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## The Role of Selected Women in Education and Child Related Reform Programs in Chicago: 1871-1917

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ROLE OF SELECTED WOMEN IN EDUCATION AND CHILD RELATED  
REFORM PROGRAMS IN CHICAGO: 1871-1917

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP  
AND POLICY STUDIES

BY  
KENNETH M. DOOLEY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
JANUARY, 1996

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What we are is at least in part a result of all of our experiences. I have been quite fortunate to have studied with some quite excellent teachers, teachers that encouraged me and challenged me. Teachers that brought me knowledge, and taught me how to find it for myself, teachers too numerous to mention here. However, I would like to give a special thanks to the following outstanding teachers that made up my dissertation committee: Dr. Steven I. Miller Director, Father Michael Perko, S.J., and Dr. Joan K. Smith. I am indebted to them for their professionalism, patience and encouragement.

The many years that I have spent in this project would not have produced this dissertation were it not for the assistance and guidance of Dr. David Laske of the Chicago Board of Education. Dr. Laske, good friend and fellow student, helped me to organize the mountains of data, present it in an understandable manner and to see that there is a light at the end of the tunnel. I also want to thank all my friends and co-workers who have encouraged and tolerated me. In particular I must thank David MacFarlan a good friend and co-worker on the Chicago Police Department for all his time, assistance and computer expertise without

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## DEDICATION

To all the dedicated teachers I have studied with through my  
life,

and

To Kenneth and Margaret Dooley, my first teachers,

and

To Sandra Dooley, my wife, the greatest teacher in the  
world,

and

To Laura and Sharon Dooley, two future teachers,

I dedicate this dissertation.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The title of this dissertation is "The Role of Women in Child-Related Reform Programs in Chicago, 1871-1917." In doing some initial research for a paper on early childhood education and compulsory education, it became apparent that these advocates were the same persons working for child labor laws, health care changes, and juvenile justice for children and educational reform. These advocates were women. Immediately, certain questions came to mind. First, why were women involved in these activities? Second, what were the social conditions of the period?

During the time period 1871 to 1917, women were relegated to the roles of housewife, teacher, nurse, factory worker, farm worker, or domestic help. Thus, they were in a position to see first-hand how bad conditions really were especially for children under the age of five.

Prior to compulsory education and child labor laws, children spent as much as twelve hours a day working in unsafe factory conditions. Before the establishment of the Juvenile Court Act of 1899, children were arrested for stealing food or coal and were placed in the same jail cell with murderers,

horse thieves, and rapists. Women such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Alice Putnam, and Mary Thompson were a few who helped eradicate the abhorrent conditions present and set up effective programs for social change.

Chicago, the largest American city after New York City, Chicago was a logical place to begin any reform movement because of the numerous and varied social, economic, political, commercial and religious activities amidst a heterogeneous population that seldom spoke English or understood American customs and habits. Because of the worldwide attention to the Columbian World Exposition in 1893, social reforms recognized that Chicago had a potential impact upon the nation and other countries.

Nevertheless, it was still difficult to delimit the exact boundaries of this study. Historians, for instance, like to choose wars as parameters, since they exist almost like natural boundaries. The Great Chicago Fire of 1871, on the other hand, is also a natural boundary, and so this time period to World War I will be used for this study. This time frame was selected, partially, because of its clearly-defined parameters, but principally, because of the availability of the data. Following the Chicago fire, specific social programs were established to rebuild the city, and in the 1880s and the 1890s programs were created to counter the ills of society, related to overcrowding, immigration, poor sanitary work conditions and inadequate housing. Chicago, in the 1880s and

1890s, was rapidly expanding and along with rapid growth came the inevitable social problems. The total area of the city increased from 17.4 square miles in 1860 to 190.2 square miles in 1910. The population increase was similar.

Within the context of the demographic and social changes taking place in Chicago during this time period, the main focus of this study will be on the role of women in child-related reform programs in Chicago, during the period 1871-1917, with a concern for identifying the origins and consequences of these reforms.

#### Purpose

The first purpose of this dissertation is to establish that certain women in Chicago, 1871-1917, were the premier leaders in social and educational change. These women generally came from the upper middle class and initially tied reform to a specific set of changes. Although they were politically disenfranchised until 1917, they made heroic efforts to alter public policy. This required them to enter the "back door" of American policy by sheer dearth of effort.

This dissertation will establish that the women in Chicago accomplished their ends through organizations, which worked for the amelioration of social ills.

The second purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that these women had no class bias in what they did. Contrary to the research of some historians of education, this dissertation argues that improvements from

upper class women had no ostensible benefits for the upper classes except the psychic satisfaction of solving the problems for the underprivileged children for the city of Chicago.

The third purpose is to suggest that there is a cyclical pattern to innovative efforts in social and educational change which parallel modern educational planning. The purpose here is to relate those changes to the given economic environment, especially under conditions of industrial organization. It is argued in this dissertation that the prevailing economic and labor market of Chicago influenced these women to address the inequalities which were born by Chicago's impoverished population. The cycle of population growth matched with economic indicators, for example, consumer price index and gross national product, suggests clearly that women enumerated in this study began and continued specific reforms at specific points in the cycle of population and economic fluctuation.

The fourth purpose is to show that these women began endeavors which ultimately became assumed as government responsibility. The labor of these foresighted women were ultimately begun as a private charitable response to conditions prevalent at this time and were fully accepted and adopted by governmental institutions, particularly the public educational system. These women reformers brought attention

to specific social ills which governmental institutions responded to at the national and municipal levels.

### Methodology

The methodology for this dissertation was to collect, sort and group data from the personal writings, correspondence, and articles of leading Chicago women active in the various reform movements. These data were then matched to corresponding and parallel materials found in the official publications of civic and governmental groups who were involved in these reforms. All of these data were placed within the framework of the general history of Chicago and the more important events of American history.

Data for this dissertation have been collected from many sources. Personal records and books belonging to Mary Thompson, a reformer of child labor programs, were on loan to this writer from the Mary Thompson Hospital. The Jane Addams collection, now at the University of Illinois at Chicago, was also a useful source of information. The Chicago Municipal Library, and the Chicago Historical Society have city council records from the period immediately following the fire to the present.

The data were collected and organized and the following is a brief summary of each chapter.

Chapter I--Defines the problems. Describes the research design and points out trends, causes and consequences of the social, moral, ethical and physical aspects of the period.



Chapter II--Discusses the historical background to the city of Chicago. Also included is a description of the geography and its population as factors in this study.

Chapter III--Is concerned with identifying the causes for the poor health conditions, and the general deteriorating social conditions of the time.

Chapter IV--Examines the developments of these child-related reform programs of this period, both background to reform programs and extent of their impact.

Chapter V--Reviews the short term and long term consequences of these child-related reform programs. It also discusses their effect nationally and their significance for the present.

#### Summary

This chapter presents the substantive concern of this dissertation which is that there was a unique evolution in social programs specific to the education of children in Chicago from 1871 to 1917. The uniqueness of the evolution was due to the quality and quantity of novel ideas promoted by selected Chicago women who often came from the higher socioeconomic classes of the burgeoning metropolis. Their efforts were often preemptive of programs and policies which would later be adopted in the public sector from those private initiatives begun by Chicago females. Their efforts paralleled the emerging social service professions which often

looked to the efforts of these women as benchmarks for successful adaptations.

The chapter provides information as to the acquisition of data for the activities of women in voluntary social service as examined from a variety of social programs: health, criminal justice, child welfare, religious education and general social reforms. The early reformers were inspired by religious motivations while those in the later years took a more secular perspective for their activities. These events took place within a changing economic environment which was demonstrated by the reproduction of data from economic and labor sources.

Trends, with attention to causes and consequences, were discussed with reference to their impact on educational design and reform. The nature of the school and its programs and its responsibilities were significantly altered because of the efforts of these women.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CHICAGO, 1871-1917

To understand the socioeconomic conditions under which women reformers initiated their educational and reform movements it is necessary to define the limits of wealth and labor conditions in Chicago during the period under discussion. The women leaders for social improvement in Chicago understood the demographics of the city's burgeoning population and the levels of subsistence which the immigrant and native laborers struggled to support their families. By examining the constraints of business and labor, one is able more clearly to perceive the conditions which infringed on the family's understanding and need for education.

The economic milieu of Chicago's residents was a factor for decisions regarding how long a child should remain in school and how much money should be invested for postsecondary education. The vocational educational programs so readily adopted in the public schools at the turn of the century attest to the public's knowledge regarding the value of specialized high school educational education.

The data presented in this chapter serve to amplify an understanding of the economic conditions with respect to the general wage earner level, wage rates, consumer indices and population characteristics both for native and for foreign born. The necessity for such data is seen in the context within which these women advocated social and educational changes. For example, the problem arising from an uneducated, non-English speaking foreign population, induced some women to undertake the problems of hygiene and Americanization for new immigrants. Moreover, the high truancy rates in the public schools were examined by women who were active in labor studies as well as professional educators.

#### General Remarks

The rapid growth of Chicago as a population center and as an economic center was neither accidental nor unplanned. Chicago was located at an important geographical point in the mid-continental movement of people from east to west. It was accessible by boat through the Great Lakes, and by overland trails and roads which crossed the relatively flat plains of Illinois. With the building of the Illinois-Michigan Canal in 1848, Chicago had access to the Mississippi River. The area of Chicago was not heavily forested and thus settlers could quickly begin their agricultural efforts without the laborious task of clearing hundreds of acres of woodlands as had been the case in New England.

The flatness of the area around Chicago permitted easier transportation of people and products as there were few impediments for road building and rail construction. The river system in Illinois allowed for inexpensive transport of settlers and produce a fact which had been commented upon by the earlier explorers like Marquette and Joliet. The area of Chicago was relatively abundant with small game animals and provided for the needs of the earlier residents of the region.

The development of the American republic necessitated that critical defense areas in the Midwest be secured as soon as possible in order to permit the eventual settlement of the area. Illinois had been claimed by Virginia and Connecticut after the American Revolution but with the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787 the political future of the area was relegated to the Congress under the Articles of Confederation. In 1785, Congress had already established the procedures for the surveying and distribution of land (Rohrbough, 1971). The land was to be divided into townships on the basis of a grid system, further subdivided into thirty-six sections. By Federal law, Section 16 of each township was appropriated for public education.

Chicago became an active hub in the transportation and mobility of the Westward migration (Taylor, 1968, p. 51). The city served both as terminus for lake transportation as well as for a supply center for those in the migratory process. Much of the early wealth of the city had been brought in the

forms of loans with the expectation that the city would be a place for growth; speculation had been endemic during the first several decades of the city's history.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century were not particularly auspicious for Chicago: the Illinois legislature even had refused to provide funding for railroads into the area because it was felt that the town was too far away and offered little economic advantage to the state. Nevertheless, with the opening of the Erie Canal and other canals in the Northeast, the Chicago area was increasingly populated by settlers coming from upstate New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. One early visitor, William B. Ogden, was sent by potential investors to survey the area. Ogden returned to New York state, resigned his seat in the New York State Senate, and moved to Chicago, later becoming its first Mayor and consistent booster.

With the development of improved transportation systems and the need for increased agricultural production, the area around Chicago took on increased significance. The early population of the city was a microcosm of the United States in general because very racial and ethnic group was present as well as a multitude of religious denominations. The various forms of government which were established resembled the kinds of political institutions which were developed in New England, the original residence of many of the early residents of Chicago.

Political control of the city generally rested in the hands of the Democratic Party although there were two Whig mayors and several Whig aldermen. Prior to the Civil War, the nascent Republican Party gained ascendancy in Chicago and generally held the major city and county offices until the late 1870s. Nevertheless, there were other minor political parties including the Socialist Labor Party which elected aldermen and obtained nearly a fourth of the popular vote for the Mayor's office in 1879. Much of this political change was a reflection of the changing attitudes of the laborers and craftsmen of the city as well as an influx of immigrant labor primarily from Germany.

Formal education in Chicago had a slow start. The city had funded privately operated schools, often associated with organized churches, and established a board of School Inspectors to ensure that the monies were properly being used. Not until 1856 did the City Council of Chicago clearly and deliberately establish a common school system, years after the acrimonious debate over the costs of school buildings. As a social institution, the school system was subject to public scrutiny and public intervention, a situation which brought school's affairs to a political level. Churches established their own schools, but the impact of religious dominated education did not fully arise until the arrival of European immigrants who came from the Catholic countries of Europe.

### Chicago Before 1900

The nineteenth century settlement of Chicago was quite rapid. Although the city was founded in 1837, it became the nation's second largest city within fifty years. This rapid growth was the result of the massive native and foreign immigration into the open lands of the Midwest. The city had its upturns and downturns in the rate of growth which was a reflection of the changing economic trends in the nation. Panics and depressions in the East had their immediate repercussions in the Midwest (Kindleberger, 1978). The growth of Chicago was intimately tied to the growth of the rest of America.

The population settlement of the city initially was located in the area of the Loop. Some farming areas were located on the immediate near North and South sides. Because of no major geographical impediments, the populace settled the South side because of the flatness of the area, its relative treelessness, and easy access to the central business district. Early Chicagoans fought over the construction of bridges to the North and West sides; angry Southsiders at one time even destroyed a bridge crossing the river to the North side because it encouraged business development to the North side and raised prices for land on the North side, much to the disappointment of commercial Southsiders.

The growth of the population from 1840 through 1900 was nearly exponential. As seen from the table below, population



pressures were heavy. Table 1 shows growth of the city by annexation.

TABLE 1.-- Population of Chicago, 1840-1900

Year	Population
1840	4,470
1850	29,963
1860	112,172
1870	298,977
1880	503,185
1890	1,099,850
1900	1,698,755

Source: Herrick, 1971, p. 403.

It should be noted that many of the large population increases were due in part to annexations to the city of areas which were already settled. As can be seen in Table 2, there were many annexations into the City of Chicago. Since these were established communities, they entered the city with their local school system which was absorbed by the Chicago Board of Education. Staff were also absorbed. Many local community school leaders were kept by the Chicago Board of Education as administrators. Augustus F. Nightgale, Principal of Lakeview High School when the Lakeview community was a separate and independent political unit, served as an assistant superintendent in the Chicago Public Schools and was later elected Superintendent of Schools for Cook County.

While Chicago's non-white population remained low during the nineteenth century, the foreign-born population

constituted a large segment of the city's population. From Table 2 presented below, it is evident that Chicago was an "ethnic" city by the decade following the Civil War. It should be noted that many of those listed under "Native Born" are the sons and daughters of parents who are listed under "Foreign Born."

Many of the foreign born who settled in Chicago did not have common English language skills, and thus suffered some job and occupational placement difficulties. The Germans until the beginning of the twentieth century were the major ethnic group in the city. The presence of so many Germans, as well as the utility of the German language in institutions of higher learning, encouraged the Chicago Board of Education to adopt a German language program in the schools (Laske, 1986).

The occupational choices of Chicago residents over a ten year period show the changes which were taking place in the job market. Table 4 illustrates the numbers of individuals holding positions in selected occupational classifications. The categories given are very "general" categories because there was a difference in the census questionnaire during the two data gathering periods. Nevertheless, it is important to note the growth in certain occupations relative to the trends in industry, technology and clerical positions.

Since the population of the city slightly more than doubled during that ten year period (1890-1900), primarily

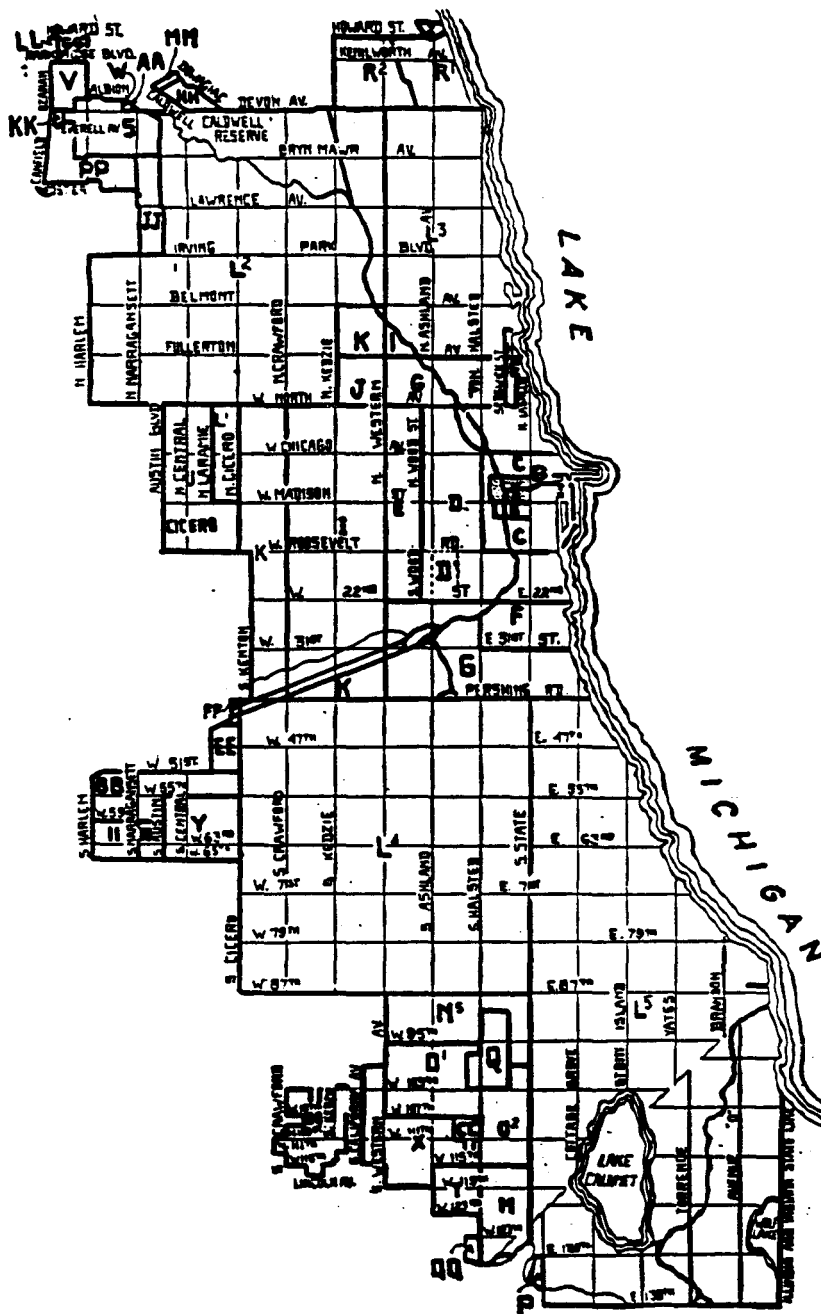


FIGURE 1: The Growth of the City of Chicago by Annexations  
Source: The Daily News Almanac and Yearbook, 1928, p. 936

TABLE 2.-- The Growth of the City of Chicago by Annexations

Annexations	Year	Total Area Square Miles
A- Original town	1830	
B- Extensions	1833	.48
C- Incorporation	1835	1.51
D <sub>1</sub> - Corporation limits	1837	8.22
D <sub>2</sub> - Withdrawn by Legislature	1843	.50
D <sub>1</sub> - Withdrawn by Legislature	1843	.37
D <sub>2</sub> - Reannexed by legislature		
D- Reannexed by Legislature	1851	4.25
E- Extension by Legislature		
F- Extension by Legislature	1853	3.98
G- Extension by Legislature	1863	6.28
H- Annexed by Legislature	1869	.09
I- Extension by Legislature	1869	11.38
J- Annexed by Ordinance	1887	1.00
K <sub>1-5</sub> - Annexed by County Board	1889	7.15
L- Annexed by election	1889	125.92
M- Annexed by election	1890	1.77
N <sub>1-2</sub> - Annexed by Ordinance	1890	2.89
O- Annexed by election	1890	4.60
P- Annexed by Ordinance	1890	.04
Q <sub>1-2</sub> - Annexed by election	1891	.98
R- Annexed by election	1893	3.87
S- Annexed by election	1893	2.12
T- Annexed by Ordinance	1895	1.00
U- Annexed by election	1899	3.50
V- Annexed by election	1910	.68
W- Disconnected by ordinance	1911	.03
X- Annexed by election	1914	3.12
Y- Annexed by election	1915	1.87
Z- Annexed by ordinance	1915	.12
AA-Reannexed at election	1915	.02
BB-Annexed by election	1915	2.25
CC-Annexed by legislature	1915	.31
DD-Annexed by election	1917	.37
EE-Annexed by election	1921	.49
FF-Annexed by election	1921	.04
GG-Annexed by election	1922	.28
HH-Annexed by election	1922	.34
II-Annexed by election	1923	.75
JJ-Annexed by election	1924	1.04
KK-Annexed by election	1924	.05
LL-Annexed by election	1924	.07
MM-Annexed by election	1924	.11

TABLE 2.--Continued

	Year	Total Area Square Miles
NN-Accretions	varies	1.41
OO-Annexed by election	1927	1.99
PP-Annexed by election	1927	
QQ-Annexed by election	1927	1.63

Source: The Daily News Almanac and Yearbook, 1928, p. 936.

