

CHAPTER

A Biographer's Angle on Jane Addams's Feminism

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Abstract

Was Jane Addams a feminist? Scholars of many disciplines have chosen various adjectives to capture the kind or kinds of feminist she was. This chapter uses a biographical approach. It explores the experiences that led her to probe the tensions between the ideals of patriarchy and democracy. It also establishes when she first adopted the language of “patriarchy” and “feminism.” When she was young, she struggled with her father’s expectations of a daughter’s duty to family because those expectations set limits on her ambition. Eventually, after her father’s death, she resolved the contradiction by deciding she was like her father. That was the moment she became a reformer and made it her life’s goal to advance what she called “social democracy.” Beginning with the founding of Hull House in 1889, she increasingly sought for women of all classes and backgrounds to have an equal voice in the family and in the nation’s civic life. At the same time, under the influence of contemporary, intellectual debates and her experiences with the labor union movement—especially the Pullman Strike—the suffrage movement, and the peace movement, her understanding deepened of the challenges involved in achieving such a revolution. In time she embraced the language of “patriarchy” and “feminism” as useful when interpreting the struggles women faced to stand as men’s equals at home, in politics, and in history.

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Introduction

Was Jane Addams a feminist? Most Addams scholars agree she was but differ as to what kind or kinds. The categories include cultural,¹ democratic,² extended kinship,³ ethic-of-care,⁴ essentialist,⁵ liberal,⁶ maternalist or maternal,⁷ public administration,⁸ pragmatist,⁹ queer imagining,¹⁰ responsibility,¹¹ social,¹² social justice,¹³ and socialist.¹⁴ On the other hand, Addams scholar Victoria Brown argues that Addams was not a feminist at all, since she was neither a “liberal” nor a “radical” feminist and offered no “feminist analysis of gender power.”¹⁵

A related question is whether Addams was an original feminist thinker or feminist theorist. Here too there are a variety of views. Christopher Lasch and Maurice Hamington say she was.¹⁶ Judy Whipps calls her a “feminist” social theorist, while noting she did not develop an “explicit philosophical feminist critique of the gender exclusions in liberal theory[.]”¹⁷ Many Addams scholars judge her to be a feminist theorist of pragmatism.¹⁸ To be sure, as Hamington notes, Addams “does not fit easily” into any of the usual categories that feminist theory recognizes.¹⁹

All this diversity of views regarding Addams's feminism makes sense for several reasons. One is that scholars bring their discipline's interests, vocabularies, and conceptual tools to the question. Those cited above represent the disciplines of philosophy, political science, history, sociology, public administration, and social work. Another is that Jane Addams is a richly complex thinker and an activist in innumerable causes. Her life and writings offer scholars a great deal to work with.

Yet another reason is that often Addams's styles of argument were so subtle, at times, as to be positively obscure. She liked to stretch her readers' minds with hypotheticals, weave narratives that could not be parsed for definitive claims, and speak like a prophet. These strategies of persuasion sometimes make it hard to know what she definitely believed. As a skilled rhetorician, she also shaped her arguments to address the assumptions and prejudices of different audiences. This gives the misleading impression that those arguments were central to her own thinking as well.

A final reason, and perhaps the most important, is that the English words "feminism" and "feminist," like so many other big-concept words, have no single meaning but rather a range of meanings. This makes sense since feminism is a contested idea with high cultural salience. People with widely different beliefs want to claim it.²⁰

Happily, there is a word for such historically rich, highly debated, open-ended ideas. The word is "ideograph." According to Michael McGee, the rhetoric scholar who invented the term, an ideograph is "a one-term summary of an aspect of a people's historical ideology" that brings with it "a long history of intense arguments."²¹ Every society, every nation, every culture has its ideographs. In the United States, notable ones include liberalism, conservatism, left, right, democracy, radicalism, mainstream, socialism, and progressivism. The ideographic nature of American "feminism" is reflected in Addams scholarship.

All ideographs can be further grouped by attaching distinguishing adjectives to them. In the twentieth century in the United States, "feminism" has often been categorized as liberal, radical, cultural, or socialist, or white, black, middle class, working class, lesbian, queer, and so on.²² These categories may emphasize a particular feminism's methods or ideological camp or the category of women whose oppression it is attending to. As noted above, Addams's feminism has also been subdivided using some of these terms.

In addition to these various, fruitful approaches to Addams's feminism, there is the biographical approach. This involves exploring a woman's possibly changing ideas about herself as a woman, her possibly changing interpretations of the barriers her gender created for her and others, and whether and when she identified with the meanings of "feminism" current in her times. I take this approach here in the hope that examining Jane Addams's feminism on its own terms and from the perspective of her historical period will enrich the ongoing debate about this fascinating public intellectual's relationship to the ideograph of feminism, which, however it is defined, has inspired one of the essential legal, social, and cultural revolutions of the modern era.

This essay is organized in five parts. In the first part, I trace Addams's ideas about and experiences as a woman in the years before Hull House. In the next two parts, I examine how, beginning in the 1890s, she embraced new ideas about gender equality and patriarchal authority. In the fourth part, I consider Addams's eventual, explicit embrace of what she called "feminism." In the fifth part I discuss her feminist vision for the family. The conclusion considers her feminism in the context of democracy, the central ideograph of her time, the central ideal of her thought, and the driving commitment of her life.

Part I: What Could an Ambitious Woman Do?

The times a child grows up in—its cultural assumptions and debates—set her expectations and hopes out before her in a limited banquet. In the United States in the 1860s and 1870s, when Jane Addams was coming of age in the small town of Cedarville, in northern Illinois, there were a wealth of heroes who were white, like she was, and male, like she was not. Because she was a child of much ambition—that is to say because she was someone with a vague longing to be heroic, to be great—she did what many ambitious girls do and relied on real and fictitious male heroes for inspiration. When she was older, in high school and college, she found female heroes too, but many were either from literature or mythical figures from classical Greece and Rome. This lack of real female people to admire instructed her in a core message of her times to girls and women—they could be heroic in their imaginations, and possibly within the walls of home, most likely in their self-sacrificing suffering, but they were not expected to be heroic in the wider world.

Addams had male heroes all of her life. As a child, her first hero was her father (her mother died when she was two), who instructed her that a person “must always be honest with yourself inside.”²³ She also admired Abraham Lincoln, an Illinois politician whom her father knew for the “long effort [he made] to understand the greatness of the people.”²⁴ Reading *Little Women* as a girl, she was enchanted by the oldest daughter, Jo, whose ambition to be a writer Addams shared.²⁵ In high school, she gained two radical heroes from reading the *Atlantic* magazine: the utopian reformer of industrial life Robert Owen, and the abolitionist John Brown.²⁶ And from the newspapers, she gained two reform lecturer heroes—social critic Ralph Waldo Emerson and suffragist Lucy Stone.²⁷ Later in life, her male heroes included Leo Tolstoy and Jesus, for their commitment to nonresistance and love as life’s guiding principles.²⁸

At Rockford Female Seminary she often found inspiration in the goddesses of Greek mythology, who possessed public powers.²⁹ But there was a mixed message in her decision to write about the Greek priestess Cassandra in her senior essay. She was drawn to Cassandra because she was a woman who instructed an audience of men that they were about to make a grave error of judgment, but disappointed that the men did not believe her. A core part of Addams’s essay was her attempt to solve Cassandra’s problem of lack of “auctoritas” for her own generation by urging “woman” to study science (a daring recommendation) as well as rely on female “intuition” (embodied in the Greek goddess Athena) as “one of the holy means given to mankind in [its] search for truth.”³⁰ This awkward attempt to amalgamate a gender stereotype with unauthorized female ambition was the best she could achieve at age twenty.

