bind up wounds when it was over.”<sup>141</sup>

This luncheon seems to have reminded Alice of the telegrams German women had sent to Addams and to First Lady Edith Wilson in November of 1918, begging that they help stop the seizure of 3000 “milch” cows for France and Belgium as German children were starving. The message had been intercepted by the State Department and released to the press by the War Department. As a result, newspapers ran hostile headlines. Not only did this embroil Addams in another “anti-war” scandal, Hamilton’s disillusionment intensified. In her autobiography *Exploring the Dangerous Trades*, she recalled the event bitterly; even the “educated, well-to-do class” wrote hateful letters.

Nothing could have shown more clearly the searing effect of war than this attitude on the part of Americans whose kindliness and generosity have been proverbial. The neutrals were caring for the sick, the children, the aged, regardless of which side they were on.<sup>142</sup>

Fortunately, Hamilton met more Americans in Europe who, like Nansen, had “caught this spirit” of the neutral nations and had “kept their heads.” One of them was Dr. Alfred Worcester of the American Red Cross, who was trying to get food supplies sent to Austria to help the children. Yet, his cables to the State Department had been futile. Officials told Worcester “that not a

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<sup>141</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 191.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 190-191. On the telegrams, see also: “German Women Appeal to Jane Addams and Edith Wilson,” in *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885-1933*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anya Schöler, and Susan Strasser (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 227-228

pound of food was to go to Austria.”<sup>143</sup> Hamilton’s faith in her own government waned in proportion as her admiration for the neutrals grew.

Hamilton, Addams, Rankin, and Wald had the opportunity to travel into the devastated regions in north-eastern France. Two French women working with the Red Cross were frustrated by their internationalism, and hoped that by demonstrating how France had been violated, the American women would understand the intense feelings underpinning French desires for vengeance. Accepting the opportunity, the group took five days to go first to Lille, near the Belgium border, where they visited public kitchens managed by Mabel Kittredge. After finding the grave of Addams’ nephew, between men of Greek and Polish descendant, as well as thousands of Canadian and American graves, they pressed on to a relief outpost in Grange le Conte run by Quakers from England and America. Of these travels, Hamilton recorded the extreme suffering and destruction, and the generosity of Allied citizens. Regardless, they could not empathize with French vengeance. Instead they petitioned Robert Cecil to abolish plans to appropriate livestock from Germany upon returning to Paris.<sup>144</sup> In a manner that recalled Hamilton’s efforts to help any immigrant, including “dark white” Italians, and her continuous suspicion of egoist nationalism during the War, she refused to view the Central Powers as undeserving enemies.

When WILPF convened in Zürich, Addams concentrated on her diplomatic efforts. The Congress offered women an important opportunity to reaffirm their political identity, commitment to freedom and self-determination, universal well-being, and a women’s global consciousness. As both Akira Iriye and Catia Cecilia Confortini have argued, delegates

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<sup>143</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 191.

<sup>144</sup> In her letter the graves were Slavic and Italian, in her memoir they were Greek-American and Polish-American. Hamilton to Family, May 1, 1919, Box 1, Folder 3, AHP; Hamilton, *ETDT*, 193-195; Hamilton, “Angels of Victory,” *The New Republic* 19 (June 25, 1919): 244-245, Box 1, Folder 22, AHP. Lord Robert Cecil was a British lawyer, politician, and diplomat. Beginning in the fall of 1916, he promoted the League of Nations.

commonly believed that peace was a genuinely transnational endeavour.<sup>145</sup> To this end, they immediately protested the Allied blockade.<sup>146</sup> Of the Treaty of Versailles, they similarly criticized how the terms of peace recognized secret treaties and maintained the imperial system by giving to France, Britain, Australia, and others, the former German colonies. These actions contradicted self-determination as these women defined it, recognized the right of the victors to the spoils of war, and re-created “discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars.”<sup>147</sup> Even the covenant of the League of Nations was disappointing, not simply because self-determination was omitted, but also a number of “fundamental principles” that underwrote their ideals of freedom were also conspicuously ignored. Delegates worried that the Treaty would actually limit global democracy, make impossible the elimination of domestic oppression, and, perhaps more importantly, thwart an international consciousness that had emerged from women’s pre-existing transnational connections and interaction. If member-states did not reduce their militaristic capabilities, if League membership was limited, and if the “abrogation of regional understandings” including the Monroe Doctrine were permitted, any international community would remain divided. And a significant portion of this community, women in particular, were still without political rights, as the peacemakers in Paris refused to address suffrage as an *international* issue.<sup>148</sup> This was particularly disappointing since, as Carrie Foster argues, the women had pinned their hopes for permanent peace on an international organization that would recognize and attempt to protect all freedom.<sup>149</sup> If the unrepresentative nature of

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<sup>145</sup> Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion*, 11; Iriye, *Global Community*, 29. See also: Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 29-30.

<sup>146</sup> Alonso, *Peace*, 81-83; Patterson, *Search for a Negotiated Peace*, 324-325; John Milton Cooper, *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 96-99, especially 97.

<sup>147</sup> Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 39-31, quote taken from 30.

<sup>148</sup> “Resolutions of the Zürich Conference,” WILPF International, <http://www.wilpf.int.ch/statements/1919.htm> (accessed March 9, 2012). As mentioned above, however, some women used the peacemakers’ lack of interest in suffrage to their advantage.

<sup>149</sup> Admittedly, “freedom” was too ambiguous at this stage. Foster, *Women and the Warriors*, 33-35.

states had been the cause of the war, as Wilson contended, then the perpetual disenfranchisement of women showed how contradictory the president's intellectual position was. In response, the Zürich Congress issued a series of resolutions calling for such things as a Permanent International Council for Education that would promote "the idea of world organization and international ethics and citizenship," an international relief agency to alleviate famine, and the Women's Charter, which asked that "the Contracting Parties recognize the status of women." This was "of supreme international importance." More than suffrage, delegates were asking Wilson, George, and Clemenceau to recognize "that the natural relation between men and women" was "interdependence and cooperation." Not only would the Charter eradicate the injurious consequences when women were dependent, limited, or oppressed, but it spoke to a core message feminist-pacifists had been advocating since The Hague in 1915: that inclusiveness, humanity, and cooperative relationships at the international level were impossible as long as women were excluded.<sup>150</sup>

Hamilton was not overly interested in the formal meetings of the Congress. Instead she was eagerly "meeting the women and hearing from them what four years of war has meant to them," which proved to be a "very deep and moving experience."<sup>151</sup> As she explained to her cousin Jessie, these personal encounters were

greater than any I have ever had, it is much deeper than 1915. Then the women came together impulsively, to make a protest against a war that had so overwhelmed them they could hardly find words to speak of it, but now the same women, with others who had not begun to articulate, have had four years of experience such as we can only guess at, and what they have to say is very tremendous.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> "Zürich Resolutions," WILPF International, <http://www.wilpf.int.ch/statements/1919.htm>. Resolution number 6, "Platform Adopted at Washington, D.C., January 10, 1915," Reel 43, Folder 165, *The Jane Addams Papers*, Bryan et al, ed., microfilm edition.

<sup>151</sup> Hamilton to Norah Hamilton, May 14, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 222.

<sup>152</sup> Hamilton to Jessie Hamilton, May 15, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 225.

Women from Munich, for instance, explained how they had been threatened by both revolutionists and militarists. Subsequently, a Hungarian woman described “the triumph when the Soviet government was founded in Hungary and their dreams of the future,” until the Romanians and the Slovaks cooperated with France to overrun her country. The following day, Alice learned from a Romanian woman of a century of oppression by the Hungarians, until the Russian Bolshevik invasion. Now, she and her countrymen feared the Russians.<sup>153</sup> Taken together, these exchanges made “intensely real ... all the things that at home seem only ‘foreign news.’”<sup>154</sup> Disappointed that Wilson, George, and Clemenceau were allowing ultra-nationalism to usurp internationalism once and for all, she brought to these exchanges the same open-mindedness, empathy, imagination, and conversational skills that helped her community ties in Chicago’s 19<sup>th</sup> ward.

Hamilton especially celebrated instances when women candidly expressed their personal aspirations for a permanent peace.<sup>155</sup> A speech from an Austrian woman “reduced many of [them] to tears,” not because of her stories of suffering, but her “joy of meeting at last with friendly faces and hearing of brotherhood and reconciliation.” Moreover, many women noted how the Congress was “the first time in four years ... [they] heard the English tongue and it was not in denunciation of our crimes, it was in denunciation of the hunger blockade.” Attempting to capture the “spirit of the Congress,” Hamilton described vividly the “beautiful high courtesy” of the British women toward their enemies. Despite having just gone through “five years of fear, suspense and privation,” they exhibited “the most truly chivalrous attitude for the conquering side.” The greeting sent by the German women, who were unable to secure passports, was so

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<sup>153</sup> Hamilton to Norah Hamilton, May 14, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 222. To Jessie she related similar exchanges with European women, including Hungarian, Bavarian, and Viennese women. Hamilton to Jessie Hamilton, May 15, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 225.

<sup>154</sup> Hamilton to Jessie Hamilton, May 15, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 225.

<sup>155</sup> Suggesting that Alice now took for granted the more radical ideas of internationalism promoted by the WILPF.

moving Hamilton requested a copy.<sup>156</sup> Throughout Zürich, she found “the things [residents] do for their poor neighbors [were] really wonderful.” Not only had they overseen “care of the wretched repatriated French children,” they had now moved on to the care of Austrian children. For weeks at a time, the children lived in the city and were properly fed. As many as six hundred children were scheduled to arrive in the coming days.<sup>157</sup>

As in 1915, however, Hamilton’s transnational spirit had its limits, especially with some German delegates. Women from Allied countries, for example, “sympathized and . . . passionately declared that our governments were cruel,” and “the Germans lapped it up eagerly and begged for more, but never a word came from them of any ‘mea culpa’ on their side.” Moreover, during the morning of the final day, Jeanne Mélin arrived from the “devastated [Ardennes] region.” Heymann famously met her by saying that “a German woman gives her hand to a French woman” so that “we women can build a bridge from Germany to France and from France to Germany, and that in the future we may be able to make good the wrongdoings of men.” Yet, other German delegates did not collectively answer the “really beautiful speech” Mélin made regarding women’s capacity to eliminate long-established hatreds by being able to speak for those silenced by war, and to initiate an “international fraternity” once enfranchised. By not endorsing or responding to Mélin, Alice felt the German women, except for Heymann, had missed an important opportunity to admit the suffering their country had caused, something she felt would have gone a long way towards renewing the spirit of internationalism

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<sup>156</sup> Hamilton to Norah Hamilton, May 14, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 223.

<sup>157</sup> Hamilton to Jessie Hamilton, May 15, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 226-227.

characteristic of women's pacifist organizations. In the end, she found them "a bit difficult" and "dense."<sup>158</sup>

Hamilton's reactions were not anti-German per se. Immediately following the Congress, she actively countered such sentiment in America. In June of 1919, she published an article in *The New Republic* that admonished Chicagoans for their victory parades. She feared that if Americans celebrated "victory" over the Central Powers, they would normalize the same prejudice within society toward Germans, Italians, and Austrians, that the Terms of Peace were doing at the international level. To combat this, she described in detail the realities of defeat for innocent women and children. Hopefully, readers would understand the "great menace lies not so much in conquered Germany as in the strange new passions let loose by the war in the 'liberated countries' and their own lands." America had to move past the idea that victory could "be made out of the bodies of tiny boys and girls and helpless, broken old people."<sup>159</sup>

Later that summer in *The Survey*, she and Addams drew attention to the individual Germans they had met while in the country with a committee of Quakers from England. Focusing on the horrific starvation experienced by probation officers, professors in clinics, and mothers from both working-class and bourgeois families, they made it difficult for readers to judge these same people for thievery or for smuggling food.<sup>160</sup> By way of conclusion, Hamilton and Addams even emphasized the "common gratitude" they felt toward "the fine spirit of courtesy" amongst Germans.<sup>161</sup> Not only had they spoken with that country's citizens directly,

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<sup>158</sup> On Mélin and Heymann, see: Gertrude Carmen Bussey, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965* (London: WILPF, British Section, 1980), 30. On Hamilton's recorded reactions, see: Hamilton to Smith, May 19, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 230-231.

<sup>159</sup> Hamilton, "Angels of Victory," 244-245.

<sup>160</sup> Hamilton and Addams, "After the Lean Years: Impressions of Food Conditions in Germany When Peace was Signed," *The Survey* 42, 23 (1919): 794, Box 1, Folder 22, AHP. On the reason for their trip to Germany, see also: Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House: With a Record of a Growing World Consciousness* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1930), 149-150.

<sup>161</sup> Hamilton and Addams, "After the Lean Years," 796.

learning how tragic were individuals' situations, but Hamilton and Addams were overwhelmed by Germans' willingness to receive Americans. By humanizing these individuals, Hamilton and Addams hoped they would inspire some of their American readers to reconstruct their perceptions of global politics. Seemingly, the Germans did not express any hatred, suspicion, or vindictiveness in the presence of either woman, even though Germany had so recently been a belligerent enemy of the Entente and the Peace Terms had victimized Germans indiscriminately. If a wholesale reconstruction of American attitudes was not possible, Hamilton and Addams might at least thwart objective moral judgements that Germany was simply an unmitigated enemy. When pressed by Paul Kellogg, they even refused to find the Kaiser's government culpable.<sup>162</sup>

Tragically, while Hamilton and Addams were in Germany, two young African-American boys swam onto a white beach in Chicago, a modest act that sparked a massive race riot. Despite everything residents at Hull-House had done to advance pluralism, pragmatist-feminism, pacifism, public health and state protection of immigrants, they never openly addressed the colour-line.<sup>163</sup> For the most part, African-Americans occupied the lowest levels of

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<sup>162</sup> Hamilton to Kellogg, August 27, 1919, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 234-235. See also Sicherman's editorial comments, *A Life in Letters*, 232-233.

<sup>163</sup> Race and female settlers is an important debate. Allen Davis celebrates their pioneering liberal views. Effectively, Sandra M. Stehno does the same by delineating Edith Abbott's and Sophonisba Breckinridge's efforts to secure state support for dependent African-American children, which Hull-House patron Julius Rosenwald supported. Judith Trolander, however, argues that only a few dissented from mainstream racial bias, specifically Lillian Wald and Jane Addams. A majority of settlers were much less open-minded. Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn adds to Trolander's work by considering why such open-minded reformers failed to challenge racism. Despite Addams' support for the NAACP and invitations to W.E. Du Bois to speak at Hull-House, her settlement did not serve African-Americans in Chicago. Lasch-Quinn points to a general belief that African-Americans would best be helped through separate self-help or racially oriented organizations. By comparing white and black women's civic reform, Linda Gordon has similarly argued that the latter relied on privately organized relief and initiatives dedicated to uplift, including education, while the former lobbied for an activist state. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, 94-102; Sandra M. Stehno, "Public Responsibility for Dependent Black Children: The Advocacy of Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge," *Social Service Review* 62, 3 (1988): 485-503; Judith Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945," *The Journal of*

socioeconomic hierarchies, especially in Chicago. Seeing an opportunity, Southern and Eastern European immigrants perpetuated violence against innocent blacks to signal their rightful place within mainstream society.<sup>164</sup> This was not an isolated incident. Throughout the summer and fall, more than twenty-five major riots erupted nation-wide. Black men had joined the war effort, hoping that loyalty to the nation-state would produce significant racial reform within America, including recognition of their economic and political rights, and possibly even an end to racism itself. By the end of 1919, however, African-Americans were aware that change would not happen any time soon.<sup>165</sup>

Meanwhile, Americans' mistrust of Russian Bolshevism deepened as strikes, recession, and general labour agitation spread that year. It turned into a powerful accusation leveled against any form of political dissent, trade unionism, socialism, and German or Russian sympathies.<sup>166</sup> After finding ways of rebuilding an international community, when four years of destructive violence caused by national prejudice has destroyed transnational ties, postwar American society was truly fracturing along racial, political, and national lines.

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*American History* 78, 2 (1991): 559-590. The connection between this debate and recent work on racial egalitarianism within WILPF is interesting. As Plastas has shown, racial equality through integration was an objective that WILPF endorsed as early as 1919 and was achieved during the inter-war period. Since American membership in the organization included many settlement workers, including prominent women such as Hamilton, Balch, Addams, and Wald, they would have also been concerned about discrimination and integration. That being said, Hamilton found Mary Church Terrell, one of two African-American women at the WILPF conference in 1919, "look[ed] so little like a Negro" that she doubted anyone would identify her as an African-American woman. It seems possible that Plastas over-extends some pacifists' commitment to racial integration. Plastas, *A Band of Noble Women*. Hamilton to Smith, April 13, 1919, in Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 220.

<sup>164</sup> James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, 3 (1997): 3-44, especially 3-4; Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*, 39-58.

<sup>165</sup> Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 12-18. Scholars that argued that African-Americans' growing awareness that racism would remain unchanged after the war laid the foundations for the Harlem Renaissance and Marcus Garvey's poignant effect on racial solidarity. Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Houston A. Baker, *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989). On the same process in Chicago's Black Belt, see: Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>166</sup> Todd J. Pfannestiel, *Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York's Crusade Against Radicalism, 1919-1923* (Routledge, 2003), 17-18; Cohen, "Living and Working in Chicago in 1919," in *Making a New Deal*, chapter 1.

## Conclusion

It is possible Hamilton simply did not have an accurate understanding of what was happening in the main currents of American society. What had motivated both her and Abbott throughout the war, were the lessons they had learned as settlement workers at Hull-House. In the 19<sup>th</sup> ward, they saw Chicago as being deeply connected within an ongoing flow of people, ideas, and cultures that criss-crossed the Atlantic. As Alice struggled with the Well-Baby clinic and Grace with the IPL, they recognized not only the richness that cultural pluralism offered American society, but the potential for an inclusive and peaceful international community that accommodated the well-being and diversity of all individuals. The 19<sup>th</sup> ward was a microcosm that illustrated how these international circles could be constructed using every-day interactions involving collaboration, mutual adjustment, an open mind, and applied theory. When the European War brought their internationalism to an abrupt end, they used newly acquired pragmatist-feminist principles, including a preference for experiential knowledge, to develop ways of contributing to the reconstruction of international peace after the war. That these efforts would have their limits—that they would battle against residual hatreds and animosities—could not have come as too much of a surprise. After all, they had fought against *war per se* precisely because they understood that it generated sentiments that undermined international cooperation and social justice. They, more than most, understood the connection between patriarchy and racism, and the interstate violence that rent the fabric of world society. At the same time, their new understanding of the world still gave them very few tools to overcome these forces.

An important element underwriting internationalism and feminism, and possibly even the attraction of pragmatism, was women's disenfranchisement. Alice herself argued war did not reflect the will of the people. Given her experiences in science, in symbolic diplomacy, and in

Chicago settlement work, she was presumably referring to women, children, and immigrants. Because Grace came from a long-line of suffragists and helped immigrants en route to America in 1914, including those who still had family members living in Europe, it seems likely she would she have agreed with Alice. Individuals lacking the political channels to express themselves could claim they had no association with the jealousies, rivalries, and secret treaties that had provoked such unlimited violence. Women's leverage at the international level, therefore, depended in part on the fact that women, children, and hapless Europeans caught in-between had a measure of innocence *precisely* because they were denied political rights and participation in the will of the state.

Fred Howe also believed that the Great War represented the views, aspirations, and opinions of a select group of men, rather than the will of the people. As suggested in this chapter and examined further in the next, left and liberal-left reform circles in New York and Chicago began to develop tighter social connections. With Addams and other friends of Hull-House, for example, he attended Henry House pacifist meetings, including those where the AUAM was established. Yet, Howe's political maturation had occurred in Cleveland's municipal politics, and in European cities interviewing male professionals in positions of power. Because a man's place within an urban public sphere had never been scrutinized or limited in ways similar to women, he had always been free to tour new cities and to spearhead the integration of European municipal lessons into American cities. This allowed him to believe he was becoming a part of exclusive professional transnational networks characterized by a masculine service ethic, or public-spirit, and dedicated to tangible public improvements. How much would gendered urban experience matter? Would Howe approach peace and internationalism in similar ways to those of Hamilton and Abbott, who had been socialized under very different urban conditions? Would he

see the value in trying to re-establish personal and cultural social connections as if American and European domestic places had once formed a united social arena? And what about prejudice? Would he be motivated to undo the conditions causing disenfranchisement? Or would he try and assume positions of power that allowed him to benevolently manage, if not dictate, a novel international context for peace?

