

Addams's Methodologies of Writing, Thinking, and Activism

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Abstract:

To understand Addams's texts, readers need to attend both to her evolutionary methodologies and to her interpretive strategies. Addams was an evolutionary scientist and sociologist in the days before natural selection became merged with genetics and before sociology adopted a stance of positivistic objectivity. Like other intellectuals at the nineteenth century's turn, Addams addressed contemporary social problems by locating them within their evolutionary histories and proposing ways of moving society toward healthy equilibrium. She used specific social theories as tools, selecting the ones best suited for each given social problem. Evolutionary theorizing served as foundation and framing for her writings.

Addams employed evolutionary thought in the service of "interpretation," that is, to make the lives of her urban immigrant neighbors intelligible to her largely Anglo-Saxon, middle-class audiences. For this, Addams employed late nineteenth century rhetorical and literary conventions. Her aim was to persuade her audiences to alter their perceptions of the poor and oppressed and work with them for social reforms.

Addams's theorizing is still of use today as a model of multi-disciplinary thinking, its integration of abstract theory with concrete social issues, and its ecological character.

Keywords: methodology, science, sociology, evolution, rhetoric, literature

It is a joy to read Jane Addams's writings because of the beauty and suggestiveness of her prose. As readers and scholars mix their own imaginations and methodological assumptions with Addams's words, fruitful trains of thought are generated. Scholars studying Addams's texts are richly rewarded.

My aim in this essay is to uncover Addams's own methodologies, that is, to come as close as a twenty-first scholar can to uncovering what Addams and intellectuals of her era would have identified as her methodologies. Her writings contain complexities that become apparent only when they are read as participating in the prevailing compositional styles, the scientific theorizing, and the literary sensibilities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By reading Addams's texts accordingly, Addams emerges as a far more sophisticated, erudite, and creative thinker than commonly supposed.

Addams does not make the task easy. She drew deeply from the intellectual resources available to her, although she rarely names the many theorists with whom she engages in her writings. Addams wrote the way highly skilled musicians improvise. Her methodologies are akin to the tunes that structure their music but are rarely stated. Out of their vast repertoires of musical materials, these musicians, like Addams, bring out ideas, phrases, and harmonies as the audience responds. One uncovers Addams's methodologies by excavating her texts until one can identify patterns of thought that are rarely repeated in the same way. By reading Addams as a participant in the inquiries and debates of her own time, the fruits of her vast knowledge, fierce intellect, and imaginative powers are revealed.

The first section of this essay gives historical and demographic background that provides context for interpreting Addams's writings. Because Addams's readers were immersed in these contexts, Addams could refer to them with the slightest nod. Section II lays out Addams's

methodology of writing. Section III lays out her evolutionary-historical method of analysis. Although rarely recognized today, the evolutionary-historical method was the dominant methodology in virtually all late nineteenth and early twentieth century domains of thought, and Addams wielded it with subtle skill. The fourth section illustrates how Addams enriched her readers' understanding by juxtaposing literature and evolutionary science. A fifth section offers suggestions for how Addams's methodologies can be helpful for scholars and activists today.

I. Historical and demographic background

When Addams founded Hull House in 1889, previous waves of immigration to the U.S. from northwestern Europe had largely subsided, while immigration from southern and eastern Europe was increasing to historic proportions. Scholars, political figures, and the popular press debated this demographic shift vigorously. The main point of contention in these debates centered explicitly on the racial character of these recent immigrants. The U.S. Senate's Commission on Immigration identified forty-five racial groups among immigrants, thirty-six of which were from Europe.¹ Europeans who were not of northwestern European heritage were considered racially inferior to Anglo-Americans and a threat to the stability and well-being of the nation.²

These debates were particularly fierce in the northeast and midwest where most of the recent immigrants from Europe settled to labor in the factories and mines. Immigrants from Asia to the western U.S. and Mexicans in the southwest brought their own complications to these debates. Relatively few immigrants settled in the southern states.³ When Harvard-educated attorney Prescott Hall asked if Americans "want this country to be peopled by British, German, and Scandinavian stock, historically free, energetic, progressive, or by Slav, Latin, and Asiatic races, historically down-trodden, atavistic, and stagnant," his language was stark, but his sentiment was widely shared.⁴

Evidence for this view was thoroughly documented in the forty-one volumes of the Dillingham Commission report, issued in 1911, and established by Congress to investigate immigration. The conclusion of the Commission's report is succinctly summarized by historian Roger Daniels, "namely that the immigrants then coming to America, chiefly from Eastern and Southern Europe, were inferior in education, ability, and genetic makeup to most of those who had come previously."⁵ The report, as well as most Anglo-Americans, presumed the existence of a racial hierarchy, with people of Anglo-Saxon descent at the top and Native Americans and people of African descent at the bottom. Races from Southern and Eastern Europe were placed variably in between. (Recent scholarship has documented the racist and imperialist assumptions the term, "Anglo-Saxon," carried in the nineteenth century and its current resuscitation by white supremacist groups.⁶ I discuss below how Addams correctly identified "Anglo-Saxon" as racially exclusionary and imperialist.)

The crucial issue in these debates was whether these recent European immigrants were "fit for self-government." Anglo-Americans considered themselves undeniably fit, while they considered Native Americans and African Americans undeniably unfit.⁷ Whether southern and eastern Europeans could become fit for self-government was fiercely debated. In response to these debates, with evidence documented by the Dillingham Commission, Congress adopted increasingly harsh restrictions on immigration. These culminated in the draconian Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that established a national quota system for immigration, eliminating virtually all immigration to the U.S. except from northwestern Europe. These restrictions were not fully lifted until the Immigration Act of 1965.⁸

When Addams founded Hull House in 1889, immigrants and their children, largely from southern and eastern Europe, constituted 78% of Chicago's population.⁹ This was typical of

industrializing cities in the U.S., in which the working-class and the urban poor were largely recent immigrants and their families.¹⁰ Before World War One the black population of Chicago was at or below two percent and the city was not yet as segregated as it would become.¹¹ The northern migration of African Americans and Mexicans did not begin until a quarter century after Hull House's founding. These facts are critical for interpreting Addams's texts. When Addams writes about immigrants, about the poor, and about the urban working class, she is writing about race, that is, about people many of her readers assumed were racially inferior to themselves.