TABLE 3.-- Native and Foreign Born Populations

Year	Foreign Born	Native Born	Total Population
1850	15,628	13,193	29,375
1860	54,624	54,636	109,260
1870	144,557	154,420	298,977
1880	204,859	298,326	503,185
1890	450,666	649,184	1,099,850
1900	587,112	1,111,463	1,698,575

Source: City of Chicago, The People of Chicago, 1976, pp. 10, 11, 13, 17, 21, 24.

because of annexations, those occupations which show a greater percentage increase are those which have developed independently of population ratios. These occupations (manufacturing, domestic service, professional services, public services and clerical positions) have their "principles" discussed at various times within the curricular policy planning of the Chicago Board of Education.

Andreas reported that the growth of manufacturing concerns by themselves contributed the most as the leading single employment factor in Chicago's economy. Table 5 below.

TABLE 4.-- Occupation and Nativity of Employed Persons, 1880, 1890

Occupation	Year	Native		Foreign	Total
		White	Non-White		
Manufactures/ mechanical	1880	(31,798) <sup>a</sup>		60,059	91,857
	1890	70,706	1,376	136,112	208,194
Trade	1880	(21,225)		15,008	36,233
	1890	33,985	474	28,536	62,995
Domestic & personal serv.	1880	(8,097)		10,242	18,339
	1890	14,550	4,972	27,864	47,386
Transport. & communicat.	1880	(9,033)		8,350	17,383
	1890	17,268	395	17,148	34,811
Professional services	1880	(3,488)		1,613	5,101
	1890	8,769	115	3,460	12,340
Agriculture	1880	(446)		901	1,347
	1890	306	7	1,027	1,120
Public services	1880	(1,027)		950	1,977
	1890	2,858	48	3,153	6,059
Clerical	1880	(888)		232	1,120
	1890	29,947	133	10,935	41,015
Unclassified & unknown	1880	(8,765)		9,638	18,403
	1890	20,468	560	23,145	44,173

<sup>a</sup>Figures in parenthesis are total native population data for 1880.

Source: Pierce, 1957, vol. 3, p. 517.

TABLE 5.--Manufacturing Establishments and Employees, 1870-1885 (in thousands)

Year	1870	1873	1875	1877	1879	1881	1883	1885
Companies	1.25	1.50	1.84	2.34	2.88	2.18	2.37	2.35
Employees	32.00	60.00	56.06	58.23	62.94	87.90	114.45	109.62

Source: Andreas, 1886, vol. 3, pp. 714-716.

illustrates the fluctuations in the number of businesses which are classified as "manufacturing" as well as the number of people employed.

One particular kind of manufacturing, furniture making, was a noticeable business phenomenon in Chicago. Within a forty-five year period, nearly two hundred furniture companies were organized employing close to eight thousand workers.

TABLE 6.--Companies and Employees in Furniture Industry in Chicago, 1840-1885

Year	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1885
Companies	--	23	18	59	198	190
Employees	4	31	212	1,126	5,431	8,700

Source: Andreas, 1886, vol. 3, p. 733.

Germans constituted an important craft population in the furniture industry. Jentz has found that many of these Germans were second generation immigrants (Keil & Jantz, 1983, p. 76). During the decline of furniture manufacturing in the

twentieth century, Germans remained a high proportion of those skilled workers employed in the industry. However, the percentage of Germans in the furniture making industry declined over time.

The University of Munich, under a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation, examined the occupational status of 2,222 German households in Chicago between the years 1880 and 1900. The results, recently published (1983), show trends within a specific ethnic group relative to general occupational status. Table 7 illustrates these findings. This study is noted here because it is the first such scholarly endeavor to show occupational patterns among a large ethnic group in the last century. Most ethnic data on Chicago were concerned with voting characteristics rather than occupational characteristics. The dearth of such data is due to problems of obtaining the actual statistical records and the difficulties associated with managing such data.

However, one such attempt to explore a small population of Chicago relative to the original census data material is found in Richard Sennett's (1974) Families Against the City: Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872-1890. Sennett explored family and employment relationships within the families in the Union Park area on the city's Near West side. In comparing the Union Park area with the rest of the city, Sennett concluded that in 1880:



TABLE 7.--The Distribution of the German Working Class in the Chicago Economy in 1880 and 1900 by First and Second Generation (in percentages)

Sector of the Economy	First Gen. (1880)	Second Gen. (1880)	First Gen. (1900)	Second Gen. (1900)
Manufacturing/ Mechanical	19.0	47.0	38.7	37.0
Baking	1.7	1.7	2.5	1.0
Meat	3.1	2.3	4.2	1.8
Brewing	.6	.5	1.3	.1
Tobacco	1.7	2.0	1.2	.6
Leather	4.2	3.6	2.6	.9
Shoes	2.6	1.3	1.3	.8
Clothing	7.2	14.6	6.0	12.8
Wood	6.9	5.3	3.6	4.0
Furniture	3.7	5.3	3.4	2.0
Metal (Iron & Steel)	6.7 (3.3)	8.5 (2.5)	12.5 (4.8)	12.4 (2.6)
Building & construction	13.1	8.0	14.2	8.9
Printing & publishing	1.1	4.2	1.9	3.2
Transportation	5.2	3.8	6.7	6.1
Domestic service	6.2	9.3	3.8	5.7
Public service	2.1	2.0	4.0	5.9
Labor unspecified	24.11	8.8	16.9	10.7
Other	9.2	16.9	13.8	22.4
N =	2,008	787	1,177	784
% =	71.8	28.2	60.0	40.0

Source: Kiel & Jantz, 1983, p. 28.

Chicago's job structure was not monolithically centered around meatpacking or garment-making, around rails or shipping; the city was too complex. It was a rail center, and a stockyard, and a garment center all at once. . . . Chicago's job structure was specially diverse. (Sennett, 1974, pp. 87, 89)

Sennett's work on Union Park revealed several findings regarding family size and occupational choice. These findings add to the growing literature on occupational inheritance which has emerged in recent years and, of course, has educational and curricular implications Sennett found that:

1. Heads of smaller sized families constituted about one quarter (25-27%) manual workers; this remained relatively stable over the period studied.
2. Fathers and sons in extended families were more upwardly mobile than their counterparts in nuclear families.
3. Extended family sons were more white-collar by 1890.
4. The extended family group gave rise to more clerical positions as their percentages decreased in skilled and unskilled labor positions. (Sennett, 1974, pp. 166, 170, 172, 175)

These findings were significant in terms of family size and kind of family. Much of Sennett's work concerned itself with the patterns of employment (occupation) over time, similar to what Jantz and Keil (1983) later did with German immigrant and second generation data.

Sennett commented that:

It appears, from this data, that large or extended families were better able to adapt to the emerging bureaucratic order at work in the city than the families constituting a majority in Union Park, of a more and isolated nature. (Sennett, 1974, p. 178)

Thus there is some evidence that occupational mobility and or success in career was related to family size. It is not evident whether this is valid for immigrant groups in Chicago during the same period; however, the data on German immigrant occupational status suggest a similar trend for generational differences over a twenty year period.

Occupational data on Chicago before the twentieth century reveals the high mobility in occupational choice. There was no specific reason for children to remain in school. Just as women began taking positions in the world of work, so did children:

The economic necessity which took women from the home and made wage earners of them was also responsible for the 5,673 boys and girls from ten to fifteen years of age listed in the 1880 federal census as engaged in some occupation. Within the sweatshops they toiled for ten hours a day or more alongside their elders. Most of these child laborers came from immigrant homes. . . . Indeed, the greatest number of children who worked could be found in the numerous manufactories of the city, and the next highest number went into trade and transportation. (Pierce, 1957, vol. 3, pp. 238-239)

Children often changed jobs and employers attempting to earn higher wages. Many opened their own small proprietorships, or service businesses, to earn a living wage as adults. Children seldom returned to school once they had left. Immigrant parents, living in crowded tenements, were often unaware of school laws regarding attendance.

It is evident, then, that Chicago before 1900 had a variegated occupational structure, and an increasingly larger and larger population, both foreign and native. Certain

occupations experienced phenomenal growth during the last two decades of the nineteenth century (especially clerical and public services) both of which had relatively easy entry for literate people. To assimilate the immigrant, educators had to be concerned first about the management of so large a population in the schools, more especially a population that had little skill and little educational attainment. Secondly, educators had to establish a curriculum which satisfied the general population's interests as well as the curricular demands of special interest groups like labor unions and business interests.

#### Costs of Living

It is well known that Americans in general had a higher standard of living in the twentieth century than in the nineteenth. The consumption trends of Americans were changing during these years as new products and new processes entered into the American economy. There was an improvement in the quality of meat and produce as transportation systems brought fresher products into the market. The development of electrical devices brought new conveniences to those Americans who could afford them. The development of new heating fuels as well as the introduction of refrigeration brought comforts unbelievable only a few years before.

A federal government study of clerical skills working families over a period of years indicated the extent to which the consumption patterns of urban Americans were changing.

Table 8 shows the trends over a period of more than half a century. It is interesting to note that over this period of time, the number of different expenditure possibilities grew. In the later years of the government studies, items for medicine, reading and education were being included in consumption habits. Expenditures for clothing, interestingly, decreased relative to total income over the period studied. Fuel costs more than doubled during the same time period, but it must be remembered that the comfort level in 1874 was drastically different than 1936; heating for winter in 1874 was generally performed by coal and wood burning whereas in 1936 heating was done by radiator and oil burning furnaces. Few would argue that the costs over-rode the benefits.

From the 1870s to World War I there were many significant economic changes in the nation as well as new distribution of goods and services to the population. While personal income doubled during these years, the cost of food increased only slightly, but with an even greater increase in quality. Housing costs kept parity with income levels but the quantity and quality of housing increased at a greater pace; the consumer in 1917 had a higher standard of living than the consumer in 1871. Increased industrialization and American inventiveness provided consumers in the later years with items for the household and for consumer non-durables which were unimagined four decades earlier. Moreover, the consumer had ready and cheap access to reading and forms of entertainment

TABLE 8.--Consumption Expenditure Patterns in Current Prices of City Wage and Clerical Worker Families of Two or More Persons, 1874 to 1936

Year	1874-75	1888-91	1901	1917-19	1934-36
Number of families in study	397	2,562	11,156	12,096	14,469
Average family size	5.1	3.9	4.0	4.9	3.6
Average income	\$763	\$573	\$651	\$1,505	\$1,518
Average expenditure	\$738	\$534	\$618	\$1,352	\$1,463
Food	\$427	\$219	\$266	\$549	\$508
Rent/housing	\$117	\$80	\$112	\$187	\$259
Fuel/light	\$44	\$32	\$35	\$74	\$108
Clothing	\$106	\$82	\$80	\$238	\$160
Medical care	--	--	--	\$64	\$59
Recreation	--	--	--	\$33	\$38
Reading	--	--	--	\$11	\$15
Education	--	--	--	\$7	\$7

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, 1976, Series G, pp. 495-581.

which consumers after the Civil War could hardly conceive possible. The thrust for rising expectations had begun.

The Federal study does not indicate what kinds of miscellaneous expenses were paid by Americans for reading or education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

However, there was no particular consumer trend toward expenses in literature. American consumption was not as diversified in 1874 as it was in 1936; in the later years Americans had more to spend on more items. The creation of these items often was the result of the availability of income for expenditures on items whose relative costs had declined or whose "need" had been created through advertising. One historian has suggested that:

Advertising was a prime source of the idealization of youth. As youth appeared the means to industrial survival, its promulgation as something to be achieved by consumption provided a bridge between people's need for satisfaction and the increased corporate priorities of mass distribution and worked endurance. Beyond this, the celebration of youth was also an idealization of innocence and malleability. (Ewen, 1985, p. 143)

The birth and growth of the "mail-order" houses, distributing firms like Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, have parallel economic developments with the new consumer products. The catalogue houses increased the supply of items as well as contributing to the long run increase in demand for the new products. Such mail order houses employed thousands of urban workers.

Food costs have always varied over historical periods. Table 9 illustrates the retail prices of selected items in the city of Chicago only in two different years. While all items show an increase in price, percentage increase are higher in vegetable products than in meats and beverages (coffee and tea). The higher prices in farm products are a reflection both of the consequences of the massive inflation following World

War I as well as a slightly declining productivity in farm production relative to the general American economy. Chicagoans were paying higher prices in the postwar years than in the prewar years, and presumably for products of a higher quality. Advertising competition contributed to price increments as total operating costs, but advertising also contributed to the rise of large producers and improved quality of products.

TABLE 9.--Retail Prices of Selected Food Items, 1913 and 1922  
(in cents)

	Unit	1913	1922
Sirloin steak	lb.	23.2	37.2
Pork chops	lb.	19.0	30.3
Bacon	lb.	31.6	45.9
Ham	lb.	31.8	49.4
Milk	qt.	8.0	12.0
Butter	lb.	36.2	45.2
Lard	lb.	14.9	16.3
Eggs	doz.	29.2	42.7
Flour	lb.	2.8	4.6
Corn meal	lb.	2.9	5.2
Rice	lb.	8.9	9.8
Potatoes	lb.	1.6	2.7
Sugar	lb.	5.1	6.6
Tea	lb.	5.4	6.4
Coffee	lb.	30.5	34.5

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Retail Prices, 1913 to December 1922, 1923, p. 97.

In the long run, the citizens of Chicago saw an increased improvement in the quality of their lives. While they spent more of their income on an increasingly variegated set of products, they indicated with their dollars what future



products could be produced. The American consumer was becoming increasingly diversified and desired a greater panoply of choices. The costs of living varied over the period 1900-1933 and can also be understood in terms of wholesale prices. These are the prices which indicated the costs of items in quantity to commercial firms prior to distribution to consumers. The indexes show the relative change in prices with reference to some given year.

Regarding "All Commodities," there are significant increases in prices in 1907, 1909, 1910, 1916-1920, 1923. Generally these price indexes indicate a period of temporary or long-lasting inflation. After the mid-twenties there is a decline in relative prices, known as deflation and this is highly accelerated during the Depression years. by themselves these simple statistics do not reveal the tremendous change in the economic patterns of Americans. While costs were rising from 1900 through World War I, much of the later price increases during the War were reflective of the changes in production modes of American industry. This is not an isolated phenomenon but one which has occurred regularly throughout modern history in the Western world.

The "metals and metal products" category had the greatest increases and often reflected changes in the other categories seen in later years. During the years 1904-1908, the metals category illustrated large leaps in prices. This was followed by smaller, but immediate rise in "Building

materials," an industry whose materials are metal related. While fuel and food costs are independent of metals, there are minor relationships. However, much of the increase in these two categories are reflections of the financial panic in 1907 and its subsequent repercussions.

During World War I, metals again led the trend toward higher prices (inflation). Metals remained at higher prices for the entire decade 1916-1926 while the other categories fluctuated. With general prices rising during the period before World War I, it is expected that wage demands in such industries would be as high as well. This aspect is confirmed by an examination of union scales for wages in Chicago during the years 1907-1920. Metal and building related occupations showed higher negotiated wage rates than those in non- or semirelated occupations (compositors and machinists).

It is, of course, important to ascertain if data for national aggregates are close enough for use in local city considerations. Table 10 indicates the annual averages for the Consumer Price Index (CPI) which was tabulated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for urban areas and for the city of Chicago.

Clearly, the U.S. National annual averages are strikingly close to the Chicago annual averages. Since these are data for consumer expenditures, it is reasonable to assume that other "end-of-the chain" economic activities are similar. In terms of purchasing power, the U.S. and Chicago consumer

TABLE 10.--Annual Averages of CPI for Urban Residents and the City of Chicago, 1915-1933 (1966 = 100)

Year	U.S. Average	Chicago Average	Year	U.S. Average	Chicago Average
1915	30.4	30.1	1925	52.5	54.4
1916	32.7	32.6	1926	53.0	54.7
1917	38.4	38.5	1927	52.0	53.5
1918	45.1	44.6	1928	51.3	52.8
1919	51.8	51.6	1929	51.3	52.7
1920	53.6	53.7	1930	50.0	51.4
1921	53.6	53.7	1931	45.6	46.7
1922	50.2	50.9	1932	40.9	40.8
1923	51.1	51.1	1933	38.8	37.6
1924	51.2	53.0			

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, loose-sheet handout, no date.

maintained the relatively high prices during and after World War I until the Great Depression. It is expected that higher costs would generate a movement toward higher wages. Summarily, then, the cost of living in Chicago was comparable to other U.S. cities and generally was reflective of the wholesale price index changes. Changes in the wholesale index and CPI were roughly concurred in their rise and fall. One can assume that Chicago is relatively consistent with U.S. aggregate data. In examining national trends, one can expect the data regarding Chicago to be similar. This is valid, however, for the pre-depression years; data indicate that economic hardships were greater in Chicago during the depression than other large American cities.

Wages and Occupations

Interestingly, there are more abundant data on people who are employed or unemployed than on expenditure patterns. This may result from the requirements of various levels of government to address such problems as unemployment and labor regulations. Many government bodies collect employment data for various reasons. Under the Compulsory School Education Law, the State of Illinois empowered the Chicago Board of Education to issue working permits to children who were still enrolled in school. Hence, as seen in Table 11, there were often quit a few young people employed in Chicago. One should expect, however, that there were many others who did not follow such formal "requirements" for job positions.

TABLE 11.--Nationality of Working Children in Chicago (July 1, 1903 to January 1, 1906) Based upon Chicago Board of Education Labor Certificates

Country of Origin	American Born of Foreign Parentage	Foreign Born	Total
Germany	8,404	553	8,957
England	3,761	200	3,961
Bohemia	3,608	323	3,931
Ireland	2,744	48	2,792
Russia	1,977	807	2,784
Sweden	2,304	161	2,465
Italy	800	345	1,145
Poland	1,025	110	1,135
Holland	620	98	718
Norway	598	63	661
Denmark	269	46	315
France	184	29	213
Scotland	--	43	43
Greece	28	12	40
Turkey	1	2	3
Spain	2	0	2

Source: Nichols, 1906, vol. 16, p. 232.

While it is not possible to determine where these children worked, what wages they were receiving or under what conditions they labored, it is possible to determine some of the characteristics of employment in Chicago for those who were not in school and were active members of the labor market. Table 12 is a general summary of the numbers of people employed in the United States during the years 1900-1933 and the number of unemployed during that period. The last column of the table gives the percentage of civilian labor force which was unemployed for the respective years.

By comparison, it is evident that there are minor fluctuations in the percentage unemployed except during the years 1908, 1921 and 1929. Some of the minor changes (i.e., less than 2-3 percent changes) may be attributable to business contractions in 1903-1904, 1910-1911, 1913-1914, 1918-1919, 1923-1924, 1926-1927 and the depression years. The high unemployment in 1908 may be attributed to the Panic of 1907. With a contraction in the business cycle, there is a rise in unemployment. These paired years of contraction are followed by higher wholesale prices (see Table 8) for the same years and by a rise in the CPI (Table 9) for the same years.

Census data, from 1910, reveal interesting facts about the entire working population of the city. While it is not feasible to reproduce thousands of statistical items regarding jobs in Chicago over a period of three decades, it is practical to enumerate a few occupational and employment data.

TABLE 12.--United States Labor Force and Unemployment, 1900-1933 (in thousands of persons 14 years old and over)

Year	Employed Total	Unemployed	
		Total	Percentage of Civilian Labor Force
1900	26,956	1,420	5.0
1901	27,948	1,205	4.0
1902	28,807	1,097	3.7
1903	19,494	1,204	3.9
1904	29,750	1,691	5.4
1905	30,918	1,381	4.3
1906	32,638	574	1.7
1907	33,238	945	2.8
1908	32,136	2,780	8.0
1909	33,897	1,824	5.1
1910	34,559	2,150	5.9
1911	34,960	2,518	6.7
1912	36,173	1,759	4.6
1913	37,004	1,671	4.3
1914	32,281	3,120	7.9
1915	36,223	3,377	8.5
1916	38,014	2,043	5.1
1917	38,175	1,848	4.6

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, 1976, Series D5, 8, 9, p. 12.

Table 13 presents data on the number of establishments (businesses) in Chicago and the number of employees for various years between 1899 and 1927. The industries selected for this table were chosen so as to be clustered about three concepts: (1) belting, boots and railroad car workers were occupations not taught in the schools of Chicago as vocational subjects, (2) clothing, manual training and printing were occupationally related courses taught in the schools, while

TABLE 13.--Number of Establishments (E) and Number of Wage Earners (WE) in Selected Chicago Industries, for Various Years, 1899 Through 1927

	1899		1904		1908	
	E	WE	E	WE	E	WE
Belting, leather	8	326	10	226	11	403
Boots/shoes	45	3,245	35	2,651	31	3,326
Cars & shop, steam railroad	24	7,094	22	9,082	22	11,562
Clothing, mens	905	N/A	593	23,163	678	38,370
Clothing, womens	151	4,708	174	5,217	204	6,666
Foundry & machine products	593	29,130	582	33,378	669	36,868
Iron/steel rolling mills	N/A	N/A	5	5,595	6	7,689
Printing/publishing	1,093	20,845	1,262	25,174	1,395	33,439
Slaughterhouse/ meat packing	51	N/A	56	27,803	67	27,174

Sources: Thirteenth census of the United States taken for the year 1910, vol. 9; Manufactures, 1909; Census of manufactures, 1921, pp. 1533-1536; Census of manufactures, 1925, pp. 1389-1392; Census of manufactures, 1927, pp. 1426-1429.