Addams’s interest in science arose from her decision to help “the poor” by becoming a medical doctor. Her inspirations were all male. Aside from the beloved family doctor of her small hometown, there were two heroic, if fictitious, doctors who worked among “the poor”—Allan Woodcourt in Dickens’s *Bleak House* (1853) and an unnamed doctor in the novel by John Habberton, *Jericho Road* (1877).³¹ Since Rockford had offered no science courses, Addams decided after graduation she would attend Smith College, in Massachusetts, which offered women the same BA as a men’s college would, and had strong offerings in science.

Her beloved father refused to let her go. He argued that she was too worn out from her college studies and that, in any case, since her first duty was to the family, her desire to go East for more education was selfish. Addams accepted his condemnation. She blamed herself for even proposing the idea. Later she would frame her dilemma as one common to daughters—that of being caught between “the family” and the “social” claims.³² He died of appendicitis at the end of that summer, and she eventually joined her sister and stepbrother in studying medicine in Philadelphia, but she only completed one year of medical school, and after exams, she had a nervous breakdown. She condemned herself anew for this failure.

What could she do with her life? She was not interested in marrying—as a college senior she had turned down a proposal—or in teaching, one of the few careers a woman could pursue. Depressed, she traveled to Europe twice, took care of her stepmother, visited her married sisters, and read lots of books (George Eliot’s novels were a favorite). She was doing all that was expected of her as a single woman, and she was miserable. She wanted to achieve something in life, and she saw no path.

Addams discovered the idea of a settlement house from reading a magazine article about the world’s first, in London. Toynbee Hall, as it was called, was founded by a married couple, and only men college graduates lived there, but in every other way, it seemed to be something Addams could do. If she founded a settlement house in a working-class district in a large American city, she could “help the poor” another way and invite other women and men, college educated or not, to live in the house with her. Together they would bridge the class social divide that seemed to Addams highly undemocratic, offer clubs and classes for adults and children, and be generally responsive to the needs of the neighborhood. Her college friend Ellen Gates Starr gamely agreed to join Addams in this daring plan, which Addams had the funds to finance. They agreed to start their settlement house in Chicago, with Addams as head resident. It was the first settlement house in the United States.³³

Addams was bending the gender rules of her times in undertaking this plan. While she would be creating a kind of home and “helping the poor”—two traditional female roles—she would also be co-founding an institution, living in a working-class district without her family, and running an organization, all of which only men were supposed to do. Addams struggled with the sense that she was no longer conforming to the expectations of her class, race, and gender and resolved her doubts in an interesting way. In early 1889, just months before the new settlement opened, in a letter to her equally ambitious older sister Alice, she wrote about their shared need to have an outlet for that ambition. “[I]t seems almost impossible [for us] ... to

express inherited power and tendencies [while] constantly try[ing] to exercise another set [of behaviors].”³⁴
To free herself from gender-based inhibitions, she had decided she was just like her father.

Part II: Gender Equality

Addams grew up in a time when white men and women of the middle and upper classes were generally segregated socially by gender. Outside the home, men and women attended dinner parties together and went on family outings together, but they spent most of their social time with those of the same sex. Social clubs were separated by gender. Only men went to saloons. Only men played sports. Only women went to tea parties. Charitable organizations were also sex segregated. Only women ran the church fairs, only men sat on the church boards, and so on and so forth.

From her first days at Hull House and throughout the rest of her life, Addams believed in gender equality in social relations. She believed that men and women, regardless of their class or race, should work together. She also believed that daughters were too often constrained by family in ways that sons were not. These beliefs were foundational to the feminist ideas she would later embrace.

Hull House was always going to be co-ed. In the months before its doors opened, Addams and Starr gave talks in parlors to interest women *and* men in volunteering or becoming settlement-house residents. Addams was delighted when, on one occasion, men were the majority of those who attended. She wrote her sister Mary that this allayed “our fear re [becoming a] home for single women[.]”³⁵ Men volunteered at Hull House from the beginning, and by the fall of 1891 the first male resident had moved in.³⁶ Over the years, many men lived at Hull House, although the majority of the residents were always women. For a long time Hull House was not only the first, but also the only, “co-ed” settlement house in the United States and the world.

Throughout her life Addams consistently pushed for inter-gender reform efforts. She once wrote the suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt, when they were debating whether the new peace party should be all female, “I believe that men and women work best together on these public measures.”³⁷ Addams served on the boards of a wide variety of innovative co-ed organizations, from the Civic Federation of Chicago and the National Federation of Settlements to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union.

She encountered resistance, of course, and often used humor to deflect it. In 1909, when she was elected the first female president of the thirty-five-year-old National Council of Charities and Corrections, she teased the men present for taking this “rather adventuresome and unusual action” and noted dryly that “you have not been hasty, you have waited thirty-five years.” With her tongue in her cheek she then added, mindful of the female stereotypes surging in the men’s imaginations at that moment, that “the woman whom you have elected will promise to walk as softly as possible, think twice before she speaks, and then speak only after counting to ten, that nothing untoward may happen.”³⁸

At the same time, Addams, ever the pragmatist, reluctantly accepted gender-segregated activism when necessary. She joined and led many women’s organizations when the men refused to cooperate on a particular issue. And she helped found such organizations when necessary. For example, when the American Federation of Labor refused, after a few minor efforts, to organize women in the trade unions, she and other allies joined women labor organizers in co-founding the National Women’s Trade Union League.³⁹

Other frontiers of gender equality were particularly challenging. At Hull House, she was reminded of what she called the “daughter” problem in her conversations with other young women volunteers from backgrounds of privilege. Seeing the pattern, she formulated a theory that she then explored throughout the 1890s in a series of speeches and essays. She never said that she herself had faced the situation she was describing the summer after graduating from college, but the language she used in these pieces was too searing and frank to leave much doubt that she was speaking from firsthand experience.⁴⁰

In all of the speeches she portrayed the daughter as eager to begin her adult life of independent usefulness and the parents as dismissive of her ambition as a “foolish” and “selfish” desire. She did not say, because she did not need to, that sons were encouraged to pursue their own interests without any charges of selfishness.⁴¹ She did not criticize the parents—or the father—directly, but she clearly believed they should

not have blocked their adult daughter's pursuit of independence, self-development, and service to the world.