II. Addams's methodology of writing

Addams shaped her speeches and writings with her audiences firmly in mind. Her audiences were largely composed of reasonably educated lay people and intellectuals. For the most part, they were middle- and upper-class Anglo-Americans, that is, of Anglo-Saxon and northern European descent. Addams's motivation in writing was to shift her audiences' moral perceptions of those they considered inferior, as well as to advocate for social reforms. She wanted her audiences to become willing to listen to and learn from them, to welcome them in fellowship, and work with them on needed social reforms for the good of the whole community. Toward this end, Addams employed classical rhetoric's tools of logos, ethos, and pathos to create evocative presentations that appealed to her audiences' emotions as well as their reason. Addams wrote her books by cutting her speeches and essays into pieces and reassembling them, adding enough text to glue the pieces together. Her texts were intended as much for the ear as for the eye.

Addams's writings are dense. Her sentences are dense, constructed with the Victorian rhetorical and compositional conventions she had studied in college.¹² Writers and readers of the

era delighted in the nuances that long sentences with complex clauses and syntax could convey. Addams's paragraphs are dense. They often contain several strands of material from the sciences, literature, sociological data, and personal experiences. Also, Addams's writings are dense because of what she could leave out. Because she wrote about contemporary social issues, she could assume her audiences already knew much of what scholars today must acquire through historical study. Addams achieves coherence, not by presenting her thoughts in linear fashion, but by weaving these strands over many paragraphs.

For example, consider this sentence from *Twenty Years at Hull House*:

Possibly the South Italians more than any other immigrants represent the pathetic stupidity of agricultural people crowded into city tenements, and we were much gratified when thirty peasant families were induced to move upon the land which they knew so well how to cultivate.¹³

Today's readers may stumble over Addams's syntax, unsure what "pathetic stupidity" is meant to modify. Addams could have inserted "being" before "crowded," but I doubt her initial readers were confused. Addams is not attributing pathetic stupidity to agricultural people from Italy, as some commentators have claimed.¹⁴ Instead, she is objecting to manufacturers' and steamship companies' practice of funneling skilled European peasant farmers into crowded city tenements to work in dangerous urban factories. It is this policy that Addams calls pathetically stupid. Immigration practices were widely covered in the daily press, and Addams could assume her readers were familiar with them.¹⁵

The sentence is located in the middle of a four-paragraph passage that is itself woven into a chapter about cultural clashes between adult immigrants and their children. The parents' values, tastes, and dreams were shaped by long-standing traditional ways of life in pre-modern,

rural landscapes. Their children's formative experiences were being shaped in American industrial cityscapes full of peoples of many nations, cultures, religions, and languages. Instead of organizing these clashes one by one and then drawing her conclusions, Addams weaves the chapter's many threads all throughout and intersperses bits of her conclusions along the way. She did not consider it compositionally unruly to tuck a critique of U.S. immigration practices between stories of Italian and German social nights at Hull House.

III. Addams's evolutionary-historical methodology

Among the many kinds of materials Addams incorporated, the most important methodologically is the evolutionary-historical pattern of theorizing. This is the most difficult dimension of Addams's thought for contemporary scholars to identify. Although the pattern was widely used in Addams's era, it is rarely studied today. Key terms such as evolution, history, sociology, and even science carried quite different connotations than at present. Addams used this pattern extensively, although rarely in an explicit way. I devote most of this essay to this dimension of her thought.

The evolutionary-historical method: In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the vast majority of intellectuals from every discipline used the evolutionary-historical method to frame their analyses.¹⁶ Charles Darwin is the evolutionary method's most famous representative, and biology its paradigm science. Darwin studied organisms within their natural habitats, and mostly importantly, traced their evolutionary histories. Note that this pattern of examining habitats and reconstructing evolutionary histories is broad enough to include a wide range of evolutionary scientists. Questions regarding how natural selection worked, whether acquired traits could become heritable, and whether competition or cooperation best ensured fitness to

survive, were all vigorously debated. It wasn't until the 1930s that the link between natural selection and genetics was fully forged.¹⁷

English legal scholar and jurist Frederick Pollock wrote, “The doctrine of evolution is nothing else than the historical method applied to the facts of nature; the historical method is nothing else than the doctrine of evolution applied to human societies and institutions.”¹⁸ Thus, “history” and “evolution” functioned as interchangeable terms. Theorists who adapted the image of a biological habitat to human societies thought of society as a social organism with its parts in continuous interaction. To survive over time, societies need to adapt as conditions change. As one historical era undergoes transitions to a new one, some social practices may lag behind as survivals of previous eras. Addams, like her peers, used the evolutionary-historical method to diagnose social ills by identifying which social practices lagged behind as others moved ahead.

Addams as a sociologist: Addams was considered a sociologist, as confirmed in countless reviews and news reports.¹⁹ During Addams's era, sociology, economics, psychology, and anthropology were just becoming identified as separate disciplines. Their methodologies were quite different from those employed today. These scientists, including Addams, analyzed empirical data using the evolutionary or historical method of evolutionary biology, and they considered ethical prescriptions and activism as within their purview as scientists. In the 1920s these methodologies were dropped and the historicist sensibility was replaced with a mathematical, analytic empiricism.²⁰

The term, “sociology,” was coined by French philosopher and social theorist Auguste Comte. To him, sociology represented the culmination of the sciences. Sociology's task was to reveal the laws of social progress and thus serve as a basis for social reorganization.²¹ Comte named one sub-discipline “social statics,” or the study of how social institutions such as the

family, economy, religion, and government structure society at a given time. The other sub-discipline, “social dynamics,” traces qualitative changes in social structures throughout history. When social institutions become too maladapted to sustain a healthy equilibrium, qualitative or social dynamic changes in structure and function are required to establish a new equilibrium.²²

This pattern of analysis employing social statics and social dynamics was common in Addams’s era. Social theorists often began their texts with long historical accounts of the issue under discussion. For example, the first volume of German psychologist and physiologist Wilhelm Wundt’s three volumes on *Ethics*, and the first third of John Dewey and James Tufts’ *Ethics* give anthropological histories of ethical customs and beliefs from the earliest human cultures up to the present.