(3) slaughterhouse jobs were generally "on-the-job" (Merrick, p. 59). The first category is a skilled, semi-skilled occupation not taught in the schools, the second category is a skilled occupation touched on variously in the vocational programs in the schools; and the last category is generally learned at the site of employment.

The first category fluctuates dramatically according to industry. The second category remained fairly constant over time. The third category remained fairly constant over time. All of these occupations were trade related, and the fluctuations in employment figures may reflect either economic conditions, unionization or general business practices. Many of these industries were located in specific parts of the city. Leather and shoe related jobs were located along the Chicago River, north and south of the Loop, respectively. Car and shop operator for railroads were located variously throughout the city. Clothing manufacturers were located in the Loop area as well as on the near West side. Foundry and machine-related occupations were located at scattered sites throughout the city. The iron and steel rolling mills were located on the city's far south side close to the Indiana state border. Printing and publishing concerns were scattered throughout the city. Slaughterhouse and meat-packing operations were in the area southwest of the Loop and adjacent to the south branch of the Chicago River.

One labor researcher noted that many young women wanted to be waitresses in the Loop area because it increased their chances of meeting and marrying some wealthy or prosperous man (Donovan, 1920, p. 213). Agnes Nestor, an early female union activist, commented unfavorably upon the waitressing vocation. Nestor was less anxious to find a husband than she was to earn a living wage. She noted that from her "salary" she had to pay



for the busboy's work, for the laundrying of her garments related to work, and sometimes for a food item a patron returned to the kitchen (Nestor, 1954, p. 157).

Nevertheless, for younger women the work place was an opportunity for a new kind of social experience. Mary Anderson, later an important figure in the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, commented that the work-place experience was most important. Anderson wrote on her experiences in a Chicago shoe factory:

I have always looked back on my life in that factory, where six or seven hundred people worked, as very interesting because this was my first factory experience and I learned that factory life is not just the work at the machine. You make contacts with other people. You talk to the person at the machine on each side of you, sometimes about your work, sometimes about your people and your life at home, sometimes about parties and boyfriends. If you like one another (and that is not always) you become very friendly because you spend ten or twelve hours a day together. In that factor at lunch time we used to gather together for a half-hour around one of those big stitching tables. One of the girls would make coffee or tea for which we paid ten cents a week. Then we would have our own sandwiches and plenty of conversation. some of the girls were very amusing, especially the Irish. To me it was all great fun and was something I needed very badly, because, after all, I was a greenhorn. (Anderson, 1951, pp. 16-17)

This was exactly the kind of condition about which Theodore Dreiser wrote in his 1900 novel on Chicago, Sister Carrie (1900). Carrie Meeber, the center of the novel, moved to Chicago from Wisconsin to live with her sister and brother-in-law. Carrie takes a job in a shoe factory, but after her expenses in the apartment she shares with her sister, the

teenage Carrie has little to spend as she wants. This was apparently an event which was not distinct by its singularity.

Many governmental and sociological research workers explored the working communities of Chicago to ascertain the conditions of the urban working class. Louise Montgomery, an early researcher, interviewed many Polish working girls regarding their domestic habits, relationships with family and other socially oriented topics. She noted that

Girls sometimes complain that they do not have enough "returned" to them in spending money and in the "kinds of clothes the other girls wear." If the mother is indulgent with her daughter's desire for evening pleasures and some of the novelties and frivolities of fashion, there is little friction; if she fails to recognize these legitimate demands of youth, the distance between the mother and daughter is widened, though among the 500 girls their instinctive devotion to family claim has been strong enough to keep them obedience. (Montgomery, 1913, pp. 57-58)

Thus a young female can take a job both to support herself and family and also to develop social contacts. it is impossible to determine what prompts selection for a particular job or occupation, all things being equal. The apparent lack of mobility in job and occupations was a concern of Montgomery who commented that:

Girls are held to one miserable, distasteful piece of work by fear, discouragement, timidity, or the lack of knowledge of other opportunities. A few have confessed that they though all the factories downtown made candy and there was nothing else for little girls to do excepting wrapping and packing confectionery. Some who had learned a single simple process in a box factory were unable to adapt themselves to other positions when laid off temporarily. One girl insisted that "pasting labels" was "her trade" and refused to consider anything else. Another said she could only work in the one department store in which she began.

She had tried others but they always made her feel "strange and queer." Still another had worked a full year in fear of the forewoman who had an "evil eye." (Montgomery, 1913, p. 31)

It was probably difficult under these kinds of conditions for union organizers to effect their plans for the union-plant. With language as well as educational difficulties, there was a problem in providing potential union members with the information organizers believed they needed in order to force unionization or strikes. It is not possible to determine from census data the extent to which certain industries and occupations were unionized, and subsequently to the degree to which such unionization altered the wage structure.

Economic historians have identified the role of the general business cycle with increases and decreases in union membership. Many unions attributed their growth to the gain in their stature as a result of "raising" the general wage level in various occupations. An examination of the size of union membership in the United States in comparison to other economic indicators produces some interesting correlations. While the increases and decreases for a particular year do not seem informative, data make more sense when used in a time-series format. For example, rises and falls in "real" union membership follow a trend which is closely related to rises and falls in the cost of living and with changes in the number of people employed. In a very limited mathematical sense,

"real" union membership is a function of the cost of living and employment increments.

While these items are informative by themselves, they may produce a more profound analysis when measured against increments in school enrollments. This topic will be covered in the next chapter and will be used to illustrate those points in the history of the Chicago Public Schools when certain noneducation actors manifest their "interest in public education. While analysis of this kind was not alluded to in Board of Education documents, it nevertheless shows the less than obvious trends in public interest about education.

Only in the last several decades has a genuine interest been demonstrated in the employment levels of Blacks. Table 13 represents one way which Black employment levels were reported as far back as 1945. It should be noted that they used only a portion of the possible occupational descriptions which the 1930 Census utilized and only to illustrate the relative positions of the Black laborer in the total Chicago employment condition. Various ethnic groups produced similar data, but like Drake and Cayton's work they reflect only portions of the complete picture of employment.

A special census performed at the beginning of 1931 by the federal government reveals the unemployment picture for Chicago. The numbers obtained through the special census shows a rather bleak picture for the city as a whole. Chicago was one of the hardest hit of the large cities during the Great

Depression, and surprisingly received less federal aid under the New Deal than did small cities. Manufacturing firms who employed the largest census classification of workers was also that industrial sector with the largest unemployment levels.

Moreover, the unemployment data do not provide the researcher with any information about the levels of educational achievement of the kind of curriculum a particular worker may have had or lacked. The obvious conclusion from this dearth of data is that unemployment levels are a function of the "health" of the economy at any given point in time. The value of such data to educational policy makers is seemingly limited unless it is viewed within the purview of general economic and employment trends, and perhaps even educational and cultural levels of understanding.

For example, a worker may enter a high-risk field for employment. The person may wish higher wages at a higher level of competition, "sales" being the more salient example. Another worker, however, may choose an occupation with less-risk of job loss or fluctuating wages at a generally lower wage. Obviously the rationalist model would assume that expenses would be meted out accordingly in the individual's consumption patterns. While there are no hard data on these kinds of behaviors, there are numerous anecdotes regarding wage levels, consumption patterns and cultural habits. These are presently beyond the scope of this study, but will be alluded to in future remarks.

Lastly, there are few relevant data regarding the kinds of workers who were dismissed during periods of high unemployment, or whether particular business practices were similarly relevant to retention of employees. For example, it has been a popular "belief" that entry into the building trades during the period before the Great Depression was a function of the prospective apprentice's relationship with either other journeymen in the trade or with a union official. If this is true, it would indicate that the building trades were more self-selective than other occupations. Hence, a young man with perhaps one year experience in a trade may find employment before an older man with twenty years experience because of "connections."

There is no literature or data which reveal the selection factors for choosing tradesmen for employment. It is known, however, that "internal politics" plays an important role in job offers by construction companies through each union's business agent. This kind of information is not generally available to prospective employees who then offer their services under relatively unknown restraints.

In classical economics, one can expect that the market mechanism will operate at the most efficient level if suppliers and demanders are equally informed. If the early years of this century, such knowledge was not universal among educators or their students. One cannot assume that workers

### Summary

The fortunate geographical location gave Chicago its unique ability to grow rapidly as a population and economic center of America. The rapid growth of the American economy during the nineteenth century required the development of large cities as the focal points for the exchange of goods and services, many of which were being produced for the first time.

The economics and financial condition of mid-nineteenth-century America required a central geographical location for the transportation of goods and services throughout the nation. The rail, surface and water routes conveniently clustered around the metropolitan Chicago area. Such a transportation network required many workers to maintain service and to improve the facility of traffic. As transportation costs were lowered during the period after the Civil War, there was a concomitant reduction in costs which enable goods to be circulated in a wider market, and permitted more consumers to take advantage of lower prices.

Food costs in the nineteenth century were lower in the Chicago area because of the city's proximity to food sources. These lower prices enable the consumer to purchase other items not in the diet, items like housing, clothing, etc. The purchase of these items encouraged the development of building and clothing industries in the Chicago area to a greater extent than neighboring Midwestern cities of comparable

and clothing industries in the Chicago area to a greater extent than neighboring Midwestern cities of comparable population. The increase in industrial opportunities created a labor demand which was eventually "oversupplied" by native and immigrant populations. This accentuated the downturns of the business cycle in America because the early industrial firms were not fully established in the years after the Civil War. By the turn of the century, Chicago was the nation's second largest city, and a city where most of the population was foreign-born or the first generation of foreign-born parents.

The study of employment and wage rates, as well as the various costs for living in a large city like Chicago, have been dealt with in various census studies and other statistically related approaches for determining wages, costs and employment. While there are many gaps in what researchers know about the labor and economic conditions of Chicago in the early years of this century, data indicate that Chicago closely was associated with similar data for national trends.

None of the data indicates the extent to which the education of the child or young adult contributed to the economically productive capacity of Chicago. Various educational commentators have alleged that schools performed duties of socializing the children into a life of labor while other commentators suggest that the school helped establish an American populace of good character and morality.



with an exploration of the role of curriculum and schooling relative to the economic conditions of the city.

## CHAPTER III

### WOMEN IN CRIMINAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, there was a significant effort by the women of Chicago to develop social improvement programs in the city. Some critics have argued that these efforts were made by upper scions who wished to keep the working class in a state of subservience to the so-called aristocratic leaders of the city. While the case might be argued in other well established Eastern cities, the opposite was true in Chicago. The leadership for the changes in the social conditions which effected the children came from the wives of the civic leaders. Often these women were active within their Christian church organizations which were often small groups of Protestant orientated churches. It appears that these vivacious women recognized the need to "organize" on a wider basis than their church boundaries, and thus banded together to establish concrete institutions which would address social problems.

Even a cursory examination of the list of directoresses of the Chicago Orphan Asylum reveal a veritable "Who's Who" of Chicago civic and social life (Andreas, 1886). The wives of John Haines, Philo Carpenter, John Kinzie, Charles Holden,

Richard Hamilton, Levi Boone and Henry Norton were all proactive in an area which public concern was manifested only through private charity. These women were married to men of both Democratic and Whig leanings, and themselves were from the various settled areas of the United States in the East and South. While these Baptists and Presbyterians might not be friendly toward each other in North Carolina, individuals from these denominations gladly worked side by side with each other in Chicago to accomplish the kinds of goals which were valued by their religious tenets.

The historical importance of women activists in Chicago rests upon the adaptations to social institutions initiated by these women. Their first efforts were primarily private initiatives to improve the quality of children's lives but these efforts were later adopted by the male-dominated political system which somewhat belatedly recognized the value of such initiatives. These women activists probably sensed the need for social amelioration and commenced such attempts long before the political system responded in kind. Social policy was evolving toward the inculcation of the women's actions and implementations of their child-specific programs.

This chapter will demonstrate that the inspired women of the city began their social improvement work in those areas which were most publicly demonstrable, namely the health and well-being of the children. Over time the emphasis and focus of the improvements would change with newer efforts being made

at higher levels of social organization. There is a temptation here to assume that these women intuitively understood the "Hierarchy of Needs" suggested by Abraham Maslow nearly a century after these women began their initial labors, for the work of these women began with the basic needs of the human being at birth and progressed to the "higher" levels of human development witnessed by "education."

Based upon their understanding of what is required in helping one's fellow citizens, as defined by the Christian tenets which were mandated by the "Corporal Works of Mercy," these women began with ecclesiastical doctrine and translated it into secular practice. Here lies the unique contribution of these Chicago denizens to the progressive growth of the city of Chicago and to the establishment of public and private social institutions which would ultimately be connected with the total educational system.

#### The Rise of Private Charities

Until the early 1900s, there were few public institutions in the United States which concerned themselves with the general well-being of each citizen. European and early American history clearly shows that charity was dispensed through religious groups and through the few secular groups who recognized the need to ameliorate the general well-being of those citizens who had neither the money nor the ability to take care of themselves. In this section, "charity" will refer to the activities directed toward the

feeding, clothing, and ancillary physical support systems. In rural America, these kinds of activities could be assumed by the extended families in the small hamlets of an agriculturally based economy. However, in the growing and impersonal urban environment, there were few social support systems which could provide aid and sustenance to those who were impoverished.

The kinds of social organizations which did exist in Chicago were those which were new chapters and lodges of organizations that had started on the east coast and were transferred to the burgeoning midwest. From the early days of Chicago there were those associations connected with specific churches in the city as well as the Freemasons, the Hibernians, local political party organizations, the Eastern Star, and the Odd Fellows. After the Civil War there was a tremendous growth in ethnic organizations which were closely tied to the place of worship (Andreas, 1883).

The women of the City of Chicago recognized the necessity of providing for the basic needs of the new Chicagoans, especially children, almost as soon as the city itself came into existence. As noted in this section, the concern of these women was with the feeding and housing of orphans and those who lacked solid family connections. By the middle of the nineteenth century, long before the advent of the American welfare system, these women directly focused upon those exact areas of concern which would become part of city

and state government by the end of that century. In tandem with the generally accepted view that the life and welfare of a child takes precedence over that of an adult, they began the great social experiment of dealing with the food and living conditions of youngsters. These preparations provided the training ground and empirical field for facing the ever increasing problems which would arrive with the large numbers of immigrants toward the end of the nineteenth century.

#### Women In Early Illinois

After the state of Illinois was organized, there was little initial effort to develop anything which by modern standards could be called public education. The emphasis in many parts of the state was upon education for the labor market. There was a rise in the apprenticeship programs in the state as a result of the rise of a newer set of technologies which were developing. As early as 1826 the state enacted apprenticeship laws which were closely connected to the various Poor Laws which were passed. These laws specifically enunciated some of the "rights" which children could expect: the right to decent treatment, an adequate education, to the use of the Bible, and after the completion of an apprenticeship program, two new suites of clothes. One must remember that these were relatively advanced concepts by their passage in 1833. It was only by 1827 that Illinois outlawed the practice of auctioning a destitute person to the lowest bidder.

Illinois was not as enlightened in the nineteenth century as it would be in the twentieth. There was often a contemptuous disregard for the concerns of the truly impoverished. Much of American political history from 1810 through the Civil War was a struggle between those who favored an active government participation in the affairs of the common man (national Republicans and Whigs) and those who wanted little government participation in the same affairs (Jeffersonian Republicans and Democrats). The constant growth in American population and the westward movement of peoples defined the course of American evolution; as Frederick Jackson Turner had suggested, the history of the United States was the history of its ever-changing frontier (Turner, 1920). Because Chicago was rapidly growing to become the largest city in the state, it is not unexpected that it was in the city that we see the rise of a movement to attempt to ameliorate these serious social conditions, but with little governmental participation. Most of the early mayors of the city were Democrats who maintained little interest in spending public monies on so-called "charities." The incipient efforts came from the religious organizations of the city which at the beginning of the city's history were primarily Protestant. The religious organizations maintained a belief that the proper road to Christianity was through good works and charity. Therefore the proper history of these organizations,

and the women who often were the de facto leaders and organizers, require some explanation.

City government leaders, with their religious counterparts, began a concerted effort to correct the social inequities which arose from children who were destitute of regular parental care. Called "street arabs," these youngsters were often illegitimate or from broken homes caused by the economic hard times of the late 1830s and the early 1840s (Brace, 1880, p. 272). Often the example set by the private and religious institutions of the city became the procedure which the state of Illinois and other communities developed in their respective areas many years later. Chicago, then, became the trendsetter within the state for the social improvement of the children during the last half of the nineteenth century.

#### The Health Crisis and Orphans

In 1849 the City of Chicago was a burgeoning metropolis of many thousands who were often crowded into shanties built to accommodate the construction crews for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. During the first part of the year a terrible cholera epidemic hit the city, and as in other parts of the country, hundreds upon hundreds died. The city was woefully lacking in proper sanitation and the deaths of so many created a problem in the rise of a new "class": the orphans. Many of the civic leaders met at a special meeting presided over by Judge Jesse B. Thomas. At this meeting, held at the First



Baptist Church, following the initial meeting at the home of a certain Mrs. Bristol, established a Chicago Orphans Asylum (Wheeler, 1892). The initial contributors for the funds were the usual leaders of the city who supported so many other socially beneficial organizations: Thomas Dyer, William B. Ogden, John Kinzie, J. Young Scammon, Walter S. Newberry, Jesse Thomas, and William H. Clarke.

From the beginning, the orphanage was operated and maintained by a board of directoresses appointed by the trustees of the orphanage. These women were given carte-blanche to deal with all matters of the program. The first members of the Board of Directoresses lists the wives of mayors and other prominent politicians and bankers of the city: Mrs. Philo Carpenter, Mrs. Dr. Dyer, Mrs. John Kinzie, Mrs. Charles Holden, Mrs. Richard Hamilton, Mrs. Dr. Levi Boone (wife of Chicago's only Nativist, Anti-Catholic immigrant mayor), Mrs. Dr. McVicker, and Miss Julia Rossiter. Many of these women were involved in other movements, especially those which concerned temperance and biblical studies.

Mrs. Philo Carpenter, the wife of one of Chicago's leading commercial entrepreneurs, was active in the abstinence movement. She is credited with writing and circulating the famous pledge reportedly taken by thousands of men and women in the city.

Mrs. Carpenter spent many of her hours fighting the drunkenness of Chicagoans, and it is therefore not surprising that over the years many of the entries for those children coming into the orphanage listed "intemperance" as the cause of the child's problems.

Mrs. Charles Gilbert Wheeler chronicled many years of the orphanage's history. In her Annals of the Chicago Orphanage Asylum (1894) from 1849-1892 she described many of the activities which members of the Board of Directoresses conducted over the years. Unlike the so-called popular image of the wealthy woman sitting at home "receiving" visitors on certain days of the week, these wives of Chicago's prominent families helped with cleaning, sewing, repairing decorating and caring fore the children.

Health was a vital matter of importance to these women. Mrs. Dyer, Chair of the Committee on Diet and Provisions, worked carefully and closely with the cook to see that proper diets were meted out to the children. This was a somewhat revolutionary step in orphanage management because food for most of the orphanages around the country was obtained from marketers who wished to dispose of rotting stock. Mrs. Dyer kept a close watch on the manners and cleanliness of the children. Some of these women became so attached to these waifs, that they frequently adopted these less fortunate children, Mrs. Jerome Beecher, a foundling directoress, adopted two children.

The orphanage also had a Committee on Education which addressed the basic literary needs of the child. This is at a time when there was little of anything in the city which could be considered "education" in a curriculum which was not tightly defined. The orphanage developed an indenture program which required girls to learn the "mysteries of housekeeping" while the boys engaged in the more manly pursuits of shoemaking, farming, tanning, carpentry and those other occupations which were needed in the growing metropolis.

Health care was initially satisfied by medical doctors, dentists, homeopathic and allopathic physicians who gave their time and energies for these children. While the population of the orphanage generally for its first few decades remained just slightly below forty, there is little evidence that the Board of Trustees paid for medical services excepting for a few occasions. While donations were always available, the demand of the needs of the children outpaced the supply of the monies.

In 1854, the orphanage petitioned for financial help from the Board of County Supervisors on the basis that so many of the children who came to the orphanage came directly from the county's poor house and therefore the costs should be shared. The supervisors rejected this argument posing the position that the orphanage was a private operation and therefore was not entitled to such support. Nevertheless, the wives of the trustees and their friends continued to attempt

to meet the needs of these children under the belief in the Biblical admonition: " Faith, Hope and Charity, these three; but the greatest of these is Charity."

#### Home for the Friendless

In 1859 the Illinois legislature approved the creation of the Chicago Homes for the Friendless. The home was the idea of active Protestant women, and again the wives of prominent political and commercial leaders, who wished to aid and assist women who were without benefit of family. Some of the founders were: Martha Wilson, Julia Warrer, Anna Gibbs, Margaretta Varien, Jane Hoge, Adaline Judd, Julia Dole, Minerva Botsford, and Emma Haines. Conforming to traditional practice, the presiding officer of the organization was a man, and in this case it was the prominent attorney Mark Skinner.