## CHAPTER SIX

### Preparing a Wilsonian Public-Spirited Internationalism

*Let all small nations defend that principle. Free circulation of man is another elementary principle for which we must stand. Grotius and the other fathers of modern international law in the seventeenth century looked upon it as a condition of world peace.*<sup>1</sup>

— Senator Henri La Fontaine, Belgium, 1917

As early as 1911, Frederic Howe was disillusioned with urban Progressivism in Cleveland.<sup>2</sup> Very little change, if any at all, resulted from the tireless efforts of Howe, Mayor Tom Johnson, amongst others, to bring about a new social order in northern Ohio. Municipal ownership of streetcars, for example, which would limit fares to three cents, eradicate lucrative franchises for utility companies, and theoretically lead residents to achieve personal and financial success through City Council, ended in disaster. As a public company, the Cleveland Streetcar Co. was mismanaged and workers were not adequately paid.<sup>3</sup> In May 1908, a violent strike crippled streetcar lines.<sup>4</sup> Although residents were proud of their public library, public schools, and the

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<sup>1</sup> La Fontaine quoted in B.L., “Through Liberty to World Peace; First Congress of the League of Small and Subject Nationalities,” *The Survey* 39, 6 (1917): 140. As will be discussed below, Howe served as president of this League. Henri La Fontaine of Belgium was a professor of international law, a Senator for thirty-six years, and believed fervently that treaties, unions, diplomacy, and courts of arbitration should be used to settle disputes peacefully. It was his conviction that countries, big and small, must defend and protect justice. Remaining aloof while another country suffered therefore compromised his principles of internationalism. In 1913, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. “Henri La Fontaine – Biography,” Nobelprize.org, [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1913/fontaine-bio.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1913/fontaine-bio.html) (accessed May 16, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> As previously discussed, historians debate when and why Progressivism declined. While it is possible to consider Howe’s disillusionment a weathervane indicating its demise, historians tend to disagree. Bremner argues Progressivism did not wane until the 1920s when Johnson’s “fellow-workers” retired from politics. Lubove adds to this argument by illustrating that Howe had not given up on America or the city, but had out-grown Cleveland. Miller pushes these arguments further by situating Howe and his reform politics in a larger narrative of social policy that extends into the 1930s. The author sides mostly with Lubove. John Bremner, “What Happened to the Civic Revival,” *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15, 2 (1956): 195-202. Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 284. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 2-3. See also: Robert Arthur Huff, “Frederic C. Howe, Progressive” (PhD diss., The University of Rochester, 1966), 238-278.

<sup>3</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 208-212.

<sup>4</sup> The Chamber of Commerce had always been divided over municipal ownership. But in 1908, Johnson successfully assumed control over a private streetcar company and lowered fares to 3 cents. The company, however, was plagued with depressed revenues. Moreover, municipal ownership required changes to union salary structure, resulting in bitter labour disputes and sabotage. It was returned to private ownership. Voters rejected subsequent attempts to

rapid construction of the Group Plan buildings, Howe regretted to admit they were not concerned with corruption at City Hall.<sup>5</sup> Even as part of Johnson's inner circle, Howe had, by his own admission, failed to create an "honest" government that united the people across class lines, and to initiate a new city environment that strengthened residents' pride in their community. European-style urban and municipal reform simply did not produce the same civic unity that Howe had experienced, studied and lauded in Glasgow, Scotland, and Düsseldorf, Germany. Power remained with local companies instead of being transferred to Cleveland's City Council, and by extension the "people," when municipal ownership failed and beautification did not inspire civic engagement. Voters simply did not believe that elected officials could be honest, dignified, or responsive to "the decision of the majority." Indifference rather than a "burning interest in the city" characterized the average local voter, even though Howe knew men who "not only served the city ... but loved ... public office ... [and] gave loyal and enthusiastic service" to the people of Cleveland.<sup>6</sup> Ready for a fresh start in New York City, the Howes moved to Chelsea and then Greenwich Village in late 1910.<sup>7</sup> Frederic would dedicate himself to writing and teach at the People's Institute, and Marie could finally immerse in women's activism, suffrage in particular.<sup>8</sup>

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municipalize the company. Mayor Herman Baehr (1910-1911) was able to later institute the three cent fare. Johnson, *My Story*, 280-282; Howe, *Confessions*, 125-126; "Union Vote Heavy in Favor of a Street Car Strike," "Street Car Men Quickly Act on Decision to Quit," "Dynamiters Wreck Car; Passengers are Injured," *Plain Dealer*, May 2, 16, 19, 1908, 1,1,1; Thomas F. Campbell, "Municipal Ownership," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, ed. Grabowski, <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=MO> (accessed January 20, 2013); Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public*, 33-39; Eugene C. Murdock, "Cleveland's Johnson: The Burton Campaign," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15, 4 (1956): 423; Ronald R. Weiner, *Lake Effects: A History of Urban Policy Making in Cleveland, 1825-1929* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 242, 246.

<sup>5</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, "Recasting my Beliefs," chapter 18, quotes taken from 177, 179.

<sup>7</sup> In the fall of 1910, the Howes moved to the Chelsea Hotel at West 23<sup>rd</sup> Street, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. Two years later, they relocated to West 12<sup>th</sup> Street, in the Village. Howe, *Confessions*, 225, 231, 240; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 164-165.

<sup>8</sup> The People's Institute was founded by Charles Sprague in 1897 as the academic counterpart to the Cooper Union mechanics school. Similar to the Hull-House College Extension program, the Institute provided free education to the poor residents of New York City's Lower East Side by offering lectures, drama, etc. Howe was appointed Director

According to Howe's memoir, "the years from 1911 to 1914 were a happy interim."<sup>9</sup> Despite the setbacks in Cleveland, Howe used his New York years to proselytize the virtues of European urban reform. During these years he continued to travel to European cities, and published numerous articles describing their architectural and political reforms, and his magnum opus *European Cities at Work* in 1913, a year before Hamilton traveled to Vienna. This spurt of productivity indicates that his faith in municipal transnationalism was undiminished. Howe continued to believe that European cities provided American Progressives with didactic models of reform and leadership, and to argue that a special kind of public-spirited man was required for engendering civic unity. Networks of urban-minded professionals from particular European countries, who believed that exchanging information would strengthen their respective communities, occupied a significant place in Howe's experiences in and perceptions of an international community. This urban *internationale* had burgeoned prior to the Great War, at least for Howe.<sup>10</sup> Transnationalism, therefore, was a process where men like him shared ideas that connected their cities within larger efforts toward civilization, characterized by democratic reform and neoclassical beautification; these men saw themselves as sharing more with each other than they did with their opponents in their home country. Rather than personal, experiential connections that bound individuals within an inclusive social arena, Howe's vision depended on networks exclusive to educated, professional men familiar with European history, culture, and society. When the First World War seemingly destroyed the urban *internationale*, Fred was just

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after Sprague's death in 1910. Marie became active in the National Consumers' League, and chair of the Twenty-Fifth Assembly District division of the New York Women Suffrage Party. Then in 1912, she founded Heterodoxy, a luncheon club where "unorthodox women" could talk freely. Because of this, Heterodoxy helped to "incubate feminism" amongst a small yet outspoken group. Sandra Adickes, *To Be Young Was Very Heaven: Women in New York before the First World War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 60-61, 87-88; Judith Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912-1940*, rev. ed. (Norwich: New Victoria Publishers, 1986), 1-2, 7, 14-15; MacFarland, *Inside Greenwich Village*, 200-201.

<sup>9</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, quote taken from 249, see also: 249-251.

<sup>10</sup> Saunier, "Nolen and the Urban Internationale," 23-31.

as dismayed as Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott had been.<sup>11</sup> But instead of going abroad to “see for [himself],” Howe continued to hold out hope that once the war was over, the same benevolent men of professional classes who had remodelled the industrial cities of the Atlantic world could restore an orderly and peaceable world-order.<sup>12</sup> While his “happy interim” was over, Howe took advantage of new opportunities to determine how, if at all, an American public-spirited masculinity might initiate peace efforts.

It fell, not coincidentally, to one of Howe’s mentor at Hopkins, President Woodrow Wilson, to serve as the male leader who would capture and lead a new public-spirit in national and international politics.<sup>13</sup> Wilson’s emergence in federal politics and his 1912 campaign, organized under the slogan the “New Freedom,” inspired Howe to re-establish his faith in the modern American city and in governance by experts who responded benevolently to the people’s needs. This was an ethic Howe had aspired to since graduating from Hopkins. After the presidential election in December 1912, Fred was therefore keen to finally assume his place within national Progressive reform by establishing close political ties to the President. When

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<sup>11</sup> An excellent overview is given by Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 267-275.

<sup>12</sup> Not surprisingly, Howe was unsuccessful. On the continuation of patriarchy after the war, see: Erika Kuhlman, *Reconstructing Patriarchy after the Great War: Women, Gender, and Postwar Reconciliation between Nations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Historians offer conflicting commentary on Wilson’s global image. Rossini demonstrates how its appeal was derived, in part, from the immigrant myth that America represented freedom and opportunity. An idea the President personified with his rhetoric. Taking a different approach, Manela illustrates how Wilsonianism became entangled with colonized peoples’ goals for national independence, suggesting local imagination and aspiration influenced perceptions of post-war internationalism. If Iriye is correct to argue that Wilson was more a nationalist than a transnationalist, their work implies that the liberal internationalism Wilson represented became implicated in transnational movements or ideas regardless of his views on nation-state relations. And then Ninkovich posits that imagination influences international affairs, as much as it does domestic affairs and nationalism. Wilsonianism can therefore be understood as a product and function of what Americans imagine their nation’s identity, global responsibility and position to be. Daniela Rossini, “Propaganda in Uniform,” in *Woodrow Wilson and the American Myth Italy: Culture, Diplomacy, and War Propaganda*, trans. Anthony Shugaar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), chapter 4, especially 81-82. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 35-53; idem, “People of Many Races: The World Beyond Europe in the Wilsonian Imagination,” in *Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson: The American Dilemma of Race and Democracy*, ed. John Milton Cooper and Thomas J. Knock (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 184-208. Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 42-44, 69-70. Ninkovich, *Wilsonian Century*, 290-292.

American public-spirited leaders would assume global leadership, he was determined to be at the helm with Wilson.

This chapter therefore begins with Wilson's New Freedom to suggest why Howe found it so appealing, before moving on to his post at Ellis Island as Commissioner of Immigration that began in 1914. Although he was initially disappointed with the appointment, he was determined to spearhead public improvements there after visiting it for the first time. The changes he envisioned would not only render the Island more welcoming to immigrants, but instill amongst them the pride, collective sense, and civic passion that the Group Plan should have engendered amongst residents in Cleveland. Again, Howe believed that beautification of public spaces would make better citizens. It also, in Howe's mind, demonstrated America's commitment to open borders. Ellis Island, the greatest symbol of American immigration, could stand as a monument to the critical role that architecture and leadership could have in the Americanization of newcomers. The European war complicated this. As American sentiment moved from neutrality to intervention by early 1917, the rise in nativist temper, the battles over preparedness, and finally the U.S. declaration of war, rendered Howe's policies increasingly controversial. Yet Wilson's gradual articulation of a series of international ideals, namely "consent of the governed"—or what would later be known as self-determination—and the League of Nations, gave Howe important ways to continue believing that a new mode of American leadership and internationalism was dawning. When Wilson's Fourteen Points were celebrated in Europe beginning in January, 1918, when they were first announced, Howe felt it was time to act. Because his ideas of a cosmopolitan and peaceful internationalism had always revolved around beautification and democratic political reform, Howe was determined by war's end to "restore" civilization through urban reform. And his test-case was the ancient city of Constantinople that,

in his opinion, had been plundered by clashing selfish, imperial ambitions of Britain, Russia, and Germany. He presented himself to the Wilson administration as an expert of the Mediterranean, received an appointment to the American Peace Delegation, and waited for an opportunity to serve both the people of Constantinople and the federation of nations that would emerge after the Paris Peace conference. Howe was therefore trying to help orchestrate a new order by becoming the same generous, selfless, and “big-visioned” leader dedicated to democracy, “the people,” and social unity, which had been previously exemplified by German city-men until the war made “German” a dirty word; Wilson’s rise to prominence seemed to offer the United States the chance to supplant European leadership of the global commons.

As I have suggested from the outset, Howe’s approach to maintaining transnational reform in the face of war was informed by his conception of service as a largely male domain. This idea was reaffirmed by his urban experiences throughout the Atlantic Era. During the two and half years of American neutrality during the war, Howe maintained ties to the Chicago and Henry Street circles of pacifists, feminists, and socialists, but his wartime vision of reconstruction was critically different from that of Hamilton and Abbott. His international urban experiences did not draw upon a feminist critique of power, or the lived-experience of settlement work, but from municipal politics, professional connections and grandiose plans through which men would spearhead the reformation of urban, national and international politics.

### **Woodrow Wilson at the Helm of American Public-Spirited Leadership**

During the nine months Wilson spent campaigning for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination in 1911, he gained the support of influential magazines and newspapers including *World’s Work*, *Outlook*, the *New York Evening Post*, Cleveland’s *Plain Dealer*, and all thirty-

four newspapers published by Scripps.<sup>14</sup> Howe was connected with each of these, either as an author, editor, patron, or, as with Scripps, a part of a political campaign they had endorsed.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, his life-long friend and colleague Newton D. Baker, then Mayor of Cleveland, campaigned brilliantly for Wilson at both the Ohio and National Democratic Conventions in 1912, helping him to secure the nomination.<sup>16</sup> Supporting his former Johns Hopkins professor, not to mention Baker's rise to national prominence, would seem to have been the natural choice for Howe. And it would have been fortuitous given his long-established determination to assume a position of leadership within Progressive reform directed toward the common good.

The problem was that Howe was a card-carrying Republican insurgent, not a Democrat. He was both charter member and secretary of the National Progressive Republican League (NPRL), a coalition formed to block President William Taft's bid for re-nomination by supporting Wisconsin Senator Robert "Fighting Bob" La Follette. Although the Taft Administration had used the Sherman Antitrust Act to break-up Standard Oil and U.S. Steel, amongst other monopolistic corporations, the president was slowly shifting to the right. In 1909, for example, Taft dismissed Gifford Pinchot, a popular reformer and Republican, from his position as head of the U.S. Forest Service after he accused Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger of siding with private trusts when handling coal claims in Alaska. Then during the Republican primaries in 1911, Taft opposed Roosevelt's Direct Democracy initiative because it undermined the influence of established politicians and financiers over the nomination process. By 1912, Taft appeared to be more the political representative for big-business and Wall Street than the President of the people. To counter him, the NPRL helped La Follette to mobilize the

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<sup>14</sup> Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 391-392.

<sup>15</sup> On Howe's involvement with these newspapers and publishers, see: Huff, "Progressive," 120-145.

<sup>16</sup> Francis L. Broderick, *Progressivism at Risk: Electing a President in 1912* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989), 91; Cramer, *Baker: A Biography*, 64-68.

Progressive elements of the Republican Party. Ideally, its platform would create an institutional framework for the larger Progressive movement, helping it become a cohesive if eclectic national party. But when Roosevelt decided to oppose Taft by announcing his own nomination for the Progressive or “Bull Moose” Party, he tactically refused to endorse La Follette and the League’s platform, causing it to collapse. Republican voters split and Wilson’s Democrats were swept unexpectedly to power.<sup>17</sup> In Howe’s quest to begin anew his career as a reformer and public intellectual, he had not taken advantage of his connections to Wilson. He would need Baker’s help to get the new President’s attention.

If Howe missed an opportunity to align himself with emergent leaders of the Democratic Party, by December of 1913, he was applauding Wilson’s “New Freedom,” the 1912 Democratic campaign slogan penned by the “People’s Lawyer,” Louis Brandeis.<sup>18</sup> As Howe told Colonel Edward M. House, the President’s closest advisor, he had “the greatest possible faith in the philosophy of ‘The New Freedom’, as proposed by President Wilson.”<sup>19</sup> Brandeis’s conception of the New Freedom aimed to attract support from southern Democrats and northern industrial working-classes, the “people,” by appealing to their shared animosity toward large-scale economic enterprises, while at the same time lessen Roosevelt’s appeal among Progressives by arguing that mere regulation of the Trusts was not nearly enough. By emphasizing new regulation for corporations engaged in interstate business, namely railways, and franchises, Roosevelt was overlooking wider societal changes that had been ongoing since the late 19<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Gould, “Roosevelt versus Taft in 1912,” in *Four Hats in the Ring*, chapter 3; John A. Thompson, *Reformers and War: American Progressive Publicists and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10; William B. Murphy, “The National Progressive Republican League and the Elusive Quest for Progressive Unity,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 8, 4 (2009): 516-518; Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 218-219.

<sup>18</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 249-251.

<sup>19</sup> Howe to Edward M. House, December 19, 1913, as quoted by Huff, “Progressive,” 160. Briefly, Huff also mentions that Howe was angling for a high-level political position, but does not directly connect this letter to House with those efforts, see 171-172.

century. If controlling the trusts for “honest capitalization” could undermine labour exploitation, interfering in corporate issues would not allow the federal government to reorient itself toward an increasingly interconnected yet anonymous society.<sup>20</sup>

Industrialization, urbanization, and rapid demographic change had created a sense of disconnectedness amongst the American people. They no longer formed communities through the face-to-face interaction unique to small towns. Machines and corporations had assumed control over their labour, weakening individual connections to the economy and to capitalist traditions. Wilson and Brandeis, therefore, wanted to bring to the White House a style of governance that was flexible and experimental, so to allow the state to respond to citizens’ concerns, if not create a symbiotic relationship between the two. The common man would be recognized as the politicians’ conscience, while the politician would reciprocate by creating a social, economic, and political system wherein these men could participate, gain access to authority, and succeed.<sup>21</sup>

Well, we are architects in our time, and our architects are also engineers ... We don’t have to stop any of the processes of our lives because we are rearranging the structures in which we conduct those processes. What we have to undertake is to systematize the foundations of the house, then to thread all the old parts of the structure with the steel which will be laced together in modern fashion, accommodated to all the modern knowledge of structural strength and elasticity, and then slowly change the partitions, relay the walls, let in the light through new apertures, improve the ventilation; until finally, a generation or two from now, the scaffolding will be taken away, and there will be the family in a great building whose noble architecture will at last be disclosed, where men can live as a single community, co-operative as in a perfected, coordinated beehive, not afraid of any storm of nature, not afraid of any artificial storm, any imitation of thunder and lightning, knowing that the foundations go down to the bedrock of principle, and knowing that whenever they please they can change that plan again and accommodate it as they please to the altering necessities of their lives.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism,” speech at Osawatomie, August 31, 1910, in *The New Nationalism* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1910), quote taken from 14, see also: 14-15, 30-32. Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom: A Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People* (1913; repr., New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1918), 68-69.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, “The Old Order Changeth” and “Parliament of the People,” in *The New Freedom*, chapters one and five.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 51-52.