To these thinkers, the evolutionary-historical method entailed a rejection of Enlightenment thinking. The Enlightenment paradigm was patterned on Newtonian physics, with eternal, fixed laws of motion governing the natural world. Classical liberalism in economics and politics was based on this image of nature. Enlightenment thinkers proposed that human society should be governed by natural moral laws, natural moral rights, political relations based on social contract, and economic relations governed by the laws of supply and demand. Evolutionary thinkers regarded Enlightenment claims as mere abstractions that arose within a particular era of social evolutionary history, now past. Addams refers to this paradigm as “eighteenth century philosophy.” A reviewer of *Newer Ideals of Peace* commented, not unfairly, “[Addams] seldom loses an opportunity to take a whack at the democratic idealists of the eighteenth century.”²³

Addams, like many intellectuals of her day, evaluated past and present social practices in terms of their fit within the evolving patterns of social organization. However, because she wrote for lay audiences rather than academic ones, Addams did not give sustained anthropological

histories. She dealt directly with the social issues at hand and tucked fragmentary references to social evolutionary history and theorizing throughout her writings.

A good illustration of Addams's use of the evolutionary-historical method is her assessments of women's roles in society. When Addams insists that women need "to fulfill [their] traditional obligations," she does not have Victorian era gender stereotypes in mind. Addams defines "traditional" in terms of early tribal history; her account matches ethnologist Otis Mason's in *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. In early tribal groups women were in charge of textile production, sanitation, education, health care, gathering and preparing foodstuffs, and bearing children. Men were in charge of hunting and protecting the tribe from attack. Men's and women's responsibilities, though different, were both essential for the tribe's survival.²⁴

Addams locates the Victorian image of the lady as a hold-over from feudalism. "The dogma of the lady," Addams declares, is "an archaism."²⁵ She chides the Victorian lady for turning her domestic responsibilities over to servants and ignoring her obligations to those outside her door.²⁶ Addams regards calls for equal rights for women an outdated survival of the Enlightenment era. She writes that now, "an address setting forth our human right to [the vote] is clearly an anachronism; such an address should have been made fifty years ago when men still used the grandiloquent phrases of the eighteenth century with solemn conviction."²⁷ As discussed below, Addams strongly advocated for women's suffrage, but not on the basis of equal rights.

In urban, industrial societies, Addams observes, women's traditional obligations had largely moved out of the household and into factories, schools, and hospitals.²⁸ She praises German male municipal workers for assuming such "unmanly" tasks as sanitation, health care,

and education. Her point is that under modern urban conditions, *men's* roles have shifted. She had no objection to men performing women's traditional roles, but she did not want women to give them up just because they were now being performed outside the home.²⁹ It was time, Addams contended, to regard women's traditional tasks as basic responsibilities of all adult citizens, to be performed by both men and women.

Addams Evolutionary Conceptions of Democracy: Throughout her forty-five-year writing career, Addams stayed up-to-date with the latest scientific research. She read widely and participated in and hosted many conferences on sociological topics. Like a good improvisatory musician whose ears are always absorbing new sounds, Addams's writings changed over time as she encountered new materials to use as tools with which to analyze social questions.

Throughout her lifetime, Addams emphasized the obligations of citizenship, rather than the rights of citizenship. This reflects her evolutionary orientation. Addams regards individuals as interdependent, whose ability to flourish depends on the well-being of the entire habitat. She understands democratic governance as a historical turn from sovereignty as concentrated in a monarch or small elite, to a democracy in which sovereignty is distributed among the people. This transfers responsibility for the well-being of society from the rulers to the people themselves. Addams's approach to women's suffrage illustrates this point. While she supported universal adult suffrage, she regarded it as only one of the tools citizens need to employ in order to carry out their responsibilities. In an address Addams told her audience, "Citizenship carries with it social obligations. Citizenship that is shown only in the vote is barren."³⁰ There is no set of ideas or ideals that can serve as an enduring pattern for what democracy is or should be. As historical events altered environmental conditions, and as new scientific theorizing brought new tools to the fore, Addams reformulated her conceptions of democracy accordingly. Here I review

the evolutionary-historical theories Addams used in her first two books, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), and in *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907).

To assess social issues in the 1890s, Addams selected an account of nineteenth century British economic history to serve as the relevant time-fragment of evolutionary history. British economists Arnold Toynbee, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and historian Thomas Kirkup tell how the century began with much of Britain's economy still under the feudal system of hierarchical, aristocratic control. As the century neared its end, Britain was moving into an era of democratic association as labor unions formed and municipalities exerted control over industries and utilities. Late eighteenth-century political revolutions in the United States and France had brought democracy into the political realm, but did not end feudal patterns of aristocratic control in industrial, social, or familial relations. Toynbee and the Webbs called for "industrial democracy," so that owners and workers would share control of industry.³¹

In "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" (1892) Addams also calls for industrial democracy and adds a call for "social democracy" in communities and families. She chides middle- and upper-class Anglo-American women for not inviting African-Americans and recent immigrants in their homes, and instead entertaining only those of their own social class. In doing so, they were following an ethics of feudal hierarchy rather than participating in the new era of social democracy.³² Note that Addams does not separate society into a public and a private sphere, but declares that social decisions made within the family also need to be democratized.