Living in the Nineteenth Ward, Addams also had many conversations with the adult daughters of mostly immigrant, working-class families, and she saw they suffered from the same dynamics of father's domination (for in truth it was generally the fathers, regardless of class). In these situations, she was more comfortable saying it was the father. In *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910) she wrote of how fathers "accustomed to the patriarchal authority of peasant households, hold their children in a stern bondage" by requiring them to "surrender all of their wages" and denying them "time or money for pleasures."⁴² She wrote "children," but she was actually thinking of adolescent and adult daughters. This became clear in something she wrote two years later. In *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), she noted that, in "the worst instances," when a father was drinking heavily, he not only "demands all of his daughter's wages but treats her with great brutality when those wages fall below his expectations."⁴³

Over time, Addams's thinking about gender equality broadened further. She knew virtually nothing about the jobs held by working-class women and girls when she arrived on Halsted Street, but she quickly learned not only that women and girls were severely underpaid and endured bad working conditions, but also that they, even more than men and boys, often had no union to represent them. Addams had not seen the need for unions at first. She thought that employers would gladly make work conditions safe if someone pointed out the problem to them. When she tried that method several times without success, she came to fully support working trade unions, including for women.⁴⁴

Another way to press for gender equality was to rebut gender stereotypes. In her senior essay at Rockford, she had tried to redefine the jurisdiction of female intuition. And sometimes she dismantled the stereotypes themselves. Regarding women's much praised gentleness and compassion, she wrote in 1899, "Brutal instincts [are] latent in every human being."⁴⁵ Regarding who was better intellectually equipped, she wrote in 1912, "[T]he intelligence of men and women is made of the same stuff."⁴⁶ Regarding women's supposed unselfishness, she wrote in 1915 that "women could be angry ... for selfish or unjustified reasons."⁴⁷

She also rejected the popular gender stereotype that mothers were biologically determined to be nurturers. In 1903 she wrote that young men should be encouraged to discover "the excitement and pleasure... of nourishing human life."⁴⁸ In *Women in The Hague* (1915), she described women as only "the earliest custodians" of "those primitive human urgings to foster life and protect the helpless."⁴⁹ In her subtle way, she was suggesting that future custodians would be male as well as female.

Given that Addams often wrote and spoke about mothers when she urged women in her audiences to become activists in local, state, or federal affairs, some scholars have thought she was advocating for motherhood as a gendered ideal. As others have pointed out, however, she spoke of the broadened responsibilities of mothers because most of the women in the United States and most of the women who attended her lectures and read her books were mothers. As Hamington, Fischer, Siegfried, Jackson, and Nackenoff have noted, she was simply making the wise rhetorical decision to invoke the experiences of motherhood in order to persuade women to see the connections between their domestic duties and those as citizens.⁵⁰

Addams addressed herself to another set of gendered assumptions when she wrote about war and peace. The popular view was that women by their nature hated war and wanted peace. Addams rejected that view, writing that she knew plenty of pro-war women during the years of World War I. She was willing to grant, however, that women's *experiences* gave them "special training for peacemaking."⁵¹ Some scholars have thought that in her chapter "Women and Internationalism," in *Women in the Hague*, she was arguing for an innate gender difference when she wrote that women sometimes experienced "a peculiar revulsion when they see [men] destroyed [in war]," but she preceded that observation with the key qualifying comment that women felt revulsion because they gave birth to babies and, so far, were the ones who also "nurtured them." Indeed, she set up the whole discussion by comparing mothers to artists who have seen their beautiful creations destroyed.⁵² As Charlene Haddock Seigfried notes, Addams "believed that some of the experiences women shared (such as bearing children) ... gave them a particular line of vision."⁵³

In much of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, the language used to advocate for gender equality was "woman's rights" or "women's rights." Given Addams's general embrace of equality as a guiding principle of her thinking and her life, we might have expected her to have spoken often of "women's rights." In fact, it appears she only used the phrase once and that was in disapproval. This was in

Twenty Years (1910), when she praised Chicago women because they argued that women should vote in city elections by using pragmatic arguments rather than “traditional women’s rights” arguments often found at “suffrage meetings.”⁵⁴

Addams avoided women’s rights language, not because she did not believe in the idea loosely speaking, but because she disliked rights language in general. In her day, much as in our own, rights arguments were arguments for individual rights. They were also, by definition, understood to be timeless and unchanging in their moral authority. As Fischer, Sarvasy, Hamington, and others, including myself, have noted, Addams rejected the idea that there were eternal absolutes. She deeply believed that a nation’s morality evolved with the times.⁵⁵ In a 1911 suffrage speech, for example, she said that arguing for the women’s vote as a “human right” was “an anachronism,” though, ever grounded in time, she agreed it made sense to do so back in the 1860s, when such phrases were spoken with “solemn conviction.”⁵⁶

Part III: Patriarchy

In the United States, the great majority of nineteenth-century women with fathers present in the home grew up with the father making the family’s important decisions, and this was true for Jane Addams as well. In addition, almost all nineteenth-century white women in the United States, including Addams, grew up in a society where white, prosperous men held all the important positions of authority. This was because females, as well as all nonwhite men, were thought to be too inferior in their abilities to hold such positions.

A society that ranks wealthy, white men at the top is not only classist and sexist; it also meets the definition of “patriarchy” offered in the *Random House Unabridged Dictionary, Second Edition* (1966–1983). According to that dictionary, a “patriarchy” is a “society based on the form of social organization” in which “the father is the supreme authority” and “descent is reckoned in the male line.”⁵⁷

Feminists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had different responses to this situation. Some focused on gender inequality as the problem and ignored or denied patriarchy’s existence. Others insisted that it was central to understanding gendered power.⁵⁸ These different responses make sense. Gender inequality is easy to recognize; the existence of patriarchy is not. Seeing the latter requires studying the historical origins of inequality and the way gendered power works structurally in institutions and laws. Such study reveals that reforming a patriarchal society—which in the United States is also a white supremacist society—is very difficult. And that is also why gender equality is most often emphasized. It is easier (though still very hard) to achieve than the end of patriarchy.

Jane Addams first dipped her toe into patriarchal analysis when she criticized the family’s oppression of daughters. June of 1895 was the first time she described how patriarchy oppressed women in the wider world. Her analysis was part of a commencement speech she gave at her alma mater, the now-renamed Rockford College. Aware that the young women graduates in her audience believed in the gender stereotype that they were morally superior to men, she said, “I have a warning to give [female] college graduates, a warning against self-righteousness. Perhaps the reason women have not made politics impure, have not corrupted legislatures and wrecked railroads is because they have not had the opportunity to do so, as they have been chained down by a military code whose penalty is far worse than the court martial.”⁵⁹ Chained down by a military code? A penalty worse than the court martial? Addams was not mincing words here. The only subtle aspect of her remarks was that she chose not to use the word “patriarchy.”