The object and purpose of the home was to provide for the relief, aid and assistance to those destitute women and children who had no place to live except the crowded and filthy streets of the city. Once a lady or young female was admitted into the home, she was given a variety of material benefits. The Protestant women who volunteered at the Home for the Friendless provided both moral as well as material support for these poor unfortunates. The newcomer was also provided with training in sanitation, child care and those skills needed to find and keep a job.

The enabled legislation provided that in cases where the resident was a child, the home was to be the legal guardian of that child. The enabling legislation gave direction toward the kinds of activities the Home for Friendless was to take:

The Board of Managers of said corporation shall be the legal guardians of all children that by the provisions of this act shall be surrendered to the said corporation, and they may at their discretion, indenture such children to an honorable trade or employment, but in all cases provision shall be made in the indentures by which such children are bound to service, for securing an education proper and fitting for the condition and circumstances in life of such children. (F. J. Turner, 1891, p. 42)

The concept of indenture, it must be remembered, was not something which was tantamount to slavery; it was considered a most viable and sane method of ensuring that subsequent generations would be educated according to the customs and manners of the elders of society.

There was a strong relationship with the court system for the placement of the children:

In case it shall be shown to any judge of a court of record, or to the Mayor, or to any justice of the peace within the city of Chicago that the father of any child is dead or has abandoned his family, or is imprisoned for crime, and the mother of such child is an habitual drunkard or is imprisoned for crime, or is an inmate of a house of ill-fame; or if the mother of such child is dead, imprisoned for crime, or has abandoned her family and the father of such child is an habitual drunkard and an unsuitable person to have the care of such child; or that the parents of any child have abandoned or neglected to provide for it then such judge, Mayor or justice may, if he thinks the welfare of the child requires it, surrender such child to such corporation. (Simons, 1927, p. 79)

The Home for the Friendless almost immediately associated itself with the other Chicago Protestant benevolent institutions. It must be remembered that in these years there was a small Catholic and Jewish population in the city, a situation which would change after the beginning of the immigrations from Europe following the American Civil War.

Some of the Protestant organizations and institutions were: The Young Women's Christian Association Boarding Home, the Home for Self-Supporting Women, the Erring Woman's Refuge, the Bethesda Inn, the Chicago Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum, the Illinois Industrial School for Boys, the Foundling's Home, and The Newsboys and Boot-Blacks Home. Young children also found their way to the Home for the Friendless by way of the Unity Industrial Nursery and the Armour Mission Free Kindergarten. Here, as elsewhere in the city, private charities under the organization and control of women were extremely interactive, and the development of these eventually were understood and appreciated by others in Illinois (Buroker, 1973). The client population was sometimes sent from one institution to the other as necessity demanded.

#### Chicago Relief Society

Following the cholera epidemic of 1849, concerned citizens founded the Chicago Relief Society to provide for the material welfare of those Chicago families who suffered from the epidemic. The organization died out in 1851 when county government established a public dole, although it was revived

following the Panic of 1857. The purpose of the group was analyzed by one historian:

Once again, relief and moral instruction formed the major thrust of the society's activities. Inveterate paupers, able-bodied workers, and the poor who had migrated from other cities were not deemed suitable candidates for aid. Only the sick and temporarily impoverished received assistance from the society's representatives. When the crisis has passed, the Chicago Relief Society [sic] once again lapsed into inactivity. (McCarthy, p. 55)

The women of the city had again come to meet a crisis in the city, and were quite specific in their aim and in their desire to promote Christianity as a practice as well as a system of belief.

The organization was revived after the Chicago Fire and maintained a statistical file on the kinds of persons to whom aid was given (see Appendices A, B, C). The promoters of the Society were a new generation of Chicagoans who took seriously their roles as leaders of the community within the Christian context under which they had been raised.

Women's Baptist Home Missionary  
Training School

In 1877 some of the Baptist women of the United States organized a missionary society in order to promote the cause of the Baptist churches. In 1881 several of the leading Baptist ladies of Chicago organized a Chicago chapter and established a missionary training school. This is the first time in the city's brief history that women organized themselves into such a group for such a novel and needed institution. Located on South Michigan Avenue, the school

provided free tuition although it was known that instruction, room and board would cost approximately five dollars per week.

The Training School envisioned its goals to be comprehensive:

The impression prevails that the Missionary Training School is restricted to the training of missionaries for the fields occupied by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society. This is a mistake. We cordially welcome to the school any woman who brings satisfactory references as to her Christian character and fitness for such work, whether she proposes to labor in our own or a foreign land, in the employ of a general society, as a city or church missionary, or simply desires to fit herself for more efficient service as a volunteer worker in her own church or Sunday-school. (Prospectus, 1886, p. 4)

One must remember that at this time there were few opportunities for women in schools of higher education, and most women who attended any kind of special school were those who chose teaching as a profession. Chicago had its two year normal department in central high school as the training place for women in order to qualify for a teaching position in the elementary schools. Thus the Missionary Training School was an early attempt by Chicago's female population to provide professional education and training.

The students who generally attended the school were of American origin, although the student roster indicated special populations such as "Dane," "Swede," "German," and "Colored." The students came from a variety of geographical locales in the Midwest with the predominant group coming from Chicago and its environs.



The curriculum of the school was under the control of Baptist ministers who were paid a small fee for their services. Course work was offered in the Theology Department (Old and New Testaments, Baptist Church History, Church Order and Discipline), Medical Department (Physiology, Hygiene, Emergencies, Disease Prevention, and Poisons and Antidotes), Music Department (vocal lessons), Rules of Order, Temperance Department (systematic study of hygiene and Gospel Temperance), Industrial Department (domestic economy, housework, and kitchen garden principles), Field Work Department and Missionary Department (systematic study of foreign and domestic missions, methods of organizing and Test Theories of monthly meetings) (see Appendix D).

Since this was a residential school, there was a set schedule as to the daily activities of the woman (see Figure 2). The school had almost a hundred young ladies in attendance at any one time and served both the Church and the city with services which would later become known as social work and settlement work.

### The Settlement Houses

It is to Victorian England that history owes the creation of the "settlement" movement. The Anglican cleric Samuel Barnett brought together a group of Oxford men in 1884 and established the first settlement house in London's East End in a building which would be known as "Toynbee House." Their purpose was quite specific in that they believed that by

Time.	Sunday.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
6:00 A.M.*		Rising Bell....					
6:30 to 7:00 A.M.		Breakfast—	Beds and Rooms	thoroughly aired.			
7:00 to 7:30 A.M.		Prayer Service:	Conducted Sun-	day of each week	by the preceptress	usually on other	mornings by stu-
7:30 to 8 15 A.M.		Domestic Occup	ations. (Practical	training in house	hold duties). ....		
8:15 to 9:00 A.M.		Toilet arranged	properly for the	day, and a walk	in the open air...		
9:00 to 10:00 A.M.	Attend S.S., as visitors or sup- ply teachers.	Lecture: Chris- tian Doctrine	Bible Reading. Preceptress.	Lecture to Scan- dinavian students	Study.	Study.	Extra House Work.
10:00 to 11:00 A.M.		Write Journals.	Study.		Music.	Bible History.	Visiting Indus- trial School for purpose of observing methods and assisting as substitutes.
11:00 A.M. to 12 M.	Attend Church Service.	Read Journals.	Outline Normal Lessons. Preceptress.	Cutting, Binding and Arranging Work for Indus- trial Schools and Women's Meetings.	S. S. Lesson for Children. Given by a student and subject to criticism by the class in presence of Preceptress.	Read Journals for Wednesday and Thursday.	
12:15 to 1:00 P.M.		Dinner.....					
1:00 to 1:30 P.M.	Dinner.....	Rest and Recre-	ation.....				
1:30 to 2:00 P.M.		At Discretion.					
2:00 to 3:00 P.M.	Mission Sunday School Conducted by Students, under the direction of the Preceptress	At Discretion.	Free Afternoon	House to House Visiting.	Study.	Rules of Order	Industrial School. Con- ducted by students directed by preceptress.
3:00 to 4:00 P.M.		Study S.S. Lesson			Physiology and Hygiene.	Missionary Meeting on first Friday, and Temperance Meeting on third Friday in each month.	
4:00 to 5:00 P.M.		S.S. Lesson in Lec- ture Room. Con- ducted by Pre- ceptress.					
5:00 to 6:00 P.M.	Manner of spending this time decided by circum- stances.	At Discretion.					
6:00 to 6:45 P.M.		Tea.....					
6:45 to 7:30 P.M.		At Discretion.					
7:30 to 9:00 P.M.		S. S. Teachers' Meeting.	At Discretion.	At Discretion.	Medical Lecture	Church Prayer Meeting.	7:00 to 8:00, Class Prayer Meeting
9:00 to 10:00 P.M.		Rooms quiet for	study, journal wr	iting, meditation	and devotion.		
10:00 P.M.	Lights out.	Students retire,	and all talking	cease.			

\* The rising bell rings at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, and the exercises during the first two hours are modified to suit the day.

Fig. 2.--Daily Schedule for Missionary Baptist Training School

SOURCE: Missionary Baptist Training School (1884). Chicago: R. R. Donnelly, p. 6.

living with and among the poor they served there would develop a truly classless society where people would be measured on the basis of what they were as human beings and not upon from whom they were descended.

As in so many nineteenth-century philanthropic institutions, there was a quest for a new moral order, a new society based upon a Christian understanding of love and charity. The sermons which Barnett gave always reflected the goal of harmonizing Christians into a community suggestive of the community of the early Christians. These ideas had long been the common currency of the Christian Socialists who professed a similar philosophy. The Industrial Revolution and the subsequent reorganization of social relationships because of a new labor market and newer technologies influenced the restructuring of the family. The disruptions of family life because of having to move from the country to the city, or because work schedules for all the members of the family were different, or because there was a new level of impoverishment for many millions of people meant that other social relationships were to change. There are thousands of stories about abandoned families, the breakup of nuclear families, the rise of prolific alcoholism and the spread of diseases among those in cramped living conditions. This was no less true in the United States than it was in England.

The Settlement Movement was part of a wider Christian movement which denied the dogmas of Calvinism and stressed a

theology which embraced sinners as well as saints. Horace Bushnell stressed in his Christian Nurture (1847) that true conversion to Christianity came not from the mere act of Baptism, but from many years of living the Christian life. William Jewell Tucker of Massachusetts' Andover Theological Seminary prepared the way toward the development of what would be known as the Social Gospel, a "good tidings" which stressed Christian action, not complacent Christian obedience.

Many of the Americans who latched on to the settlement movement came out of the New England tradition of Congregationalism and Unitarianism. Graham Taylor, a one-time conservative theology professor, founded the Chicago Commons in 1894 which was directly connected with the Department of Christian Sociology at the Chicago Theological Seminary on the south side. For more than thirty years Taylor's west side Chicago Commons was the focal center for Christian participation in an active life. His work included help from many women who would be influential in creating the School of Social Work at the University of Chicago.

The American settlement house movement, moreover, served a population which was significantly different than that in England; Chicago's movement was oriented toward the influx of European immigrants who began arriving in the United States from Eastern and Southern Europe (Wade, 1964a). Lacking the language skills which would give them an easier entry into American society, they were easy pawns for

unscrupulous politicians who saw in these potentially new voters the path to political aggrandizement.

It must be mentioned that there were some developing programs from government. In the early 1880s, Cook County had established a "relief" system to assist the indigent of the county. Among the various kinds of assistance offered was the Infirmary (Poor House) at the Dunning Institution on Irving Park and Narragannsett Roads. Over a twenty year period it addressed it had been responsible for the care of nearly sixty thousand individuals(see Appendix V).

Episcopal clergyman Henry C. Kinney of the Grace Church pondered the kinds of data which would provide a true picture of the indigent problems:

How far do the families relieved through public expense represent those who obtained help from other quasi-public sources, and how far do these last represent new families who never came in contact with any true public help? What we know, and what we do not know. Two materials needs of financially distressed families are not considered by our great dispenser of charity, the Relief and Aid Society and the Bureau of Associated Charities, recently united.  
(Kinney, p. 8)

These kinds of questions would ultimately receive an answer as the women of the city who sought improvements in the lives of the citizens would attempt to collect such data. Later such individuals as Florence Kelley and Julia Lathrop would attempt the scientific accumulation of such data. Nevertheless, the attempts at relief continued (Bosch, 1950). The scientific aggregation of data eventually became a standard practice (Brandenburg, 1932). Public institutions faced a new set of

problems in dealing with the indigent, sick, homeless and jobless (Brown, 1941). It was necessary to collect data on these groups in order to establish efficient and purposeful public policy.

Much of the work which was assumed by the women in Chicago was adopted as public institutions in later years during the Progressive period. During the years of the Great Depression the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt continued many of the same practices under the Federal aegis (Chambers, 1963).

#### The Contribution of Jane Addams

The daughter of a wealthy Republican Illinois state senator, Jane Addams was born in 1860. She had access to her father's large library and was an avid reader at an early age. In June 1877 she went to take entrance examinations at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, which she passed successfully. However, she was persuaded by her father to enter Rockford College where he served as a trustee. She spent the years 1877-1881 at the college where she became close friends with Ellen Gates Starr, a later collaborator at Hull House in Chicago. Although interested in the natural sciences, she represented the college at state oratorical contests, one of which she was pitted against a student from Illinois College, William Jennings Bryan (Linn, 1935).

Charles J. Hull was an early resident of Chicago who had come to the city after graduating from Harvard University

Law School. He had made millions of dollars through land investments in Lincoln, Nebraska; Houston, Texas; and Baltimore, Maryland. Although financially wiped out in the Panic of 1857, Hull made a financial comeback and died leaving an estate of four million dollars. Shortly after the Civil War he developed a type of housing project which became established in many American cities, housing projects that had both white and black residents. He even developed an installment plan for the purchase of such properties. He wrote to a friend:

Our enterprise is not land speculation. We are endeavoring to distribute the lands adjoining certain large cities, among the poor. If I succeed in my enterprise, the question what is to be done with the pioneer, the outcast and the criminal will be solved. (Linn, 1935, p. 94)

Hull was a trustee of the University of Chicago and spent his Sunday afternoons visiting the Bridewell prison of the city talking and joking with the inmates. Since his wife and three children had preceded him in death, he left his entire estate to his secretary Helen Culver, a woman of considerable distinction in the real estate field.

Miss Culver promptly gave one-fourth of the estate to some of Hull's relatives, and one million dollars to the University of Chicago for the building of science halls, the site of which today is still known as Hull Court. Jane Addams had established herself and her settlement movement in the old mansion which was part of the Hull estate. Miss Culver believed in what Addams was doing and turned the property of

the house and adjacent lots over to Addams. Hull House was on its way.

The building itself has been used from 1875 by the Catholic Little Sisters of the Poor who ministered to the growing immigrant population on the west side. Later the building had become a sort of tavern and hotel, and it was at this point in 1890 that Jane Addams moved into the building along with Ellen Gates Starr and the housekeeper Mary Keyser, whose brother also came and lived there well into the 1930s.

Addams did not have to wait long for either clients or supporters. As she herself noted:

Volunteers to the new undertaking came quickly; a charming young girl [Jenny Dow] conducted a kindergarten in the drawing room, coming regularly every morning from her home in a distant part of the North Side of the city. Although a tablet to her memory has stood upon a mantle shelf in the Hull-House for five years, we still associate her most vividly with the play of little children, first in her kindergarten and then in her own nursery, which furnished a veritable illustration of Victor Hugo's definition of heaven--"a place where parents are always young and children are always little." Her daily presence for the first two years made it quite impossible for us to become too solemn and self-conscious in our strenuous routine, for her mirth and buoyancy were irresistible and her eager desire to share the life of the neighborhood never failed, although it was often put to a severe test. (Addams, 1910, p. 84)

Dow's mother worked with the Chicago Woman's Club and whose house was later used as part of Children's Memorial Hospital. Like earlier Chicagoans, Miss Dow died several years later in a typhoid epidemic after bearing five children. Addams believed that Dow represented the best case for Froebel's



recommendation "to live with the children" (Addams, 1933, p. 19).

The importance of the Hull House movement can be appreciated by the various women who often began their social reforming within its confines and expanded their efforts to other social problems. These women were often the scions of wealthy and successful families, and came from a strong religious background. They were educated far above the mean for women of that period and often interacted with each other in the pursuit of their respective social ameliorative roles. Hull House seemed to serve as the nexus for the commencement of their careers in social service.

These women were completely dedicated and selfless in their efforts to make the Hull House a success. As one historian of the period noted:

Very few of the four hundred settlements in existence were as effective as Hull House. Chicago Commons, University of Chicago Settlement . . . were an important force in the movement for social justice. Settlement residents helped inform the public about the consequences of unemployment, low wages, inadequate education, bad housing, shocking health, and sanitary conditions and exploitation by landlords and merchants to make the poor pay more. Through speeches, articles and books the residents exposed the roots of poverty, advocated reforms, and lobbied relentlessly for middle- and upper-class support until action was taken. John Lovejoy Elliott of Hudson Guild thought of the settlements as the "yeast that starts the social rizing [sic]." (Wade, 1964a, p. 414)

All of the women of Hull House at one time or another experimented with their own crusades against the poverty and ignorance which they saw in the European immigrant. There were, however, some who referred to some of these ladies as

Chicago's five "Maiden Aunts" (Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Mary McDowell, Margaret Haley and Dr. Cornelia de Bey) in a somewhat sarcastic manner (McDowell, 1928, p. vi).

Julia Lathrop was the daughter of William Lathrop, a descendant of one of the early English immigrants to America. William Lathrop served in the state legislature as one of the first Republican members, and had the opportunity of knowing Abraham Lincoln. Born in 1858, Julia was influenced by her mother, Adeline Potter Lathrop, to develop a strong love for reading. Her mother had even organized a women's reading circle that met weekly in Rockford, Illinois. After attending Rockford Seminary for a year, she transferred to Vassar, one of the first of the women's colleges, graduating three years later.

Addams quoted Mrs. Andrew MacLeish, a college classmate of Lathrop, with a statement which presaged Lathrop's later efforts:

It was Julia Lathrop certainly who sowed the seed which has resulted in the large and important School of Euthenics which is held at Vassar every summer to which mothers and a few fathers and teachers come every year bringing the children who are cared for in a nursery school. It is really a very important and fruitful work. (Addams, 1935, p. 39)

Lathrop remained active in the Alumnae Association of the college and was remembered for a speech she gave to the assembled graduates in which she admonished the organization and creation of new programs:

I do not propose a small thing nor a cheap thing in urging that the present status of the education of women demands

a new specialization to be signalized by the creation of centers of study and research in the service of family life. It means not only great endowment of money, it means the greater endowment of trained minds set to the task of working out the expedience of fashioning the tools of expression by which that profound maternal instinct, reinforced by intelligence, may freely work out the destiny of the young of the race. It is no less than a revolution which is implied. Its aim is to give the work of the woman head of the household the status of a profession. (Adams, 1935, pp. 40-41)

It is obvious from her sentiments that she envisioned a future where the woman was elevated to the proper status to which she was entitled by the mere performance of her duties as a mother and a wife, thoughts which anticipated the Women's Movement of the 1970s.

At Hull House, among her other duties, Lathrop was responsible for creating the "Plato Club" which met on Sunday afternoons. There were readings from Plato followed by a lively discussion. Lathrop's interest in the things intellectual led to her studying the law, considered almost scandalous in her generation, especially after she was admitted to the bar. Her enduring interest in philosophy encouraged Jane Addams to accompany her to Plymouth, Massachusetts in the summer to attend "The School of Applied Ethics," an organization supported by Vida Scudder, Helen Dudley, Emily Balch and Jean Fine.

At the local level, Lathrop was one of the several women who strove to establish the Juvenile Court in Cook County in 1899. This initial appointment came from the reforming Governor of Illinois, the former German immigrant

John Altgeld. She was the first resident of Hull House to receive any kind of government appointment. She concurrently served as a Visitor from the Cook County Board in which capacity she oversaw the expenditure of county funds on welfare.

She was an early advocate for the training of workers who were employed in state institutions and asylums. After Graham Sumner had founded the School of Civics and Philanthropy at the University of Chicago (later known as the School of Social Work), she was responsible for developing training programs and courses for those interested in and already working in the field of occupational therapy. Her knowledge, expertise and diplomatic manner encouraged President William Howard Taft to appoint her in 1912 as Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Within several years after assuming her federal position, Lathrop identified additional areas of concern for social welfare and improvement, such as home care procedures, licensing and supervising different boards of charities and child placement. Her concerns centered upon the necessary changes in state and federal law:

The child-welfare legislation of every State requires careful consideration as a whole at reasonable intervals in order that necessary revision and coordination may be made, and that the new provisions may be incorporated in harmony with the best experiences of the day. . . . In states where children's laws have not had careful revision as a whole within recent years, the governor be requested to take the necessary steps for the creation of a child-welfare committee or commission. It is also urged that the President of the United States be asked to call a

conference during the next year in conjunction with the governors of the various States, to consider the whole question of child-welfare legislation. (Lathrop, 1919, p. 4).