When Addams in "A Modern Tragedy" (1896) compares Shakespeare's feudal King Lear to industrialist George Pullman, she is being more literal than one might think.³³ Both Lear and Pullman practiced the feudal code of ethics. They believed it was within their moral purview to decide what was good for those under their control and they could rightfully expect their subjects

or workers to respond with gratitude. It is telling that Addams does not refer to Pullman as a capitalist. Her British counterparts did not consider “capitalism” a distinct stage of social development, as Marx had claimed. Instead, they saw industrialists as attempting to occupy the role of their feudal aristocratic predecessors. This resulted in a temporary manifestation of anarchic disequilibrium, as their workers, by unionizing, attempted to move their society into the era of democratic association. Addams agrees with this account; when she calls for “lateral progress,” she echoes a similar statement by Sidney Webb, that all people should be included in moving social evolution forward.³⁴

Addams revised a number of essays written in the 1890s as chapters in *Democracy and Social Ethics*. Three of the preliminary essays used the historical evolution from feudalism to social democracy; others adapted German psychologist and physiologist Wilhelm Wundt’s anthropological account of the evolution of morals from the earliest tribal cultures to the present. In revising these essays for *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Addams superimposed a third evolutionary framework, one that moves from “individual ethics” to “social ethics.”³⁵

These terms come from German historicism, and particularly from the German historical school of economics. “Individual ethics” refers to an ethics of obligation to family and close associates, sufficient for simpler societies of the past. Now that societies are becoming urban and industrialized, a new ethics, “social ethics,” is required as it extends one’s ethical obligations to the whole of society.³⁶ Addams identifies social ethics with democracy. In one of her most stirring statements, she declares that to attain social democracy, people must encounter “that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy which are the foundation and guarantee of Democracy.”³⁷

Contemporary scholars have rightly identified “sympathetic understanding” as a central concept for Addams.³⁸ For Addams, democracy is dependent upon sympathy, and sympathy has its roots in evolutionary psychology. Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, William James, and other evolutionary scientists considered sympathy a basic instinct that humans inherited from their gregarious animal ancestors. Direct contact with others is required to activate the sympathetic instincts.³⁹ To generate the sympathetic connections that are democracy’s foundation, direct contact with the experiences of the full range of peoples in a given society is required. Because Pullman and the women who entertained only their social equals avoided interactions with those they considered beneath them, they remain trapped in their outdated, feudal ethics and are thus excluding themselves from the sympathetic embrace of democratic relations.

In her next book, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, Addams calls for the U.S. to replace the ideals of the nation’s founding with those of a “genuine evolutionary democracy.”⁴⁰ The theoretical frameworks she had used in *Democracy and Social Ethics* were inadequate for a world of ever-increasing global connections. Addams replaces them with Comte’s sequence of militarism and industrialism, and detects tentative developments toward a new, cosmopolitan humanitarianism arising among recent immigrant communities.

Comte divided human history into an earlier stage of militarism and his own era’s well-developed stage of industrialism. He predicted a harmonious future when altruism would replace egoism. English polymath Herbert Spencer recast these stages through an evolutionary lens and defined militarism and industrialism as types of social organization rather than a strictly historical sequence. Intellectuals, including Addams, adopted Spencer’s definitions, which are far broader in scope than the words suggest today. In a militaristic society, social institutions are organized hierarchically and the moral code exalts military virtues of courage and discipline;

whether the society engages in military ventures is not a defining characteristic. An industrial society functions according to voluntary contractual relations, whether or not machinery is used in production.⁴¹ Laissez-faire capitalism was considered “industrial” because production and distribution of goods were carried out through voluntary contracts. Democracy was considered “industrial” by definition, as it was based on the consent of the governed.⁴² The standard view before World War One was that civilized nations, now well into the industrial era, had entered an era of peaceful, commercial trade and they were too highly civilized to engage in war. Imperial incursions into uncivilized lands were considered internal affairs of the imperial nation. They did not count as “wars,” regardless of the military hardware used or the blood spilled. Most theorists defended such incursions as bringing civilization to those in darkness.⁴³

It is crucial to realize that while the image of the hierarchy of civilizations was ubiquitous, it did not function as a straightjacket on theorists’ moral imaginations. Its basic terms and assumptions were at times vigorously debated. Addams wielded its methodologies to lift up the oppressed and give cutting critiques of the powerful. In *Democracy and Social Ethics* Addams describes the ethics of some recent immigrants as primitive, noting that they followed what Darwin had called a “rude rule of right and wrong.”⁴⁴ Following this rule, they spontaneously helped those in need without the weary requirement of first determining whether the recipients “deserved” help. In this they were well in advance of reformers who acted on their own hypocrisies.⁴⁵ In *Newer Ideals of Peace* Addams uses Comte’s pattern to place these “primitive” immigrants at the forefront of movement toward a truly democratic international ethic.

Addams’s intellectual moves are easier to see when compared with the writings of a small group of Comte-inspired British intellectuals, including Frederic Harrison, John Hobson,

L.T. Hobhouse, and John Morley, all outspoken opponents of British imperialism. Addams knew them personally; the flavor of their writings is present in Addams's own. Addams and her British counterparts adopted militarism, industrialism, and a projected Comtean humanitarian ethic as key terms. Their critiques took the form of showing that ostensibly "industrial" practices were in fact drenched in militarism.

As the twentieth century dawned, the race for empire among European powers intensified. The U.S. joined the race with its territorial acquisitions from the Spanish-American War. At rallies in Chicago to protest the U.S. invasion in the Philippines and the British war against the Boers in southern Africa, Addams asserted the need to reformulate democracy for the international arena, stating, "Unless the present situation extends our nationalism into internationalism, unless it has thrust forward our patriotism into humanitarianism we cannot meet it."⁴⁶ By its actions, Addams declares, the U.S. government is "establish[ing] the ethics of dominion . . . as the accepted national ethics of the Anglo-Saxon." In a quick phrase, Addams identifies the government's actions with its militaristic predecessors, stating that "to 'protect the weak' has always been the excuse of the ruler and tax-gatherer, the chief, the king, the baron, and now, at last of 'the white man.'"⁴⁷ By such actions, the "white man" demonstrates his lack of civilization. Technological advance and imperial reach do not define civilization. Instead, Addams asserts, "Civilization is an idea, a method of living, an attitude of respect toward all men."⁴⁸

Stressing there are many paths to civilization, Addams notes, "All progress must come from native soil," while imperial incursions destroy new growth.⁴⁹ Addams's line of reasoning is close to Hobson's; while one form of civilization may be more advanced at a given moment,

another that grows more slowly may have greater potential in the long-term.⁵⁰ By interrupting organic growth in native soils, imperialism risks impoverishing civilization's future evolution.