She was quite familiar with the word, however. She had first encountered it as a term of analysis when, around the time of her visit to Toynbee Hall, she read Karl Marx’s *Capital*, which includes references to family-based industries as “patriarchal.”⁶⁰ She would encounter the idea again in 1892, when she read a new edition of the English translation of Frederick Engel’s *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845). In the book, Engels, Marx’s close friend and colleague, argued that the old, kindly “patriarchal” relationship between workers and employer that had typified the agricultural economy was being cruelly abandoned in industrial England. The translator was Florence Kelley, Addams’s close friend and fellow resident at Hull House.⁶¹

About the same time that Addams read *Capital*, she read John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women* (1869). While Mill also did not use the term “patriarchy” (which may also explain why Addams did not), it was the true subject of his book. In it he sought to persuade the reader that the idea that men were superior to women, although presently embedded in institutions and habits, was a cultural construct.⁶² Mill also

rejected the popular, compensating idea that women possessed “superior moral goodness,” and added, “This piece of talk ... is only an admission by men of the corrupting influence of power.”⁶³ Notably, that was the exact point Addams made in her 1895 Rockford speech.

As with Mill’s book, Addams did not forget what she had read in Marx and Engels’ books. She took their ideas and applied them to the industrial economy in a speech she first gave in 1896 on a strike that erupted in 1894 in Chicago. George Pullman, president and owner of the Pullman Company, had refused to negotiate with the workers’ union, and Addams had sought to mediate the dispute, without success. Upon reflection, Addams was struck by the similarities in the moral dilemmas between how King Lear treated his daughter Cordelia in Shakespeare’s play and how George Pullman treated his workers. She thought that old-fashioned paternal (patriarchal) authority had shaped both sets of unjust relations.

In her speech, which she published in 1912 under the title “A Modern Lear,” she set out a brilliant, expanded analogy.⁶⁴ She called Lear’s “paternal expression was one of domination and indulgence without ... any belief that [his daughters] could have a worthy life apart from him.”⁶⁵ She characterized George Pullman as believing in the “belated and almost feudal virtue of personal gratitude.” While she did not use the word “patriarchal,” in both cases she was describing the patriarchal system’s ethic of benevolence. This required that the patriarch treat the inferior people in his care with kindness and that those people—daughters and workers in this case—responded with gratitude.⁶⁶

“A Modern Lear” also contained Addams’s most searching and honest version of her “daughter” analysis. In it she explicitly credited the father for the first time for blocking his daughter’s path. It is also in this essay that her own anguished experience surfaced in a new way. Addams rarely expressed regret about anything, but in a poignant passage she pondered the pain caused in the family when its ethics did not evolve with the times. She wrote, “If only a few families of the English-speaking race had profited by the dramatic failure of Lear, much heart-breaking and domestic friction might have been spared.”⁶⁷ In “A Modern Lear,” Addams was able to write with insight and passion about the cruel disrespect patriarchy showed to the equal humanity of those under its domination.

Addams continued to mull these ideas. In her 1907 book, *Newer Ideals*, she put more flesh on the bones of her “military code” metaphor and took it in a new direction since, by this time, she was a supporter of the women’s suffrage movement. In the chapter “Utilization of Women in City Government,” she said that men had the vote because, historically (and this was accurate history), only they had been the warriors. She wrote, “Because the franchise had in the first instance been given to the man who could fight, because in the beginning he alone could vote who could carry a weapon, the franchise was considered an improper thing for a woman to possess.”⁶⁸ Now that the “war virtues” were passing away, she continued, speaking in her favorite, prophetic voice, women will “formally” enter into “municipal life.”⁶⁹ *Newer Ideals* was the first book in which she argued that pro-war forces were opposed to women’s greater role in democracy.

Four years later, in 1911, she added new complexity to that argument. In a suffrage speech she gave many times titled “Woman and the State,” she embraced the idea that women had ruled society in a pre-patriarchal period of human history, which she called “the matriarchal period.”⁷⁰ This began to decline, she explained, as tribes increasingly competed for territory and male warriors rose in status, while the women lost status as they hid in caves to protect the children. Men then formed the archaic state, which caused women to be “pushed ... quite outside state affairs.” But she saw a better future already taking shape. Today, she argued, the trend was reversed and women were reclaiming for the state the responsibilities it had once had during the “matriarchal period.”⁷¹

As usual, Addams had been doing some reading. Pieces of her argument came from three books that were popular among suffragists at the time. In Engels’s *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State in Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* (first English translation 1902), the author argued that at first ancient societies were governed by the “matriarchal” principle, which he declared to be essentially egalitarian. In time, he explained, it was displaced by the hierarchical “patriarchal” principle. Engels blamed this historical upheaval, which he called “the world historical defeat of the female sex,” on the emergence of farming, that is, private property. He did not agree that the patriarchy emerged from a shift to a warrior society.⁷²

That idea came from another book suffragists were reading—August Bebel’s *Woman and Socialism* (first published in the original German in 1879; in English in 1885). While Engels thought the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was peaceful, Bebel argued it was prompted by the emergence of men undertaking

armed conflict and that this led directly to the emergence of the state, headed by successful warriors—the very argument Addams made.⁷³ Addams would have read this book too because, again, it was a favorite of Florence Kelley's. Kelley had read it in the early 1880s in the original German when she was a socialist and living in Europe. When the first English translation was published in London in 1885, with a new title, Kelley was back in the United States. Eager for US women to read it, she sent a few short paragraphs recommending the book to readers of the American suffragist paper, the *Woman's Tribune*.⁷⁴ When another English edition was published in London in 1893, an insistent Kelley surely thrust a copy into Addams's hands.⁷⁵ The book proved so popular among Americans that the first American edition was published in 1910.⁷⁶

In her 1911 suffrage speech, Addams mentioned twice the third book she had been reading, Emily James Putnam's *The Lady* (1910). Putnam, an American, wrote about the long history of privileged women's fate in "patriarchal societies," societies in which, she argued, "they held women to be perpetual minors."⁷⁷ Addams narrated, with some humor, how this all worked out in the Middle Ages. Suffragists were reading this book too, not the least because Putnam's sister-in-law, Mary Putnam Jacobi, was a leader in the suffragist movement.⁷⁸

Much of the 1911 speech was an amalgam of Addams's reading, but one part was original. In the middle of the speech, Addams, ever the storyteller, hypothesized an imaginary society where the matriarchy had survived and women had the vote and men did not.⁷⁹ She skewered the men for being unworthy of such a trust, given their love of fighting and their greed in employing children in industries, and she wittily reversed the arguments men made to justify refusing to grant women the vote. In 1913, *The Lady's Home Journal*, recognizing the rhetorical and playful brilliance of Addams's arguments, published a revised version of this fantasy as a separate piece titled, "Miss Addams [on the Family and the State]," thus putting it into wide circulation. (It was not until the magazine version of the piece was reprinted in a 1960 collection of Addams's writings that it was given the title "If Men Were Seeking the Franchise").⁸⁰ As Patricia Shields notes, in this "hilarious" essay, which she calls an example of the author's feminism, Addams "demonstrates her understanding of how the male perspective influences policy."⁸¹