Lathrop's admonitions came after her years of experience in Chicago's welfare life. Her involvement in government also led to her increased role in other women's organizations as well as such groups as the Immigrants Protective League. Always encouraging other women to take active roles in government and organizations, she convinced President Warren Harding to appoint Chicagoan Grace Abbott as her successor at the Children's Bureau. Her death in April 1932 was mourned by many. Her seventy-four years of life had made a deep impression upon many people, and it is not surprising that she was cited in 1923 by the National League of Women Voters as one of the "twelve greatest living American women (Chicago Daily Tribune, 1932).

One the most literary of the Hull House women was Elizabeth de Koven Bowen, a descendant of an early Chicagoan who lived at Fort Dearborn. Born in 1859, she led a somewhat charmed life as the daughter of a well-to-do merchant family which lived in the fashionable area of the southeast side. Bowen wrote romantically of her early childhood and of her experiences with "life in the city" as she knew it. In the early 1860s, for example, she related that she and her friend had been chased by a bull while at Michigan Avenue and Twelfth Street into the backyard of Levi Leiter, sometime partner of Marshall Field (Bowen, 1926, p. 14).

Her early education, both academic and practical, led her to endeavors in her adult years as a reflection of some of the frustrations she had encountered earlier. One of her recollections about charitable activities:

It has often been my bad fortune to have to collect money for charitable purposes here in Chicago, but I do not think I will ever forget my first experience in begging. A little girl walking down Michigan Avenue was crushed against a lamppost by a runaway horse and had her arm broken. I was very much interested in the affair and finding that there was no money to pay the doctors, I started to raise fifty dollars for that purpose. Going up and down Michigan Avenue I inquired at each house for the lady of the house (I knew most of them and they knew my family). I would then ask for fifty cents for the child and in most cases it was given to me. (Bowen, 1926, p. 18)

Although she had graduated from the fashionable Dearborn Seminary, she continued her own education at home by a deep study of the "cyclopedia" and taking music lessons. She learned domestic science in her own home while working with the servants and her mother. She felt woefully lacking in the kind of education she yearned for: "By the time I made my entry into society I was ignorant in everything and accomplished in nothing" (p. 19). Yet her attraction to social service was a dominant factor in her life.

When her friend Alexander McCormick became President of the Cook County Board, he informed her that he was interested in finding "good people" to head the various charitable aspects of county government. Because of her acquaintance with so many people, Bowen immediately called together to her home a group of twenty-five Chicagoans associated with the settlement houses, hospitals and social work for an evening of

discussion of the matter of appointments. It was not uncommon for her to conduct dinner meetings to discuss matters of the Board of Education and to solicit membership for that institution.

Bowen worked with various hospitals beginning with her Presidency of the Maurice Porter Memorial Hospital, built by Mrs. Julia Porter in memory of a child Porter had lost.

Bowen spent years in this work and even gave the money to construct a wing to the hospital to serve twenty-five youths. Years later, she served as president of the women's boards of several hospitals and gave a considerable amount of money for their operation.

She had heard of the work of Jane Addams, and after an acquaintance of Bowen went to live at Hull House, she finally met Jane Addams who suggested that she join the recently formed Woman's Club. Bowen spent seventeen years on the executive committee of the club, serving also as president and secretary. She contributed money to build a house for the club and for the erection of the Hull House Theater, which sat eight hundred patrons.

Her experience at Hull House was almost religious. She related:

I often felt at this Hull House club that not even in church did I ever get the inspiration or the desire for service, so much as when I was presiding at a meeting of the club and sat on the platform and looked down on the faces of 800 or 900 women gathered together all intensely in earnest and all most anxious perhaps to put over some

project in which they were interested. The club also proved to be a liberal education for me. (Bowen, 1926, p. 85)

Here, comments reflect the decline in purely religious charities and the rise of the secularly inspired ones; it is therefore not surprising that she would reflect upon her experiences as having a religious "feeling" to them. As the church related charities abated, the women church members addressed their attention to a wider definition of service.

Bowen spent many hours preparing pamphlets for use by the public. She believed that case workers should provide written materials for the inculcation of positive behavior. For example, as the "movies" began to attract the youngsters of school age who often were truant from schools, Bowen wrote a pamphlet illustrating the kinds of movies which these children were watching. She was horrified that one such popular movie showed the students arguing with the teacher and then setting the school on fire (Bowen, 1909, p. 10). She felt that the cultural life of the students should be illustrated with great moral purposes.

Others at that time felt that the public schools were not a place for a child who had a "proud" background. Tomasz Siemirokdzki, a leader of the city's Polish community and of the Polish National Alliance, believed, in 1911, that "the public school is moreover too alien to the Polish child and thus dangerous for the Polish spirit and for the external forms of Polish nationality" (Miasto, p. 155). The social



reformers of the city had an additional problem with which to contend in the attempt at the Americanization of the newer immigrant groups.

Excited about finding information first hand, she interviewed two hundred girls working in department stores and made several recommendations for the improvement of their lives (Bowen, 1911). She also investigated other service industries in the city (Bowen, 1912). In these three industries she identified many young girls who believed their jobs would lead to an opportunity to meet a prospective rich husband. The fanciful, yet dangerous, thinking of children and teenagers was brought out in her The Public Dance Halls of Chicago (1910). Bowen recognized that the industrial revolution had foisted a new set of social relationships and its technology had provided for the kinds of "entertainment" which attracted those who had little hope of "making it to the top" purely on their own abilities, given a lack of education and social connections. Jane Addams was certainly proud of the work of Bowen, one of her many proteges.

In 1904 when Lucy Flowers stepped down as President of the Juvenile Court Committee, a citizen's group which had been successful in establishing the first Juvenile Court (1899) in America, Bowen assumed the presidency. It was this private committee which raised the money to pay the salaries of twenty-five probation officers and several clerks who served under the Court. In order to obtain the best of those who

would be employed in such a venture, Bowen established her own civil service test based upon the experiences she and others had developed from her knowledge about human behavior.

The first probation officer selected was Mrs. Alzina Stevens, who was attributed with a special love for children and dedicated to the improvement of mankind, fulfilling Bowen's belief that such workers have "the strength of Samson and the delicacy of an Ariel" (Bowen, 1926, p. 105). Bowen also led the drive for the acquisition of a house on West Adams Street as a temporary home for those children who were involved in Juvenile Court matters, and of course contributed to its maintenance. It is important to point out that the Juvenile Court Committee was composed of women who were representatives of other clubs in the city concerned with child welfare.

The Juvenile Court Committee eventually evolved into the Juvenile Protective Association, and Bowen kept up her interest in helping the city's waifs. She felt that one of the most important contributions which the association made was to education. Writing in 1920, she commented:

Twenty years ago there were no social centers in connection with the school system. This Association started social centers in a number of school and supported them financially for several years. Probably no one thing has so tended to decrease delinquency as this public movement to furnish constructive recreational and social opportunities to boys and girls who would otherwise be denied these privileges. Studies made by social workers and others show that the establishment of such facilities, cuts down the number of delinquents appearing in the juvenile court from a given district from twenty-four to seventy percent. (Bowen, 1926, p. 560)

Bowen represents another significant fact in the development of charity in the city; she is a bridge to those interested in the development of educational programs for those who are also in need of social service care. As will be demonstrated in the chapter on education, it was the women of the city who made the progress in this endeavor and who successfully made the transition from working with purely private charities to working with public institutions. During the Harding administration, Bowen served as a Representative to the Pan American Congress meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1921. Her life encompassed the local to the international.

#### Child Labor and the Juvenile Court

In Victorian England, there developed the "refuge house," an institution which attempted to provide housing for wandering and abandoned children. Such houses were built with church monies in the large East Coast cities in the 1820s and 1830s. However, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that concerned citizens began to differentiate between children who suffered because of adult neglect and those children who posed a threat to the social order because of membership in gangs or because of other antisocial activities (Bowen, 1926).

It was not infrequent that these children were forcibly moved from such places as New York City and sent to "camps" in the midwest from whence they entered adult life. As shown earlier, the early places of refuge in Chicago were those

orphanages operated by religious institutions and live-in schools where a trade was taught. However the juvenile-related problems were exacerbated by the tremendous influx of European immigrants, most especially from southern and eastern Europe, who had no language skills as those previous immigrants who arrived from the British Isles or even the German states.

The Chicago Public Schools were incapable of handling this influx, both from the point of view of having enough staff to conduct meaningful classes but also from the point of view of knowing what exactly to teach these foreign children. Over the last years of the nineteenth century there was a significant rise in the number of petty crimes committed by youth who came from families who not only did not know about mandatory school attendance but who also distrusted American institutions. The supposed streets paved with gold were in actuality streets paved with hardships and inequity, and this led to social despair. Often it was the Catholic Church which came to the aid of these immigrants, and socialized them into an American life where the Church was the most significant feature of their lives.

One must also remember that there were no real precedents in American history for the assimilation of these immigrant populations. Children brought into court were moreover treated as adults, and upon confinement, were placed in jails and prisons where adults predominated. There were

many case histories in which one learned to adopt to a life of crime after serving in a penal institution, and many of these were children and teenagers. Lawyers were too expensive for employment by these populations and the correctional system of the United States had not yet developed into an institution whereby the juvenile population could be served in a way which would be beneficial to the social fabric as a whole.

The road to social improvement programs for youth came about after the establishment of labor laws and some educational laws which placed restrictions upon both the worker and the employer. As noted earlier in this chapter, Chicagoans had established live-in schools where a child could learn a trade. One must also remember that America was truly just entering into the Industrial Revolution after the Civil War and was still making adjustments in the labor population of the country. New industries gave rise to new kinds of jobs which then effected the salary structure of the labor market. For many years there was a demand for all kinds of labor and many American companies advertised for labor in Europe encouraging the new migration to America.

For the American-born laborer, employment opportunities in the new offices of the nation were easier to acquire because of language skills. New machines, like the typewriter, effected the transition from the male dominated office to the female dominated office; opportunities for female employment in the cities of the country were numerous

as the male worker took to the factory for higher wages. The kinds of ethnic animosity which took place on the East Coast up until the Civil War now abated as such groups as the Irish now acquired a "presence" in the working place. Non-English speaking peoples occupied the bottom of the employment "totem pole" and became the objects of the new ethnic discrimination. It is not surprising, then, that these groups would seek socially non-accepted sources of money.

Bowen was happy to report in 1920 that the Juvenile Protection Association of Chicago had accomplished many improvements regarding social conditions of the youth of the city:

1. It made annual inspections of lake excursion boats and was successful in eliminating gambling, illegal sale of liquor and the illicit use of state-rooms.
  2. Its study of four hundred and forty-five dance halls resulted in the prohibition of liquor on those premises.
  3. It worked for the censorship ordinance regulating the movies in three hundred and thirty-seven movie houses.
  4. It investigated three hundred and sixty-eight photograph galleries; sent two men to the penitentiary for immoral conduct and confiscated fifty thousand pictures and books.
  5. It investigated two hundred cabarets and obtained the closing of many of them for liquor related violations.
  6. It investigated thirty theatres where children were illegally exhibited and abolished the "song contests" where the children were being exploited.
  7. It worked with a thousand pool rooms for the removal of objectionable conditions.
  8. It obtained changes in the law regarding "junk dealing" which was an important aspect of juvenile crime.
  9. From 1910 through 1920 it acted upon fifty-five thousand complainants where children were involved.
- (Bowen, 1920, pp. 4-5)

The most enduring of the efforts of the association and the women of the city was the establishment of the Juvenile Court.

The social disorganization due to a large population, language difficulties, and employment problems were steadily growing.

In Chicago, women took the lead in an attempt to ameliorate such social problems. Certainly the premier woman who labored for decades in this field was Florence Kelley, daughter of the famed Philadelphia Congressman William "Pig Iron" Kelley, a thirty-year member of Congress (first a Free Soiler and then as a Republican). Florence Kelley was born in 1859. She never regularly attended school, but spent time at home in her father's library "reading everything from the ceiling down" (Keeley, 1986, p. 26). Her father taught her to read at the age of seven, and in her memory throughout life burned the images of exploited children of the English Industrial Revolution, images which she had seen in a picture book her father showed her. She wrote of herself:

To Father's mind these toiling English children were living evidence of the evils of Free Trade. He felt profoundly the evil of promulgating, for our new industry, the theory of laissez-faire. He believed in forty acres and a mule for freedman, homesteads for immigrant, and tariffs for American manufacturing. To my generation, other measures commended themselves and became my burning concern; but Father's charge had been to meet the issues of the ensuing decades with such light as might be ours. In this study, from which I was never willingly absent when he was home, and in long walks together after that fortunate birthday, there was always in his mind the leaven of the idea of a juster, nobler, happier life for all of the American people once a firm industrial foundation, as he saw it, had been laid. (p. 27)

Florence Kelley represented a woman whose interests were so strongly centered in the labor issues as a result of paternal teachings. The Kelleys were prosperous jewelers at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, but fell into poverty because of financial support for other members of the family. This strongly influenced William Kelley to imagine the kind of life in America which could be prosperous of all.

William Kelley also stressed in his daughter's education that his and other men's lives were significantly influenced by economic forces which he believed could be controlled. While he grew in wealth and prestige, he never ceased to impress upon his daughter the plight of the less fortunate. This kind of "noblesse oblige" was a characteristic of the Kelley family, descendants of Huguenots and Scotch-Irish immigrants to early Pennsylvania.

After taking her bachelor's degree at Cornell University, and after being turned down at several schools for graduate work, she took a job teaching at an evening school wage-earning girls in Philadelphia, which she started. Sponsored by the New Century Club of Philadelphia, Kelley encouraged a curriculum which stressed arithmetic and other subjects which would help these girls attain better jobs or at least an increase in salary. She visited the "Black Country" in England, that industrial area in the north where the sun seldom shone through the pollution of the industry there.

Kelley was strongly effected by her 1883 visit to the Midlands of England which has spawned the "Black Country":

Here in the Black Country I first saw life under the sweating system, under free trade, under capitalism. I was to come to close quarters with it later behind our American protection tariff, under equally unrestrained capitalism.



Thirteen years after our pilgrimage Victoria , Australia, made in 1896 the first successful experiment in control of the sweating system by means of minimum wage laws which refrain the capitalist employer from operating below levels which the community sanctions. (Kelley, 1986, p. 67)

These were rather advanced views for that period by a woman who had seen and experienced the history of certain economic policies. It is with Florence Kelley that one encounters an educated and sensitive approach to the rectification of social ills completely outside of any religious foundation.

Sometime after Christmas 1891, Kelley moved into Hull House and remained there for seven years until she returned to New York City to serve in an executive position as secretary (an executive position) of the National Consumers' League. She had just returned from Europe where she had married a Russian-Jewish physician and had become a mother. Known for her affiliation with such European socialists as Eduard Bernstein, she had made the English translation of Frederick Engel's The Condition of the Working Class of England (1887). In her first year at Hull House, she was retained by Carroll D. Wright, U.S. Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, to take charge of a federal study which would examine the slums of Chicago. This project later became the basis for the famed Hull House Maps and Papers. During the evenings, Kelley attended classes at Northwestern University School of Law and graduated in 1894.

Jane Addams commented on the kinds of efforts which Kelley and others relative to their general thinking:

One of the first lessons we learned at Hull-House was that private beneficence is totally inadequate to deal with the

vast numbers of the city's disinherited. We also quickly came to realize that there are certain types of wretchedness from which every private philanthropy shrinks and which are cared for only in those wards of the county hospital provided for the wrecks of vicious living or in the city's isolation hospital for smallpox patients. (Addams, 1910, p. 219)

It is at the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century that the prospective is arising which postulates that government must enter into social welfare. Florence Kelley is the woman who leaves the Hull House environment to work for government participation in welfare management. The difference between her and the other women for the most part can be seen in her adherence to a socialist rather than a Progressive view of amelioration. Like Addams, Kelley is also different because she spent a considerable time in Europe and had made the acquaintance of many socialist leaders.

Of course, it was the United States where the reformers could make the difference. The connection between youngsters working, often truant from school, and the prospect of a life of crime was of great importance to Kelley. At the Child Welfare Conference in Chicago in 1911, Kelley lamented such conditions:

Nothing could be worse than the conversation of newsboys at the street corners; nothing could be worse than their experience. Why do we put up with it? Why do we go to the roof, into the cellar, searching the empty packing boxes and sugar barrels of the factories to pull the youngsters out of their hiding holes? Why do we do all this and then walk up State Street and Wabash Avenue and across Lake and Randolph and see this army of children on the streets and encourage them and think that we are starting young merchants on the commercial road? I do not know why we do

it except that as a nation we are a little insane on the subject of legal fictions (Abbott, 1930, pp. 296-297)

These reformers had strong beliefs about the rectification of these problems while the males in the government often turned a deaf ear to the plight of the children.

Addams was cognizant of the growing need for such governmental intrusion into welfare activities, an intrusion which often left political leaders in a mode of condemnation for such thoughts and actions. Addams noted that these special women realized potential improvements long before their male counterparts:

Since that early day, residents of Hull-House have spent much time in working for the civil service methods of appointment for employees in the county and State institutions; for the establishment of State colonies for the care of epileptics; and for a dozen other enterprises which occupy that borderland between charitable effort and legislation. In this borderland we cooperate in many civic enterprises for I think we may claim that Hull House has always held its activities lightly, ready to hand them over to whosoever would carry them on properly. (Addams, 1910, p. 221)

One can see an emerging concern for the eventual delivery of services by governmental action. Here is where the influence of Florence Kelley can be seen.

While a resident at Hull House, Kelley was appointed State Factory Inspector by Governor Altgeld after Henry Demarest Lloyd turned the job down. Her studies pointed out the number of children who were not in school and who were employed in unsanitary and dangerous situations. While the Illinois legislature refused to pass any child labor

legislation in 1895, the data she acquired influenced Chicago's Mayor Carter Harrison II to appoint a committee to investigate the conditions of child labor which she had so precisely stated. The committee met and made many recommendations, but these often fell on deaf ears. Historian David Hogan has suggested the reason for the lack of immediate and lasting action at that time:

But passage of child labor laws and the zealous work of the factory inspectors alone cannot account for the decline in child labor. Four other factors are involved: a decline in the demand for child labor, passage of effective compulsory education laws, enforcement of the laws by local boards of education, and changes in the educational aspirations of Chicago's immigrant working class. (Hogan, 1985, p. 56).

Nevertheless, Florence Kelley remained undaunted while she labored for the immigrant classes in Chicago.

Kelley espoused a new view for the improvement of the social classes she struggled to assist. Her view was not based in the private philanthropies of the time, nor even necessarily in purely governmental intervention; rather, it rested upon the assumption of the workability of self-created economically orientated institutions. She attempted, completely unlike the other women, to posit a theoretical basis to social evolution and organization. She wrote:

This other side is the theory of the development of society, the theory which is to political economy what Darwinian theory is to the natural sciences. It is the working class which naturally espouses the theory of the development of society, and looks to the future for improvement just as the class now in possession of all that makes life pleasant naturally accepts the apology for society as it is. . . . For any contact worth having with the workers the honest student must go to the embodiment of

their healthiest, strongest life—their labor organization.  
(Kelley, 1986, p. 101)

Kelley attempted to view the improvement of society relative to the ability of society, or at least a segment of, to foster its own best interests, a seemingly incipient move to merge social darwinism with the Protestant Ethic.

She recognized much earlier than the other theorists on social organization the necessity of grounding the social theory in empirical data. As she herself commented:

Here only is contact upon the basis of our own common humanity possible, for we are as a rule condemned, as members of the ruling class to meet our working brothers and sisters either as employers or alms-givers, the reports upon their contents were , in too many cases, made either by men who had a direct interest in misrepresenting them, or by persons insufficiently qualified for the task, whose resumes and popularization, though, doubtless, honorably meant have nevertheless been misleading. Now, however, the works themselves are accessible to all who are willing to do the preliminary elementary reading requisite for understanding them. (Kelley, 1986, pp. 101-102)

Her understanding of European socialism here is manifested in its American version.

Kelley is representative of the new social science movement which attempted to ground its study in quantifiable ways, no longer relying upon mere insight and creative concepts to determine the posturing of public policies. It is equally significant that this view arises with the newer methods of obtaining information as developed by Carroll Wright and Herman Hollerith. The growing need to handle a tremendous amount of information was just as important in knowing what to do with that information, and Florence Kelley

stands out as an early advocate of employing data for making decisions regarding the conduct of welfare in America.

While the women had correctly focused upon the needed improvements in the labor conditions under which youngsters worked, they also attempted to change the laws regarding the disposition of children within the criminal justice system. Merritt Pinckney, who served as a judge in the Juvenile Court, noted the source of the establishment of the first juvenile Court which took place July 1, 1899, in Chicago:

Prior to July 1, 1899, little if anything had been done by any state in the Union toward improving the condition of the delinquent child of the state, as distinguished from the dependent children. Illinois was the first to awake to a realization that a great wrong was being done to these children. Credit must be given to some good women of Chicago for starting the crusade. From the time of Mother Eve down to the present day, there have been thrust upon women many burdens which the men have shirked, and of these, the care, education, training, and control of the children are neither the light nor the least important. The men of Chicago, our business and professional men, had not the time, were too busy to give their attention to the child problem, and so it fell to the lot of the women of our city to discover the direful conditions existing on the criminal side of our child-life in Chicago. (Abbott, 1930, pp. 315-316)

There were numerous women's organizations and independent women who over time contributed to the fight for the establishment of the Juvenile Court.