In *Newer Ideals of Peace* Addams brings her critique of U.S. imperialism inward and accuses U.S. institutions of imposing a regime of internal imperialism against recent immigrants. As evidence, Addams points to the housing conditions under which immigrants lived. The wealthy could locate at the city's edge, but immigrants were crowded into tenements on muddy, garbage filled streets without access to clean water or untainted food. They experienced municipal government's inability to provide these basic services as hostile and life-threatening, and not as democratic expressions of their will. The immigrants' most direct interaction with government was in their encounters with the police, whom Addams calls "the most vigorous survival of militarism to be found in American cities."⁵¹ The employment conditions under which recent immigrants suffered were also indications of militarism. Employers who refuse to pay their workers a living wage, Addams contends, are "relic[s] of the mediaeval baron issuing forth to seize the merchants' boats as they passed his castle on the Rhine. It has logically lent itself to warfare, and is, indeed, the modern representative of conquest."⁵²

Staying true to her evolutionary methodology, Addams does not talk about "capitalism," an abstract label for an Enlightenment concept. Had she been willing to do so, she would have defined capitalism as industrialism militarized. Whether directed against other nations, or against foreigners within, militarism and industrialism both enact "the spirit of the conqueror toward an inferior people."⁵³

Addams gives the same analysis to another group that Anglo-Americans treated as foreigners within, namely, African Americans. In an essay commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation Addams drew inspiration from English

philosopher L.T. Hobhouse's fierce critique of how Britain's race for empire had degraded the moral sensibilities of the British people themselves. Imperialism, Hobhouse declares, stands for "a hard assertion of racial supremacy and material force." While the vocabulary of liberty, democracy, and humanity persisted, these stirring words had become "a moral slang in which all the best thought of the world . . . gets clipped and chopped up and debased till all the strength has evaporated from it."⁵⁴ The people's indifference was a sign of their moral impoverishment.

Echoing W.E.B. Du Bois, Addams adapts Hobhouse's critique of British imperialism to examine "the souls of white folks." The souls of southern white folks, Addams claims, are in "spiritual bondage." Their "loyalty to a lost cause" led them to sanctify memories of Confederate soldiers and distort memories of slavery into ones of warm affection between slave and master. They had become indifferent to the caste system they ruthlessly imposed on one-third of the South's population, those of darker skin. "The white north," Addams continues, "submits to the chains forged . . . by its own indifference." Northern whites had become indifferent to their inheritance from abolitionists and humanitarian reformers, indifferent to the obligations this inheritance imposes on them to carry on the work. They had impoverished their own souls by allowing racial antagonism to force fellow Americans "behind the veil."⁵⁵ Thus, in Addams's mind, militarism, industrialism, imperialism, and racism were all of the same character. Democracy could not co-exist while these were operative.

Using the lens of evolutionary movement toward internationalism gave Addams a way to conceptualize the experiences of recent immigrants as signaling movement toward an international ethic of humanitarianism. At the time, scholars of morality's evolution traced how groups, be they families, tribes, or nations, had always held one moral code for insiders and a different code for outsiders. The code for insiders called for cooperation and prohibited lying and

killing within the group. By contrast, because outsiders were potential enemies, suspicion, deceit, and violence against them were morally acceptable.⁵⁶ In a truly international ethic, the category of outsiders disappears and the ethics of insiders becomes universal.⁵⁷ Most scholars thought this would happen over time through expansion from family to community to nation, and finally to all of humanity.

Addams's analysis of how this projected international ethic might come about is original, with recent immigrants in the city playing the crucial role. The industrializing city with its densely packed multinational populations constitutes a new geographical habitat, never before seen in human evolutionary history. Among themselves, the new immigrants representing dozens of nationalities faced the daily task of learning to cohabit with peoples whose languages, religions, and customs differed widely from their own. Addams reports catching glimpses of a new international morality beginning to emerge within the immigrants' daily interactions in workplaces and unions, on the streets and in the tenements. She admits, though, "It is no easy task to detect and to follow the tiny paths of progress which the unencumbered proletarian with nothing but his life and capacity for labor, is pointing out for us."⁵⁸

Why could impoverished, often illiterate immigrants newly arrived in the city lead the way? Quite simply, because evolutionary pressures on them were so great.⁵⁹ The act of emigrating had rendered many of the immigrants' former daily habits inoperative. They had to find ways to co-exist with peoples of many nationalities as a matter of daily survival. That is, they were forced by circumstance to overcome the distinction between insider and outsider codes of ethics. The Anglo-Saxon traits of competitive striving and rigid individualism were maladaptive for life in a dense industrializing habitat. The new immigrants however, because they came from many cultures with varied histories, brought with them a wide range of political

ideals and social practices with which to adapt. Immigrants from southern Italy, for example, had long lived in densely packed rural villages. Their elaborate forms of sociability were more useful to city dwelling than Anglo-Saxon individualism. Russian Jews with minds trained by Talmudic study were well-prepared to assess U.S. labor practices in terms of justice and righteousness.⁶⁰

Their tiny paths of progress pointed toward a new cosmopolitan humanitarianism, akin in spirit to that of Comte's Religion of Humanity. Addams's observations match those of Hobhouse who notes, "This stage is only at its beginning. The organic union of humanity is still an ideal embodied in mere filaments of actuality."⁶¹ The immigrants' tiny paths of progress were as yet "mere filaments," but Addams had reasons to hope these tiny paths, aided by other social reforms, would continue to grow.

Belief in history's forward movement, evident in theorists' writings in the 1890s and nineteen-aughts, collapsed in 1914 as war broke out in Europe. Immigration to the U.S. from southern and eastern Europe virtually stopped during the war. After the war laws were adopted that came close to eliminating all immigration except from northwestern Europe.⁶² Addams began again to rebuild an ethic of cooperation and sympathy from humanity's very biological roots, its need for food. During the war she worked with Herbert Hoover's Food Administration, encouraging women to conserve food so it could be shipped to those starving in Europe.⁶³

Addams had an evolutionary basis for her actions, as she explains, "In race history the tribal feeding of children antedated mass fighting by perhaps a million years. Anthropologists insist that war has not been in the world for more than 20,000 years."⁶⁴ Addams does not name the scholars she had in mind, but many of the scientists whose writings she refers to had made this observation, including German biologist Gustav Nicolai and American physicist and internationalist George Nasmyth.⁶⁵ Addams hoped to build chains of sympathetic connection

stretching from women's concrete daily habits of feeding their own families to providing the food of life for those far distant.⁶⁶ Addams hoped that as women in the U.S. planted victory gardens and observed "meatless Mondays and wheatless Wednesdays," their simple actions might grow into a new international ethic that could counteract the impulse to war.⁶⁷

After the war Addams continued to work toward this goal domestically and internationally. She raised funds on behalf of civilians in the lands of the Central Powers as well as in Russia.⁶⁸ Much of her work was through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which she served as president until 1929. However dimmed, the flame of hope continued to flicker.