Wilson aspired to create not only “a body of laws which will look after the men who are on the make rather than the men who are already made,” but also a government that could “feel nothing so much as the intensity of the common man.” The President was not simply paying respect to the average, hardworking American citizen, but anticipated a day when citizens believed that the state acted “*through*” them because their thoughts had penetrated political consciousness. The New Freedom was therefore designed to encourage individuals to embrace a larger sense of a social communion required in this “new social age, [this] new era of human relationships.” More importantly, it was men in public office who facilitated a national society that was cooperative and united, using federal legislation to establish equitable social, political, and economic structures. Wilson therefore stressed the importance of selfless politicians. They had to set aside their personal ambitions so to embrace the concerns and goals of the people.<sup>23</sup>

He prays God that something will bring into his consciousness what is in theirs, so that the whole nation may feel at last released from its dumbness, feel at least that there is no invisible force holding it back from its goal, feel at last that there is hope and confidence and that the road may be trodden as if we were brothers, shoulder to shoulder, not asking each other anything about differences of class, not contesting for any selfish advance, but united in common enterprise.<sup>24</sup>

Both Roosevelt and Wilson championed social and political reform in their respective campaigns.<sup>25</sup> Americans had at that time, Wilson insisted, “a great program of governmental assistance ahead of [them] in the co-operative life of the nation; but [they] dare not enter upon that program until [they] have freed the government.”<sup>26</sup> Free the government from what exactly?

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<sup>23</sup> Emphasis original. Ibid, quotes taken from 17, 104, 69, 31-32.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, quote taken from 104-105.

<sup>25</sup> The New Nationalism and the New Freedom also proposed important legislation aimed at rectifying various social issues that had concerned reformers for nearly two decades. In ways, the two campaigns were similar. Roosevelt, for example, supported woman suffrage, the eight-hour work day, prohibition of child labour, and minimum-wage standard for working women in addition to strict regulation of large corporations. Wilson, meanwhile, proposed powerful banking legislation that limited the power of Wall Street, financial support to farmers, a lower tariff to inspire trade, amongst other reforms.

<sup>26</sup> Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 218.

Wilson was clear: from privilege and the trusts. He agreed with Roosevelt that economic privilege caused corruption, but he differed in arguing that Roosevelt's acceptance of the permanent presence of vast concentrations of economic power, to be kept in line merely by micro-managing such power from the limited administrative mechanisms of the federal state, was wholly inadequate to restore American democracy. What was needed, rather, was a legislative system that allowed citizens to thrive.<sup>27</sup>

The men who have been ruling America must consent to let the majority into the game. We will no longer permit any system to go uncorrected which is based upon private understandings ... we will not allow the few to continue to determine what the policy of the country is to be. It is a question of access to our own government. There are very few of us who have had any real access to the government it ought to be a matter of common counsel; a matter of united counsel; a matter of mutual comprehension.

So, keep the air clear with constant discussion. Make every public servant feel that he is acting in the open and under scrutiny; and, above all things else, take these great fundamental questions of your lives with which political platforms concern themselves and search them through and through by every process of debate. Then we shall have a clear air in which we shall see our way to each kind of social betterment. When we have freed our government, when we have restored freedom of enterprise, when we have broken up the partnerships between money and power which now block us at every turn, then we shall see our way to accomplish all the handsome things which platforms promise in vain if they do not start at the point where stand the gates of liberty.<sup>28</sup>

Brandeis and Wilson therefore wanted a platform that committed the state to restoring an older, producerist notion of political economy. Committed to battling "bigness," Wilson's "program of liberty" aimed to restore equal opportunity, free trade, and dissolve trusts by preventing monopoly and subverting the power of "special privileges." Ideally, these reforms would foster innovation and restore economic competition akin to the nineteenth century marketplace, thereby rehabilitating democratic opportunity. Furthermore, Brandeis's plan for a stronger federal state embraced social justice issues important amongst left and liberal-left reformers, thereby deepening Wilson's commitment to a form of social Progressivism. Even his inaugural

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, "Monopoly, or Opportunity," chapter eight.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 107-108.

address explicitly indicated a readiness “to go beyond the New Freedom and place social reform high on the national agenda.” Accordingly, Wilson’s commitment to small-scale liberal political economy also disavowed Thomas Jefferson’s notion “that the best government is that which ... exercises its power as little as possible.” Wilson argued “there can be no equality of opportunity, the essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives ... from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not [*sic*] alter, control, or singly cope with.”<sup>29</sup> It was those ordinary men who worked tirelessly from day to day that underwrote national success, and government must work on behalf of and cooperatively with such men in order to lay the foundations for a new governing system that reflected the people’s sympathies, felt their concerns, and reacted to their needs.<sup>30</sup> His desire to combine the best features of an industrial and producerist political economy and to protect the country’s working poor may have resonated with Howe. Wilson was confronting the corrupting influence of privilege while championing economic and social reform on behalf of the people.<sup>31</sup>

Although the New Freedom was ambiguous, Brandeis and Wilson created a program that recalled the very reasons Howe had so admired elected officials and the people of Glasgow.<sup>32</sup> His former professor wanted to establish a governing system that made it possible for individuals to do things, inspired their ambitions and civic engagement, and provided reasons for them to take pride in *their* nation and *their* government. It is perhaps not surprising that Howe celebrated

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<sup>29</sup> Quotes taken from Knock, *To End All Wars*, 17, see also: 16-18.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, quotes taken from 82, 83, 78, see also: 88, 108.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to the work already cited, Howe expressed his arguments against privilege in 1910. Howe, *Privilege and Democracy in America* (New York: Charles Scribner’s and Sons, 1910).

<sup>32</sup> No record exists as to who Howe voted for in the election, but it seems unlikely it was Taft or Roosevelt. The former appeared to be more a friend of big business than the American people. According to *Confessions*, Roosevelt had tried to unseat Johnson as Mayor while Howe was still a part of his inner circle in Cleveland by urging Congressman Theodore Burton (R-OH) to run. Howe, *Confessions*, 119. Miller also believes it was Wilson. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 163. To a certain extent Howe’s support of Wilson and his platform is not surprising, assuming Knock is correct to argue that the New Freedom resonated widely with Progressives because the President had requested their expert opinions and integrated their concerns, if not recommendations, within his legislative platform. His election signalled that social justice had become a part of federal policy. Knock, “Wilson and the Age of Socialist Inquiry,” in *To End All Wars*, chapter 2.

Wilson's New Freedom in the same way he celebrated city-men in America, Britain, and Germany. At Johns Hopkins, Howe had admired Wilson's brilliance, oration, and enthusiasm for theories of good governance.<sup>33</sup> After the 1912 election, the President's policies captured a "spirit" that was "generous," "hospitable," and "brilliant." Economic reform would end corporate monopolies, which Howe described as "cruel feudalism," give opportunity and social mobility back to the people, encourage "the more enlightened business men," and "call forth the impoverished talents of the immigrant and the poor." The New Freedom represented, in Howe's opinion, a promise to dissolve class and ethnic conflict on behalf of the people. The President therefore exemplified Howe's "big-visioned" conception of public service he had promoted throughout his career.<sup>34</sup> Similar objectives had motivated not only Johnson and mayors in Glasgow and across Germany, but Fred Howe to study their municipal policies. More than that, the New Freedom "would bring in a rebirth of literature, music, and spirit" once the legislation associated with it had established an economic prosperity that was fairly distributed.<sup>35</sup> This development pattern, Howe believed, had occurred before in Italy in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and he pinned his hopes on a comparable cultural rebirth in a post-corporate America. The key was bringing such refinement to the masses, and Wilson embodied, or so he seemed to think, the same cosmopolitan leadership that Howe had associated with prominent men in Berlin and Düsseldorf—leaders who had facilitated higher forms of urban civilization and democracy by

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<sup>33</sup> Wilson, however, did not inspire him the way that Shaw had. His lectures "dealt in abstractions" that "gave [him] no such pictures." Howe, *Confessions*, 5-7.

<sup>34</sup> He used the phrase "big-visioned" leadership in ways similar to his descriptions of Johnson as a leader who could think in "large figures" and "terms." Howe, "Mr. Hughes to the Aliens; Detroit Speech as Praise for Wilson Administration," *New York Times*, August 10, 1916, 8.

<sup>35</sup> The Wilson Administration was able to quickly push through significant labour legislation. For example, in 1913, there was the Newlands Labor Act that established the Board of Mediation and Conciliation and the Department of Labor was established to promote workers' welfare. In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act expanded the vocation training offered in land-grant colleges, established federal support for farm cooperatives, and created a system of county agents to help farmers develop more efficient techniques for keeping livestock and growing crops. In 1916, the Workingmen's Compensation Act and the Adamson Act (8-hr work day) were signed into law. Unfortunately, Howe does not specify which of Wilson's economic reforms he found inspiring.

providing equal access to economic opportunity, political representation, and the fine arts, thereby cultivating citizens who were loyal, intelligent, ambitious, and prosperous. This ambitious vision had underwritten urban beautification. After a decade of fighting privilege with mixed-results, Howe's belief that the selfless spirit that had animated European cities was finally starting to pervade American society had been re-inspired by Wilson's arrival on the national scene. He may have even believed that a *cosmopolis* would soon emerge in the New World, since America's "political renaissance was ... coming."<sup>36</sup>

That Wilson gave due credit to European cities and their innovative social politics undoubtedly helped. In a campaign speech in Fall River, Massachusetts in 1912, he told the audience "that one of the best governed cities in the world is the great ... city of Glasgow."<sup>37</sup> In *The New Freedom*, published in 1913, Wilson elaborated on the wise choices made by this Scottish city. Americans had just begun to appreciate the harsh conditions people faced in the industrialized city, where families were "piled" together in "the great tenement houses of [the] crowded districts," and to understand that an enlarged federal state was needed to address the social and moral consequences of such conditions. He therefore used Glasgow, "one of the model cities of the world," as an example of a foreign place where "they had made much more progress than [Americans] in handling these things." When explaining the New Freedom in 1912, Wilson even declared his desire to "follow the example of the city of Glasgow" by legislating a system that would "light and patrol the corridors of these great organizations [industry, corporations, and the city] in order to see that nobody who tries to transverse them is waylaid and maltreated." And in defense of Beaux-Arts architecture, he countered critics' arguments in favour of a vernacular style: not only did he appreciate the grandeur of

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<sup>36</sup> Quotes taken from Howe, *Confessions*, 250-251.

<sup>37</sup> Wilson quoted in Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 144.

neoclassicism but he explained that from “the experience of France” there was a great deal to learn. As in in Glasgow, men there had better “adjusted [their] lives to modern conditions.”<sup>38</sup> It is hard to believe that Howe would have missed Wilson’s admiration for Glasgow, especially the mutually-constitutive relationships between society, the people, and the state that had been developed there, for Beaux-Art architecture, and for the study of social politics in Europe, given Howe’s own trans-Atlantic enthusiasms.

### **Ellis Island: Providing for Immigrants’ Common Good**

Howe clearly wanted to join Wilson’s inner circle. As early as December 1912, he began using his network of influential friends and colleagues, including La Follette (who would represent Wisconsin in the Senate until his death in 1925) and Baker, who was still mayor of Cleveland, to try and gain a position. Howe was so eager that for over a year and a half, he sent these men either direct expressions of interest or requests that they put forth his name whenever possible. Furthermore, he put his ideas on the desks of such prominent Democrats as House, William Gibbs McAdoo, the new secretary of the Treasury, and even Wilson himself whenever an opportunity arose to demonstrate his expertise on a particular topic.<sup>39</sup>

Howe finally “received a letter from President Wilson tendering [him]” a position in the summer of 1914. However, the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island was not a high-level post that would move him into Wilson’s inner circles. Howe was disappointed. At the time he would have preferred to remain in his “work as director of the People’s Institute.” Moreover—

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<sup>38</sup> Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 20-22, 207, 52. On Glasgow, see also: “A Campaign Address in Scranton, Pennsylvania,” September 23, 1912, *PWW*, 25: 223, 226. Although the Scottish academic traditions never appealed to him, scholars have noted that Wilson’s Scotch-Irish ancestry was a source of great pride for him, and he was well acquainted with Glasgow. W. Bruce Leslie, “Dreaming Spires in New Jersey: Anglophilia in Wilson’s Princeton,” in *The Educational Legacy of Woodrow Wilson: From College to Nation*, ed. James Axtell (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), Kindle edition.

<sup>39</sup> Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 201-207.

and ironically given his municipal work in Cleveland—“the subject of immigration did not interest [him] greatly” and he “knew very little about it.” Prior to November 1915, it was a subject he rarely addressed in any publication. Only once had he described immigrant ward bosses in Cleveland, but this merely was to suggest how municipal administration could undermine their influence by assuming responsibility for newcomers’ adjustment and naturalization.<sup>40</sup> The only aspects of the post that were attractive to Howe were such responsibilities as the management of a work-force of six hundred people and the admission of thousands of immigrants a day. And the position was a presidential appointment, rendering him responsible only to Wilson, his former professor at Johns Hopkins.<sup>41</sup> Although it was a lesser position within the public service it established a political connection between him and Wilson.

Quickly, Howe realized that being Commissioner of Immigration was an ideal opportunity to be a “generous,” “hospitable,” and cosmopolitan leader who responded to the needs of the people. At the People’s Institute, he had learned the “Island of Tears” was more like a prison. Yet after visiting, he was “strongly attracted to the place by the tremendous human appeal of the work” and the “opportunity to ameliorate the lot of several thousand human beings.”<sup>42</sup> Just like his work on the Group Plan in Cleveland, and his opinions of the New

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<sup>40</sup> In November of 1915, Howe began publishing articles that addressed immigration. Each one argued that the U.S. must maintain liberal policies so to aide vulnerable individuals, especially women whose male relations had died in battle. These individuals would easily assimilate because established friends and family would encourage their migration. He also stressed that men who survived the war would remain in Europe because employment opportunities for them would actually increase. Howe, “Immigration After the War,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 58 (November 1915): 635-638; idem, “Immigration, Industry, and the War,” *Review of Reviews* 52 (November 1915): 598-602; idem, “Our Future Immigration Policy,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 61, 5 (1917): 542-546. His opinions were also repeated in a published interview. Richard Barry, “Will Immigration Tide Rise After the War?” *New York Times*, July 16, 1916, SM12. On immigrant ward bosses, see: Howe, “A City ‘Finding Itself,’” 3989.

<sup>41</sup> On Howe’s initial reaction to the appointment, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 252, 254. See also: James F. Richardson, “Introduction,” in Howe, *Confessions*, v, xvii; Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 30; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 201, 206-209; Huff, “Howe, Progressive,” 171-172; Lubove, “Quest for Community,” 285.

<sup>42</sup> Howe quoted in Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 206; Howe, *Confessions*, 253. See also: Howe, “At the Outer Door,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1915, 10. During the winter of 1915, he also gave a lecture promoting this objective. “The Human Side of the Immigrant” was given in Cleveland, Ohio, at a banquet. “To Dine Commissioner,” *Plain Dealer*, January 14, 1915, 7. On William Williams’s draconian leadership on Ellis Island

Freedom, Howe was inspired by an opportunity to alleviate the “conditions that resulted in suffering or injustice” through an “improved environment.”<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, as a public official responsible for Europeans’ admission to America at Ellis Island, a significant landmark and gateway in the Atlantic Era, his new role rendered him a selfless leader in a transnational place. Not only would he be closer to Wilson professionally as Commissioner of Immigration, but he would be assuming prominence within the networks of people and ideas that prior to 1914 had structured an orderly, congenial, and collegial internationalism.

Improvements, or “humanizing,” at Ellis Island happened quickly.<sup>44</sup> Toward the end of September 1914, the *Plain Dealer* reported that playgrounds for detained children, which Howe had ordered built, would open in the coming days.<sup>45</sup> Over the next eight months, teachers were hired to direct the playground and given “every kind of ball and jumping-ropes,” many of which Howe had purchased himself. Using “a sort of language in this medley of tow-headed Swedes, brown Italian children, Mexicans, Irish,” amongst other nationalities, teachers managed to get everyone playing together. Rather than keep men, women, and children within the detention hall, he ordered benches taken out of storage, placed all over the lawns, and encouraged everyone to go out in the “crisp outdoors.” Although the head gardener complained how they would “tramp” down the grass, Howe insisted. He also added a common room in the detention hall where husbands and wives, who had always been separated while detained, could now socialize. On

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prior to Howe’s arrival, see: Vincent J. Cannato, “Czar Williams,” in *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), chapter 11.

<sup>43</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 252.

<sup>44</sup> Howe was able to initiate extensive change early in his tenure because immigration declined quickly after the outbreak of war. Major European ports had closed and submarine warfare made travel unsafe. In 1914, for example, nearly nine-hundred thousand people were processed at Ellis Island. In 1915, there were less than one-hundred and eighty thousand. As the war continued, the numbers of immigrants continued to drop. In 1918, only twenty-eight thousand people entered the U.S. at Ellis Island. Thomas M. Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate: A History of Ellis Island* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 111.

<sup>45</sup> “Plan Ellis Island Playspot,” *Plain Dealer*, September 17, 1914, 7.

Sunday afternoons, he invited immigrant groups to give band concerts “of national airs and familiar songs.” He also talked of adding folk dances.<sup>46</sup>

Howe’s efforts to create a better social context for immigrants’ at Ellis Island do not, however, suggest he supported pluralism.<sup>47</sup> Not long after being appointed Commissioner, he enlisted New York City’s board of education to offer immigrants “classes in English, hygiene, motherhood and other elementary subjects.”<sup>48</sup> Admittedly, Alice Hamilton and Grace Abbott had been providing similar services at Hull-House since 1897 and 1907, respectively. Addams had even initiated construction of a playground across from the settlement. But Howe never used the provision of services or play to first observe and subsequently situate the beliefs and everyday practices of foreign-born individuals within specific cultural and historical contexts.<sup>49</sup> Instead, the spatial and physical changes he spearheaded were meant to “express in some measure [the]

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<sup>46</sup> Howe’s insistence that immigrants be allowed to play outdoors suggests that municipal reform in Cleveland had a lasting influence on him. Johnson had displayed a “liberal spirit” in park administration by ordering “keep-off-the-grass” signs removed to allow children to “have the fullest and freest access to the turf.” Howe, “Best Governed Community,” 1727. On “humanizing,” see: “Turning Ellis Island Inside Out,” *The Survey* 33, 3 (1914): 63; Karl K. Kitchen, “Bettering the Great Gate,” *Plain Dealer*, May 3, 1915, 8; Howe, *Confessions*, 257; Howe, “Denies Scandals at Ellis Island,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1916, 4.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson did not support pluralism, either. Historians Jeanne D. Petit, Hans Vought and Gary Gerstle have, in different ways, explained Wilson’s position regarding immigration as being more focused on social unity. The President, like many Progressives, believed ethnic and class conflict were due in part to immigrant political machines, whose ward bosses traded loans, food, and jobs for votes. Wilson was therefore opposed to “hyphenated Americans,” but not to immigration per se. Their respective arguments are a departure from Link’s argument that the President had little to no firm opinions on European immigration even during the controversy over the Burnett Bill, which proposed using literacy tests to further limit immigration. Petit, *The Men and Women We Want*, 62-63, 118-122, 128-129; Vought, “Division and Reunion,” 25-26; idem, *The Bully Pulpit*, 94-109; Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 96, 103-104. Link, *The New Freedom*, 274-276. Vought is also careful to point out that Wilson was less welcoming of Asian immigrants, see page 101-103.

<sup>48</sup> Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 213.