Part IV: Addams Embraces "Feminism"

Anyone who reads Addams's writings soon realizes that she often presented her ideas with subtlety and indirectness. This is probably the main reason she avoided using the term "patriarchy." Though she was certainly an advocate for causes, she tended not to make straightforward arguments for them using logic and truth claims. Instead, as many have noted, she often preferred telling stories. A second favorite method is what Marilyn Fischer calls her historical method of reasoning.⁸² Charlene Haddock Seigfried lists Addams's diverse methods of arguments as "autobiographical, contextual, pluralistic, narrational, experimentally fallibilist, and [arguments] embedded in history and specific social movements."⁸³ My list includes hypotheticals, predictions, and gently mocking observations that pointed out absurdities. These last provided her with a way to implicitly invoke obvious logical or common sense arguments without spelling them out. In the discipline of rhetoric, which Addams studied in college, these kinds of arguments, where the unstated premise is supplied by the audience, are called enthymemes.⁸⁴

Addams used the same indirectness regarding her ideas about feminism in her books. Although she often wrote about the unjust situations women found themselves in, in her books she only used the word "feminist" once. This was in *Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1916), and it was placed in the mouth of a fictitious woman, as discussed below. In the chapter "Aspects of the Woman's Movement" in *Second Twenty Years* (1930), she never once used the word "feminist."

But if Addams avoided the word in her books, she did not avoid it altogether. In 1913 and 1914 she used it in suffrage speeches and also used it in two essays she published in 1914.⁸⁵ The timing makes sense. In 1913 and 1914, the word was in wide circulation around the nation, especially because in these years the suffrage movement was sometimes referred to as the "feminist movement."

The word "feminist" has an interesting history. It emerged in Europe in the 1890s and became popular there long before it was popular in the United States. The French invented the adjective to indicate a person's support for what they called women's emancipation.⁸⁶ The word "feminist" was first used prominently in Paris in May 1892, when a group of women organized an international (European) "Feminist

Congress.”⁸⁷ Within a month, news of the congress had reached the United States. American papers, including the *Chicago Tribune*, published short squibs about the event.⁸⁸ After that, news of the French “feminists” were sometimes covered in the US press. When, in 1897, the word appeared for the first time in the *New York Times*, it was in an article with a Paris dateline.⁸⁹ The word began to catch on in the United States between 1900 and 1912. In small-town newspapers it was first used not by the newspapers themselves but in advertisements about new “feminist” novels.

The year 1913 was when American suffragists first adopted the word, judging from newspaper articles covering their speeches. That was also the year when Addams first adopted it too, possibly also in part because of a convention she attended. In May 1913 she served as a delegate to the International Suffrage Congress in Budapest, Hungary, where she heard European women often use the words “feminist movement,” and not just to refer to suffrage. As Addams noted upon her return in July, when she gave a suffrage speech to 600 women at the Chicago City Club, “On the [European] continent [suffrage] is recognized as a branch of the larger feminist movement.”⁹⁰

For the rest of 1913 and during much of 1914, while Addams was campaigning in various states for suffrage laws and for a federal amendment in Congress, she often referred, both in interviews with newspapers and in speeches covered by the press, to the women’s movement as “feminist.” To give just a few examples, in December 1913, she gave two speeches using the word. The first was in New York City at Carnegie Hall, where, according to a reporter, she consistently referred to the suffrage movement as “the feminist movement.”⁹¹ The other was in Chicago at the Sinai Temple, where she used the term again, this time with a broader meaning. According to the reporter, she said that “the feminist movement [is] a recognition of what woman may do for humanity and one of the great achievements of the age.”⁹² In 1914, she continued to use the word “feminist,” as is documented, for example, in an interview she did in Lincoln, Nebraska.⁹³

The year 1914 was also the year in which she used “feminist” in two published essays. In “The Unexpected Reactions of A Traveler in Egypt,” published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in February 1914, she referred to Queen Hatshepsut, the Egyptian pharaoh, as “the first feminist.”⁹⁴ Later that year, she used “feminist” again in an essay titled “The Larger Aspects of the Woman’s Movement” that was published in a special issue the editors titled *Woman in Public Life* of the journal *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Writing about three broad trends that were advancing the suffrage cause, Addams introduced the third one by calling it a “trend in the feminist movement.”⁹⁵ Indeed, two of the essays in the special issue used the word “feminist” in their title, and Addams’s own essay was in a section titled “The Feminist Movement.”

Addams also used the noun “feminism.” In 1916, for example, she deployed it to mean a complex of ideas and policies—what today we would call an ideograph—that she considered the opposite of “militarism.” “Militarism” was another French word that was on everyone’s lips by the turn of the century, and especially after 1910, as the war spirit in Europe heated up. The word was used to refer to a nation’s support for a strong military policy, or even to the essence of a nation itself. Two years after World War I broke out in Europe, Addams wrote in *Long Road of Woman’s Memory* (1916) that “feminism” and “militarism” were diametrically opposed, which was a more concise way to make the point she had made in *Newer Ideals* and had first subtly invoked with her “military code” metaphor in 1895. But instead of stating this in her own voice, she had a fictitious woman say it.

In a chapter in *Long Road* titled “Challenging War,” Addams explained in a footnote that while she was in war-torn Europe in 1915, she had conversations with two women who, after losing sons on the battlefields, no longer supported the war. Rather than quote them separately, she combined what they said into one long statement, as if a single woman was talking.⁹⁶

Addams found in those conversations new material to make her case not only against war, which she had long rejected as a way of settling international disputes, but also against men’s sole control of government, the policy that the suffrage movement was committed to ending. The woman speaker set up “militarism” and “feminism” as opposite choices for the state. She had come to realize, she said, that there was an “unalterable cleavage between militarism and feminism”—that “militarism and feminism are in eternal opposition.”⁹⁷ By “militarism,” the speaker explained, she meant the belief “that [the authority of] government finally rests upon ... physical force.” By “feminism,” she explained, she meant the belief that the authority of government should rest on “moral agencies”—by which she meant the power of moral arguments, as distinct from force. If women were to achieve “equal rights,” she said, “feminism ... must assert ultimate supremacy” over “physical force.”⁹⁸

Though some might read this passage as an endorsement of the popular view that women were by nature morally pure and incapable of physical violence, Addams was using the speaker's story to make a different point. She was saying that the movement to advance women's voice in government, "feminism," was committed to using democracy to avoid war, while the movement to celebrate men's role in government, "militarism," was committed to using a severely restricted, male-controlled democracy to engage in war.