IV. Literature and Evolutionary Science

Addams often employed literary techniques and embedded literary allusions within her evolutionary-historical analyses.⁶⁹ At the time, literature was considered particularly valuable in increasing people's capacity to extend sympathy to others and to appreciate the complex particularities of all of life. Addams knew well the writings of English novelist, George Eliot, who made this point explicitly, writing, "The greatest benefit we owe to the artist, whether painter, poet, or novelist, is the extension of our sympathies." Walter Pater, another author Addams favored, noted that "the faculty for truth" is "a power of distinguishing and fixing delicate and fugitive detail," and that what this power reveals is "a world of fine gradations and subtly linked conditions."⁷⁰ Addams had also learned from her study of rhetoric that reason alone is not persuasive.⁷¹ In employing literary techniques, Addams aimed to change her readers' moral perceptions so they would come to view as kin those they had considered as threatening their way of life. By using a range of literary forms, Addams gave communicative power to her evolutionary methodology.

A good illustration of how Addams wove literary and scientific sources comes from *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*. Many Anglo-Americans held the view that urban, immigrant youth were criminally inclined.⁷² Addams wanted to replace this stereotype with the view that urban children were normal children confronting an unfriendly environment. To remind her adult readers of their own youthful impulsiveness, Addams quotes “a veteran educator” who wrote, “It is almost impossible for an adult to realize the boy’s irresponsibility and even moral neurasthenia.” To make this statement by evolutionary psychologist G. Stanley Hall more vivid, Addams quotes from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s “My Lost Youth,” “A boy’s will is the wind’s will.” All children crave adventure. Her readers’ children gathered sticks from nearby fields to build forts; city children appropriated railroad ties to do the same. Both are following the impulse “which excites the coast-dwelling lad to dream of ‘the beauty and mystery of the ships/ And the magic of the sea.’”⁷³ Readers who might puzzle over “moral neurasthenia” would identify quickly with poetry their own children likely recited.⁷⁴

Addams’s writings abound with stories, some captured in just a sentence or two, others threaded through many pages. Stories are among the most powerful ways to change moral perceptions. One of Addams’s most striking stories is that of the devil baby, with which Addams opens *The Long Road of Woman’s Memory*. When it was rumored that Hull-House was housing the devil incarnated in a badly disfigured infant, immigrant women of many nationalities demanded to see it. The *Chicago Tribune* opined that if many Chicagoans believed such a tale, “Chicago and civilization would shake hands and say ‘good night.’”⁷⁵ Addams does not opine on the tale’s factual status, but instead gives poetic expression to how it had functioned throughout generations of folk life. Those who clung to the story most fiercely were old, old, women, long victims of domestic violence, whose own younger family members no longer had use for them.

These women, like generations before them, had used such tales as a form of moral power over recreant husbands. To them, such tales were “a literature of their own.” They served the same function of giving consolation and companionship to them as Tolstoy’s great works gave to her readers.⁷⁶

In this story Addams is giving literary expression to the theory of “race memory.” Although she doesn’t mention the term in *Long Road of Woman’s Memory*, her reviewers identified race memory as the evolutionary underpinnings of the story.⁷⁷ It was not uncommon for scientists to refer to biological inheritances as a kind of memory.⁷⁸ Addams alludes to the idea in “The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements,” writing, “Our very organism holds memories and glimpses of that long life of our ancestors.”⁷⁹ Addams’s story of the devil baby is powerful enough on its own; realizing its scientific significance gave it even more power for its initial readers.

One of Addams’s most complex juxtapositions of literature with evolutionary science is in “Personal Reactions During the War,” a chapter in *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922). Addams’s biographers generally read the chapter as an autobiographical account of the psychological costs Addams suffered as a pacifist during World War One.⁸⁰ Addams begins the chapter by recounting the newspapers’ “concerted and deliberate” distortions of her views and the many “bitter and abusive” letters she received. Compounded by three years of poor health, Addams writes that the pacifist “finds it possible to travel from the mire of self-pity straight to the barren hills of self-righteousness and to hate himself equally in both places.”⁸¹

In this touching meditation Addams invokes an array of literary figures. She joins the exiled French pacifist, Romain Rolland, in scanning the fields from “Above the Battle.” From there, the war assumed the dimensions of tragedy, with heroic young soldiers on both sides as

war's "most touching victims," sacrificed to their leaders' dusty gods of honor and glory.⁸² She names French writer Henri Barbusse, whose account of trench warfare revealed that official reports of the war's progress were rank lies.⁸³ Addams finds additional support from philosopher John Stuart Mill. Joseph Conrad gives her a statement to disprove.⁸⁴

Addams borrows words from Swiss writer Henri Frédéric Amiel to express her longing for reconciliation with estranged friends and colleagues, adding, "Solitude has always had its demons."⁸⁵ These demons, though, had a solid evolutionary basis. Addams quickly turns to English psychologist Wilfred Trotter's account of how the same evolutionary processes that gave rise to the three basic instincts of self-preservation, nutrition, and reproduction, also gave rise to a fourth instinct in gregarious species, the instinct of the herd. To survive, herd animals must seek companionship and become responsive to others' cues. For those who remain isolated from their fellows, Trotter writes, "Loneliness will be a real terror, insurmountable by reason."⁸⁶ Following Trotter, Addams comments that the herd instinct had "enabled the man-pack to survive."⁸⁷ Addams uses this scientific explanation to soften the divide between pacifists and war-enthusiasts. All are subject to the instinctual longing to be at one with their fellows.