<sup>49</sup> On Progressives who did, see: Benjamin McArthur, “The Chicago Playground Movement: A Neglected Feature of Social Justice,” *Social Service Review* 49, 3 (1975): 376-395; Erik Schneiderhan, “Pragmatism and Empirical Sociology: The Case of Jane Addams and Hull-House, 1889-1895,” *Theory and Society* 40, 6 (2011): 606-608; Rod Dieser, “Understanding how Jane Addams and Hull House Programs Bridged Cross-Cultural Differences: Leisure Programs and Contact Theory,” *Human Service Education* 25, 1 (2005): 53-61. Although Shannon Jackson draws on pragmatism to evaluate theatre programs at Hull-House, her conclusions are more critical of the relationship between reform, play, and identity reformation. That is, recreation at Hull-House was less about assimilating to one another, as Dewey argued, and more about engendering middle-class values. Pragmatism and cultural pluralism were sometimes exclusive of one another. Shannon Jackson, “Civic Play-Housekeeping: Gender, Theatre, and American Reform,” *Theatre Journal* 48, 3 (1996): 337-361. For similar conclusions based on class, see: Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

ideals of patriotism, beauty and service to the new arrivals.” Ideally, this could allow immigrants to feel confident that the federal government welcomed them to the U.S., and wanted to help them realize their interests and aspirations.<sup>50</sup> He believed federal immigration should continue to provide “service to the alien after he has been admitted” by offering “education, naturalization training, employment, etc.”<sup>51</sup> And he lauded efforts by the Wilson administration to bolster Americanization through legislation. The Bureau of Education, for example, had recast its educational methods to better satisfy the needs of adults and children, and the Department of Labour had begun new programs that quickly matched jobs with immigrants’ skills. Collectively, such changes rendered the federal state “an agency for the intelligent vocational guidance of men and women” newest to America.<sup>52</sup>

In his post as Commissioner of Immigration, Howe contributed to this relationship between immigrants and the government by establishing newcomers’ allegiance to the nation-state and initiating their progress “toward becoming good American citizens” before they even boarded trains or entered New York.<sup>53</sup> Rather than initiate dialogue between individuals from warring nations to learn how international conflict was changing transnational connections between people, Howe preferred efforts by the Wilson administration to “dignify the whole procedure of citizenship” and to engender a “new spirit and ... concern for humanity” within the federal bureaucracy.<sup>54</sup>

Intensifying anti-immigrant sentiment stymied Howe’s efforts to establish a strong working relationship between the federal government and immigrants. The ideas that informed

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<sup>50</sup> “The New Ellis Island: An Interview with Dr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island,” *The Immigrants in America Review* 1, 2 (1915): 10.

<sup>51</sup> Howe to Wilson, November 21, 1914, *PWW*, 31: 342-343.

<sup>52</sup> Howe, “Mr. Hughes to the Aliens,” 8.

<sup>53</sup> “An Interview with Dr. Frederic C. Howe,” 10.

<sup>54</sup> Howe, “Mr. Hughes to the Aliens,” 8. Howe also argued in this article that “the alien’s attachment to his native country will only be wiped out by a greater attachment to the adopted country. And that is a matter largely of Governmental activity of a democratic and human sort.”

his policies became increasingly rare as war raged in Europe.<sup>55</sup> In 1915, for example, Fred proposed changing how second-class cabin passengers were processed.<sup>56</sup> At that time, they were inspected on board ship, and subsequently sent to port in Hoboken, New Jersey. Often they had to travel back to Ellis Island to board trains heading west. On the way, they were exploited by hotels and porters, and “lured into houses of prostitution and saloons.”<sup>57</sup> Because “the Government ha[d] erected ... a station of which it may properly be proud,” their inspection, Howe insisted, ought to be done on the Island. The dormitories were large and comfortable, nutritious food was provided, and highly trained physicians were there to properly treat immigrants.<sup>58</sup> At a hearing called by Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti to examine this change to cabin passengers, representatives from the steamship companies, railroad interests, Hotel Men’s Association, the Maritime Exchange, the Produce Exchange, the Chamber of Commerce in Hoboken, amongst others, came and protested loudly. Its implementation would require either government regulation or assumption of the services they provided privately. Local capitalists stood to lose hundreds of thousands of dollars. Protecting these vulnerable Europeans would mean taking money from them, as American citizens.<sup>59</sup> If it “it was the duty of the government to protect the alien,” Howe failed to effect change.<sup>60</sup> Capitalism, nationalism, and

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<sup>55</sup> War-time nativism is widely acknowledged amongst historians. Important discussions have been provided by: Higham, “War and Revolution” and “Crusade for Americanization,” in *Strangers in the Land*, chapters 8 and 9; Pickus, “World War I and the Turn to Coercion,” in *True Faith and Allegiance*, chapter 6; Tichenor, “World War I and the Turn to Coercion,” *Dividing Lines*, 138-146.

<sup>56</sup> Along with this effort, Howe also tried to force railroad companies to use direct routes when transporting immigrants west, rather than require multiple stops and transfers. Then a private investigator he had hired discovered that “irresponsible bankers” were selling fraudulent tickets, providing unfair exchange rates, or spending the money immigrants had deposited with them. In response, he lobbied for more stringent banking regulations. Howe, *Confessions*, 261-262.

<sup>57</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 260-261. See also: Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate*, 115-116.

<sup>58</sup> Howe, “At the Outer Door,” 10.

<sup>59</sup> On the protests and hearings, see: Howe, *Confessions*, 261; “20 Steamship Lines Protest New Order,” *New York Times*, October 13, 1915, 8; “Fight Ellis Island as 2D-Cabin Port,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1916, 11. See also: Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate*, 116.

<sup>60</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 262. Howe’s proposal was effectively thwarted by the hearing. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 221.

nativism were simply too powerful for his generous and hospitable style of leadership. His efforts to assume the leadership style he had revered for so long was failing in the face of older and more entrenched values.

Howe remained determined to uphold the ideals of public-spirited political leadership, which were more international and national rather than municipal by this time, by increasingly focusing on those Europeans who might need American aid after the war. Around the time that the second-class passenger scandal broke, Wilson vetoed the Burnett Bill for the first time and Howe began publishing articles that delineated his predictions for immigration after the war.<sup>61</sup> Rather than able-bodied men, large numbers of women, children, and the elderly from Eastern and Southern Europe would want to emigrate to the U.S. In battle, their sons, husbands and brothers had likely died, leaving them on their own. These individuals would be inspired to come because friends and family would have explained to them the advantages and opportunities America offered, especially the higher wages, job opportunities, and children's achievements. Rather than solidify dividing lines between native and foreign-born—since their assimilation would be easily facilitated by the friends and family who had convinced them to come—native-born Americans had a duty to welcome these women by ensuring the opportunities possible in the U.S. were accessible to them and their children.<sup>62</sup> This allowed Howe to use the promises Wilson made in the New Freedom to counter restrictionists' arguments that the number of “undesirables” would escalate after the war.<sup>63</sup> Added to that, his lack of concern regarding dependent immigrants, suggests he was trying to maintain any trans-Atlantic flow of people and

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<sup>61</sup> Introduced by Congressman John Burnett in 1913, chair of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, the bill introduced the literacy test. Wilson vetoed the bill in 1915 and 1917; the latter was overruled by Congress. On the Burnett Bill and literacy test debates, see: Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 135-141; Susan Forbes Martin, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 138-149; Vought, *The Bully Pulpit*, 114-119; Link, *The New Freedom*, 274-275.

<sup>62</sup> Howe, “Immigration After the War,” 635-639.

<sup>63</sup> On restrictionists' fears, see: Tichenor, “Progressivism, War, and Scientific Policymaking: The Rise of the National Origins Quota System, 1900-1928,” in *Dividing Lines*, chapter five.

ideas at a time when conflict was destroying an international cooperative spirit. Fred knew first-hand just how inspiring European urban experiences were amongst American reformers who had been trying to modernize their cities for nearly two decades. Not only did they learn important architectural and political lessons, but they had come to believe in the mutual benefits of a peaceful transnational exchange.

While Howe remained in New York, working to promote liberal attitudes amongst ordinary individuals and politicians, Hamilton and Abbott went to war-torn Europe to try and understand how socio-cultural ties between people had been altered by the new hatreds and harsh realities of war. Although Howe pursued a different course of action during the war and was inspired by Wilson in very different ways, these three individuals were members of an increasingly small group of Progressives opposed to war and the “mob-like psychology” then emerging within American society. Would Alice, Grace and Fred begin to conceptualize reconstruction of peaceful internationalism after the war in similar ways? Put another way, would their shared interest in immigration and pacifism nullify the effect that gendered urban experience had on their internationalism before the Great War?

### **Overlapping Circles of Reform, Overlapping Internationalism?**

The “war’s social lining” also affected Howe’s opinions for immigration after peace was re-established.<sup>64</sup> As historian John A. Thompson argues in *Reformers and War*, left-leaning Progressive publicists like Howe detested capitalist imperialism and welcomed the egalitarian implications of socialism inspired by the war.<sup>65</sup> On the one hand, the outbreak of violence in 1914 had caused the Second International, an organization of socialist and labour parties

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<sup>64</sup> Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 277.

<sup>65</sup> Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 106-108.

established in Paris in 1889, to fold. The separate national parties that comprised its membership could not maintain a common agenda as their respective governments altered their foreign policies and made declarations regarding the war. Nationalism was therefore overwhelming the internationalism that had emerged from concerns shared across nation-state boundaries for justice for the producer classes. Howe was a reluctant socialist; he appreciated individual initiative. The demise of the Second International may not have caused him much concern. Yet, Fred also believed in paternalistic governmental systems that provided for their people through programs such as municipal ownership. On the other hand, at a time when so few reform-minded individuals continued to use an international approach to understand “the people,” Howe began to apply lessons acquired through studying municipalities to the post-war European context. During the Great War state power was being used to manage the economy, distribute economic benefits, and, as he suggests, foretell the death of the last remnants of the feudal order in Europe. The future he had begun to envision, including relationships between society and the state and individual opportunity, was much closer to that of prewar socialists than anyone could have thought. This process, initiated by the war, was exactly how European men would benefit from the reconstruction of their regions, and why they would choose not to immigrate to America.<sup>66</sup>

Although some, like Alice Hamilton, were skeptical the war could have a “social lining,” Howe’s intensifying opposition to the conflict and his support of left-leaning politics brought him closer to Hull-House and Henry Street Progressives.<sup>67</sup> The ties between left and liberal-left Progressives had grown tighter as soon as Wilson was elected in 1912, but even more so after Wilson courted the left in his run to re-election in 1916. This period was an “age of socialistic

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<sup>66</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 324-325; idem, “Immigration After the War,” 636-637.

<sup>67</sup> In Germany in 1915, Hamilton and Addams were visited by Albert Südekum, a socialist civic reformer they had met at Hull-House only two years prior. Although he heartedly welcomed them to his country, they found him unrecognizable in his German uniform. The connection between socialism and pacifism, therefore, could not be assumed or taken for granted. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 277.

inquiry.” Not only did Wilson’s tenure in office signal the rejection of the status quo, but he solicited opinions from several prominent individuals both before and after he first assumed the presidency in 1912. This included Addams, Wald, Amos Pinchot, and Max Eastman, individuals that Fred and Marie became closer with after their move to Greenwich Village in 1912.<sup>68</sup> Howe likely initiated his own association with a “socialist inquiry” by including policy recommendations, opinions, or suggestions in letters to Wilson beginning in December of 1912, when his pursuit of a position in the federal service began.<sup>69</sup>

Along with the many associations Howe lent his name during the war, perhaps the most prominent was the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), which stepped into the protest vacuum after the American League to Limit Armament, a major organization, failed to find an energetic leader and develop an anti-preparedness program.<sup>70</sup> Formed at Lillian Wald’s Henry Street House in the fall of 1915, the AUAM included such prominent Progressive leaders as Addams, Paul Kellogg, Crystal Eastman, Edward T. Devine, and Florence Kelley.<sup>71</sup> Their objective was to provide information and coordination of militant peace groups, investigate

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<sup>68</sup> Knock, *To End All Wars*, viii-ix, 15-30, 63. Although Amos never held public office, he was extraordinarily influential within Progressive circles. Max Eastman, brother to Crystal, was a writer and prominent political activist.

<sup>69</sup> Miller, “A Happy Interim” and “Liberals and the Great War,” in *From Progressive to New Dealer*, chapters 10 and 12. Howe continued to send Wilson policy recommendations on matters not related to immigration after assuming his post as Commissioner at Ellis Island. In 1914, for example, he sent a letter outlining social and industrial programs. Howe to Wilson, November 21, 1914, *PWW*, 31: 342-343. In October, 1915, he wrote Wilson again, this time passing on advice on the Mexican Revolution, based on the opinions he had raised in conversation. Howe to Wilson, October 29, 1915, *PWW*, 35: 132-134. Again in 1916, Howe wrote a letter from Ellis Island offering advice on a loan to China. He had been inspired by the newspaper accounts he was then reading. Howe to Wilson, August 5, 1916, *PWW*, 37: 534.

<sup>70</sup> As soon as war erupted in Europe, prominent individuals and organizations including former President Roosevelt, The League to Enforce Peace, and the American Defense Society tried to persuade Wilson and the population at large to begin preparations for war. Amongst the measures they promoted were universal conscription, to contradict Wilson’s opposition to a standing army and unarmed neutrality. Roosevelt even published two books, *America and the World War* (1915) and *Fear God and Take Your Own Heart* (1916), to popularize preparedness. It was not until the Lusitania sank in May of 1915, that the administration began to consider preparedness. With the passage of the National Defense Act (June 1916), enormous increases in naval and army capabilities rendered the Preparedness Movement superfluous. “Preparedness Movement,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online* (2013), <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/475006/Preparedness-Movement> (accessed June 24, 2013).

<sup>71</sup> Paul Kellogg was the editor of *The Survey*. Crystal Eastman was a feminist, suffragist, socialist, and lawyer that Fred and Marie befriended in Greenwich Village. Devine was a professor of social economy at Columbia University and actively involved in promoting child welfare, especially amongst the federal government.

whether special interests were agitating for preparedness, and protest how war led Wilson to privilege foreign policy over social legislation. The AUAM was able to quickly accrue influence during the anti-preparedness campaign of 1916 thanks in large part to Eastman's indefatigable energy and inventiveness, even though such prominent political figures as Roosevelt championed preparedness.<sup>72</sup>

Howe did not believe that war would advance a Progressive agenda. Yet his position as a federal servant made his involvement with the Union difficult. After 1915, his name disappears from AUAM records.<sup>73</sup> But he continued to support at least some portions of their agenda. His article, "Incomplete Preparedness," published in February of 1916, criticized Wilson's preparedness program for the burdens it would place on the working classes, and the profits it could bring to big business.<sup>74</sup> He went further in another article written that summer. Expanding navies and armies in preparation for battle rendered America no different from imperialist European powers, who "[thought] of humanity as food for guns." Moreover, diplomatically severing ties with Germany, Italy, and Austria symbolized a shift away from the democratic ideals that could strengthen internationalism.<sup>75</sup> Although he was worried "about a war against ...

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<sup>72</sup> David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 33-34; Marchand, *The American Peace Movement*, 239-248. On its cooperation with the WPP and its leaders' skillful use of mail promotion, see: Barbara J. Steinson, *American Women's Activism in World War I* (New York: Garland, 1982), 127, 132-136. On the AUAM's speaking tour, meant to rival Wilson's preparedness tours, and their influence within the anti-preparedness campaign, see also: John Patrick Finnegan, *Against the Specter of a Dragon: The Campaign for American Military Preparedness, 1914-1917* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 131-134. The AUAM was right to worry that the war would subvert reform. As Diner argues, it first co-opted then ended Progressive legislation. Diner, *A Very Different Age*, 29.

<sup>73</sup> As Wilson leaned increasingly toward preparedness, prominent reform circles began to fracture over the relation of war to reform, and to American internationalism. Some like Walter Lippmann believed it would hasten the completion or fulfillment of social and political change. Others, those who stayed close to the Henry Street Group, like Addams, Balch, Amos Pinchot, and David Starr Jordan, disagreed. Kennedy, *Over Here*, 35-44. On Howe's opposition to war, see: Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 225-227; Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 136-137, 161; Neil Thorburn, "A Progressive and the First World War: Frederic C. Howe," *Mid-America* 51, 2 (1969): 111. On leaving the AUAM, see: Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 249-253.

<sup>74</sup> Howe, "Incomplete Preparedness," 94. See also: Howe, "Democracy or Imperialism- the Alternative that Confronts Us," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 66 (July 1916): 250-258. Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 136-137.

<sup>75</sup> Howe, "Democracy or Imperialism," 250-258, quote taken from 251.

[Germany,] a nation that pioneered so much [social] legislation,” this change in America’s global positioning must have been equally alarming.<sup>76</sup> When the AUAM tried to convince the Republican national convention of “the practical possibility of a World Federation,” it seems possible he endorsed their actions.<sup>77</sup>

Howe once again intensified his connections with Henry Street and Hull-House by working with the American Neutral Conference Committee (ANCC), whose objective was to inspire pacifist agitation in the U.S and Germany. Often they did this by directly petitioning public figures such as Maximilian Harden, an influential German journalist Hamilton and Addams had visited during their tour for the ICW, and President Wilson.<sup>78</sup> Whether as a guest at dinners or as an organizing committee member at rallies, Howe was working alongside Hamilton Holt, Emily Greene Balch, Amos Pinchot, Crystal Eastman, Fanny Garrison Villard, and her son Oswald, and Louis Lochner and Wald.<sup>79</sup> On the one hand, the ANCC was consistent with the efforts by feminist pacifists like Abbott, Hamilton, Addams, amongst others, for diplomacy and mediation. Yet, on the other hand, Howe may have been drawn to speeches made by other members like Dudley Field Malone, collector of the Port of New York, another presidential appointee, that Wilson’s peace objectives had “given America an unprecedented opportunity for world service,” echoed in Bertrand Russell’s plea to the ANCC that America save European civilization.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Howe quoted by Hartje, “Introduction,” 10.

<sup>77</sup> Thompson, *War and the Reformers*, 136. It is noteworthy that Addams also supported a “society of nations.” Harriet Hyman Alonso, “Introduction,” in Addams et al, *Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results*, ed. Harriet Hyman Alonso (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), xx.

<sup>78</sup> On ANCC objectives, see: “Bring New York into Movement to Stop the War”, “Cutting Refuses to Join Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, November 26, 28, 1916, 1, 4. On Howe’s attendance at a dinner meant to promote public support for Wilson’s peace objectives, see: “Neutral Conference Now Moves for Peace,” *New York Times*, January 4, 1917, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Hamilton Holt promoted prohibition, immigrants’ rights, international peace (with the League to Enforce Peace), and was a founding member of the National Association for American Colored People (NAACP). Fanny Garrison Villard was also a founding member of the NAACP, and campaigned for women’s suffrage. Her son, Oswald, was a prominent pacifist and civil rights activist, and editor of *The Nation* magazine. Louis Lochner was a political activist, author and journalist. During both WWI and WWII, he reported from Germany.

<sup>80</sup> “New Year Plea for Peace,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1917, 5.

At Ellis Island, Howe had been shifting his public service ethic from domestic to international settings. Yet, it is difficult to tell why exactly he was drawn to the AUAM or ANCC. Neither was included in his autobiography, and Malone is remembered primarily as a charismatic supporter of suffrage.<sup>81</sup> Regardless, Howe's involvement with an increasingly small and controversial group of Progressives who opposed war suggests that, for a moment, the ways that gendered urban experience had affected reformers' perceptions of internationalism were becoming difficult to distinguish. Stopping the specter of unlimited violence was simply too urgent.

Shortly after President Wilson declared war on April 2, 1917, for example, Howe was determined to "[see] that as little injustice as possible was done" to German detainees at Ellis Island. Just as Alice Hamilton was lamenting the prejudice that German immigrants and churches were facing in Midwestern cities, Howe would not "accept ... the assumption that 'the Hun should be put against the wall and shot.'"<sup>82</sup> At any time, hundreds of crew members from German merchant ships in the New York harbour could be detained at Ellis Island. Rather than treat them as prisoners of war, Howe ensured their detainment was as comfortable as possible. In a statement reprinted in the *New York Times*, he described how the men were being housed in the main administration building, which was a "large commodious building with every modern

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Along with the AUAM and the ANCC, Howe developed other connections to Henry Street and Chicago Progressives. In 1916, for example, he joined with John Dewey, Amos Pinchot and others to form the Association for an Equitable Income tax. They lobbied vigorously for higher income taxes, to alleviate burdens on labour and farmers. Members of the House who controlled the Ways and Means Committee and the Senate pushed through legislation, successively, that substantially increased the rates of income and inheritance taxation. Known as the Revenue Act (1916), it was unprecedented. Other "radical" committee activities Howe was involved in during the 1910s, include: Committee on Real Preparedness with Amos Pinchot; The Civic Club of New York, which included his wife, Marie Jenney Howe, W.E.B. Du Bois and socialist Morris Hillquit, and the Executive Committee of the Public Ownership League of America with Jane Addams. These committees are mentioned, to varying degrees, in: Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 233-234, 236; Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 30, 140-141.