Part V: Addams's Feminist Vision for the Family

Every feminism contains within it a vision—narrow or grand—for a nation's or a society's future. Some seek a society where every opportunity is open to individual women; some go further and seek a society that has no gendered hierarchies in its laws, institutions, or cultural values; some go further still and seek a society that abandons additional hierarchies. In 1981, poet, educator, and author bell hooks expressed that most radical view when she declared that feminism was "a commitment to eradicating the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture."⁹⁹

Addams's multifaceted feminist vision, as well as its limitations, may be teased out from her writings. Here I will focus on just one aspect—her vision for the family. I choose that subject not just because her interest in the family was sustained over decades and ranged broadly, from finding the daughter's proper place in it to reforming the family's relation to society, but also because it was her own struggle with her family's expectations that put her feet on the path to feminism. Also, a feminist vision for the family is a good place to ground any discussion of feminist visions since the family in its classic form in European society was the seat of patriarchal rule and the model, as Aristotle and many other political philosophers pointed out, on which the governance of cities, states, kingdoms, and nations was based.

Addams had developed her "daughter" theory in the 1890s, and it informed her thinking about families for more than a decade, but when she reached her fifties, her search for ways to increase women's freedom inside and outside the family took an interesting turn. That was when she began to call for greater equality of communication between men and women. This was her newer vision for how the feminist revolution could be made manifest in the family.

In Addams's day women were supposed to keep a degree of self-imposed silence in the presence of the male family head. Women who disputed a point a man had made were considered "uppity." Women who disagreed with—or worse, disobeyed—their fathers, husbands, or adult sons met with severe disapproval. Whether in public or private discussions, women—perhaps especially middle-class women—believed it was unwomanly to assert oneself.

Addams commented on this problem by predicting that it was passing. In 1912, in *New Conscience and Ancient Evil*, writing in her prophetic voice, she said, "[The] modern relationship between men and women will continue to make women ... less timid of reputation and more human."¹⁰⁰ A few years later, in an interview with a reporter—a situation in which she often used blunter language than in her speeches, essays, or books—she said, women "have dropped their old policy of repression and are talking – saying what they think and what they want." This change, she predicted, "will accelerate the progress of the world."¹⁰¹ She might have also said it would accelerate the progress of the family.

If a woman was not supposed to argue with a man, it was even more verboten to be angry with him for a *good* reason. Plenty of women, of course, got justifiably angry on occasion, but fewer did so without guilt, and for each woman that did explode, hundreds bit their tongues, trying to comply with the cultural expectations of the day. Addams rejected that inhibition and urged men to respect women's justified anger and to agree with women that it was simply fair to do so. Women are rightly irritated, she told the same interviewer, "when men who don't understand them refuse to give them what they are entitled to."¹⁰² Such infuriating conversations, of course, happened most often in families.

A third way women's freedom was inhibited in the family, and perhaps the most basic way, was the cultural expectation that aside from some church or charity work (which was supposed to be kept to modest levels), a woman's duty was to devote herself to her husband, her children, and her home. Addams had always rejected this as woman's main duty, but as she grew older, Addams was more explicit than before about the dangers of living such a life. In her keynote address to the 1912 National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention, she daringly said that "the sense of duty to [the family] to which women have been prone" was morally "narrowing" because it "set a limit on all obligations to people outside." She also took

the opportunity to affirm that while some women fulfilled the “moral obligations of womanhood” by devotion to family, that was “not true for all women.”¹⁰³ In other words, women like herself, single women, could fulfill their womanhood, by which she meant their female personhood, outside marriage. Shannon Jackson neatly captures the radical meaning of these ideas of Addams when she writes of her “denormalization of nuclear family bonding.”¹⁰⁴

As for sexuality, Addams rejected the double standard that gave married men a freedom that married women did not have. She judged it unfair that men could have sex outside of marriage, either by paying for it or by having an affair, without fear for their reputation, while women could do neither without severe condemnation raining down on their heads. She had in mind, in particular, (male) politicians. In *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), she observed that a man could have a “domestic [private] life” that was sexually “corrupt” and yet “claim praise for his public career,” while women, isolated in the home, were held to the highest standard “of personal virtue.”

Unwilling to advocate for married women to have sex outside of marriage, she argued that married men should be held to the same standard as married women. She hoped suffrage would help in this. Once women could vote and hold public office, she wrote, they “may at last [be able to] force men to [stop using their] public record as a cloak for a wretched private character because society would never permit a woman to make such excuses for herself.”¹⁰⁵ She would have been entirely in favor of today’s worldwide “Me Too” movement, and she would have been particularly pleased that popular disapproval has *sometimes* succeeded in removing politicians from office who sexually harassed or abused or assaulted women.

As for the homosexual or homosocial family, Addams both believed in it and lived it. She was lucky in that, for most of her adult life—until attitudes changed in the conservative 1920s—women, though not men, could form lifetime, intimate partnerships without arousing societal disapproval. Legal marriage was not possible for such couples, but she twice formed a committed, romantic partnership with a woman, first with Ellen Gates Starr, and later with Mary Rozet Smith.¹⁰⁶ As I discuss in more detail in my 2010 essay, “Love on Halsted Street,” Addams led a woman-identified, intimate life, and she was therefore, by most modern definitions, a lesbian.¹⁰⁷

Addams fell in love with Mary Rozet Smith in 1895, and they remained partners for life. In 1902, while missing her on the road, Jane wrote Mary, “There is reason in the habit of married folk keeping together.”¹⁰⁸ In a letter she sent Mary in 1912, she wrote, “I am moved to send you some fresh picked violets. Did you ever think I’d be so sentimental? But I am about you, dear.”¹⁰⁹ In letters, Jane addressed Mary as “my best beloved.”¹¹⁰ When late in life Jane called marriage “the highest gift life can offer to a woman,” there is no reason to suppose she meant only heterosexual marriage.¹¹¹

Although same-sex couples could not legally marry in Addams’s lifetime, there is good reason to suppose, based not only on her life choices but also on her ethical beliefs, that she would have supported that change. In her first book, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), she wrote that “action is indeed the sole medium of expression for ethics,” and her own actions as a member of two same-sex couples were clear.¹¹² In addition, she believed that a society’s ethics must evolve with the times. Such a philosophy equipped her to welcome today’s same-sex revolution.

Conclusion: Feminism and Democracy

From the day in 1889 that Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr moved into Hull House to the day in 1935 that Addams died, advancing democracy was her constant theme, and advancing women’s engagement with democracy—first socially, then through trade unions, then politically, and then around the world—was a steady goal. In all eleven of her books, women’s particular challenges or experiences were a focus or a partial focus. In her first book, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), three of the six topical chapters were about obstacles women faced in growing into the new democratic social ethics. In *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), she particularly featured stories about women living in her neighborhood. In her last book, *My Friend Julia Lathrop* (1935), she described how Lathrop, her cherished friend, someone who embodied Addams’s ideal of a deeply committed citizen, became the first woman to head a bureau in the federal government.