Many at the time embraced the view that throughout history war had advanced social evolutionary progress.⁸⁸ Addams lines up her own list of evolutionary scientists to rebut this view. She cites Nasmyth, who argued that Darwin had envisioned the struggle for existence primarily as a struggle to adapt to the environment, rather than a struggle for supremacy over others of one's species.⁸⁹ She paraphrases Nicolai, whose banned manuscript, *The Biology of War*, was smuggled out of Germany for publication.⁹⁰ Nicolai demonstrated that throughout evolution, cooperation had done far more than organized combat to further social progress.⁹¹ To these scientific accounts, Addams adds the writings of English social theorists H.N. Brailsford,

John Hobson, and G. Lowes Dickinson, among the most outspoken members of Addams's network of those opposed to the war.⁹²

What to make of this array of voices? Perhaps Addams summoned these writers and scientists to exorcise her own demons of solitude, but her account goes far beyond personal soul-searching. She chose personal meditation as a form through which to give her most stunning account of how war cuts against all that is human.

Addams's use of the evolutionary-historical method embedded in literary and rhetorical practices of her day, demonstrates Addams's intellectual prowess. It also demonstrates how she used these resources creatively in the service of justice for the oppressed. However, given that the scientific theories and literary conventions she relied upon are now outdated, can Addams's writings be of use to scholars today?

V: Can Addams's Methodologies be of Use?

Other scholars in this volume discuss at length how Addams's writings and her activism remain useful for scholars and activists today. In her writings, Addams wrote little about how she actually went about the work of reform. The research tools of historians and social movement scholars are needed to identify the innumerable meetings she attended and the networks of social reformers she participated in. The digital Jane Addams Papers Project, described in this volume by Dr. Cathy Moran Hajo, will facilitate this work enormously.

To these I add a few comments on how even today, the evolutionary methodology and dusty evolutionary theories Addams employed can be of use. First, Addams's mode of thinking is deeply ecological. Even though she doesn't use the vocabulary of ecology, the pattern of society as an organism, of individuals as interdependent, of individual well-being as dependent upon the well-being of the whole, of citizenship defined in terms of obligations, and freedom

defined as flourishing within a flourishing habitat, is a pattern we need today. Examining how Addams constructs her vision by drawing on every discipline may lead to creative responses to our own ecological crises.

Also, many scholars today want to speak to a wider public outside the academy and want to make activism an intrinsic part of their scholarship. For these purposes, Addams is a superb model. Her writings themselves were forms of activism; most began as speeches in protest of specific injustices or on behalf of specific social reforms. Studying how she shaped her rhetoric to communicate with specific audiences may provide patterns to adapt.

Addams questioned whether radical change in the short-term was even possible. This is not because she was of moderate temperament or because she thought the social system needed only minor adjustments, but because she was an evolutionary thinker. For Addams this was not a happy conclusion, but an acknowledgement of “the grief of things as they are.”⁹³ Darwin had observed that evolution takes place through innumerable minute adjustments in organisms and habitats; Addams saw social change replicating this pattern.⁹⁴ Likewise, to be effective, political and structural reforms need to be supported by changes in deep-seated habits of living and entrenched social customs. Rapid revolutionary changes are apt to denude the habitat rather than bring it into healthy equilibrium. They are apt to provoke hatred and violence rather than comity. Addams’s focus on changing moral perceptions was a necessary correlate of her social activism.

While Addams acknowledged that creedal commitments bring comfort, she refused to commit herself to any creedal doctrine.⁹⁵ To do so is to leave the realm of human experience within ever changing evolutionary habitats, and hide in the comfort of abstractions. Responding to those who required purity in creedal commitments, Addams invokes George Eliot, writing,

“Right does not dazzle our eyes with its radiant shining, but has to be found by exerting patience, discrimination, and impartiality.”⁹⁶

Addams adopted the slogan of the Society for Ethical Culture: “Diversity in the Creed, Unanimity in the Deed.”⁹⁷ She sided with Russian naturalist Peter Kropotkin, who documented that the species best fit to survive are those that work out methods of cooperation, rather than conflict.⁹⁸ Addams worked with conservatives and radicals who offered very different reasons for supporting the same goal. For example, both the anti-sin reformers and those committed to fighting the exploitation of women and girls shared the goal of eliminating commercialized sex trafficking of adolescents. Addams worked with them both.⁹⁹

In her tribute to Canon Samuel Barnett, founder of Toynbee Hall, Addams said, “There is an inherent danger in continuing to follow the advice of those who are no longer in touch with the living world.” Addams is no longer in touch with today’s living world and we ought not replicate the solutions she found fitting for her time and place. But she goes on to say that as the problems to which Barnett devoted his life continue to arise in new form, “his advice is still sane and vital.”¹⁰⁰ Addams cannot tell us what to think or do in any concrete situation. But her patterns of thought and action are richly suggestive, and useful as we do our own work.

¹ See *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 2.

² See Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, Introduction and Chapter 2. For a discussion of the complicated relation between “color” and “race” between 1840 and the 1920s see Jacobson, Chapter 2 and Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*, 5-9. On naturalization documents Italians had to indicate their color as white, and then identify their race as either Northern Italian or Southern Italian (Guglielmo, 8-9).

³ King, *Making Americans*, 59-60. For Asian immigration see Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*, 12-26. For immigration at the U.S. southwest border see Ngai, *Impossible subjects*, 50-55.

⁴ Hall, "Immigration," 395.

⁵ Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*, 45.

⁶ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, Ch. 2. For background on how "Anglo-Saxon" was adopted as a term in the U.S. and its racialist roots, see Mora et al. "The Study of Old English in America"; See also Wilton, D. "What do we mean by Anglo-Saxon?"; also see the three part series by Rambaran-Olm, "History Bites: Resources on the Problematic Term 'Anglo-Saxon.'"]

⁷ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, Ch. 3.

⁸ Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*, 132-140.

⁹ Knight, *Citizen*, 179.

¹⁰ Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence*, 15; Barrett, "Americanization."

¹¹ Spear, *Black Chicago*, 4, 11-15, 20-21.

¹² Knight *Citizen*, 94-95, 98-99.

¹³ Addams, *Twenty Years*, 137.

¹⁴ Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 145; Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*, 24; and Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 91-92.

¹⁵ For a point-by-point description, see Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor," 27-28.

¹⁶ For a succinct discussion of this point, see Fischer, *Jane Addams's Evolutionary Theorizing*, 5-9. For how this was true in what are now called the social sciences, see Bevir, "Historicism and the Human Sciences."