<sup>81</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 249.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 272-273, quote taken from 272. See also: Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate*, 119. With the declaration of war, German men over the age of 16 immediately became enemies of the state. Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 176-178.

convenience.” Steamship officers had use of three large reception rooms during the day, while the seamen, stewards, and others had one very large room. For exercise, they had full access to a large porch, nearly two hundred feet long and one hundred and fifty feet wide. Books, games, and newspapers were also provided for each man. If they wanted additional recreational items, they were free to ask for them. From friends and family, they could receive personal items. The Public Health Service carefully monitored their health.<sup>83</sup>

Although he never referenced Randolph Bourne in his publications or statements to newspapers, Howe was actively countering the war-time “mob-psychology” Bourne delineated in “Twilight of Idols” by approaching the ideal of leadership with an enlightened, generous, public spirit. This would help Howe to maintain the same open-minded and collegial attitude he had developed toward Europeans prior to the Great War, thus helping to prevent nativism from further damaging social unity. The empathy and humanity he showed German sailors was similar to that shown by both Hamilton and Abbott in Europe and in America. Collectively, these three were trying to protect the transnational ties that bound people on both sides of the Atlantic into an international community.

By this time, Wilson had begun to articulate his vision of a new world order. In January of 1917, in what would become known as his “Peace without victory” address, he described his commitment to a permanent peace based on mutual recognition of equality, an international cooperative spirit, and recognition of a formal League for Peace.

Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

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Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples

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<sup>83</sup> “Ellis Island Life Easy for Germans,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1917, 12.

themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

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I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.<sup>84</sup>

Even when asking Congress to support a declaration of war less than three months later in early April, Wilson repeated many of these same sentiments.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.<sup>85</sup>

Intended to establish permanent peace and a “decent respect for the opinion of mankind” at the international level, this new order delineated a *society of nations* and borrowed from Wilson’s pre-existing agendas for domestic social and economic justice. In place of asymmetrical power relations created by imperial systems, there would be each nation’s commitment to an open, respectful, and equitable world society wherein members could develop their political systems of their own accord, without interference. The items of international law that would provide the structure for such a society were the freedom of the seas, disarmament, an end to secret treaties,

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<sup>84</sup> Woodrow Wilson, “Peace Without Victory,” Address of the President of the United States to the Senate, January 22, 1917, Document No. 45, in *The Eagle and the Dove: The American Peace Movement and United States Foreign Policy, 1900-1922*, ed. John Whiteclay Chambers II (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976), 332-333, 335.

<sup>85</sup> Wilson, “War Message,” Address of the President of the United States Delivered to a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917, Document No. 48, in *The Eagle and the Dove*, ed. Chambers, 359.

and, most importantly, the consent of the governed.<sup>86</sup> Once again, Wilson was hoping to create a government that was embedded within society, only this time it was international rather than national, allowing it to inspire, facilitate, and maintain a peaceful global consciousness.

One principle in particular—consent of the governed—resonated widely amongst anti-war Progressives, perhaps more so than any other of his international ideals. But it also caused a

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<sup>86</sup> Knock, *To End All Wars*, 85-104, quote taken from 103. See also: Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 21-29, 31-42; Ninkovich, *Wilsonian Century*, 56, 64-68; Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation*, 158-159.

Early in 1918, Wilson rephrased this as the right of national self-determination, approximately one year after Vladimir Lenin had first used the phrase “self-determination.” In *Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, he defined it as the ability for oppressed nations to secede from powerful, alien national bodies. In 1917, Lenin was therefore arguing that self-determination described the formation of independent states. While scholars argue that his application of the phrase was highly influential, self-determination has most frequently been associated with Woodrow Wilson and his Fourteen Points. Wilson, however, only related it unconditionally to European people, and not necessarily to people under colonial rule. Moreover, Wilson’s ideas were drawn from democratic ideas of self-governance rather than the right to secede and establish independent statehood. Lenin, therefore, took the idea much further in its application than Wilson. Kirstina Roepstorff, *The Politics of Self-Determination: Beyond the Decolonisation Process* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 11; Richard A. Falk, *Human Rights Horizons: The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalizing World* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 104-105.

Innumerable scholars have considered what influenced or structured Wilson’s internationalism. Malcolm D. Magee argues it was largely Presbyterianism, especially the tenet of antimony, while Andrew Preston looks at the general Christian values of goodwill and brotherhood. These ideas not only informed Wilson’s policies, by providing a historical and historic context for them, but also, and more importantly, allowed Wilsonianism to resonate widely in American society. Malcolm D. Magee, *What the World Should Be: Woodrow Wilson and the Crafting of Faith-Based Foreign Policy* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008). Andrew Preston, “Woodrow Wilson and the Second Crusade,” in *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 2012), part 5. On religion and foreign policy, see: Andrew J. Rotter, “Christians, Muslims, and Hindus: Religion and U.S.-South Asian Relations, 1947-1954,” *Diplomatic History*, 24, 4 (2000): 595-613. Robert Buzzanco, “Where’s the Beef? Culture Without Power in the Study of U.S. Foreign Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 24, 4 (2000): 623-632. For critical responses to Buzzanco, see: Nick Cullather, “Here’s the Beef: Religion, Culture, and Nho Dinh Diem,” *Diplomatic History* 30, 3 (2006): 553-557; Andrew Preston, “Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 30, 5 (2006): 783-812.

Aside from religion, Stephanson has placed Wilson within longue durée narratives of American imperial ambitions. Emphasizing paternalism of white manhood, and a shorter time frame, a similar argument is made by Renda. Ninkovich, however, takes a more interesting approach. Acknowledging Wilson as a Progressive, he argues the President recognized the emergence of modern national and international societies, where integration was and would continue to be significant. Wilsonianism was a departure from imperialism, a reaction to the crisis of normal internationalism, and a desire to regulate and control these societies so to initiate economic, political, and social freedom. However, the principles and ideals he drew upon resonated with American exceptionalism, and great power cooperation was more important than ending imperialism. He initiated a “higher imperialism”, or as Niall Ferguson calls, the “imperialism of anti-imperialism.” That said, Levin was perhaps the first to blend Wilson’s mission with liberalism, capitalism, and modernity. Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995). Renda, *Taking Haiti*. Ninkovich, *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); idem, *Wilsonian Century* (1999); idem, *The United States and Imperialism* (Malden: Blackwell, 2001). Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 1994), title of chapter two quoted, 61. See also: Ambrosius, “Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for Orderly Progress,” *Wilsonianism*, 31-47; idem, “Democracy, Peace, and World Order,” in *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Cooper, 225-252. N. Gordan Levin, *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America’s Response to War and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

great deal of confusion. Some thought it meant the President would support global independence movements after the war.<sup>87</sup> And feminist-pacifists were motivated to press forward believing that freedom from all oppression, whether it was colonialism, sexism or racism, was being recognized as a necessary element for permanent international peace.<sup>88</sup> Dissenting members of the U.S. Senate, meanwhile, equated Wilsonianism with America's traditional opposition to imperialism and monarchism, where the nation's role was to supply oppressed peoples with moral support.<sup>89</sup>

Howe was one of many anti-war Progressives, along with women associated with the WPP and WILPF, who used Wilson's phrase "consent of the governed" to bring attention to the rights of marginalized or oppressed individuals *within* nations. Carrie Chapman Catt, co-founder of the Women's Peace Party and an associate of Addams, even recommended Howe to Wilson in the spring of 1917, because he seemed genuine in his belief that consent must be a guiding principle in international relations.<sup>90</sup> Wilson was then establishing a commission that would travel to Russia to study the February Revolution. Howe was ideal, Catt argued, because he

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<sup>87</sup> Manela, "Fighting for the Mind of Mankind," in *The Wilsonian Moment*, 35-52.

<sup>88</sup> Breckinridge, for instance, made reference to Wilson's phrase when reporting on the eighth meeting of the IPL, March 3, 1917. Breckinridge, "Report of the Secretary," *IPL Annual Report*, January 1, 1917, 5. Resolutions produced at the WILPF in 1919 went further by including self-determination as their first political principle. It read: "Self Determination: The right of self-determination and of self-government should be conceded to all nations." In the place of imperial relations, the League would assume guardianship of colonialized nations so to "promote the development and power of self-government of their wards." "Zürich Resolutions," WILPF International, <http://www.wilpf.int.ch/statements/1919.htm>. See also: Confortini, "What is Feminist Peace?" in *Intelligent Compassion*, chapter one.

<sup>89</sup> Robert David Johnson, *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 70-104.

<sup>90</sup> Despite her strong professional connections with prominent women of the Progressive Era, especially Addams, Catt's membership in the WPP was controversial. Erika A. Kuhlman, *Petticoats and White Feathers: Gender, Conformity, Race, and the Progressive Peace Movement, and the Debate over War, 1895-1919* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), 95.

understood what a “democracy founded upon the consent of all of the governed” entailed, and had studied extensively government systems in Europe.<sup>91</sup>

Catt does not explain Howe’s expert insight into Wilson’s principle. Yet a letter Fred sent to the President in June of 1916 at least suggests how he was applying it and why it was so appealing. As he explained to Wilson, the Democratic Party platform in the upcoming election must declare its adherence “to the democratic doctrine that all peoples have a right to establish their own form of government and control their internal affairs” and its “pride in [the President’s] solicitous respect for the political integrity of ... Mexico, Central America and China.”<sup>92</sup> Howe was therefore drawn to consent of the governed because of the political structure and style of leadership it created. He was envisioning an international system where powerful members like the U.S. established a governing system that prevented weaker nations from being maltreated in any way. When coupled with economic reforms like freedom of the seas, these weaker countries would be free to develop according to their own political ideals and hard work. Howe seems to have understood Wilson’s international policies in the same way he understood the New Freedom—as a service ethic that would change the cultures of power. Women active in the peace movement, meanwhile, emphasized equal political rights to define Wilsonianism, suggesting that gendered urban experience had a greater impact on their respective definitions of

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<sup>91</sup> Catt to Wilson, May 4, 1917, *PWW*, 42: 215. Following through on pre-established habits, Howe made sure his expertise on Russia was known amongst Wilson and his advisors. With House, he recommended that representatives be “thoroughly sympathetic with fundamental democracy and also intelligently understanding of the psychology of the Russian and what the Russian democrats really want to do.” Because the key issues were land-tenure and permanent democracy, the commission must not support a “plutocratic middle-class government.” Howe also published an article the following spring that laid out his arguments regarding democracy in Russia, revolution, and land-tenure. Upon its release, he sent a copy to Wilson, who replied by thanking him, and explaining that he intended to read it carefully because the thesis was of interest. Howe to House, September 18, 1917, quoted by Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 276-277; Wilson to Howe, June 5, 1918, *PWW*, 48:241. The article was: Howe, “Realpolitik in Russia,” *The New Republic* 15 (June 15, 1918): 202.

<sup>92</sup> Howe to Wilson, June 9, 1916, *PWW*, 37: 181.

internationalism than the urgency created by the preparedness movement or the age of socialist inquiry created by Wilson.

Howe's presidency of the League of Small and Subject Nationalities, formed sometime during the spring of 1917, demonstrates his efforts to apply Wilson's principle to leadership. For the League's objective was

to establish a permanent congress of the small, subject and oppressed nationalities of the world; to assert the right of each nationality to direct representation at the peace conference following this war, as well as at every international conference held thereafter for the discussion of questions affecting its interests; to present the case of these nationalities to the world; to emphasize the importance of restoring to these nationalities the right of self-government as an indispensable condition for world peace ...<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, the League was committed to promoting and educating Americans on "the right of direct representation ... of the subject nationalities" in preparation for international conferences that would invariably redraw national boundaries. This would, in turn, strengthen Americans' tolerance in preparation for a federation of nations modeled after the United States. In this way, a world democracy that guaranteed equality of nations and their freedom could emerge with American backing.<sup>94</sup> In a statement in *The Survey*, the League explicitly connected these objectives with the principles outlined by Wilson in his addresses given in January and April 1917.<sup>95</sup> As noted above, in the first speech he argued the U.S. would play a leading role in creating a cooperative peace that upheld justice and national rights world-wide. Subsequently, when declaring war on Germany, this action was driven not by "selfish ends" or by a quarrel

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<sup>93</sup> "Small Nations Leagued Together," *The Survey* 38, 5 (1917): 120.

<sup>94</sup> This vision was clarified in an article that appeared after the first conference. B.L., "Through Liberty to World Peace," 137-140. Neither Howe nor statements by the League associated these ideas with Bourne or Kallen, although their respective essays examined pluralism.

<sup>95</sup> "Small Nations Leagued Together," 120-121. On the League, its objectives, and its influence on other groups, see: Gil Ribak, *Gentile New York: The Images of Non-Jews Among Jewish Immigrants* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 126.

with the German people, but a desire to protect “the rights of mankind” and “for the rights and liberties of small nations.”<sup>96</sup>

Howe’s League, however, made a fatal misstep in late 1917. While planning a fall conference that year, allegations were made in the press and by invited speakers that the program advanced a pro-German agenda. Although Howe argued this was “absurd,” several speakers withdrew. This was followed by a statement from the League that it had been “originally initiated by honest but naïve and easily deluded persons” who were either genuinely pro-German or underestimated the xenophobic waves consuming American society. These “naïve” founders were not named. It is difficult to tell if Howe was one of them. But he defended the program, explaining that attacks were inevitable as the League brought together representatives of warring nations. The organizers, as far as he could tell, had never tried to silence or promote any particular agenda. As he reminded readers of the *New York Times*, the League was “founded on the words of Wilson.”<sup>97</sup> Under the President’s leadership, the U.S. was becoming a country “with which no oppressed nationality has any reckonings and which is universally regarded as a disinterested and sincere friend of all.”<sup>98</sup> If the 1917 fall conference illuminated how the surplus of patriotic emotion induced by of war overwhelmed even the Wilsonian reasons given to justify participation, Howe was oblivious.

The League held at least one more organized meeting in December of 1918, where the keynote address given by a British journalist provoked hissing from an Indian exile and an “Irish neorepublican” in the audience, especially upon his introduction as an Englishman.<sup>99</sup> By this

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<sup>96</sup> Wilson, “Peace Without Victory,” January 22, 1917, and “War Message,” April 2, 1917, 330-335, 354-362; quotes taken from 358, 355, 362. There is no official record indicating Howe’s reaction to Wilson’s speech in April of 1917.

<sup>97</sup> “Quit Convention for Small Nations,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1917, 9.

<sup>98</sup> B.L., “Through Liberty to World Peace,” 138, 140.

<sup>99</sup> “A League Against England,” *New York Times*, December 20, 1918, 14.

time, Howe was in Paris. It is difficult to tell whether or not he was involved in coordinating this December meeting. Regardless, the disdain audience members expressed toward the Englishman was a worrisome premonition of the difficult task ahead for Wilson. Perhaps if Howe had attended the meeting, he may have had a better idea of what to expect in Europe after the war. But he, Abbott, and Hamilton all needed to see postwar Europe for themselves, especially the social, political, and economic environment into which Wilson's generalizations would be applied. How different would Howe's experiences be in Europe in 1919 compared to those of Alice and Grace, especially in Paris? Would his service ethic allow him to navigate war-torn society in a way that affected positive, tangible change?

### **Initiating an American Public-Spirited Internationalism**

Howe, as Thompson has argued, was amongst a small group of American Progressive publicists who blamed international rivalries on capitalist imperialism. In the case of the First World War, it was, for many of them, the primary cause. Their core thesis became common within Progressive circles after war erupted, even though the specific applications of their arguments differed. Charles Edward Russell, for example, blamed the constant struggle to find new markets for industrial surpluses, while Walter Lippmann placed greater emphasis on the prestige that accompanied powerful colonial holdings and naval forces to protect them. Regardless, their work promoted the idea that "the people had no hand in bringing it [the war] about."<sup>100</sup> If the imperial domination created by privileged politicians, diplomats, and financiers was unconscious, Howe blamed such countries as England for cultivating diplomatic traditions that caused "the oppression of weaker countries." These self-serving individuals, who showed no regard for other

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<sup>100</sup> Some other members of the group included Amos Pinchot, Ray Stannard Baker, Walter Weyl, and Lincoln Steffens. Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 91-103. See also: Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 276.

peoples throughout the world, thanks to their narrow definition of national interest, could have no place in a peaceful, reconstructed internationalism that Howe envisioned.<sup>101</sup>

When Wilson announced his intentions to rid the world of imperialism in speeches throughout 1917 and 1918, the publicists aligned themselves with him.<sup>102</sup> For Howe, this represented a continuation of his efforts and writings about municipal reform. In Cleveland and in his earlier books *The City: The Hope of Democracy*, and *The British City*, he had consistently opposed privilege and special interests. Now he was able to connect them in his mind to a war that was destroying civilization as the Great War had emanated from the same well-springs of wealth and oligarchy he had battled in Cleveland. But Howe's internationalism contained more than his opposition to capitalism and imperialism. The positive side of his internationalism included his search for benign leadership, devoted to deepening the democratic ideal of society, as exemplified by Progressive mayors, governors, and journalists, as well as the aesthetic principles of City Beautiful, which would democratize the beauty of public spaces for the working masses. He grappled, of course, with the fact that his European models—in Britain and Germany especially—were now belligerents in a terrible conflict that seemed in every sense to spell the ruin of the international brotherhood he imagined himself part of. But in Wilson he found hope again that the once noble traits of the “city-men” he admired had moved to the centre of the world stage in the lofty form of Woodrow Wilson. Because the city had always provided the democracy, pride, and unity required to build stronger, more prosperous cities, his applications of Wilsonianism to the reconstruction of peaceful internationalism involved urban development. Thus while Wilson's advisors considered what might be needed to reconstruct

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<sup>101</sup> Howe, “Reservoirs of Strife,” 614 -615. See also: Howe, “The Flag and the Investor,” *The New Republic* 7 (June 17, 1916): 170-171.

<sup>102</sup> J.A. Thompson, “American Progressive Publicists and the First World War, 1914-1917,” *The Journal of American History* 58, 2 (1972): 369-370; idem, *Reformers and War*, 193-204.

world peace, Howe set his sights once again on rebuilding cities in the Mediterranean. The imperialist ambitions of Russia, Germany, and England had “reached an impasse” in this part of the world as each country had been scrambling to secure trade routes over land or through waterways. This process heavily influenced the tensions that caused the Great War and, as Howe argued, subjected the “people” of the “Near-East” to a war against their will. Of all the cities, he picked Constantinople. Situated between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, its ports connected European and Asian trade routes. It could become the next economic “clearing-house” or *cosmopolis* of the world.<sup>103</sup> To this end, Howe envisioned a multi-national tribunal, appointed by the Peace Congress or subsequent society of nations, which would administer the city and the waterways in this region. Once again, an exclusive group of experts would devote their skills and energy to urban beautification and development. Peace, prosperity, and the restoration of culture in Constantinople would not only symbolize and contribute to the re-development of peaceful internationalism, but also collegial transnational networks.

Well before Howe reached Paris, however, he had begun to refine his idea of what internationalism meant in this age of industrial conflict and national rivalry. In 1916, he published *Why War*, a study of how international comity might be reconstructed after the war. It repeated much of the material presented in articles he had written about the same time but with greater detail.<sup>104</sup> He showed how the First World War was caused by titled, land-owning classes; gross concentrations of power; colonialism and protectorates; financial imperialism; and the naval and armament races to protect national interests, or as Howe argued, investments made by

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<sup>103</sup> Howe outlined this vision of Constantinople’s role in a post-war international world several times. One of the more succinct discussions was in his book *Only Possible Peace*. Howe, “A Monument to Peace,” in *The Only Possible Peace* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1919), chapter 19.