Although Addams did not make fighting for black women’s rights a focus of her energies or writings, she was their reliable ally. For example, in 1914, during internal struggles within the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association, Addams resigned from the board once she understood that its rejection of

the federal amendment and support for a state-by-state approach would help ensure that black women in the south would not get the vote.¹¹³

And she worked for progress on the central issue affecting all black women, anti-black racism. After the Springfield, Illinois, massacre of 1908, she joined with others in co-founding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and served on its board for the rest of her life.¹¹⁴ At the 1912 Progressive Party Convention, she lobbied party leaders to include the NAACP-drafted plank calling for justice for African Americans and for the seating of the southern, integrated delegations, both without success.¹¹⁵ In 1915, when the racist film, “Birth of a Nation,” opened in New York City, Addams and other NAACP board members went to see it in order to make informed comments. Addams released a long statement to the press, published in the *New York Evening Post*, in which she said that the film gave “a pernicious caricature of the Negro race.”¹¹⁶ She and other Chicagoans managed, though only temporarily, to block its showing in the city. In 1916, she and other Chicagoans, black and white, co-founded the Chicago Urban League, and she was chosen as its first president.¹¹⁷

While Addams sometimes wrote about expanding women’s place in the United States and the world’s democracies, many of her most eloquent pleas did not speak of women per se. She was fully aware, however, that women were half of every nation. When she wrote, for example, in *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (1930) that “our hope of achievement ... lies in a complete mobilization of the human spirit, using all of our unrealized and unevoked capacity,” it is safe to say she meant it to apply as much of women and girls of every class, ethnicity, and race, as to men and boys.¹¹⁸ And the same was likely true of her observation in *Peace and Bread* (1922) that “social advance depends as much upon the process through which it is secured as upon the result itself.”¹¹⁹ Jane Addams’s democratic vision was deeply feminist.

Addams generally framed her devotion to democracy in philosophical and moral terms, but there was, I believe, an underlying personal reason for that defining passion. Of all the fine sentences Addams wrote about democracy, perhaps my favorite is from her first major speech, “The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements” (1892). She said, “The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain ... until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life.”¹²⁰ At the time she said it, it was a hypothesis—one might even say a feminist hypothesis. By the time she died in 1935, she had proved it.

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Notes

- 1 Mahowald, "What Classical American Philosophers," 39–54; Deegan, *Jane Addams*, 225. I am deeply grateful to Marilyn Fischer for her helpful comments on this essay.
- 2 Shields, "Democracy," 418. According to Wendy Sarvasy, Addams's "contribution to democratic theorizing" through activism constitute "a feminist method." Sarvasy, "Engendering Democracy," 295.
- 3 Jackson, "Toward a Queer," 176.
- 4 Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 67–69.
- 5 Lasch, *Social Thought*, 151–152.
- 6 Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 49.
- 7 Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work*, 3; Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled*, chs. 3 and 4; Shannon Jackson discusses Jean Bethke Elshtain's view of Jane Addams as a maternalist feminist. Jackson, "Toward A Queer," 171–172.
- 8 Shields, "Classical Pragmatism."
- 9 To cite only a few, Siegfried, "Courage of One's Convictions," 45; Fischer, "Trojan Women," 82; Shields, "Classical Pragmatism," 371; Nackenoff, "New Politics," 129.
- 10 Shannon Jackson, "Toward a Queer," 161.
- 11 Fischer, "Uncovering Addams's Feminism."
- 12 Shields, "Democracy," 418; Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 139, 157.
- 13 Sarvasy, "Engendering Democracy," 307; Haslanger, "Epistemic Housekeeping," 10.
- 14 Haslanger, "Epistemic Housekeeping," 10n14.
- 15 Brown, "Sex and the City," 127, 131. This essay is solely about Addams's book *New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, though Brown's statement seems to be about Addams in general.
- 16 Lasch, *Social Thought of Jane Addams*, xv; Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 48, 52–58.
- 17 Quotation is from Whipps, "Jane Addams's Democratic Theory," 119.
- 18 The philosophy scholars of pragmatism who write of Addams in their various works as a feminist theorist of pragmatism include Judy Whipps, Charlene Haddock Siegfried, Maurice Hamington, and Marilyn Fischer. See also Shields, "Classical Pragmatism," 370–376.

- 19 Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 49.
- 20 A good treatment of that variety is in McAfee, "Feminist Philosophy," in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, passim.
- 21 McGee, "Ideograph," 381.
- 22 Giardina, *Freedom for Women*, 25.
- 23 Addams, *Twenty Years*, 15.
- 24 Addams, *Twenty Years*, 34.
- 25 Knight, *Citizen*, 69.
- 26 Knight, *Citizen*, 65.
- 27 Knight, *Citizen*, 69–70, 63, 76.
- 28 For Tolstoy, see Knight, *Citizen*, 145, 148, 149; for Jesus in the years before Hull House, see Knight, *Citizen*, 73, 93, 128, 138–139; for Jesus after that, see Knight, *Citizen*, 190, 222, 353–354, 323, 371, 380.
- 29 Knight, *Citizen*, 93.
- 30 Knight, *Citizen*, 106–107. See also 93.
- 31 Knight, *Citizen*, 78.
- 32 Knight, *Citizen*, 109–110, 255–257, 273, 358, 376–377, 513n40; Knight, "Biography's Window," 126–127.
- 33 When Addams and Starr first agreed to found a settlement house, they did not know that a group of East Coast college alumnae had the same idea. The College Settlement opened almost two weeks after Hull House. See Knight, *Citizen*, 191–192, 463n40.
- 34 Knight, *Citizen*, 165–166.
- 35 Knight, *Citizen*, 191.
- 36 Knight, *Citizen*, 226.
- 37 Quoted in Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 52.
- 38 Quoted in Knight, *Jane Addams*, 154.
- 39 Knight, *Jane Addams*, 132.
- 40 Knight, "Biography's Window," 137n76; Knight, *Citizen*, 358–359.
- 41 Knight, *Citizen*, 235–236, 110. Jean Bethke Elshtain has a different interpretation of these concepts. See Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 108–110.
- 42 Addams, *Twenty Years*, 248.
- 43 Addams, *New Conscience*, 165.
- 44 Knight, *Citizen*, passim. Later, when the National Women's Party lobbied for an Equal Rights Amendment, Addams did not oppose it, although it threatened to undo protective labor legislation for women and girls. She merely noted that it was "legalistic." Knight, *Jane Addams*, 264.
- 45 Addams, "Democracy or Militarism," 2.
- 46 Addams, "The Civic Value," 60.
- 47 Addams, "As I See Women," 11.
- 48 Addams, "Address of Miss Jane Addams," 261.
- 49 Addams "Women and Internationalism," 131.
- 50 Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 67–69; Fischer, "Addams on Suffrage," 7–8.; Siegfried, "Introduction," *Long Road*, xi; Jackson, "Toward A Queer," 173; Nackenoff, "New Politics," 131.
- 51 Addams, "Women's Special Training," 252.
- 52 Addams, "Women and Internationalism," 128. See also, Sarvasy, "Global 'Common Table,'" 192.