#### Health Care and Juvenile Justice

By the late nineteenth century, and certainly by the beginning of the twentieth century, women began examining social problems in a large arena of activity. While it was a welcomed social program to have individual organizations and

individual churches develop programs for the destitute, it became apparent that the level at which rectification was made (i.e., at the neighborhood level) was no longer satisfactory. Perhaps this is most clearly borne out by the rapid and imposing growth of the Hull House movement, as well as the growth in other settlement houses in the city. Whereas they began with a fervor to help the indigent in a particular area, it soon became obvious that their continued impact would have to come from an activity or influence in a wider arena. As noted previously, these social committed women were becoming increasingly active in the governmental and political arena. Although women did not have the right to vote at the beginning of the century, they were nonetheless active in governmental activities and moreover were influential in what they did.

The women of the city continued in their main emphasis upon the welfare of the child. With the rapid growth of the population under severe economic and financial restraints, these women began to turn their attention to the more specific topics of health and crime. These social problems could not be treated at the church or club level, and needed a more protracted effort at the city and county levels of government in order to be effective; this is the kind of perspective which women like Florence Kelley exhibited in their efforts to make significant and lasting changes. Child welfare by the commencement of the twentieth century came to include

questions of health and crime, and the women of Chicago responded with vigor and enthusiasm.

It may be generalized that concerns over health and crime were initiated by women who had years of experience in other social improvement campaigns. Women had grown in stature among their male peers regarding their ability to organize, identify, plan and implement courses of activities which were specific to their concerns. Health, for example, could most readily be affected at the hospital level, while crime required specific involvement with police, government and other social agencies.

The first important female attempt at female medical attention was made by Dr. Mary Thompson, the first woman physician in Chicago. Born to a military family in upstate New York in 1829, she had a particular artistic talent of being able to reproduce whatever she saw through her drawings. She attended various schools and seminaries but was known to have taught herself Latin and mathematics. She supplemented the family income by becoming an elementary school teacher while still in her teens. She pursued her private studies in astronomy, physiology and chemistry. She studied at Boston's New England Female Medical College, an institution established by Dr. Marie Zakrzewska. Graduating in 1863 with an M.D. degree, she decided that she wanted to practice in a city that was showing growth and opportunity; Chicago was her single choice. During her career she was on the staffs of three



hospitals: Mercy, St. Luke's, and Marine, the latter of which did not accept women as patients.

With the end of the Civil War there was a great need for medical assistance in the city. She had already earned a solid reputation with the privately financed Christian Sanitary Commission which cared for the Confederate soldiers held at Chicago's Camp Douglas as well as providing food and medical supplies for Union soldiers away from home. She, as well as a few of her male peers, recognized the need for a special hospital for women and children, and she was instrumental in founding the Chicago Hospital for Women and Children in 1865. At this hospital she was immediately appointed as head of the medical and surgical staff.

She stood up to the bias which men held against her and she enrolled in Chicago Medical College and received a second M.D. degree, in accordance with the rituals demanded by her male peers. Dr. William Heath Byford, her professor at Chicago Medical College, encouraged her to open a medical school exclusively for women. From this suggestion emerged the Women's Hospital Medical College of Chicago in 1870 (Bonner, 1956). Thompson took a teaching position at this institution. Although the Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed both the hospital and the school, Thompson and her friends, all of whom had lost their homes in the fire, contributed to the reconstitution of the hospital and medical school. The college then moved to Adams and Paulina streets with a

substantial grant from the Relief and Aid Society which stipulated that twenty-five cases had to be provided with free medical attention per year.

In her experiences with children, she prompted "novelties" in medical practice like the Lister antiseptic method in surgical practice. At the Annual Meeting of the American Medical Association in St. Louis in 1886, Thompson delivered a paper, "Why Disease of Children Should Be Made a Special Study," which she promoted for four reasons:

1. Because of the undeveloped and growing patient which, though ill, must yet be nourished.
2. Because of the difficulties in diagnosing those maladies . . . to which children under one year of age are subject.
3. Because, remedies considered essential to the relief of adults, are illy borne by the young child. . . .
4. Because the special study will reflect itself upon the minds of the laity, impressing them with the importance of saving a child's life, and that, in doing so, a life in its entirety has been saved. (Bonner, 1957, p. 85)

She emphasized that a child was not a scaled-down adult, but a biological organism which was unique and different from its adult analog. She often spoke against the use of alcohol and opium among children. By the time of her death in 1895, she was a recognized medical professional who advanced the field in child welfare and care. The hospital she founded, the first of its kind treating indigent women and children, was established in 1865. Upon the suggestion of Dr. William Byford, the Women's Hospital Medical College was established in the fall of 1870. It became incorporated into Northwestern University in 1892.

Julia Foster Porter was born in Chicago in 1846. Her father was a prominent Chicago medical doctor who had been active in Chicago's welfare concerns. He was a member of the governing board of Chicago City Hospital (Cook County Hospital after 1866) and had been the first lay inspector of the Chicago public schools, later serving twenty years on the Chicago Board of Education (McCausland, 1981). He had served as a Director of the Chicago Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum as well as a founder of the Humane Society.

Julia married the Reverend Edward Clark Porter and bore two children. Her husband's untimely death in 1876 while serving a church in Racine, Wisconsin, led her to return to Chicago where she lived for a time with her widowed mother at Clark and Belden Streets. Her sister who was married to a prominent Chicago politician and State Senator, George Adams, lived around the corner from her and her mother. They were always included in the social and political life and parties which Adams gave. She was on close and often intimate terms with the leaders of Chicago's civic leaders.

In 1882 she decided to open a small hospital for the benefit of children. Civic activity was part of the Foster family life, the reason why the Chicago City Council gave his name to a street on the city's northside. The hospital was named the Maurice Porter Memorial Hospital after her teenaged son whom she lost in death. She maintained an active part of the hospital, naming heads of departments and the like, and it

was not surprising that it was known as "Mrs. Porter's Hospital." Many doctors donated their services to the hospital. The hospital was built at Halsted and Belden Streets, only a couple of blocks from her residence.

The hospital offered free medical attention to children from ages three to thirteen. By the 1890s, the growth for services required the hospital to reach out for community support. Many members of her board of lady managers of the hospital was a veritable who's who of city female civic leaders: Mrs. Alexander McClurg, Mrs. Samuel J. Taylor, Mrs. George Adams (her sister), Mrs. Mahlon Ogden and Mrs. Joseph Bowen, a woman who was previously discussed in this dissertation. Each of them were also active in other organizations which recommended children to the hospital. One board member, Mrs. Orson Smith, was the founder of the Illinois Training School for Nurses (1890).

Eventually the hospital offered its services to children who were aged one year and older and the hospital received advice from Dr. William Christopher, sometime member of the Chicago Board of Education. The hospital was eventually organized on a corporate basis as Children's Memorial Hospital, but never lost its commitment to the children of the city. Porter died in 1937, but she still financially supported the work she had begun in her child's memory.

Sara L. Hart was the daughter of Henry and Theresa Liebenstein, and born into the growing city of Chicago in 1869. Her father was a prominent furniture manufacturer and one of the leading organizers of Chicago's Jewish community. In her later years she wrote of her father in an affectionate way, remembering his attraction to English literature and Jewish affairs. She travelled widely as a young girl visiting many parts of Europe.

Married to Adam Wald when she was nineteen, she bore a daughter, and lived with them in Louisiana, Missouri. She taught Old Testament and Jewish lore in her humble home. His death in 1901 encouraged her to return to Chicago where she lived on the southside, teaching occasionally at the Jewish Manual Training School. She married Harry Hart in 1905 and began a second household. Since her new husband was her mother's first cousin, there was a familiarity with her new family. Her husband, founder of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, provided her with a sustenance which permitted her to become active in civic affairs (Hart, 1947).

Becoming friends with Louise Bowen, Mary McDowell and a host of other prominent women, Hart became active in Hull House activities. She was the first head of the Detention Home under the Cook County Juvenile Court. Yet her interests took her into the health field where she followed the lead of Dr. Theodore Sachs and the Jewish Aid Society. St. Anne's hospital was formed in 1903 for tubercular patients, although

it would later become a general hospital. Influenced by Harriet Fulmer, Superintendent of the Visiting Nurses Association, Hart learned of the lack of attention regarding the medical problems of tuberculosis. Following on Fulmer's concern over the lack of direction regarding tuberculosis cures, Hart and others organized the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute in 1906. Others involved were such medical people as Frank Billings and such socially sensitive people as Mrs. E. L. Gaylord and James H. Eckels.

Mrs. Eudora Hall Spalding founded the Edwards Sanitarium in Naperville in 1907, and almost immediately transferred it to the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute. By 1909 the Institute had arranged with the Chicago Board of Education to open the Harvard School at 75th Street and Vincennes Road as the first outdoor school for tubercular children (Hart, 1947).

Her husband went on the institute's board in 1920 and served until his demise. She fondly and poignantly noted:

Shortly before he died in 1929, I, too, went on the Board. My own thinking had clarified so that I could see how closely poverty, delinquency, crime, and health were interrelated. (p. 210)

She also believed that people would have to be taught a most practical lesson in fighting the tubercular problem:

On the other hand, I must observe what would be a platitude if it were not so tragic that tuberculosis does not ask the color of its victims. The white section of the community might dare to be complacent about the Negro death rate and forget the human values. But it cannot ignore the fact that tens of thousands of Negroes are employed as domestics, and in other capacities, which bring them into

daily contact with their white neighbors. I am saddened by the thought that so many different appeals have to be used to awaken a nation to its perils. (Hart, p. 210)

She spent many years in working to promote health care and for it to be attended to by government. Eventually her beloved institute would be turned over to the Cook County government for administration.

Just as Sara Hart offered her services to a Jewish as well as non-Jewish population, the same expanded service can be seen in the work of the saintly Mother Cabrini (A Daughter of St. Paul, 1970). In the summer of 1850, in a small Italian village, Agostino and Stella Cabrini celebrated the birth of their thirteenth child, Frances Xavier. Born to a religious family, she firmly believed at an early age that she should dedicate her life to religious service. After elementary school, she attended the Academy of the Daughters of the Sacred Heart until 1868. It was the same year that she lost both of her parents to death. She applied to several religious orders, but for unknown reasons was refused. She remained steadfast in her desire to become a nun. With the help of the Bishop of Lodi, she became the manager of a small orphanage (Daughters of St. Paul, 1977).

She was given the religious garb of the House of Providence, the group which operated the orphanage, and eventually was directed by Bishop Gelmini of Lodi to found a missionary order of her own. On December 14, 1880, the little congregation was established as the "Missionary Sisters of the

Sacred Heart." Now known as Mother Cabrini, she was responsible for a small community of women who had yet to determine what their fields of operations would be.

She was influenced by a certain Bishop Scalabrini who had founded the "Order of Missionaries for the Italian Immigrants." He told her of the plight of her countrymen in America and encouraged her to consider possible emigration. Scalabrini showed her a letter from Archbishop Corrigan of New York requesting her efforts in America. After a meeting with Pope Leo XIII, she followed upon his directives to go to America. She and some of her order sailed to New York in 1889. She travelled throughout the United States and South America, especially Argentina, founding seventy convents, schools and hospitals. While visiting her religious sisters in Chicago in 1903, she noticed the need for an orphan asylum. After a conversation with then Archbishop James Quigley, she was convinced to open Columbus Hospital originally on the city's southside. Her dedication to the Italian community reflected the original purpose suggested to her by Bishop Scalabrini. The religious order she founded also opened Columbus Extension Hospital at Carpenter and Racine Streets.

She represented a new type of woman who was serving the social needs of the community. Her dedication transcended the kinds of feelings other secular-oriented women had. She wrote a letter from Chicago where she admonished her followers to have faith in God:



Our dear Jesus is good and He does not abandon the Church He had founded. We who are consecrated to His Sacred Heart must have great faith that while we are good religious His support will not fail us. Tribulations will come but the thorns have pierced His heart before reaching us so they will be less painful and sweeter. (Cabrini, 1970, pp. 351-352)

The Catholic Church canonized her as a saint in 1946. Although her residence in Chicago was brief and sporadic, she nevertheless remains an influence in the city.

While women were making their way in the health professions, they also were making strides in the legal profession, long the domain of the male. Another of the leading women, besides Florence Kelley, who dared to enter the legal profession, Mary Bartelme was born in Chicago in 1866 near Fulton and Halsted Streets. As a child she experienced the Chicago Fire. She attended Northwestern University Law School after being a public school teacher for five years. She was influenced to enter the law profession after an emotional meeting with Myra Bradwell, Illinois' first female lawyer. Admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1894, she was not long after appointed Public Guardian for children by Governor Tanner and subsequent governors until 1913 when she was named an assistant to the Juvenile Court judge.

Bartelme was a persistent advocate of social programs for young female "offenders" and demonstrated her skills as the first woman judge in Illinois (and second in America). She believed that most of the troubled girls who appeared in her court were there because of an unhappy home environment.

Known as "Suitcase Mary" because of her efforts to raise money for clothes and necessity for the young girls, Bartelme made known publicly that she was in favor of the young girls claiming that at least one judge in the court system understood their plight.

Conditions prior to the establishment of the Juvenile Court Act were deplorable. Punishment, not rehabilitation, was the prime concern in criminal jurisprudence. Juvenile and adult offenders were treated alike. Juveniles were placed in jail cells with hardened adult criminals. A juvenile arrested for stealing an apple from a vender's cart or coal for the stove in the house was placed along-side of murderers and horse-thieves. Jeter commenting about the conditions of the time stated:

Before the enactment of the juvenile-court law in Illinois children who had violated the law were dealt with exactly as adult persons charged with crime with respect to arrest, detention, and trial. The only point at which the treatment of the juvenile criminal differed from that of the adult was the form that such punishment might take. (Jeter, 1922, p. 1)

In general it can be said that Illinois judges exercised discretion and compassion to juveniles arrested; however, a framework and precedent nationally for judicial discretion toward the treatment of juveniles arrested had not been in place before this legislation.

The first juvenile court law in the United States was signed on April 21, 1899 and took effect on July 1, 1899 in Illinois. Jane Addams, Lucy Flower, and Julia Lathrop were

the prime movers in the adoption of such legislation. Other interested parties that had been involved in lobbying for this proposed legislation were: the Chicago Women' Club, the Illinois State Board of Public Charities, the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, the Chicago Bar association, the Chicago Board of Education and the Illinois State Conference of Charities. These women left the professional side to Bartelme who worked out the details. As Grace Abbott stated:

The problem was to find how to make a fundamental change in criminal law and criminal procedure which would be upheld by the courts as constitutional. In cooperation with a committee of the Chicago Bar Association, a bill was finally worked out and agreed upon by the interested groups. (Abbott, 1930, p. 330)

The law according to Jeter called for:

1. A separate hearing of children's cases in a court having chancery rather than criminal jurisdiction;
2. The detention of children shall be apart from adult offenders; and
3. The establishment of a Juvenile Probation System under the direction of the Juvenile Court. (Jeter, 1922, p. 5)

Today, all fifty United States have some form of Juvenile Court Act patterned after the landmark piece of legislation enacted in 1899. The act, as stated above, provided a separate courtroom setting for juveniles and the mood of the court was one concerned for "the best interests of the child." Children in custody awaiting court appearance or sentencing were not placed in detention areas along with adults.

Subsequent legislation also provided that juvenile criminal histories not be located or placed with adult criminal histories and that juvenile criminal histories be

expunged automatically without court order upon reaching the age of seventeen. Also the quality of the child's care could be monitored by the court under the Juvenile Probation System. At long last our legislators realized that there must be a separate system of justice for juveniles. Today there are still some essential differences in the system of jurisprudence for the care and treatment of juveniles. For instance, they are not entitled to a trial by their peers. The rules of evidence are also different for juveniles than for adults; Juvenile Court allows for the admission of "hearsay evidence" in the courtroom procedure and juveniles, unlike adults, are not permitted to make bond.

On July 1, 1899 the first session of the Juvenile Court was held and Mrs. Alzena Stevens, a resident of the Hull House, volunteered to be the first Juvenile Probation Officer. The institution of the Juvenile Probation System in Illinois represented an early alternative sentencing strategy soon to be copied throughout the country. The guidelines for the Juvenile Probation System were vague and legislation did not even provide for salaries of those employed in this noble task. By 1911 many of the problems had been worked out and the Juvenile Probation System consisted of thirty-seven dedicated probation workers.

Mary Bartelme, a moving force for improvements in juvenile welfare brought experience, and compassion to the Juvenile Court as one of its most outstanding justices.

Bartelme represented the rise of a new type of woman who concentrated solely upon one aspect of welfare improvement. She was the beginning of a long line of women who would perform their public services from a trained, professional point of view. This almost coincided with the new century, as well as with the decline in the matronly Chicago ladies who expended family wealth. With Bartelme, one sees the development of public service directed FROM a professional point of view rather than TO a professional group. While she retired from the court in 1933, she was nevertheless the inspiration for the creation of six "Bartelme Houses" across the city where "wayward" girls would find lodging and meals.

Lucy, born 1837, was the adopted daughter of a Boston family of substance. Her father, Samuel E. Coues, was a Democratic politician who moved his family to Washington, D.C., but saw that Lucy was educated at the Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn. After a brief stint as a clerical worker at the patent office, she decided upon a career in education. She moved to Madison, Wisconsin in 1859, and taught in the local high school, and conducted her own school. She married the attorney James Flower and they enjoyed the births of three children (Farwell, 1924).

The Flowers moved to Chicago in 1873 and she almost immediately became interested in civic affairs. In 1875, she became a member of the Board of Trustees of the Chicago Home for the Friendless and the Half Orphan Asylum. She never

balked at approaching government to utilize the services of these institutions. Upon learning that the police did not forward parentless youths to these homes, she discovered the county government held responsibility. To demonstrate the problem, she attended a meeting of the Board of Commissioners where she placed a child on a chair before the President of the County Board. She was asked by a commissioner if she intended to leave the child to which she responded in the affirmative. They capitulated and agreed to expanding help to such destitute children (Farwell, 1924, p. 5).

In 1880 she served as President of the Illinois Training School for Nurses. In 1886 she led the movement to establish state industrial schools whose need arose from her perceptions at the Home for the Friendless. She contributed a considerable amount of money to the creation of a school at Glenwood for delinquent boys. As her daughter noted in later years:

Here, as often afterwards, Mrs. Flower evinced that unusual trait--the ability to lead a revolution against her own accomplishments because she saw the need of something more useful than the fine things which she had already achieved. (Farwell, 1924, p. 18)

If her catholicity of interest was more unusual for her times, the new accomplishments in her later years were most remarkable.

In 1888, she founded the Lake Geneva Fresh Air Association to provide the children of the slums with an opportunity to experience the outdoors and the possibility of

other living styles. In 1891, Mayor Hempstead Washburne appointed her the third woman ever to be a member of the Chicago Board of Education. As Chairman of the Committee on Compulsory Education, she became acutely aware of the dilemmas of the children in the schools relative to other factors in their lives (Addams, 1910). During her three years on the board, she was a strong advocate of kindergartens, manual and practical training, bathtubs in schools, day schools for the deaf, and teacher salary increases.

For her board work, the Republican Party nominated her for Trustee of the University of Illinois, and she was subsequently elected in 1894 as the first woman trustee (State of Illinois, 1968). She suggested to her friends that they form the "Every Day Club," a group that was committed to social improvement. The club took the radical position for its time of being composed of members from all classes of society. This group met for lunch or dinner to discuss the problems of the day, and to propose solutions.

It must be mentioned at this point that there were some dissenting opinions regarding the juvenile court and juvenile justice. The evils of orphanages and asylums have long been the subject of movies and literature. Harriette Dunn and her brother William, a Chicago attorney, fought tirelessly against "the crimes against children under the cloak of charity." Most of their criticisms were targeted toward the placement of

neglected and abused children outside of the state of Illinois.

Children were placed in twenty-six states outside of Illinois, and in ninety-five counties inside of Illinois. Placements have increased 320 per quarter in Illinois. As long as trafficking in children is profitable it stands to reason that placements will double and triple every year until there is not a free child in Illinois. Our state should nurture these children like a soul and protect them like a citizen, not transport them like a chattel. (Dunn, 1912, p. 13)

Certainly there were some "horror stories" about treatment and placement in juvenile welfare institutions. In general it can be said that the system provided a needed service to children and families that were the victims of overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, inadequate medical and health services and all those problems associated with the large movement of immigrants to the urban areas.

One of her greatest triumphs of Mary Bartelme came with the establishment of the Juvenile Court; it was Mary Flower who provided the constant energy to establish it; Mary Bartelme provided the needed structure.

She has as much to do with the drafting of the Juvenile Court Law, the Parental School Law, the Saint Charles School for Boys and other laws as any other person in the state. She not only assisted in preparing the bills that were introduced in the legislature, but systematically and in a very business-like way kept in close touch with every movement relating to the bills from their inception until they became laws. . . . Immediately upon the Juvenile Court being organized it was Mrs. Flower who at once proposed the plan of Volunteer Probation Officers. (Hurley, 1927, p. 17)

She remained active in other civic affairs until her compulsory move to California where she died in 1920.