<sup>104</sup> Examples include: “The Distribution of Wealth in Relation to the Invisible Causes of War,” and “The Flag and the Investor.” A thorough overview of Howe’s arguments against investment capitalism is given by Thompson in *Reformers and War*.

the wealthiest classes in “weaker” nations around the world. American bankers like J.P. Morgan who had invested with the English in a railroad project in China, as encouraged by the Taft administration, were also included.<sup>105</sup>

With two chapters outlining the exploitation caused by private investments and the belligerent protective policies, Howe solidified his opposition to “dollar diplomacy” (a policy associated with discredited Republican president Taft that guaranteed loans to countries in Latin America and East Asia) and the idea of spheres of influence. In their place, he announced his admiration of Wilson’s leadership.<sup>106</sup> The problems with American foreign policy, Howe argued, began with Theodore Roosevelt, whose conception of America’s rightful economic influence in the western hemisphere was expanded by Taft’s expansive vision of American economic globalism. Much of this was due to the influence of Taft’s Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox. The objective of all of these policies was to create order in countries within America’s spheres of influence through investments from private financiers and business leaders, backed by the state. Officials would use diplomatic channels to promote American foreign investment and commerce. Not only would investors benefit from better access to global markets, but with dollars went a celebrated work ethic: industriousness, honesty, morality, and private initiative.

Taft believed firmly in this latter aspect of dollar diplomacy, as Emily Rosenberg argues. It “embodied a dream of rising living standards for all, boosted by ever-larger volumes of goods within a trading network greased by predictable financial infrastructures, encouraged by Progressive government, and guided by experts who exemplified the business virtues of regularity and reliability.”<sup>107</sup> Its morality, however, quickly decayed. Financiers demanded either minimal political stability prior to investing or a guarantee of protection from the U.S.

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<sup>105</sup> Howe, *Why War* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), 251-252 directly speaks about J.P. Morgan.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, 83-88. On spheres of influence, see: 101-102. See also, Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 257-258.

<sup>107</sup> Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World*, 1-3.

government. When the long-serving and highly unpredictable Nicaraguan president José Santos Zelaya retaliated against rebel forces, Taft had no choice but to intervene with one thousand marines in May of 1910. Again in 1912, more than two thousand marines were sent to quell another revolution. Economically and militaristically, the U.S. had established an unofficial protectorate over Nicaragua.<sup>108</sup> These actions met with criticism from the usual quarters. William Jennings Bryan blamed the Taft administration for allowing “gold-standard financiers” to control foreign policy. When Senator Augustus Bacon put forward a resolution calling for an inquiry, the Senate unanimously approved it. Known as the Pujo Inquiry, its findings illuminated the extent of Wall Street’s control over federal policy, and that investment bankers functioned as a financial oligarchy. Brandeis took advantage of the situation by popularizing the findings in his influential book, *Other People’s Money*.<sup>109</sup>

Wilson’s position on dollar diplomacy was ambiguous, however. During the campaign of 1912, he promised to gain control over monopolistic banks and lenders. Once in the Oval Office, he abruptly cancelled the banking consortium in China that had been promoting loans and infrastructural development as a part of Taft’s open door. But Wilson appreciated the basic principle of dollar diplomacy—connecting capital to supervision and supervision to constitutionality. He did not argue that American investments and interests should be withdrawn from overseas economies. Rather, dollar diplomacy became a system of “loans extended by responsible bankers as a way of introducing expert financial advisers who could promote economic and social rehabilitation in areas considered vital to national interests.” By relying more heavily on men of finance Wilson was able to move away from the imperial nature of dollar diplomacy, and toward the “civilizing power of responsible money-lending and expert

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<sup>108</sup> Don M. Coerver and Linda Biesele Hall, *Tangled Destinies: Latin America and the United States* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 58-60.

<sup>109</sup> Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World*, 78-79.

advice.” In a period of heightened professionalization, these men were exalted for their presumed impartiality and neutral expertise. Their decisions would be based on economic science, not the temper of Wall Street. Through their involvement, Wilson was seemingly creating opportunities for less-developed nation-states and protecting them from selfish investors as they tried to realize their economic potential. Yet, these white men of the middle- and upper-classes who were experts of “economic science,” both reflected and reinforced the global order. By making monetary decisions on behalf of U.S. capitalist and state interests, they perpetuated American dominance over less economically stable countries, Latin American in particular.<sup>110</sup>

Howe appears not to have understood that Wilson was effectively continuing the imperialist nature of dollar diplomacy. Only in passing does he mention the “other agents ... employed.” Instead, he celebrated decisions made by Wilson himself that “insisted on the inherent right of weak and struggling peoples to work out their own internal problems free from coercion and intervention.”<sup>111</sup> When the President cancelled the controversial lending programs in China, for example, Howe applauded his efforts. It ended American entanglement with selfish, imperialistic investors who doubled as European diplomats. Fred even sent a note suggesting the White House extend a direct government loan, since it would be a “splendid international act.”<sup>112</sup> Howe had always been critical of men in authoritative positions, diplomats included, whose decisions put private investments first. Even if the exploitative relations they created were unintentional, he decried their aggression and short-sighted selfishness. While it became

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<sup>110</sup> Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World*, 79-81, quotes taken from 80; Rosenberg, “Money and Manliness,” 177-198. American involvement in the “club of 6” also contradicted Wilson’s Progressive reforms that were opposed to big business and monopolies. Ninkovich, *Wilsonian Century*, 42.

<sup>111</sup> Howe, “Dollar Diplomacy and Financial Imperialism under the Wilson Administration,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 68 (November 1916): 316. Earlier that year, Howe criticized the merits of Dollar Diplomacy without mentioning Wilson. Howe, “Democracy or Imperialism,” 250-258.

<sup>112</sup> Howe to Wilson, August 5, 1916, *PWW*, 37:534. Wilson replied that he would love to do what Howe recommended, but his hands were tied because of the added expenses and taxes associated with the war. Approval for a direct loan was impossible. Wilson to Howe, August 7, 1916, *PWW*, 37:537.

increasingly common for Americans to define masculinity using gritty, aggressive, and physical ideals throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, exemplified by the popularity and influence of President Roosevelt, Howe never emphasized this idea of male authority.<sup>113</sup> Instead he associated it with a man's expert ability and determination to not only conceptualize but also create an equitable and cohesive society in innovative ways. Now at a time when international issues were dominating Presidential politics, Howe was transferring this notion of public-spirited masculinity to a global stage. Diplomats involved in capitalist imperialism were therefore criticized for militarism, jingoism, and chauvinism.<sup>114</sup> President Wilson embodied a new style of governance that would establish a world structure wherein nation-states could truly thrive. Yet, as Howe was celebrating Wilson's seemingly unprecedented diplomatic actions in November of 1916, financial advisors had already established administrative control in Haiti and expanded it in the Dominican Republic.<sup>115</sup> If he was quick in *Why War* to criticize Germany for having interfered so extensively in Latin America, Howe never subjected Wilson's policies to the same sustained criticism.<sup>116</sup> Howe even dedicated the book to him. By "adopt[ing] the democratic doctrine that the investor must take his own risks," the President was creating an international system wherein "subjection of nations and countries in the interest of exploitation" could no longer take place, and political freedom for "yellow race or the black race" would be widely recognized as a possibility. When the peace conferees gathered after the war to discuss the future of colonized

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<sup>113</sup> On this idea of male authority, see: Bederman, "Remaking Manhood," in *Manliness and Civilization*, chapter 1.

<sup>114</sup> Howe, "Reservoirs of Strife," 614 -615.

<sup>115</sup> Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World*, 81-86.

<sup>116</sup> Howe, *Why War*, 77. He was critical of American investments in Mexico, yet associated investments there with Wall Street, not Wilson's continuation of the Doctrine. Howe, "Democracy or Imperialism," 256. In 1919, he includes the Monroe Doctrine in *Only Possible Peace*, yet does not denounce it as an expression of imperial ambitions. Instead, it was presented as a necessary means to protecting America and certain "weaker" peoples from aggressive European capitalist imperialism. Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 19-20, 182-183.

nations, Wilson's principles would allow certain approaches to liberty to be considered by a "concert of power," or world court.<sup>117</sup>

As Howe thought through these arguments the parallel between public-spirited masculine leaders in American, German, and British cities, and of Wilson's principles, as he perceived them, becomes increasingly clear. The trouble with established authority was greed. Left unchanged, "self-interest, far from urging the ruling and investing classes to seek means for the peaceful abritrament [*sic*] of overseas conflicts will rather impel them to the continuance of the old order."<sup>118</sup> Undoing the "composite psychology of many men seeking to make profits out of business" required "a big-visioned generosity [that] can settle" imperial and capitalist stakes amongst the ruling classes.

It must be a generosity of democracy, and a determination to forever end the embroilment of whole peoples in the conflicts of classes. There is only one rule to apply, and that is freedom ... Only by setting up a new ensign, a new standard in which the wider interests of the world will supersede the narrow interests of a class or a nation will the world be freed from the wars and preparations for which have engulfed it.<sup>119</sup>

Thompson is right to argue that Howe used the Progressive notion that extending democracy would, perforce, dissolve tensions caused by wealth disparities to define a Wilsonian peace.<sup>120</sup>

As Dawley points out, Howe captured the idea common amongst his reform colleagues that "redeeming America and redeeming the world were two sides of the same coin."<sup>121</sup> More than that, Howe was emphasizing, and would continue to do so in future publications, Wilson's new

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<sup>117</sup> Howe, "Dollar Diplomacy and Imperialism," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* 7, 3 (1917): 78-79. The relationship between race, self-determination, and Wilson is voluminous. For a less egalitarian assessment, see: Ambrosius, "Dilemmas of National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson's Legacy," in *Wilsonianism*, 125-134. For a positive assessment, see: Derek Heater, *National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

<sup>118</sup> Howe, *Why War*, 332.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 337-338.

<sup>120</sup> Thompson, "American Progressive Publicists," 370-371.

<sup>121</sup> Dawley, *Changing the World*, 130.

ways of extending democracy at the international level, showing the same determination and insight that Howe had experienced in cities in Europe and America.

It was to this end that Howe enthusiastically developed a plan to “neutralize” waterways, trade routes, and port cities. And it was this line of reasoning that brought him to the Mediterranean waterways and port cities, Constantinople in particular. There, he believed, lay one of the keys to nullifying a source of tension between the old imperial nation-states Britain, Germany, and Russia.<sup>122</sup> To this practical mission, he added the more general ones that he and other Progressives shared increasingly with Wilson: the postwar peace congress must include representatives of all nations, especially small and weaker ones whose standing had to be equal to the imperial powers; and negotiations should be open to the public.<sup>123</sup>

In his article the “New Ideals for Peace,” published in the spring of 1918, a time when the outcome of the war was still by no means ensured, Howe pressed his blend of the New Freedom and Wilsonianism further by arguing that “narrow nationalism” should be replaced by “a new internationalism” that would “seek to encourage in every possible way the culture and civilization and well-being of the world.” Crucial for this type of reconstruction was that the foreign officials of leading nation-states should embrace a “sense of equal-handed justice” when aiding exploited nations. This style of leadership would in turn “inspire idealism and guide the

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<sup>122</sup> Howe, “The Struggle for the Mediterranean,” in *Why War*, chapter 17. The chapter was repeated as an article. Howe, “The Struggle for the Mediterranean,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 59, 6 (1916): 621-624. Howe’s ideas for the Mediterranean were presented as an extension of his position on the single-tax. That is, freedom of trade and ending financial imperialism. Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 194-195.

<sup>123</sup> Howe included colonized and subordinated peoples, likening them to the exploited classes within Western societies. Much like Lippmann, he even used the phrase “people’s peace.” While for a moment a peace associated with anti-colonialism merged with a peace amongst nations, ultimately racial equality was not supported by the negotiating powers, nor was it included in the Treaty of Versailles. Dawley, *Changing the World*, 237-239. Howe, “New Ideals for Peace,” *The Century Magazine* (May 1918): 97-104. Given that Howe’s solution to divisions of ethnicity and nationality in Cleveland was to dissolve class conflicts, his enthusiasm for a “people’s peace” characterized by racial equality was short-lived at best.

conferees of the peace negotiations” toward “a generous-handed freedom.”<sup>124</sup> Since “freedom to the subject world should be America’s contribution to the peace conference,” Wilson would thus “change the psychology of the world,” bringing it in line with public opinion where “privilege and monopolies have been abolished and the mind of man has been permitted to operate through natural and peaceful channels.”<sup>125</sup>

But in lauding this form of diplomacy Howe began to cross the line between Progressivism and imperialism. Historians have considered these blurred lines before. First was William Leuchtenburg’s provocative argument that Progressives believed reclaiming democracy at home and abroad formed two sides of the same coin. A combination of racism and Roosevelt’s magnetic personality made saving Cuba their obligation.<sup>126</sup> After Hofstadter agreed, Arthur Link disassociated Wilson, his Progressivism and his foreign policies from imperialism. Pointing to Americans’ confidence in their capacity to offer a unique model of democracy and disdain for “evil” wars caused by economic rivalries, he argued that Wilson’s participation in the domestic Progressive movement led to global policies of disarmament, international arbitration, and the repudiation of war. Wilsonian Progressives therefore balanced a desire to remain aloof from the world, yet remake it in a spirit of internationalism.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, this desire to remake societies beyond American borders is exactly how historians have demonstrated the imperial

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<sup>124</sup> Howe, “New Ideals for Peace,” 97, 98, 104.

<sup>125</sup> Part of this involved being the first country to give up its possessions, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, once negotiations had started. Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 236-237; 229-230.

<sup>126</sup> William E. Leuchtenburg, “Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1916,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39, 3 (1952): 483-504.

<sup>127</sup> Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 272-282. Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954). For an overview of historians early reactions to the Leuchtenburg thesis, see: Joseph M. Siracusa, “Progressivism, Imperialism, and the Leuchtenburg Thesis, 1952-1974: An Historiographical Appraisal,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 20, 3 (1974): 312-325. There is also Gerald E. Markowitz, “Progressivism and Imperialism: A Return to First Principles,” *Historian* 37, 2 (1975): 257-275.

strain in Progressivism.<sup>128</sup> It was this presumed correlation between the political experience of the United States and the universal good of humankind that had made Jefferson's "empire of liberty" such a two-edged model for American foreign policy from the outset.<sup>129</sup> The problem was that Howe had wrongly assumed that such liberal benevolence was absent from European imperialism itself. Armed with new theories of public health, temperance, women's activism, religion, and governance, the "happy-faced reformer" caused as much oppression and cultural appropriation as European colonial governments when they imposed their peculiar version of "civilization" on backwards races, always, of course, for the latter's benefit.<sup>130</sup>

On the other hand, making the world safe for democracy may have been informed by non-imperial actions including the rapidly expanding transfer of ideas, people, and material

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<sup>128</sup> This is not necessarily unique to Progressivism. Underlying most movements dedicated to improving societal conditions for others is the assumption that reformers know best.

<sup>129</sup> This argument is common amongst historians of U.S. imperialism. An example is offered by Stephanson in *Manifest Destiny*, 14-21.

<sup>130</sup> Quote is taken from Dawley, *Changing the World*, 76. Since the 1970s when New Left scholars argued that domestic and foreign policy were motivated by the same self-serving economic ambitions, this literature has been enriched by broadened definitions of imperialism, and by such fields or methods as post-colonialism, geography, architecture, gender, everyday life, etc., resulting in a voluminous and compelling literature. On the New Left, a classic text is William Appleman Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959; repr., New York: W.W. Norton, 1972). An important assessment is provided by Bradford Perkins, "The Tragedy of American Diplomacy: Twenty-Five Years After," in *Tragedy*, 313-330. On health, see: Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*, new ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). On women's organized reform, see: Ian Tyrrell, *Women's World/Women's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Motoe Sasaki, "American New Women Encountering China: the Politics of Temporality and Paradoxes of Imperialism, 1898-1927," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, 1 (2009) <http://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed January 10, 2013); Manako Ogawa, "The 'White Ribbon League of Nations' Meets Japan: The Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1906-1930," *Diplomatic History* 31, 1 (2007): 21-50; Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age*. On domestic and sexual issues, see: Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000). On religion, see: Susan K. Harris, *God Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). On architecture, see: Brody, *Visualizing American Empire*. On literature and education, see: Gilbert González, *Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Meg Wesling, *Empire's Proxy: American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). On governance, see: Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Anne L. Foster, "Models for Governing: Opium and Colonial Policies in Southeast Asia, 1898-1910," and Patricio N. Abinales, "Progressive-Machine Conflict in Early Twentieth-Century U.S. Politics and Colonial-State Building in the Philippines," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 92-117, 148-181.

culture between countries before war erupted in 1914. Neutrality, Ian Tyrrell argues, was declared because Wilson was aware of the extent to which American citizens had cultivated allegiances that spanned the Atlantic.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, Frank Ninkovich illustrates how the President developed an agenda for collective security precisely to protect what he saw as an increasingly interconnected modern world. Rather than a “selfish” balance of power, order and “top-down control sanctioned by mass democracy” would be established through an “organized and rationally directed community of power.”<sup>132</sup> To prevent jealousies between nations, in 1918 Wilson repeated proposals for freedom of the seas, publicly-negotiated treaties, the restoration of Belgium and the Balkan nations, independence for Poland, and the evacuation of Russian and French territories, and the “impartial adjustment of colonial claims” where “the interests of the populations concerned” were weighted equally with the “claims of the government whose title is to be determined.”<sup>133</sup> Internationalizing Progressivism, therefore, does not necessarily lead to imperialism.

In Howe’s *the Only Possible Peace*, written throughout 1918, the influence of Wilsonianism over his vision became even stronger. It was not enough that an international police force be mandated “to protect a division of the spoils,” but a complete reconstruction of global economic processes had to be initiated. The Mediterranean was a significant portion of Howe’s plan. He felt certain that a clash of national interests in that region explained not only the origins but the intensity of the Great War, rendering it the “tinder-box” of the Old World.<sup>134</sup> He

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<sup>131</sup> Tyrrell also argues that Wilson’s New World Order, as he calls it, rendered the U.S. both more connected and influential within transnational networks. Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation*, 155, and chapter 11.

<sup>132</sup> Ninkovich, *Wilsonian Century*, 67.

<sup>133</sup> Wilson, “Fourteen Points Speech,” Address of the President of the United States delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, January 8, 1918, Document No. 56, in *The Eagle and the Dove*, ed. Chambers, 396-401, quotes taken from 399.

<sup>134</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 284-285. See also: idem, “Secret Diplomacy,” “The Mind of Warring Europe,” “France and the Morocco Incident,” “The Partition of Persia,” and “The Struggle for the Mediterranean,” in *Why War*, chapters

therefore developed recommendations that the Suez Canal and the Dardanelles be internationalized because they were strategic waterways crucial in global distribution systems. That is, a world organization, comprised of an international court, parliament, and judiciary would occupy and protect these Mediterranean waterways;<sup>135</sup> this would guarantee every nation equal access. Reasons for war would subsequently be nullified as no nation could gain geopolitical or maritime advantage over another in these areas. Once a “council of nations” ensured each democratic country cooperated and abided by these newly developed international laws concerning waterways and trade routes, the world would be freed from “bondage.” It was from this context that a new global “moral sense” would emerge. Interstate violence would be incomprehensible.<sup>136</sup>

A world organization would also help to extend democracy in areas like the Mediterranean through the establishment of international tribunals. Specifically, Howe wanted this organization to appoint men with a “sense of equal-handed justice” to a tribunal that would administer use of the waterways on a routine basis so to facilitate access for any vessel regardless of its home port. This would free the surrounding regions from military or political domination by imperial powers. Subsequently, once the harbours of significant port cities like Constantinople were “open to all nations on equal terms,” then “the trade, commerce, and economic life of this great territory should be permitted to follow its natural channels.” Political and cultural development would follow, allowing “the rights of self-determination [to be] extended” to the people in this area, as well as economic opportunity and intellectual refinement. For Howe, this was a long-established reform objective that connected his work in Cleveland to

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4, 12, 14, 15, 17; idem, “The Heart of War,” “Economic Penetration into Turkey,” “Berlin to Bagdad,” “The Bagdad Railway Concession,” “The Economic Conquest of Europe,” in *Only Possible Peace*, chapters 3, 5, 6, 7, 12.