- 53 Seigfried, "Introduction," *Long Road*, xiii.
- 54 Addams, *Twenty Years*, 1910, 340.
- 55 Fischer, *Jane Addams's Evolutionizing*, passim; Hamington, *Social Philosophy*, 81–84; Knight, *Citizen*, 357–358, 367–368, 391, 398, 400–401.
- 56 Addams, "Woman and the State," 22.
- 57 For more about patriarchy and its history as a concept, including as a feminist concept, see Thompson, *Radical Feminism*, 59–63; Miller, *Patriarchy*, passim. For one scholar's view of patriarchy's relationship to feminism in 1999, see Becker, "Patriarchy," passim.
- 58 Many suffragists, for example, only wished to assert women's right to vote, and rejected other calls for other kinds of gender equality.
- 59 Quoted in Knight, *Citizen*, 350.
- 60 Knight, *Citizen*, 172.
- 61 Engels, *Condition of the Working Class*.
- 62 Knight, *Citizen*, 221. Addams revised Mill's sentence slightly. For Mill's version, see Mill, *Subjection*, 98.
- 63 Mill, *Subjection*, 76–77.
- 64 Addams, "A Modern Lear."
- 65 She makes these points in "A Modern Lear" passim, but this quotation is from a different version of the speech, which was a chapter in *Democracy and Social Ethics*. See Addams, *Democracy*, 100. For other views on this speech, see Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 111–112; Brown, *Education*, 288–292; Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, 229–230. The essay, "A Modern Lear," was the final version of her speech. The title was provided by the *Survey* editor. The title Addams gave the speech when she delivered in 1896 (she tried but failed to get it published at the time) was "A Modern Tragedy: An Analysis of the Pullman Strike." An earlier version, written in 1895, was titled "A Modern Tragedy." See Knight, *Citizen*, 331, 502n74.
- 66 Addams, "A Modern Lear," 170–172.
- 67 "A Modern Lear," 137.
- 68 Addams, *Newer Ideals*, 103.
- 69 Addams, *Newer Ideals*, 116, 114. See also Knight, *Jane Addams*, 137.
- 70 See Fischer's analysis of this speech in "Uncovering Addams's Feminism."
- 71 Addams, "Woman and the State," 9.
- 72 Quoted in Miller, *Patriarchy*, 45. Addams was likely also influenced by another book. In 1907 a friend of hers, William I. Thomas, published *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex*. In it, he discusses the history of civilization as passing through the prematernal and maternal stages, before arriving at the patriarchal stage. Thomas, however, believed that women had an innate capacity to care for their offspring, an idea that Addams rejected. On Addams's friendship with Thomas, see Deegan, *Jane Addams*, passim.
- 73 Bebel's argument is discussed in Miller, *Patriarchy*, 49.
- 74 Sklar et. al., *Social Justice Feminists*, 85.
- 75 Bebel, *Woman in the Past* (1893).
- 76 Bebel, *Woman in the Past* (1910).
- 77 Putnam, *Lady*, 40; JA, "Woman and the State," 4–5, 23.
- 78 Jacobi co-founded the suffragist League for Political Education in 1894.
- 79 Elshtain, *Reader*, 233–234.
- 80 "Miss Addams [on the family and the state]," 21; Addams, "If Men Were Seeking," 107–113.
- 81 Shields, "Democracy," 422.
- 82 Fischer, "Uncovering Addams's Feminism," 5; personal communication with the author, March 23, 2021. Marilyn Fischer argues throughout *Jane Addams's Evolutionary Theorizing* that Addams's use of history and storytelling were not simply

rhetorical moves but often also constituted her actual arguments.

- 83 Seigfried, "Introduction," to Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, xiv.
- 84 Haskins, *Logos and Power*, 102. See also Hood, "Enthymeme," 159–162. For Addams's study of rhetoric in college, see Knight, *Citizen*, 86–87; Knight, "An Authoritative Voice: Jane Addams and the Oratorical Tradition," 230–232. Scholars with a knowledge of the discipline of rhetoric will find many diverse and brilliantly deployed rhetorical strategies in Addams's writings.
- 85 In this digital era, one can search newspaper databases for many examples. See newspapers.com or genealogybank.com.
- 86 Offen, "Defining Feminism," 126. She rejects the presentist-minded argument that the idea of feminism did not exist until the word itself was invented.
- 87 N.a., "The 'Feminist' Congress in Paris," 5. See also Offen, "on the French Origin," 45–51.
- 88 N.a., *Chicago Tribune*, June 11, 1892, 20. See also Offen, "On the French Origin," 45–51. She investigated whether Charles Fourier invented the term, as he was commonly thought to have done, and concluded that he did not. Offen, "Defining Feminism," 126; Offen, "On the French Origin," 45–46.
- 89 "What Gay Paris Talks of," *New York Times*, February 28, 1897.
- 90 N.a., *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 18, 1913, 12.
- 91 "Jane Addams Speaks Here," *New York Sun*, December 8, 1913. <http://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/30865>.
- 92 N.a., *Chicago Tribune*, December 22, 1913, 15. JAPP.
- 93 N.a., "Jane Addams Sees," page.
- 94 Addams, "Unexpected Reactions," 178.
- 95 Addams, "Larger Aspects," 6.
- 96 Addams, *Long Road*, 115n1. Ed?
- 97 Addams, *Long Road*, 129. Ed?
- 98 Addams, *Long Road*, 129. Sarvasy interprets several passages of this fictitious "woman's" statement as representing Addams's views. See Sarvasy, "Global 'Common Table,'" 192.
- 99 hooks, *Ain't I a Woman?*, 194.
- 100 Addams, *New Conscience*, 212.
- 101 Addams, "As I See Women," 11.
- 102 Addams, "As I See Women," 11.
- 103 Addams, "Communion of the Ballot," 3.
- 104 Shannon Jackson, "Toward a Queer," 177.
- 105 Addams, *New Conscience*, 211–212. 1912 edition.
- 106 Re her relationship with Starr, see Knight, *Citizen*, 214–218; Davis, *American Heroine*, 46; Brown, *Education*, 227–229, 254–255; regarding her relationship with Smith, see Knight, *Citizen*, 251–252, 359–360, 377–379; Brown, *Education*, 255–257; Joslin, *Jane Addams*, 72; Davis, *American Heroine*, 85–87; Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 114.
- 107 Knight, "Love on Halsted Street," 65–66.
- 108 Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, May 26, 1902. Quoted in Knight, *Jane Addams*, 124.
- 109 Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, February 26, 1912, Jane Addams Papers Project website, <http://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/4101>.
- 110 Knight, *Jane Addams*, 125.
- 111 Addams, *Excellent*, 19.
- 112 Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 273–274.
- 113 Knight, *Jane Addams*, 237.

- 114 Knight, *Jane Addams*, 152, 255.
- 115 Knight, *Jane Addams*, 174, 177.
- 116 “Jane Addams Condemns Race Prejudice Film,” New York Post, March 13, 1915, at Jane Addams Papers Project website, <http://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/30865>
- 117 Strickland, *History*, 34, 38.
- 118 Addams, *Second Twenty Years*, 3.
- 119 Addams, *Peace and Bread*, 133.
- 120 Addams, “Subjective Necessity,” 7. The speech was published in 1893, but it was written and delivered in 1892. Knight, *Citizen*, 252–258.