The rise in interest about youths and the law came as the immigrant population was burgeoning in the city. There was no hint in the activities of these women of any prejudice against such "foreign groups" as the Catholics or the various non-English-speaking populations of southern and eastern Europe. Women from wealthy backgrounds were the primary leaders in the concern over these populations and the implementation of their ideas were promulgated by women who had entered those professions which were previously male dominated and controlled.

The uniqueness of these women is certainly evident in their scope and intensity, yet their efforts were being subtly influenced by the need to place such programs into the public sector. It is not surprising, then, that many of these women were active in educational ventures as well as those which affected the physical well-being of the children. There was a silent but strong trend to associate the amelioration of problems through educational goals, as demonstrated by the Parental School and related institutions. The next logical step was to place these concerns in the institution which most likely would accommodate these interests. That institution became the public school system.

## CHAPTER IV

### WOMEN IN EDUCATION--1871 TO 1917

As the last chapter has indicated, there was a strong religious orientation and influence in the attempts to improve both the quality of life and educational programs of nineteenth-century children. The women involved in these activities were those that were relatively free to do these things because they were members of the upper economic classes. Daughters of wealthy and successful men married husbands from similar backgrounds and their status in life permitted them to participate in charitable efforts often related to their religious convictions.

With the rise of the Progressive Movement, which stressed the role of government in improving the living conditions of Americans, many of the charitable institutions which had been privately funded were now beginning to receive public monies. Moreover, certain new social programs were evolving through specific government fiat. For example, the Juvenile Court established in 1899 arose from the recognition that children needed special protection. Not surprisingly, women from upper class backgrounds took leading roles in these novel approaches to the solution of increasing social

problems. The first woman to bring about change was Eliza Chappell Porter.

Eliza Chappell was born in Genesco, New York, on the fifth of November in 1807. She was the eighth child of Robert and Elizabeth Chappell. The family would boast that they are descendants of "Les Chappelles" Huguenots who were banished from France in 1688 by order of the Edict of Nantes. They fled to England for religious freedom. Eliza's mother claimed to be a descendant of Elder William Brewster the leader of the pilgrims which landed at Plymouth in 1620. They were forced to relocate to Genesco because of "some defect in land titles." Robert Chappell died shortly after their move to Genesco in 1811 leaving his widow to care for their eight children. Eliza, a frail and sickly child, attended Presbyterian church school during the day and then toiled till the late hours on chores and tasks around the farm. The family accepted the responsibility for the care and upbringing of three cousins after the passing of an aunt and uncle.

Eliza, a deeply pious young lady, studied at the Rochester school to be a teacher and became a missionary and embarked for the frontier. She founded a school at Mackinaw Island at the American Fur Company and subsequently founded the Chappell Infant School Society. She took a schooner to Chicago in 1833. While staying with a certain Major Wilcox and his family at Fort Dearborn she established the first school in the city of Chicago at the fort. The school was a

success and in 1834 Chappell moved the school to the Presbyterian church where it became the first Chicago Public School.

The first money from the Chicago school fund was paid in 1834 to Miss Eliza Chappell, who kept the school in the Presbyterian church. . . . There were no other sources of income for the school but \$2.00 per quarter paid by the parents. (Herrick, 1924, p. 25)

Miss Chappell gave an exhibition of school work done by the students to promote the school which was "highly satisfactory to her and to her patrons." Many of the older girls stayed on at the school. "After getting in this older class of pupils it was decided to fit them for teachers so this became the first normal institution in Chicago" (Porter, 1982, p. 102).

Eliza and her husband were involved in charity work with the privately funded Northwest Sanitary Commission, an organization which broought health and religious care to captured Confederate soldiers imprisoned in Chicago's Camp Douglas and other Illinois sites. They accompanied General Sherman on his "march to the sea" treating the sick and injured and caring for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. After leaving Atlanta she and her husband persuaded President Lincoln to have sick and injured soldiers returned home. Following the Civil War they worked at the mexican border and upon returning to the Chicago area Reverend Porter founded Beloit College. She died on January 1, 1888 at the age of 81 and was buried along with her husband at Rosehill Cemetery.

A marker at her grave clearly states her importance to school in America: "First school teacher in Chicago . . . founder of several schools and leader in the Missionary Council of the Women's Board of the Interior" (Grave marker, Rosehill Cemetary, Chicago, IL).

#### Kindergarten Movement

In 1856, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, the wife of Carl Schurz, an advisor to President Lincoln on German-American affairs, established the first kindergarten in the United States. Carl and his wife Margarethe had been forced to leave Germany for political reasons in 1848. They settled in the German-American community of Watertown, Wisconsin.

It was to this predominantly Germans-speaking population that Mrs. Schurz wanted to instruct in the kindergarten method. While in Germany she had the opportunity to study under Frederick Froebel, the founder of the kindergarten movement. Soon class was moved to a permanent school building which is preserved today as a historical monument (Watertown Historical Society, 1983). When the family relocated, following Carl Schurz's appointment as ambassador to Spain, the kindergarten was temporarily discontinued.

It was when Carl Schurz was Ambassador to Spain that Margarethe Schurz met Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and Susan Blow. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody established the first English speaking private kindergarten in the United States in Boston,

Massachusetts in 1860 (Graves, 1917). Elizabeth Palmer Peabody also founded the American Froebel Association, an organization of teachers and administrators established for the purpose of disseminating the teachings of Froebel. Miss Peabody owned and operated a bookstore in Boston. It was here at her bookstore that she met Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Hawthorne married Sophia Peabody, Elizabeth's sister, in 1842 and Elizabeth became Hawthorne's publisher. Elizabeth's other sister Mary wed Horace Mann, the famous educator and founder of the "Common School." Miss Peabody's gardener for a short time was Henry David Thoreau. Through these friendships Elizabeth Palmer Peabody was able to impact on the schools in the United States. She remained an activist for education and Indian rights until her death in 1894. At the age of seventy-nine she began raising money for American Indian schools and lobbied in the Boston area for the establishment of settlement houses for the poor and homeless.

The development of the kindergarten movement in the midwest is a result of the efforts of Susan Blow and Alice Putnam. Susan Blow, the daughter of Henry and Minerva Blow, was born in St. Louis, Missouri in 1843. Henry T. Blow, her father was appointed United States Minister to Venezuela by President Lincoln in 1861 and later in 1871 he was named United States Minister to Brazil by President Grant. In 1849 a conflagration that almost destroyed the city of St. Louis

forced the entire Blow family to relocate to Carondelet, a section just to the south of St. Louis. It was at the DePress school in Carondelet that Susan Blow persuaded William Torrey Harris, then superintendent of schools, to open the first public kindergarten in the United States. The kindergarten was an immediate success and in less than ten years, reports the Carondelet Historical Society Newsletter (1976), 8,765 pupils were enrolled in the kindergarten. Miss Blow also established a training school for teachers of kindergarten, wrote seven books on kindergarten theory and training, and translated Frederick Froebel's work Mother's play from German to English.

A pupil of Susan Blow, Alice Putnam had served apprenticeship in St. Louis and returned and founded the Froebel Association and the first kindergarten in Chicago in 1874. Mrs. Putnam has also been credited with founding the Kindergarten Magazine and kindergarten training programs. As a result of the work of Alice Putnam, Ruth Grey wrote in "the Keilhau of America" which was published in the Kindergarten Magazine, called Chicago "the hub of the kindergarten movement." Private kindergartens and kindergarten associations began developing throughout the United States. Private kindergartens had begun in Chicago as early as 1874. However, the first public kindergarten in Chicago was begun in 1886. Elizabeth Harrison along with Mrs. John Crouse were to establish a training school in Chicago known as the Chicago Kindergarten College. This kindergarten college expanded and

became what is known as the National Lewis University in Evanston.

The whole kindergarten movement in Chicago grew out of a class formed by Mrs. Putnam for the study of Froebel. This class grew into the kindergarten association. (Van Der Walker, 1908, p. 17)

The Kindergarten Association began publishing The Kindergarten Magazine in 1889 which later became Kindergarten Magazine. In 1891 Kindergarten Magazine announced:

On April 21, as a celebration of the 109th birthday of Froebel, the Kindergarten Magazine sponsored a gathering of all Chicago, and of many from neighboring states. Among the speakers and special out of town guests . . . Ella Flagg Young, Mari Ruef Hofer, Professor William Tomilson, Bertha Payne, Elizabeth Harrison, Mary W. McCulloch, William Hailman, Mrs, E.A. Blaker and Miss Mary Law. (Kindergarten Magazine, 1891, Vol. 3, p. 11)

As it is shown, the kindergarten began to take on a national importance and by 1892 Miss Elizabeth Harrison spoke to a national convention of state and city superintendents of education on the significance and importance of kindergartens in American Education. The World's Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, in 1893 hosted three major exhibits on the kindergarten movement sponsored by various organizations many consisting of demonstrations and workshops. Many other organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union also had small exhibits promoting the establishment of kindergartens and other child related reform programs. The kindergarten had its humble beginnings in private settings. Its influence now through its exposure to large groups of people from all over the world at the World's Fair now became



international in scope. Although it had already taken root in Europe through Froebel's own students, the gospel of the kindergarten was now being spread throughout North and South America by American apostles to the kindergarten movement.

In 1893, Mary McDowell opened a kindergarten at the Northwestern University Settlement Association. As was mentioned before the first program established at Jane Addams' Hull House was the kindergarten conducted by Jenny Dow. The Chicago Woman's Club and various private associations had encouraged and established the development of kindergartens.

In 1881, Dr. and Mrs. Joshua Smith, already known for their philanthropy, opened and operated a kindergarten at the Pacific Garden Mission located at Clark and Van Buren Streets. The purpose was not only to serve the initial educational needs of the waifs it "adopted," but also to act as a missionary site for Christian activities. The mission had already dedicated itself to the homeless men of the city and to those bound to the curse of alcoholism. Charity was tied to religious conversion:

At the Old Lighthouse personal workers look upon every man as a precious soul for whom Christ died, and they desperately want to communicate the Gospel to such men. Likewise, women personal workers deal tenderly with homeless mothers and fallen women of the street. (Adair, 1970, p. 29)

The kindergarten movement also received a boost from Miss Matilda Ross who established kindergarten activities at the Cook County Normal School founded in 1867, and the school which was the precursor to both Chicago State University and

Northeastern Illinois University. The fervor for the kindergarten movement led to the establishment of the Free Kindergarten Association, an organization which was founded by Mrs. R. D. Fowler, Mrs. A. P. Kelley and Mr. T. C. Macmillan in 1881. The growth of the organization was slow, but it steadily added to its membership of donors and leaders, like Philip Armour and his wife.

While Miss Ross served as the first superintendent, she left after four years and was succeeded by her protege Eva Whitmore. Because of the increasing needs for specific training in kindergarten work, the association sent Whitmore to New York for study with established kindergartens and even supported her for seven months in Europe. She began to keep a record and tracking system for all of the students, at that time a revolutionary idea. The association became known nationally as a premier training program for kindergarten teachers.

The association was proud of its record in training teachers and in establishing kindergartens:

The Chicago Free Kindergarten Association supports and operates twenty-one free kindergartens, located in the most destitute and therefore worthy parts of the city, with some twenty-five kindergartners (i.e., teacher) of their own training in charge. Each of these averages an attendance of sixty children. The spirit is nonsectarian in both training classes and kindergartens, but the Bible itself is used freely in the daily work. The Association makes a conscientious effort to bring spiritual training to all the children, in due proportion to all the other work, and employs the Scripture texts in their symbolic values only. Every sentiment selected for a background to the daily work is lived out by the children, and they are led to learn the

truth by "daily doing," even as they are taught of external things. (Putnam, 1893, p. 737)

As the facilities became increasingly cramped, the decision was made to move the association and its training school to the Armour Institute in 1893. The association's school lost none of its independence and was not interfered with by the administration of the institute. An enriched curriculum was established based upon the known concepts of educational and learning psychology:

The classes of this central course are based upon the developing rather than the lecture method, so that each student gains, not alone the thought and point of view of the training teacher, but of each fellow student, and in addition her own comprehension is enriched by her effort to elucidate to another. This central course begins with varied studies in reminiscences of the student's own childhood, the recalling of familiar experiences with children, and their daily unobtrusive sympathetic observations of them, leading to the discovery of the fundamental principles of Froebel's teaching. This involves psychology of an informal kind, not the Herbartian, but that expressed by Professor James, of Harvard, and Dr. Dewey, of Chicago University. (Cross, 1974, pp. 512-513)

The Chicago Association was proud that even in its early years it was able to influence the founding of other such training programs in the United States by women who were graduates of the Chicago Association:

Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Isabel Carpenter) Louisville, Kentucky (Anna Bryan) Toledo, Ohio (Mary and Emma Law) Albany, New York (Olive Smith) New Haven, Conn. (Frederika Beard) Chautauqua, NY. (Frances Newton) Lansing, Michigan (Mrs. M. Adams) Springfield, Mass. (Abbie Waters) Gorham, Maine (Nellie Cloudman) Alma, Michigan (Clara Dillingham). (Kindergarden Magazine, 1891, p. 11)

Over time, the Association raised the training period from one to two years believing that quality was of greater importance than quantity.

### The Role of Mary McDowell

Ohio born Mary McDowell, niece of Civil War General Irvin McDowell, entered the field of social work and reform in 1874 when she was twenty years old. She represents the transition between care of the child to care of the adult. She spent years at Hull House where she developed the starting principles for the social service movement. It was Addams who recommended that she head the University of Chicago's settlement house where she became affectionately known as the "Settlement Lady." The settlement house was opened in 1894 by the efforts of the Christian Union of the university. The first dwelling site was an apartment at Ashland and 47th Streets.

She was an already experienced worker in the field for she established a kindergarten at the Northwestern (University) Settlement house in 1893, an organization which she had helped to found. At the University of Chicago facility, she did the same. She opened a kindergarten for the children in the settlement area and established many social programs which imitated and improved upon those with which she had worked on at the Hull House. Over the years, it was

common for prominent national and international figures to visit her site and commend her on her accomplishments.

Her efforts as a social worker included doing political work with local officials in order to impress upon their minds and hearts the necessity for government intervention in the social ills of the city. She travelled widely and studied European methods of garbage removal. Although she was a losing candidate on the Progressive ticket for County Commissioner, her sensible approaches to reform government and social welfare led to her appointment as Chicago Commissioner for Public Welfare under the short reform administration of Mayor William Dever (1923-1927), a former alderman and judge who had worked closely with Jane Addams.

McDowell founded The Woman's City Club, and served at the first president of the Illinois Women's Trade Union League. The anti-Black riots in Chicago in 1919 inspired her to become the executive of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, and a member of the Urban League's executive board. An antiwar activist, she was Chairperson of the Committee on International Cooperation of the National League of Women Voters. Not unexpectedly, she was director of the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League.

Her interest in education never waned. In 1895 she secured one thousand dollars from the Daily News to open the first vacation school in the Seward School for children who were never able to get out of their neighborhood during the

summer months. During the school year in 1895 she had parents encourage the Board of Education to introduce manual training into the regular curriculum. The board acted quickly and positively in this matter. The manual training program has been believed to be somewhat of a conspiratorial act by educational leaders to keep the working class in their working chains; the efforts by McDowell and others clearly indicate that the movement was from the reformers and the community in their vision to better prepare the children for jobs in the labor market which was undergoing rapid and frightening change.

Her philosophy of education often merged with that of the University of Chicago's John Dewey who was teaching and influencing a new generation in educational thought and practice:

John Dewey said the settlements were presenting the same ideas, sugar-coated, that he was trying to get into the school curriculum. From about 1895 to 1905 the school systems of the whole country were being vitalized by his slogan "Education is not a preparation for life, Education is Life." The movement for the education of the whole child was called by its opponents the introduction of "fads and frills," but it convinced the patrons of the schools and was adopted until the "Economy Program" of the . . . Board of Education swept some of the most important features out of the system. (McDowell, 1937, p. 81)

She was a leading activist in providing schooling and training for the new immigrants coming to America. She felt that in order to make these individuals "American," it was necessary to provide them with an education which stressed good citizenship as well as knowledge about their new country.

She pondered the cause of much of the social ills among these immigrants and concluded:

We wonder why there are so many children of foreign parents who are criminals. It is not the foreign born but the children of the foreign born who fill our jails. This is because we make no provision for teaching adults in our public schools. (Chicago Tribune, May 13, 1904, p. 7)

Her suggestion created a great furor in the city but it did lead to the establishment of Americanization classes for immigrants both in the public schools and in schools established by industry at on-site locations. She was greatly assisted in this regard by her friend Ella Flagg Young who served as Superintendent of Schools for the city from 1909 to 1915.

In 1936 she died at the age of eighty-one after a lifetime of social welfare accomplishments. Her legacy in educational and social welfare work is still remembered by the city she adopted. Her friendships were many and universal in scope; she believed that men and women were all "children of God."

#### Social Problems and Educational Interest

By the beginning of the twentieth century, social and economic forces had defined a new kind of America, a nation growing in leaps and bounds, but not without pains. The immense influx of immigrant populations provided an exacerbation of already seemingly endless social endeavors to accommodate these populations. Thousands monthly came to Chicago from Eastern and Southern Europe in search of relief

from the poverty and repression of their native lands, and these thousands often collided with the thousands of Blacks from the South who came north in search of better jobs, housing and presumably less prejudice from the majority of the population (Hogan, 1985). Educational and social problems were intensified with the concurrent arrival of black immigrants from the South (Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 1922).

The development of the settlement houses were initially believed to be the end-all of efforts to improve the living conditions of the new urban poor, but after a few years into the new century hopes faded as these institutions were unable to cope with the explosive population dynamics. Moreover, there was increasing resentment among the population already living in the city against those who spoke what some people called "strange languages" and had "strange" names. The leadership of the city was often insensitive to the needs of these foreigners unless they could be marshalled to provide votes for politicians who sensed perhaps that a new political reality had arrived.

Since the European immigrants were often Catholic or Jewish, their assimilation into the American social fabric was initially handled by their respective religious institutions. As in the case of Mother Cabrini, the Catholic Church took great pains to organize food and clothing drives for the newcomers as did the Jewish community of the city. In the



absence of Catholic clergy to meet all of these needs for the immigrant, there was a drive by the church to recruit religious workers from which the countries the immigrants came in order to keep them within the parameters of catholicity. This led to an even greater migration from Europe.

The settlement patterns for these newcomers often reflected the initial settlement of the same group. The number of Polish settlement areas rapidly grew from three to seven. "Bucktown" on the city's near northwest side had been home to a small Polish community since the Civil War days but by 1920 had almost as many native-born Poles living there as in the major cities of Poland. St. Stanislaus Church on Noble Street had nearly twenty thousand parishioners and for years was the largest Catholic parish in the world. The church sponsored over four hundred clubs and groups under the leadership Monsignor Vincent Barzynski. Thousands of Poles who had no jobs and no education were provided with the same under his administration.

Many of these Europeans brought their "Old World" ways, with them, including their social organization and political beliefs. Among the Poles, for example, there were five socialist newspapers, six atheist newspapers, and a Polish socialist "university" to train men and women in socialism and American labor issues. Polish Jews who often were ostracized by their German religious brethren frequently lived near their gentile Polish counterparts because of the language problems

they encountered. It was realized clearly from the earliest of immigrant days that there was a problem for these Polish Jews:

They reacted against the humiliation against the German Jewish charity and against the religious style in which the children in which their first home (orphanage) were raised. Growing business success among the leaders of the community enabled them to organize and support an orphan home within their own neighborhood and according to their own ideology. (Horwich, 1977, p. 51)

The Polish Jews founded and operated businesses in Polish (gentile) areas, and over a period of sixty years often moved their businesses to the newer areas of Polish immigration and settlement within the city. A symbiotic relationship was established that exists even to this day.

These new immigrants to Chicago initially clustered on the basis of language use. This led to the creation of the so-called "ghetto" among each of those populations. The linguistic mosaic of contemporary Chicago can be traced directly to the settlements according to language use.

#### Ella Flagg Young

The year 1909 was to bring major changes to education in the United States and in particular to the children of the city of Chicago. Ella Flagg Young was to become the first woman superintendent of a major urban school system. Her greatest accomplishment as we shall see was the implementation of the child welfare concerns into the school curriculum.

Ella Flagg Young was born to Theodore Flagg and Jane nee Reed in Buffalo, New York on January 15, 1845. Born of

Scottish ancestry, she was well aware of the struggles of the immigrant population from early in life. Not permitted to attend school because she was "too sickly" she tended the garden daily and taught herself to read. These experiences taught her self reliance and independence (1976).

At the age of seven she was permitted to attend formal schooling and she demonstrated an interest in mathematics. In 1858 because of financial difficulties the family decided to relocate to Chicago. This proved to be a difficult period of adjustment for Ella who was not permitted to advance to high school without a least one year in the grammar grade level. Later she was to drop out of school for several months. In 1860, however, she was permitted to be examined for teacher certification. Ella Flagg Young graduated from the Normal Department of the Chicago High School and her first teaching assignment was at the Foster School.