<sup>135</sup> In fairness, Howe also recommended international control of the Panama Canal, a plan sure to be rejected summarily by those Americans who gathered under the wings of Theodore Roosevelt.

<sup>136</sup> Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 189-214, quotes taken from 196, 199, 211.

urban beautification to the New Freedom. In 1918, democratic reforms had to be applied at the international level, rather than remain ideas merely exchanged transnationally between cities for application at home, to guarantee that a reconstructed international community would endure this time. Placing a “free Mediterranean ... under the guardianship of the world” that rendered Western democracies the “ward of civilization administered in the interest” of all, would help to achieve this. The Mediterranean could serve as a model of an international community of free nations bound together by shared commitments to international law.

The peace suggested is a peace for the future security of the world; a peace for peoples rather than for rulers; for disarmament rather than for a continuation of militarism; a peace for the hundreds of millions of subject peoples and the small and subject nationalities which suffer most from war ... We desire that the world may be a safe place for all people to live in; to develop their own cultures and civilizations ...<sup>137</sup>

This form of post-war world government—to the extent that it could be called such—would guide local development of civilization by reclaiming democracy at the international level and, more importantly, facilitating democratic practices and process within the space of specific cultural entities. This balancing of the particular with the universal, with the will of a given cultural practice and the general liberation of humanity, was precisely the challenge facing all democracies. And it could be applied, Howe thought, in a critical cultural crossroad like Constantinople that had been controlled by British investments and Russian ambition.<sup>138</sup> Howe wanted to see “the people” within Mediterranean cities empowered and their political, social, and cultural opportunities protected.

Developing “their own cultures and civilizations” meant that officials appointed to Howe’s envisioned tribunal would ensure urban beautification in Constantinople (Istanbul)

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<sup>137</sup> Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 193, 195, 191-192, 200.

<sup>138</sup> On the tribunal or Mediterranean Commission, Howe used both phrases, see: Howe, *The Only Possible Peace*, chapters 19 and 21. He does not specifically indicate what countries would be included. But on pages 135 and 200 he suggested it would be the Allied powers.

would be “permitted,” if not “encouraged.” This would be achieved through supporting such advances “in education, in art, [and] in the refinement and amenities of civilization,” as it would subvert “the superiority of the great state,” and undo traditions of exploitative and self-serving diplomacy.<sup>139</sup> In due time, the Mediterranean’s former status as a “historical centre of civilization” would be restored. Howe even “pictured a renaissance of this part of the world”—a day when its rich traditions in industry, culture, and art would flourish once again, but as an expression of popular will rather than the capricious interests of oligarchs.<sup>140</sup> Because the Ottoman Empire had been ailing in the years leading up to 1914, rendering it dependent on British support, he argued that “the more advanced nations” must supply cities like Constantinople raw materials, credit, and “scientific and engineering aid.” Through a novel commitment to revitalizing ancient regions, the leading international powers comprising the Mediterranean commission would therefore propagate public-spirited leadership in the postwar world. And because each leading power, Britain, France, Russia, and Germany, would have equal access to the regions trade routes and waterways, such a spirit would, theoretically, spread quickly. “No single thing would contribute more to . . . peace and prosperity . . . than the generous development of the Mediterranean.”<sup>141</sup>

Howe desperately wanted to be a part of the consortium that would guide restoration of this “ancient civilization” in this area.<sup>142</sup> In an effort to secure some kind of post with the American peace delegation, he began presenting himself as an expert of the Mediterranean amongst his friends in government. In letters to his old friend Newton Baker, who was appointed Secretary of War in 1916, he stressed his experiences networking and socializing with men from

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<sup>139</sup> Howe, “New Ideals for Peace,” 97-104, quotes taken from 100, 101. See also: Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 205-206; idem, *Confessions*, 287-288.

<sup>140</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 287.

<sup>141</sup> Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 203, 206.

<sup>142</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 287-288.

different European nations. Although these experiences had occurred in tandem with Howe's burgeoning admiration for German society, he claimed in 1917 that its businessmen and friends had revealed to him their country's imperial ambitions in Turkey. And he had recently surveyed the relevant literature regarding British and French visions of empire, befriended their respective citizens and toured their cities. He felt he could he boldly pronounce himself better informed regarding the conflict and politics surrounding that region than any other American.<sup>143</sup> And in letters to the President himself, Howe continued to press his expertise on the Mediterranean and his theory that its geopolitical value had caused explosive tensions between major European powers.<sup>144</sup>

Howe was certain that "the international millennium" Wilson had initiated "was at hand." More than being "captivated by the President's eloquence and ... his [program]," the Fourteen Points "had carried the world." Imperial ambitions, which had once pervaded politics in Germany, Russia, France, and Britain, were therefore coming to an end. Perhaps what bolstered Howe's faith in Wilson, and in the restoration of Constantinople, was the President's direct rebuttal to the London Treaty of 1915. It had promised Italy a portion of Turkey in exchange for declaring war on Germany. After the Bolsheviks published the intentionally secret treaty, Wilson's twelfth point bluntly stated that the "Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured sovereignty."<sup>145</sup>

The time had come for Howe to leave New York. He eagerly wanted to go to Paris to have "a share in the settlement of [these] problems" and, more importantly, "be around when the

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<sup>143</sup> Howe to Baker, June 26, 1917, as provided by Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 281.

<sup>144</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 287.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 287-288. Wilson's 12<sup>th</sup> point reads: "The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees." Wilson, "Fourteen Points," 400. On the Treaty of London, see: MacMillan, *1919*, 279-301.

hand of the Western [imperial] world [would] be lifted from the peoples.” Specifically, he wanted to see Wilson’s ideas for an “international arrangement” render cities like Constantinople a “free port and great cosmopolis, serving as the distributing centre of three continents,” thus beginning the city’s “renaissance.”<sup>146</sup> He was, of course, overly enthusiastic about the possibility that America was bringing a new brand of leadership, enriched by experience, education, and expansive cosmopolitan knowledge, to the international community. He exaggerated Wilson’s influence and underestimated the intransigence of the traditional imperial powers who were America’s nominal associates at Paris. But most of all, he failed to see how using Wilsonianism to “restore” culture in a foreign city was little more than another form of imperialism.

To promote his ideas on the Mediterranean Howe needed to attend the Paris Peace talks held in the first six months of 1919. George Creel, a long-time friend of Howe’s, pressed Wilson to send him. Just a few weeks before the Armistice, both he and Lincoln Steffens received appointments to the American delegation, although not in any official capacity. This meant they had to stay with other American journalists including Creel, Ida Tarbell, William Allen White, and Ray Stannard Baker, at the Hôtel Chatman, near the Place de l’Opéra. Initially, Howe and Steffens may have been disappointed to be so removed from the principle American delegation which included James T. Shotwell, his fellow members of Wilson’s think-tank The Inquiry, as well as military attachés and sundry diplomats, all of whom stayed at the Hôtel Crillon on the Place de la Concorde. Howe and Steffens, however, took advantage of the opportunities being in Paris at this time afforded. Together they visited the lobbies, press rooms, and antechambers of the Crillon hoping to pick up gossip. Fortunately, the palace on the Champs-Élysées had been allocated to newspaper men, and subsequently known as the Cercle Français de la Press Etrangère. It was an easy walk from the hotel. By dining and chatting “with men of all nations,”

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<sup>146</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 287-288.

they learned more about the “political psychology of Europe” than the more cloistered American mission. The month of December was likely a very interesting time for Howe. As 1918 drew to a close, however, he was still shuffling around Paris collecting gossip and growing impatient. He even wrote to Jane Addams, advising that she not come. There were little to no influential activities for American reformers to become associated with. Coming to Paris would be a waste of her time.<sup>147</sup>

Then in January 1919, Colonel House relayed a message through William Bullitt that Wilson wanted to send a commission to Syria so to learn the “wishes of the Syrians themselves in regard to a mandatory.”<sup>148</sup> The 1916 Anglo-French Sykes-Picot Agreement was another of the wartime secret treaties that established spheres of influence and control in the Middle East, provided the Ottoman Empire was defeated during the war. France had been promised the Syrian coast, while Britain would assume control over central Mesopotamia (central and southern Iraq), and Palestine would have an international administration. The remaining region, a huge area that is now most of Syria, Mosul in northern Iraq, and Jordan, would be ruled by local Arab chiefs under French or British supervision.<sup>149</sup> Along with the Treaty of London, Sykes-Picot was published by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 Revolution. Wilson opposed it, just as he had the London Treaty, since annexing Ottoman territories by the victorious powers would restore old patterns of imperialism and violate his Fourteen Points. As a substitute, he was convinced by Jan Smuts, who presented South Africa’s case for the annexation of German Southwest Africa, to accept the Mandate System.<sup>150</sup> Rather than enduring formal colonial administration, an appointed “mandatory” would administer these territories on behalf of the League of Nations until they

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<sup>147</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 290-291; Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 282.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, 291; *Ibid*, 283.

<sup>149</sup> MacMillan, *1919*, 382-384.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, 98-106.

were prepared for full independence. In theory, this ensured the interests and welfare of local peoples were represented, and their development toward self-government facilitated, but of course it was merely a condescending half-way house of imperialism. Still, superficially it allowed Wilson to extend democracy as a part of his civilizing mission without abandoning these territories to the more radical self-determining ideals of the Bolsheviks.<sup>151</sup> As negotiations over the Syria question dragged on, House asked Howe to go there to assess local opinion. Smut's idea potentially compromised Wilson's vision of collective security, but Howe readily agreed to help the President.<sup>152</sup>

Howe was to be accompanied by Dr. James Barton, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He embarked for Rome early in February to find Barton, but found the doctor had already left to Brindisi, on the southeast coast of Italy, from where they would travel to Syria by way of Constantinople.<sup>153</sup> Howe made arrangements to follow him to Brindisi. In *Only Possible Peace*, Howe argued this city was another part of the Mediterranean whose civilization would flourish after being internationalized. "No country had more charm, more instinct for beauty, art, science, and learning." At the time, the region lacked various natural resources including coal, and its land was uncultivated, rendering the country dependent on the outside world. "She can only build her railroads, her merchant marine, her battleships by the grace of other nations." And "America, Great Britain, and France [could] extend" the

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<sup>151</sup> Anthony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 119-121.

Although self-determination sparked anti-colonialists' protests for independence, Wilson never defined this principle in such radical terms. Rather the "Contracting Powers" would in the future make "territorial adjustments when necessary by reason of changes in present racial conditions and aspirations or present social and political relationships, pursuant to the principle of self-determination." Wilson, "First Draft of the League Covenant, 1918," Document No. 58, in *Eagle and the Dove*, ed. Chambers, quoting Article III, 418. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 34-35; Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*, 220; Ambrosius, "Dilemmas of National Self-Determination," 125-134.

<sup>152</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 294-300.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 300. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 283.

economic help Italy needed. Once modernized, postwar free trade would allow “the art, the color, and the beauty which Italy possesses” to enrich the international community.<sup>154</sup>

These were the theories Howe had published before arriving in Italy.<sup>155</sup> The prospect of visiting the port city of Brindisi, once culturally and commercially significant, before going on to Constantinople and Syria, parts of the Mediterranean that Howe celebrated as both central to and symbolic of the rejuvenation of civilization and an international community, likely energized his grandiose visions. In this context, it may have been easier for him to look past arguments he had heard in Paris from members of the British Foreign Service that America’s duty after the Great War was to assume control over the old imperial structure, and Constantinople was to remain in British control to thwart Russian ambitions. The ideals Wilson represented in Paris and the mission to Syria allowed Howe to continue believing that a generous, selfless society of nations was on the cusp of emerging, whose members would extend democracy as they worked to restore urban civilization for the benefit of international peace.<sup>156</sup> And men like Wilson, rather than the Oxford-trained bureaucrats of the British Empire, would be at the helm of this new international society.

Brindisi, however, was crowded, cold, and run-down. It also featured countless dark allies that led to taverns and tenements. “Troops of every nationality and every color [*sic*] swarmed the streets, drunk and sober.” An Italian cab driver did what he could to find Howe a room, but the city was overwhelmed. All that was available was a “tenement” flat above a “wine-

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<sup>154</sup> Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, 201-202. Howe wrote *Only Possible Peace* before leaving for France and clearly did not understand, or was not willing to admit, how the war had weakened its economy.

<sup>155</sup> The preface is dated November 1st, 1918. Howe, *Only Possible Peace*, xi. At the time of its completion, plans for the trip abroad were well underway. In a letter also dated November 1<sup>st</sup>, Lincoln Steffens made a comment that Howe’s passport had just arrived as he explained his anxieties that his own application would be denied. Steffens to Laura Suggett, November 1, 1918, in *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, ed. Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 1:438.

<sup>156</sup> As recounted, this conversation was with Oxford trained men, whom Fred identified as men of his own class, and took place shortly before he left for Syria. Howe, *Confessions*, 294-298, 300.

room filled with drunken sailors,” and in the bed that would be his was a “rough-looking customer who might have been of any color [*sic*] of nationality.”<sup>157</sup> Compared to the palatial architecture and enlightened citizenry characteristic of City Beautiful and German cities, as well as the historic traditions of civilization that had informed more recent urban development, the visual and cultural gap felt so significant that Howe was almost immediately overwhelmed with a sense of helplessness.

My dreams that night of a free Mediterranean, renewing its glories under the protection of an allied consortium, were confused with drunken sailors, with dark-skinned murders, with filthy wine-rooms and bitter, inhospitable weather. Alternating with chills and fever, the Arabs, French, or English would have Syria and the Syrians for all of me. If the Lord’s chosen people wanted Palestine, they could take it for themselves.<sup>158</sup>

He was, in any case, unable to locate Barton. Frustrated by French hostility and their suspicions that Americans were conspiring with Britain, he simply returned to Paris.<sup>159</sup> His superiors were both surprised and dismayed that Howe had turned back, “half-way on his trip to the Near-East.” Henry White, prominent U.S. diplomat, Colonel House, Wilson’s chief aide, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, decided it was better to drop Howe from this mission entirely. He had been “unable to do any useful work” in support of the American Peace Delegation. By the end of March, the three statesmen agreed to try sending Americans with no prior knowledge of Syria and of the secret treaties.<sup>160</sup>

Unlike Grace Abbott and Alice Hamilton, who also witnessed dark, negative emotions amongst the French, Howe lacked the patience to continue working for internationalism of any kind, whether it was based on personal and cultural transnational connections, or an internationalized consortium. He never went any further into the Mediterranean than Italy’s

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 300-301.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 301.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 299, 301.

<sup>160</sup> Quoting the Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, February 20, 1919 and February 22, 1919, in Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 285.

Adriatic Coast. Looking back, Howe admitted his “still-born vision of the Near East was the child of American ignorance.” For Americans, he later concluded, “had no business in Paris . . . we were amateurs . . . seeking to right the world by moralistic appeals.” American “emotions were honest, the sacrifice genuine, whole-hearted, but Europe only smiled at [their] naivete [*sic*]. The righteousness of Wilson was one of the Allies’ greatest assets.”<sup>161</sup>

Disillusioned, Howe made one last active effort to extend democracy for Russians living in America. A little more than a month after the draft Covenant had been unanimously adopted by the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, he presided at a “Justice to Russia” meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Perhaps he did not foresee that Congress would reject the League of Nations, that public opinion would favour a return to normalcy, or how pervasive was the Red Scare.<sup>162</sup> Unfortunately, the *Times* reported that attendees had cheered when the policies of Lenin and Trotsky were introduced, and speakers “attacked” Wilson for having refused to recognize the Bolshevik government and ordering the subsequent invasion of Siberia. While Howe was not mentioned as a speaker, the “‘liberality’ of his doctrines” were well-known. His attendance was not only “intolerable,” but threatened American security according to Utah senator William H. King. King even asked how could “a Commissioner be trusted to shut the gates on those alien enemies of free and ordered government, of equal political privilege, those desperate plotters of class war of whom there are too many already in the United States?”<sup>163</sup> King called for an investigation, if not Howe’s dismissal. As a member of the

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<sup>161</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 306, 305.

<sup>162</sup> Once war had ended in Europe, powerful race riots and a depression crippled American society. Thereafter, isolationism and a profound desire for a return to normalcy characterized popular attitudes. The League of Nations was also unpopular with Republicans, who regained dominance in the House of Representatives and the Senate in 1918. On this shift, see: McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, 306-313; May, *End of American Innocence*, 387-398.

<sup>163</sup> The actual Russian policy is not named in the *Times* article. “A Needed Inquiry,” *New York Times*, June 4, 1919, 14. See also: Georg Schlid, *Between Ideology and Realpolitik: Woodrow Wilson and the Russian Revolution, 1917-1921* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 91-115. On Wilson’s decision to intervention, see also: Robert James Maddox, *Unknown War with Russia: Wilson’s Siberian Intervention* (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977), 48-51.

Overman Sub-Committee responsible for investigating Russian sympathy during the winter of 1918-1919, King was infuriated there was “any hint of Bolshevism at Ellis Island, through which the immigrants of the world pour” into America.<sup>164</sup>

In defense of his actions, Howe used a mixture of public-spirited and Wilsonian rhetoric. “The meeting was called to urge that Russia be permitted to buy food,” he explained. Long-term, American policy should ensure that Russia could provide for its own citizens. Moreover, “the right of Russia to self-determination, that, too, has every sanction ... the American Government can give.”<sup>165</sup> Despite such a vigorous defense, he resigned as Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island in September 1919.<sup>166</sup> That did not stop Congress from accusing and investigating Howe for being “friendly with dangerous aliens,” “reds” in particular, while they were held at the Island for deportation.<sup>167</sup> Tired of federal politics, he and Marie decided to start over once again. In the summer of 1920, they bought a large farmhouse on the eastern shore of Nantucket Island. In the summer months they hosted informal summer lectures and seminars for both young and established scholars, and their winters were spent in Europe.<sup>168</sup>

## Conclusion

Howe’s commitment to liberal-left social legislation did not end in 1919.<sup>169</sup> But it is interesting how difficult it was for him to meet European men of his own class: college-educated men who

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<sup>164</sup> “Senator King Demands Removal of F.C. Howe for Having Presided at Soviet Meeting,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1919, 1.

<sup>165</sup> “Howe Denies Rally was Pro-Bolshevik: Replies to Senator King’s Demand for Investigation of Madison Square Meeting,” *New York Times*, June 4, 1919, 16. See also: “Commissioner Howe,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1919, 12.

<sup>166</sup> “Howe Resigns to Aid Plumb Plan,” *New York Times*, September 7, 1919, 1.

<sup>167</sup> “Aiding Reds Charge; Witness Says Fred C. Howe Held up Deportations,” “Subpoena Threat for ‘Red’ Report,” “Secretary Wilson Refuses Red Data,” and “Tenderness to Alien Radicals,” *New York Times*, November 29, December, 10, 11, 12, 1919, 5, 3, 7, 16.

<sup>168</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 340-343.