¹⁷ See Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution*, 3.

¹⁸ Pollock, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 41.

- ¹⁹ Shields, *Jane Addams*, 51-56.
- ²⁰ Bevir, "Historicism," 1-20.
- ²¹ Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, Vol. I, 33, 183-84; Bourdeau, "Auguste Comte."
- ²² Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, Vol. II, Chapters 5, 6.
- ²³ "Review of Newer Ideals of Peace."
- ²⁴ Addams, "Philanthropy and Politics"; Addams, *Newer Ideals*, 102; Mason, *Woman's Share*.
- ²⁵ Addams, "Woman and the State," 23.
- ²⁶ Addams, "Woman and the State," 5-6.
- ²⁷ Addams, "Woman and the State," 22.
- ²⁸ Addams, "The Progressive Party and Woman Suffrage," 1-2.
- ²⁹ Addams, "Woman and the State," 6-9.
- ³⁰ "Jane Addams in Kansas City." (1897).
- ³¹ See a thorough discussion of Addams's use of these theorists see Fischer, *Jane Addams Evolutionary Theorizing*, Chapter 3.
- ³² Addams, "Subjective Necessity," 3.
- ³³ See Addams, "A Modern Tragedy." The manuscript was published as "A Modern Lear" in 1912.
- ³⁴ Addams, "A Modern Tragedy"; Webb, *Socialism in England*, 7, 9.
- ³⁵ See Fischer, *Jane Addams Evolutionary Theorizing*, Chapter 7.
- ³⁶ See Fischer, *Jane Addams Evolutionary Theorizing*, 170.
- ³⁷ Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 7.
- ³⁸ See, for example, Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, Chapter 4.
- ³⁹ See McDougall, *An Introduction*, 92-96; James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II, 410-411.

⁴⁰ Addams, *Newer Ideals*, 35.

⁴¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. II, Chapters 17-18.

⁴² See for example, Atkinson, "Address," 107-109.

⁴³ Barclay, "War."

⁴⁴ Darwin, *Descent of Man*, I, 99. Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 14.

⁴⁵ Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 114-115.

⁴⁶ Addams, "Democracy or Militarism," 35-36.

⁴⁷ Addams, "Democracy or Militarism," 38.

⁴⁸ Addams, "Commercialism."

⁴⁹ Addams, "Address," 121.

⁵⁰ Hobson, "Ethics of Empire," 454.

⁵¹ Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 32-33.

⁵² Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 64.

⁵³ Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 29.

⁵⁴ Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, 72, 45.

⁵⁵ "Addams, "Emancipation Act," 565-566.

⁵⁶ See Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, Chapter 7; Dewey & Tufts, *Ethics*, Chapter 5.

⁵⁷ Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, 72.

⁵⁸ Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 19.

⁵⁹ Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 10-13; Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, 112.

⁶⁰ Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 38-40.

⁶¹ Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, 283.

⁶² Daniels, *Coming to America*, Chapter 10.

⁶³ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 44, 50.

⁶⁴ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 44.

⁶⁵ Nicolai, *Biology of War*, 15-19; Nasmyth, *Social Progress*, 168-70.

⁶⁶ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, Chapter 4.

⁶⁷ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 49.

⁶⁸ Knight, *Jane Addams*, 221, 233, 236.

⁶⁹ Many scholars have discussed Addams's use of literature. See, for example, Joslin, *Jane Addams*, 5, 89-90; Knight, *Jane Addams*, 157.

⁷⁰ Eliot, *Selected Critical Writings*, 263; Pater, *Appreciation*, 66, 67.

⁷¹ Hill, *Principles of Rhetoric*, 394.

⁷² Addams, *Spirit of Youth*, 55-71; Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence*, 14-18.

⁷³ Addams, *Spirit of Youth*, 53, 55; Longfellow, "My Lost Youth," 164-169.

⁷⁴ For a discussion of the prominence of poetry in schools and homes at the time, see Sicherman, *Well-Read Lives*, 51-54.

⁷⁵ "Devil Child" (1913).

⁷⁶ Addams, *Long Road*, 19, 16, 43.

⁷⁷ See for example, "The Long Road . . ."

⁷⁸ See Darwin's approving comment on Spencer's theory of racial memories in *Descent of Man*, 101-102.

⁷⁹ Addams, "Subjective Necessity, 10.

⁸⁰ Davis, *American Heroine*, 247; Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 222, 232-33; Knight, *Jane Addams*, 20-208, 218-219.

⁸¹ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 76-80.

⁸² Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 79; Rolland, *Above the Battle*, 37.

⁸³ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 83; Barbusse, *Under Fire*.

⁸⁴ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 82, 86; Mill, *Autobiography*, 228; Conrad, "Preface," vi.

⁸⁵ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 82.

⁸⁶ The quotation is from Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd*, 31. The preceding summary is from Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd*, 16-17, 32-33, 97, 140, 143.

⁸⁷ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 84, 81.

⁸⁸ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 84.

⁸⁹ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 84; Nasmyth, *Social Progress*, Chapter 3.

⁹⁰ See Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 80-81; Nicolai, *Biology of War*, 335-336. For Nicolai's experiences in Germany during the war see Zuelzer, *Nicolai Case*, 13-18.

⁹¹ Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 83-84; Nicolai, *Biology of War*, 58-59.

⁹² Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 84.

⁹³ Addams, *Twenty Years*, 17.

⁹⁴ See Darwin, *Origin of Species*, 84, 95, 314; Addams, *Twenty Years*, 109.

⁹⁵ Addams, *Twenty Years*, 110-111.

⁹⁶ Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor," 146; Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, 532.

⁹⁷ Adler, *Creed and Deed*, 171-172.

⁹⁸ There are striking parallels between Addams's account of what immigrants with their cultural traditions from southern and Eastern Europe could contribute to municipalities, (*New Conscience*, Chapters 2-3), and Kropotkin's account of Slavic folknotes' formation and governance, *Mutual Aid*, Chapter 4.

⁹⁹ Addams, *Twenty Years*, 258. As an example of Addams's willingness to address the "anti-sin" crowd, see Addams, "The Church and the Social Evil," an address Addams gave to the Christian Conservation Congress of the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

¹⁰⁰ Addams, *Excellent Becomes Permanent*, 131-32.

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