<sup>169</sup> After resigning from his post at Ellis Island, Howe became involved in the Plumb Plan, the public ownership of railroads. His published writings focused on such things as cooperative state and economic systems in Denmark.

had come of age during the heady days of reform, yet who saw no problem with traditional imperialism and expected America to fulfill Britain's former global position. Prior to the war, he had been a part of transnational networks comprised of similarly educated men who had achieved success in another profession yet altruistically devoted themselves to municipal reform. Together, these men created both professional and personal ties, shared ideas, toured one another's cities, and attended international conferences. Over the years, Glasgow, Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Vienna inspired his theories of beautification and democratic reform in America. With Johnson, himself a reformed businessman, and cosmopolitan architects, he worked to initiate a neoclassical civic centre and municipal ownership, and celebrated the new commercialism of the Chamber of Commerce, hoping more American men would soon resemble German and Scottish men, who not only devoted their education, experience, and enthusiasm to community-development, but were willing to share their municipal reforms with men from other countries. Even in the 1920s when he penned *Confessions*, he still struggled to understand the universality of war, especially when men from such a wide-geographic range had come together so easily.<sup>170</sup>

Being a part of urban international networks had a profound impact on his understanding and framing of American foreign policy. Both at home and abroad, Howe associated with elite, ambitious men oriented toward service and the common good, justifying his own personal drive for prominent positions within reform. In Cleveland, at Ellis Island, and in New York City, this involved environmental improvements for individual uplift, civic unity, and representing the

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Howe, *Confessions*, 326-338; idem, *Denmark: A Cooperative Commonwealth* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921). Historians have used Howe's disillusionment as a straw-man for the (final) collapse of Progressive reform in 1920. Kennedy, *Over Here*, 292-293. Others demonstrate the re-emergence of reform at a grass-roots level in the 1920s thanks to the efforts of Progressives like Howe, see: Dawley, "Progressive Rebirth," in *Changing the World*, chapter 9; Miller, "Searching for a New Party," in *From Progressive to New Dealer*, chapter 14.

<sup>170</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 320.

democratic rights of “the people.” When given the opportunity, he anticipated transferring the same reforms practiced in Germany, Britain, Austria, and America to the Mediterranean. Perhaps if Howe had made a sustained effort to learn immigrants’ cultural traditions, how to navigate them, and to collaborate with them, he might not have been so disappointed in Brindisi. Instead, he was an apparently selfless political official who tried to represent and provide *for* them. Rather than socialize on any of the porches, akin to residents at Hull-House lingering in the front hall during the evening, he reached out to immigrants by installing comments boxes in various places around Ellis Island.<sup>171</sup> If his office was “always open to them,” he was rarely there. When he was, his attention was divided between political matters and personal writings unrelated to immigration.<sup>172</sup> Perhaps if he learned to form personal, cultural, and intimate bonds, and to imagine that people were connected within the same social arena, rather than cultivate his expertise, he might have reached Turkey, and at least tried to help others build the community they had envisioned for themselves.

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<sup>171</sup> Howe, “Denies Scandals at Ellis Island,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1916, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Bennett supported his allegation by introducing roughly one-hundred and fifty pages of a draft written on official letterhead during one of Howe’s appearances in Congress to defend his policies at Ellis Island. Bennett was trying to show how unfocused Howe was. “Denies Scandals at Ellis Island,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1916, 4; “War Makes it Hard to Run Ellis Island,” *New York Times*, July 23, 1916, 13. See also: Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer*, 225-226; Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate*, 117-118.

## CONCLUSION

As she sat whipping the sweat from her brow, Grace Abbott explained in a letter to older sister Edith her conflicted opinions regarding Puerto Rico. Its natural beauty was awe-inspiring, but local problems were “frightfully difficult.” Yet the worst of them were not caused by poverty, but by Governor Emmet Montgomery Reily. The governor was a strong advocate of Roosevelt’s peculiarly narrow brand of American, and Grace found him “stupid,” “cheap” and “vulgar”. He despised the local people and their culture, traditional food in particular, and did “nothing but wave the [Old Glory] flag.” While it was rumored Reily and his family had been warned by Washington, D.C. to be more diplomatic, Grace felt they did not have sense enough to know whom they had offended and why.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Governor, she continued to appreciate diverse cultures and societies by situating individuals within their unique contexts, both historic and contemporaneous.

These were lessons that Abbott and Alice Hamilton had first learned as social reformers in Chicago at the turn of the century. They put them into practice in The Hague, in Brussels, again in Chicago during the Great War, and in Paris once the fighting had stopped. They had walked into Hull-House just as Jane Addams’ experiment in social reconstruction was wrestling with the great problems of the industrial city. There, through their ties to the University of Chicago, they became exposed to the currents of pragmatism and feminism then flowing back and forth between the academy and the 19<sup>th</sup> ward. Settlement work helped Hamilton and Abbott understand how immigration was challenging the presumed superiority of middle-class, Anglo-Saxon culture within the U.S. More than that, immigrants connected Chicago to an international

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<sup>1</sup> Grace to Edith Abbott, March 31, 1922, Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP.

community of sorts. Cities and towns on both sides of the Atlantic were nodes that structured a larger social arena. While European cities did not have to grapple with the same issues of ethnic identity that U.S. cities did, both sides of the Atlantic were struggling with the consequences of sudden urban growth, a restive proletariat, and the political polarization this brought to national politics. Urban reformers across the industrial world reached out to each other in search of inspiration and solidarity, developing a kind of internationalism that increasingly brought the North Atlantic world in closer and closer contact.

The principles that unified these reformers were necessarily based in a rejection of the ideological status quo governing the industrializing states, democracies and autocracies alike. If there was, in Europe, more of an existing tradition of statism in social politics, there was nevertheless a palpably emerging sense of trans-border solidarity that characterized the prewar generation. The ideological language that brought them together varied—*solidarité* in France, Fabianism in Britain, social reconstruction in the United States—but what they shared was a commitment to pluralism, experimentation, and the values of the critical connection between theory and reform. There was, in all of these, an inherent openness and dynamism.

The Great War, however, altered the personal and social conditions that informed identity, and the violence shattered the community ties that had connected people regardless of nationality. Sometimes this was merely temporary: the inconvenience of blocked borders, censored mail, and cancelled international conferences. But in other cases, the damage was more lasting. The “social emotions” produced by the war cast, for many, permanent doubt on the pretensions of international solidarity. Reconciliation after the war would not merely involve opening up old streams of thought and discourse, but in altering what four years had done to the consciousness of people. But some minds were better prepared for the path of reconciliation than

others. In 1919, both Hamilton and Abbott needed to observe these consequences of war by engaging directly with ordinary Europeans, rather than try and get close to the source of diplomatic power. They understood what it was like to be excluded and denied the right to participate in democratic politics, rendering them lesser members of public society. Owing to their class and race, they were able to overcome at least some of these obstacles, especially within higher education, their professions, and at Hull-House. And they were certainly not without blind spots. Their exclusion as women meant however that they felt they could empathize with both the immigrant experience and the meaning of the social and cultural ties developing between Chicago and Europe. Although their political legitimacy as pacifists derived in part from the innocence of disenfranchisement, permanent peace was also an ongoing experiment that drew heavily upon experience—past and contemporaneous—accumulated knowledge, and a personal tolerance for another person’s changing sense of self and their larger societal context.

Fred Howe, on the other hand, collected gossip in Paris, waiting for an opportunity to showcase both his expertise and a new style of governance he had honed in Cleveland and at Ellis Island. While he did so, Alice and Grace engaged with survivors, observed new social challenges, and tried to understand how exactly a collective international spirit was fracturing. The objective was not only to reconnect with ordinary Europeans, but to find new ways of emphasizing the personal and cultural ties that had once informed an inclusive prewar internationalism. In the aftermath of an unlimited war, they promoted such basic necessities as food, health, and well-being to emphasize all individuals’ common humanity, hoping that universal care could be made a widely-shared concern.

Their experience in 1919 was not altogether encouraging. They encountered prejudice and xenophobia even amongst those whose better understanding told them that it had been precisely this blind nationalism that had sustained the bloodshed for so long. Yet, three years after the peace treaties were signed, Grace had the opportunity to apply her brand of feminism and pragmatism in an official capacity. Charles Evans Hughes, the Secretary of State, asked her to sit on the League of Nation's Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children as a consultant.<sup>2</sup> After accepting, she proposed that a worldwide inquiry into the traffic of women be undertaken. She recommended that a group of agents, "of high standing with special training and experience," travel to "principal cities of the world" to investigate whether women willingly choose prostitution, or were forced into it; to compare policies of regulated brothels; and the application of immigration laws regarding immorality, when relevant. Using this information, the Committee would have an "intelligent basis for a sound program for international co-operation for the suppression of the traffic" where it was found to exist.<sup>3</sup> Whereas European representatives on the Committee wanted to focus exclusively on the situation in their own countries, Grace proposed an experimental approach that depended heavily on international cooperation and recognition of the different situations within which women became involved in the sale of sex. On the one hand, she was drawing on her knowledge of the intricate ways that people, money, and ambition had rendered cities more transnational than national. Resolving international problems required solutions that were truly global. On the other hand, she was proposing that the agents recognize the rights of vulnerable women and girls in ways that

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<sup>2</sup> The Committee was created in 1921 to control trafficking in women and children. America and Germany were invited to appoint representatives. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice*, 91.

<sup>3</sup> G. Abbott, "Recommendation Submitted as a Possible Subject for Discussion by the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children," n.d. [1923], Box 61, Folder 1, EGAP. G. Abbott, to Eric Drummond, October 5, 1923, Box 61, Folder 1, EGAP. On the League's support for Grace's recommendation, see: Arthur Sweetser to Raymond Fosdick, Esq., June 20, 1923, Box 61, Folder 1, EGAP. Grace proposed a similarly cooperative approach to child welfare. E. Abbott, "The Compass II," Box 93, Folder 7, EGAP.

respected their decisions and contexts. In theory, women would be rescued only when they had been forced into prostitution. In 1922, after having toured Europe three times to promote the rights of immigrants, women's peace initiatives, and child welfare, still inspired by the formative ten years she had spent at Hull-House, Grace Abbott understood that universal well-being required cooperative, contextualized and experimental global reform agendas. Apart from highlighting the persistence of internationalism amongst women, her actions at the League of Nations illuminate how indelible were her urban experiences in a transnationally charged Progressive Era for understanding the world around her.

Meanwhile, Alice Hamilton found her old University of Chicago colleague George Hebert Mead an increasingly difficult friend. His fanatical adherence to the League, and his "superficial" assumptions that American membership would correct "all the woes of Europe" were trying. In the early 1920s, Alice was not "a strong pro-Leaguer." She could not believe it would be anything other than a League of the Victors. She therefore wanted to debate it with Mead, as they used to at Hull-House.<sup>4</sup> But then in 1924, she was appointed by the Council of the League of Nation to the Health Committee, and had to travel to Geneva that fall for biannual meetings. If she was skeptical of the League, she was also eager to return to Europe.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Hamilton was curious to see for herself what habits of thought and action characterized appointed officials and society itself.

Once again, it was not the formal meetings but the lectures on recent field research that Alice found most compelling. During these presentations, doctors described "what they had themselves seen," the conditions local peasants faced, and what disease had been observed. Moreover, these doctors were French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, or British; and they

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<sup>4</sup> Hamilton to Margaret Hamilton, March 30, 1923, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 269. On the League of the Victors, see Hamilton, *ETDT*, 196.

<sup>5</sup> Hamilton, *ETDT*, 246.

worked with individuals in Greece, Russia, equatorial Africa, Persia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Italy, Holland, Great Britain, and the U.S.<sup>6</sup> Not only were fellow members of the medical community applying experiential knowledge to generate theories of public health, they gave little regard to race, ethnicity, diplomatic allegiances or political ideologies. Collaborating with fellow medical researchers and local residents in the eradication of disease was too important. After her two three-year appointments had come to an end, Hamilton remained inspired by her colleagues' poignant displays of internationalism, informed by empathy for the human condition, experience, and science.

As I listened to the recital it seemed to me that I have never heard so graphic a description of the devastation wrought by war, with its cruelty and senselessness, for the picture they drew of plague-stricken peoples was the indirect result of the World War. ... [And] the problems of one nation are the problems of all, where a threat to one must be met by the efforts of all, where the real values of life are always kept in mind. If only statesmen could learn to look on war as physicians look on disease, we might begin to hope for a peaceful world.<sup>7</sup>

And Alice once again created her own bonds with other individuals in Geneva, just as she had done in Chicago before the Great War started, in The Hague in 1915, and in Paris and Zürich in 1919. In the house where she was staying, the housekeeper was Dutch, the international secretary for the WILPF was Hungarian, and other guests included a woman from Scotland, a female professor from Poland, and an American. Despite her argument with Mead, Hamilton enjoyed being “with ... people who are interested in the League and in European politics.”<sup>8</sup>

While Yiddish theatre and Greek dancing had made settlement work at Hull-House intriguing, it was pragmatism and feminism that had helped to shift the reform initiatives of

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<sup>6</sup> She does not identify who gave these presentations, but her language suggests most were given by male. Hamilton to Lathrop, October 3, 1924, Sicherman, *A Life in Letters*, 272; Hamilton, “The Health Work of the League of Nations,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 7, AHP.

<sup>7</sup> Hamilton, “The Health Work of the League of Nations,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 7, AHP.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton to Agnes, September 30, 1925, Reel 30, Folder 643, HFP. It is noteworthy that Alice stayed in a mixed-use area – the first two floors of the house were commercial spaces. Hamilton to Margaret, October 2, 1925, Reel 28, Folder 617, HFP.

Hamilton and Abbott away from rigid lessons in hygiene, nutrition, English, and domestic context. The efforts by both women to aide immigrants by collaborating with them, taught them to look beyond nationalism, to “love their fellow man,” and to recognize how superficial it was to assume Anglo-Saxon culture represented civilization, or that any single culture could capture the norms of humanity itself. By thrusting themselves into urban public space, still a novel place for women, they had gained rich insight into a dynamic global context, including the fragility of any transnational connections that comprised a peaceful international community.

Howe had attended parties held for immigrants at Goodrich, but had been annoyed by “heavy-footed mothers.” His ideas on transnational networks and an international community depended heavily on the best-educated, professional men who embodied the brotherhood of service, not immigrants. These men who came from Cleveland, Glasgow, Berlin or Düsseldorf, had exchanged information freely while touring one another’s cities, allowing them to become familiar with a wide array of successful urban development plans. Together they had created collegial, congenial and highly productive networks that connected cities throughout Europe and the U.S. Acquiring the expertise necessary to civilize and uplift their own cities, for the benefit of local residents, was a process that had heavily informed Howe’s ideas of transnational ties and an international community. While his personal urban experiences were as indelible as Abbott’s and Hamilton’s, Howe had been taught to make sense of the world by looking for structures of power and by envisioning how a new generation of upper-class white men, who had genuinely struggled to assume their destined positions in society, would make society more humane. The changed society Howe envisioned, as a Progressive and internationalist, was limited by his preference for long-established paternalist traditions.

Upon reaching Paris late in 1918, for example, Howe still believed that peace depended on prominent men drawn to service. He had just spent four years beautifying Ellis Island and promoting the American public-spirited leadership that President Woodrow Wilson represented. Ideally, in the post-war period men would emulate him, as Howe had been trying to do, and help to initiate a stable international order governed by Wilsonian principles. Because municipal development had always been at the centre of Howe's transnational experiences and perceptions of internationalism, he expected tribunals appointed by the League would focus on bringing civilization and consent of the governed to war-torn cities like Constantinople, a former glorious urban centre. Clashing Old World imperialism, driven by capitalist greed, had erupted in that port-city, causing the Great War itself. Going forward, it should be governed by disinterested diplomats appointed to an international tribunal, and beautified by men familiar with urban civilization. Despite his best intentions, Howe's paternalism carried with it an imperialist strain. In Cleveland, he had failed to realize that razing residential neighbourhoods for the neoclassical Group Plan threatened civic unity. Subsequently, in the post-war period, he never considered how people of Mediterranean countries and cities (especially Muslim ones) viewed governance by a Western power. Throughout his career in urban reform, he had always assumed that residents would collectively support and benefit from leadership that focused on extending the democratic process to "the people," and on initiating a mode of civilization that was supposedly universal. Internationalism, as he had been applying it since the late 1890s, was not an inclusive, expansive community characterized by open-ended diversity of any kind. Instead, it referred to networks of educated, middle- and upper-class professionals who collegially exchanged information regarding urban civilization for the moral benefit of mankind. Engaging with another culture was a privilege reserved for a particular socio-economic class, and, more

importantly, for men. The only change Howe envisioned when reconstruction of international peace could finally begin late in 1918, was the character traits of men in power. Rather than inherited titled positions, educated and experienced men with a service ethic would reform international practices.

Unfortunately, Fred's expectations that such a cohort would uphold freedom of the seas and of trade—thereby nullifying special privilege—were proven wrong in Paris. As he admitted later:

There was only one thing that Paris understood. That was conquest. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Italy, Japan were intent on it. And conquest meant plunder. The reporters ... yawned when Wilson spoke. The Messiah was unpopular at the Quai d'Orsay as in the Press Club.<sup>9</sup>

Worse, the “conferees were men of [his] class.” Having to admit that the “herd morality in international affairs was not morality at all in [his] sense of the word,” must have challenged Howe's long-established beliefs in a powerful way. Although Wilson had allowed him to believe that it was finally time for America to assume a position of leadership within an international community, as he envisioned it, Paris revealed that both the President and the U.S. had been foolish to try and create a new global context that guaranteed permanent peace. Perhaps Paris was simply a global replay of his experience in Cleveland under the leadership of Johnson.<sup>10</sup>

Frustrated, confused, and disillusioned, Fred Howe turned his back on transnational exchange, on Wilson, and on internationalism. Early in the 1920s, he and Marie decided to turn his reveries of “an old fishing village on the far end of Nantucket Island” into a reality.<sup>11</sup> While Hamilton and Abbott continued to engage the wider world, Fred and Marie retreated to an old farm house in the rural community of Siasconse. In this bucolic isolation, Howe oversaw

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<sup>9</sup> Howe, *Confessions*, 318.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 317, 318, 320.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 339.

summer seminars for critically-minded individuals, a who's who of the pluralist wing of Progressivism: Horace Kallen, Eugene O'Neill, Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., Sinclair Lewis, Floyd Dell, Felix Frankfurter, and Walter Lippmann, and wintered in Europe.<sup>12</sup> He had been naïve to assume that any perceived connection or common political disposition between “the people” and an elected leader was genuine or long-lasting. But his personal identity, reform ethic, and definitions of modern, legitimate power had been wrapped up in that idea for too long for him to think otherwise. Changes to the built environment and men's control over them throughout the Progressive Era had been so extensive that Howe's theories were continuously being reaffirmed, even on self-imposed exile. It would have been hard to see Wilson as anything else but a new leader at the vanguard of a new world order.

Along with the city and its landscapes, immigrants have been a constant thread throughout this story, a foil against which I have tried to display the different experiences and mindsets of Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, and Frederic Howe. Once the women were given ways of navigating cultural difference, they seemed to believe that their status *as women*, interlopers in a political public sphere both in Chicago and in diplomacy, gave them insight into the immigrant experience. Their agenda and legitimacy in pacifism was derived from settlement work and their lack of political rights inside the warring nation-state. Working with immigrant women in Cleveland, however, did not affect or motivate Howe's goal to assume a position of leadership, which he continued to see as men's long-established political right. His experiences had never given him reason to want to change the structures of power. The capstone of modernity and Progressivism itself, in his view, would be achieved when New York became the world's leading cosmopolis. Public-spirited masculinity was only focused on changing the

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<sup>12</sup> Lee Rand Burne, “The Sconset School of Opinion,” *Historic Nantucket* 41, 2 (1993): 27-29, provided by Nantucket Historical Association, <http://www.nha.org/history/hn/HN-v41n2-burne.htm> (accessed April 10, 2013); “Ideals and Fancies Given Full Swing in School of Opinion,” *The Washington Post*, August 31, 1924, ES7.

person and place at the helm of a hierarchy of civilization; such leadership, through policy and moral exhortation, would start solving the world's problems the same way it had made American capitalism more benign.

Although these three reformers did not have the “power to stir men's blood,” their personal and professional decisions illuminate how gender, Progressive liberalism, immigration, transnationalism, and international conflict—these larger processes that structure society at the urban, national and global level—hit the ground, so to speak, in Chicago and Cleveland. More importantly, they serve as a microcosm of how gendered experience altered the consciousness of individuals. These sorts of individuals allow us as historians to combine societal structure, at different scales, with individual agency, so to critically examine what it meant to be a Progressive, an urban reformer, an Atlantic crosser, and a pacifist.

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