By 1865 she became the "Principal of the Practice School." She served as principal of the Scammon School from 1876 to 1879 and Skinner School between 1879 and 1887. Between 1887 and 1899 she functioned in the capacity as assistant superintendent in the Chicago Board of Education. She resigned that position in 1899 because of professional differences with then Superintendent Andrews. She completed her coursework at the University of Chicago and was awarded a Ph.D. in Education in 1900. Under the Cooley administration she accepted the position of Principal of the Chicago Normal School just prior

to her appointment as superintendent. Cooley, who was her predecessor, had begun to identify specific areas of child welfare reform. It was the energy and determination that brought these tasks into implementation. It was only through her personal knowledge of the schools and understanding of the workings of the board that she was able to develop these child-related reform concepts into the curriculum. There were many divergent views regarding the direction of reforms in the curriculum (Wilkes, 1990).

Young was well aware of the need for professional growth and development and immediately began to change the course of education in the city of Chicago. One of her first priorities was a recommendation to the Board that coursework for salary advancement of teachers be accepted from the Armour Institute (now known as Illinois Institute of Technology) since salary levels were a function of courses from accredited schools (Chicago Board of Education, Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1910). She also convinced the board of education to advance teachers' salaries for those teachers attending a state conference on outdoor activities.

Superintendent Young had a strong interest in the continued development of vocational and manual training programs. She successfully urged the Board of Education to begin additional programs in the manual arts and in cooking at seventeen elementary school located in the city (Chicago Board

of Education, Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1910). She felt that the schools and the community should work in unison to provide learning experiences throughout the summer months. She insisted that children could learn much from working and playing in the garden as she had done as a child herself.

She was well aware of the problems of poverty, the immigrants, and the consequences of constant economic change. Her concerns for the development of the child were summarized in her proposal for the establishment of "humane education."

In any plan for humane education and moral training of school children one thing must be kept in mind which cannot be made a part of any formal scheme. This is the influence of the school life itself, together with the personality of the teacher, on the formation of character. When under the care of a good teacher the children's tendencies in the school life are toward honesty, obedience, attention, to duty, respect for the rights of others, self-control, etc. (Chicago Board of Education, Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1910, p. 675)

In the development of curriculum, Young was not only concerned with developing the individual child but also with providing "humane education" to all school age children. She believed that special interest should be given to the rights and duties of citizenship and the evils of anti-social behavior. She also focused on the issues of child labor, health, and safety (Chicago Board of Education, Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1910). Early in her term of superintendency she proposed the moral training of students and the care for their well-being.

Opinions differ regarding the wisdom of defining those standards and adding direct instruction in them to the thread of endeavor. Of one thing I am confident: If schools are to develop strength to resist the evil and to practice the good, their conception of training in the virtues must comprehend more of moral activity in the class, the division, and the school than is now afforded. (Chicago Board of Education, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1910, p. 85)

In addition to a strong belief in the merits of moral training, Young also believed that a strong foundation in the basics to prepare the child for the adult world. In addition to vocational and manual arts training, she also considered good business habit to be of utmost importance. Being on time and being prepared for school were good preparation habits for the work world. Young also recommended the adoption of the "Palmer method" penmanship for use in the schools. Mr. A.N. Palmer, the business head of the Palmer Company, promised Superintendent Young that Chicago teachers would receive training in his method. Young felt that the value of good handwriting could be measured by the ability of a person to obtain and keep a job in which good handwriting is essential. The curriculum was structured to prepare the students for gainful employment by the second year of high school. She was a proponent of vocational education but believed that an educated workforce could adapt to economic changes.

It is impossible to limit all girls in the industries to dressmaking, millinery, and cooking. There is not enough demand for new dresses, new hats, and things to eat to furnish occupations for all girls that we must work in the world. More than that there are other kinds of work for which girls and women are specially adapted. If one doubts this, he needs only station himself near the factories and great commercial houses in the cities and towns to see the

large number of girls and women who are employed in the various forms of occupation that have been open to them, and to realize that it would be attempting to stem the tide of the Mississippi River in the commerce and industry to limit girls and women to the needle and the stove. (Chicago Board of Education, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1911, p. 92)

In a sense, the "humane education" consisted of the kinds of programs that were concerned with the health and well-being of the elementary school aged children and programs designed for the preparation for life's work for the secondary level students. Young saw curriculum as an introduction to life, and perhaps to the solution of the problems of life, not necessarily as an exposure to the collected cultural wisdom of the ages. It was at this time when many scholars were searching for the definition of education, that Young was seeking more practical answers. She began the "Penny Lunch" plan. Young also introduced the controversial program of sex education entitled "Personal Purity" and "Sex Hygiene." The Board backed her and relied almost solely on her good judgement (Chicago Board of Education, Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1912, pp. 516, 950).

A committee concluded that inadequate preparation in the elementary and secondary schools in even simple skills like reading and computation led to a drastic reduction in a viable workforce for the city of Chicago. The report noted that students trained at private business schools or trade schools were more competitive in the labor market.

The final report, A Report on Vocational Training in Chicago and Other Cities (1912), concluded that considerable talent was lost in urban labor markets, especially in Chicago, because of inadequate preparation of students in basic educational skills. The report noted that graduates from private business and trade schools had the advantage of obtaining a job because the latter kinds of schools prepared a better student. The schools were simply not preparing the students for the types of educational options available in the city. The study only verified the belief of Dewey and Young regarding the Progressive concept of education; that is, that the objective in the classroom is to provide the necessary skills to become a productive citizen. Another finding was that students who stayed in school longer did better than those who left earlier, and that students who made an effort to be in some kind of continuation school did better than those that did not (A Report on Vocational Training in Chicago and in Other Cities, p. 277). The report demonstrated the relationship of education to economics:

1. Employers in all grades of industry show an aversion to employ children under sixteen years of age. (p. 35)
2. The large numbers of students who are willing to pay for instruction in . . . private schools shows in a convincing way the strong demand for practical training in commercial and industrial pursuits. (p. 38)
3. To decide what trades should be taught in a trade school for girls it is, therefore, important to study the industries open to women in a given community to ascertain which employ large numbers of women; which industries require skilled workers; which offer the opportunity of a steady rise to a better position. (City Club of Chicago, 1912, p. 159)



This study concluded that a wealth of talent was being lost because of the inadequate preparation of the students in the public schools for positions which were being filled by students who pay tuition at private and trade schools in the Chicago area.

As far back as 1882, The Chicago Commercial Club had suggested a special manual training school:

The object of the school shall be instruction and practice in the use of tools, with such instruction as may be deemed necessary in mathematics, drawing, and the English branches of the high school course. The tool instruction contemplated shall include carpentry, woodturning, pattern-making, iron chipping and filing, forge-work, brazing and soldering, the use of machine-shop tools, and such other instruction, of a similar character, as may be deemed advisable to add to the foregoing from time to time; it being the intention to divide the working hours of the students, as nearly as possible, equally between the manual and the mental exercises. (Andreas, 1886, Vol. 3, p. 152).

Jane Addams, along with Ella Flagg Young, recognized a strong correlation between the role of education and the improvement of one's condition in life:

Various attempts have been made to break through the inadequate educational facilities supplied by commercialism and scholarship, both of which have failed to look at the situation as it actually presents itself. The most noteworthy attempt has been the movement toward industrial education, the agitation for which has been ably seconded by manufacturers of a practical type. . . . The early schools of this type inevitably reflect the ideal of the self-made man. They succeed in transferring a few skilled workers into the class of trained mechanics, but did not aim to educate the many who are doomed to the unskilled work which the permanent specialization of the division of labor demands . . . other good men honestly believe that if intelligence could be added to industry, each workingman who faithfully attended these schools could walk into increased skills and wages, and in time become an employer himself. (Addams, 1935, pp. 201-202)

Both Addams and Young saw the need for a curriculum that prepared the students for "an efficient and intelligent citizenship." Young felt a need to have the humanities included in the curriculum. It was her feeling that an education in the humanities added to the worth of the individual as well as bring dignity to labor (Chicago Board of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 116).

Associates of Ella Flagg Young at the University of Chicago were responsible for the collection of qualitative and quantitative data which also had influenced policy making in Illinois. For example, Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott published a landmark work entitled Truancy and Non-attendance in the Chicago Schools (1917). This work grew out of an earlier study of delinquent children under the supervision of the Cook County Juvenile Court. The work is a masterpiece of sociological fieldwork but its most important contribution is the recommendations that they presented for Chicago School. They made nine recommendations for educational reform and seven recommendations for child labor reform. A summary of their recommendations is as follows:

1. That an Illinois State Board of Education be established whose duty it shall be to supervise the standardize the enforcement of school attendance laws.
2. Prohibit children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen from employment.
3. Children may not be committed to the Parental Schools under the age of sixteen.
4. That the age of lawful employment be raised from fourteen to sixteen years of age.
5. That the issuing of working papers become a function of the Illinois State Board of Education.
6. That the issuing of working papers be given to children of the age of sixteen and meeting state guidelines.

7. That children issued working papers be monitored and required to attend school as much as is possible.
8. That provision be made to establish continuation schools for those children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen who are not at work.
9. Finally that compulsory education be provided to those illiterative minors, not presently provided for by the state. (Abbott & Breckenridge, 1917, pp. 347-349)

Abbott and Breckenridge referred these to the state legislators for recommended changes in the laws. Many of these recommendations have become law. They also made seven recommendations for schools daily operation:

1. That a standardized reliable system of attendance be used in the schools.
2. That causes of absence justifying excuse by the principal of the school be enumerated and defined.
3. That a transfer system be established to follow up on the children to assure attendance in school.
4. That provision be made for truant girls at the Parental School.
5. That a regular census be taken and maintained of total school enrollment.
6. That there be established a staff of school visitors whose duty it will be to investigate cases of truancy and provide service to the student.
7. That a Vocational Supervision Bureau be established to assist the student to find adequate employment. (Abbott & Breckenridge, 1917, p. 350)

Many of their recommendation have become a routine part of the Chicago Board of Education procedure. Truant officers, reliable attendance records and school enrollment data are only a few improvements that Breckenridge and Abbott are responsible for enacting.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY

The rise and growth of the City of Chicago from a small frontier trading post to an important actor in the burgeoning American economy is itself an important aspect of American history. The question as to how social institutions developed within the political and economic contexts of these immense changes is the main thrust of this dissertation. This study is limited to the manner by which women of the city responded to the changes around them and their focus upon the health, welfare and education of the city's youth population. Education, by definition, includes questions relative to the topic of schooling, vocational planning, and other matters related to the necessary adaptations to a changing social structure within a changing economy. This dissertation is important in providing the history of these emerging social adaptations and the ways by which some women of the city, using their personal wealth and time, were able to ameliorate those social conditions which they deemed in need of significant and immediate change.

The complexity of this history is seen in the development of concurrent economic and political changes which

also provided a panoply of possible courses of action. The nature of "government," for example, was itself changing from a belief in the Jeffersonian tradition of less governmental intrusion into the personal lives of the citizens to a belief that government had an obligation to provide for an ever increasing, diverse social agenda. These responses were themselves the product of the developing American industrial revolution, which was already in progress by the end of the Civil War, and the concomitant rise of the labor unions and other protective agencies. The United States was entering a period in which new and redefined social institutions were attempting to "protect" individuals and groups who shared some common goal. Andreas (1886) lists hundreds of social and fraternal organizations which come into existence by the beginning of the 1880s in Chicago to provide cultural, educational, protective and religious functions.

This dissertation shows the involvement of some women in Chicago in their attempts, often strictly personal in the beginning, to cultivate similar protective and life-enhancing institutions. These singular individuals were most adamant in promoting their projects as demonstrated by the commitment of their time, efforts, and money to fully guarantee that their efforts would be of value both in the short run and in the long run. With the passage of time, the efforts of some of the women of the city would be completely co-opted by public

and secular institutions, and these institutions would operate within the parameters of their own social and economic milieu.

The women selected for this study often came from the upper social and economic classes of the city. Over the period covered by this dissertation, 1871 to 1917, there were several important trends which can be identified. Since other histories of Chicago have not addressed these selected women of the city and their involvement in certain social processes, this dissertation identifies these trends based upon the research into these women's lives, education, family background, economic status, and religious orientation.

It must be noted, however, that these trends are at best exploratory for the purpose of this dissertation. The trends presented here are to indicate the particular case of those conditions which existed in Chicago during the period under consideration. As this dissertation covers the known historical periods of the Gilded Age, the Industrial Revolution, the Progressive Era, and the period of World War I, it is necessary to state that these trends are described independent of the research of those periods which seldom discusses women's participation. Only cursory mention has been made of the Prohibition and Voting Rights movements which were often those particular social and political movements in which American women were often conspicuous in leadership positions.

### Trends

In examining the lives and valuable contributions of some of the women of Chicago, it is evident that certain trends were clearly manifested. Since a trend by its nature demonstrates a movement from one situation to another, one can appreciate such conditions only by examining data and literature that covers a longer period of time than solely a few years. Each of the trends identified below is explained in terms of such changes in position from 1871 through 1917.

1. At the beginning of this period, the women cited in this study often came from well-to-do commercial families whose wealth permitted them time to indulge in their efforts for what they defined as reform; namely, to improve the living conditions of children. None of them have been identified as a graduate of a college, which itself would have been unique for their time. Their biographical and autobiographical accounts indicate that they held firm Christian church membership and often alluded to the need for Christian charity. All of the early women in this study were of Protestant backgrounds.

By the turn of the century, the profile of the women identified indicate a significant change. These women come from some of the ethnic and religious groups which were relative newcomers to America. Around 1900 one encounters women who are still predominantly from Protestant faiths, but also from Catholic and Jewish backgrounds, and whose family

background had parents who were in noncommercial, professional positions like medical doctors and lawyers. These women more often than not were graduates of not only undergraduate colleges, where women were attending in increasing numbers, but also from medical and legal colleges. Their professional education prompted them to work for social reform and improvement from within the system, not committing large amounts of personal wealth. Women from the later period were often employed with governmental institutions which specifically addressed particular social services.

2. There was a significant trend in terms of the locus of activities performed by these Chicago Women. At the beginning of the period the efforts for reform and improvement were concentrated in the individual efforts of these women. They often would found a hospital, school or other social institution based upon their own conception of what should take place. Most frequently, they would maintain such institutions with their own personal wealth as well as the donations given from their friends or other philanthropists. These individualized efforts were made available to the impoverished of the city without regard to race or religious tests for admission. The individualized efforts were continued even as other parallel organizations were adopting similar actions.

At the end of the period under discussion there was a significant change from these individualized creations to a



situation where groups began to be the locus of activity. In this later period one finds religious bodies creating hospitals and schools independent of one person's effort. The institutionalization of philanthropy and social change marked the decline of the individual woman of Chicago in attempting such changes. While women were present and active in these new institutions, they were not the primary center of such creations. Moreover, reform and concerns for social change were themselves institutionalized in such organizations as the settlement houses and what later became the School of Social Work at the University of Chicago. Women were leaders in these establishments, but their contribution was based upon professional standards rather than personal predilection. Reform and social improvement was being practiced from institutional settings rather than personal choices.

3. Chicago women at both ends of the period under consideration showed no biases against those they attempted to assist relative to race, class, religion, or politics. However, in the etiology of their efforts there is a distinct difference. The Chicago women in this study at the beginning of the period began their efforts as a function of their religious beliefs. The Protestant women often spoke of the role of Christianity in activating their efforts. Their belief was that the things which they did for others was a function of their belief in the Christian principle of helping those who had help from no others.

At the end of the period under discussion, these Chicago women voiced their concerns and actions relative to a more secular view which asserted that people in general should be assisted because of their mere existence as people. The religious motivation may have been present, but the articulation was purely secular. These latter, college educated women performed the duties of reform from a social welfare perspective which had more of a community oriented interest where religion and politics played no part in a secular society.

4. An analysis of trends relative to the economic and labor conditions of those times reveals interesting patterns. In the 1880s the efforts of the Chicago women showed a clear recognition of the need for new institutions and laws which would complement their work. Women in the nineteenth century worked to change existing institutions and laws which effected child welfare. They proposed no new institutions to carry on the tasks, but asked for legislative relief from the problem. Hence, as the industrial organizations of the Chicago economy grew, these Chicago women sought changes in the school attendance laws to keep children in school so that they would be better prepared for life. Labor unions favored the same legislation, but for different reasons: the unions would be in a better position to control access to many jobs by keeping children, at early ages, out of the labor market thus

controlling wages. The women in the early period worked independently of such groups as the unions.

By the turn of the century, the emphasis on legislative relief became a clarion call to all reformers. Chicago women now worked in tandem with labor unions, settlement houses, the courts and other social and political institutions to bring about change. This may well have happened because women were not actively included in the decision-making process from within organizations. This is quite different from the private efforts of the women in the nineteenth century who individually approached governmental bodies to provide relief.

The cause of this trend is found in the economic conditions of the United States. Between the years 1871 and 1917 there was the strong movement for governmental intervention in the problems of the new industrial state. In order to lobby for changes, it was increasingly more efficient to have large groups lobby for changes which would be reflected at the local level. Local affairs in welfare and reform followed national trends by 1917. Important changes in labor relations, large industrial conglomerates, and other assorted megalithic economic and political considerations, as well as the movement for institutionalized child welfare concerns, were taking place within the Halls of Congress and not at city hall. The Chicago women of the later years properly concentrated their professional efforts at the national level, and often within the working parameters of

large national professional organizations, none of which were available to those early Chicago women.

The economy of the Chicago area was providing the citizens with better housing, health care, city services, and education as more money became available because of changes in the financial system of the United States and the unprecedented growth of the population. As demonstrated earlier in this dissertation, the general standard of living for most Chicagoans had grown tremendously between 1871 and 1917. Food, housing and clothing had changed significantly and new consumer durables were appearing at the same time an even greater immigrant population was coming to Chicago. The emphasis upon social reform and social improvement came when the appropriate governmental bodies had the resources to address inequalities. The new immigrants to America were a different population that had to be integrated into American life. While the women of the 1870s and those of the nineteenth century defined problems as "social," the Chicago women of the later years realized that the initial problem was to be found in economic concerns.

5. Lastly, it is evident that there was a trend from private to public philanthropy. The Chicago women of the earlier period promulgated their reforms with privately solicited funds. During the later years covered by this dissertation, the women of Chicago, often already employed with large institutions or governmental bodies, worked changes

through the use of public monies. The philanthropic impetus went from private charity to public maintenance. Not surprisingly, then, the ability to effect change meant that it was necessary to work within the larger political context rather than at a merely local level context as did the Chicago women in the earlier years.

Nevertheless, there were opportunities for Chicago women at the local level, but their effects were to be local. As government assumed the larger financial role in reform it was possible for women to influence the local conditions and situations under which reform would come. In the later period there are increasing numbers of women serving on the Chicago Board of Education where changes were made. Chicago women who had long been members of women's groups, like the Chicago Woman's Club, began to see that their group's work would take place within already established schools and hospitals. These reform-minded Chicago women now themselves contributed to their organizations which then worked or contributed to on-going social institutions. The philanthropic interest never disappeared, it merely was transferred from private initiatives to secular, more public initiatives.

### Implications

The histories of the city of Chicago and the histories on social and educational reform have not been written specifically in relation to the role of women over a nearly four decade period. This dissertation attempts to rectify

this gap in historical knowledge and to suggest an approach for future histories to consider. With the current spate of research on women's studies, there has not been a history directed toward the role of women in specific charity or reform work over a given period of time and within the context of one city. Biographies and autobiographies of Chicago women have been duly published and written but without the benefit of parallel works which could suggest the kind of trend analysis developed in this dissertation.

It is perhaps quite significant that the efforts of all of these Chicago women can be considered "progressive" rather than retroactive. Chicago's reforming women were foresighted in their efforts and concerns, and one of the women studied for this dissertation held ideas which are popularly referred to as "reactionary." Whether acting from religious convictions or secular beliefs, all of these women were proactive in effecting change, never suggesting that there were better systems in previous historical eras. These urban women reflected a positive approach to social welfare and educational change which often predated more widely known views later promoted by their male counterparts.

None of these women acted with a forethought of holding a major political office which was impossible before they would have the right to vote. Their work was guided by their personal beliefs about what women ought to do as human actors on the stage of history. Reform was good because reform was

needed. All too often their ideas were co-opted by men who used these approaches to advance their own careers, excluding considerations that these men actually believed in what they were doing.

Lastly, this dissertation is written as the beginning of a new historiography of women in welfare and educational reform. What comparable studies of this kind would show in other American cities or other urban areas of the Western world is not now evidenced. One ends this work with the hope that it might be replicated in other geographic areas and might suggest other comparative studies.

## APPENDIXES



## APPENDIX A

Numbers of Persons Aided by the Chicago Relief and  
Aid Society, 1874-1883, by Categories

	1874	1875	1876	1877	1879	1881	1883
Able-bodied men with families	5,099	2,244	674	747	306	197	207
Able-bodied widows with families	1,378	677	402	382	385	374	422
Deserted women with families	292	265	302	107	86	374	364
Able-bodied single men	132	42	13	3	6	-	-
Able-bodied single women	91	29	15	10	10	-	-
Sick, and/or aged single men	151	155	36	24	19	146	154
Sick, and/or aged single women	118	176	31	21	17	265	268

Source: A Report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society (1915), vol. 1, p. 61.

## APPENDIX B

Applications to the Chicago Relief and Aid  
Society for the Years 1879-1905

Years	Total Applica- tions	Approved	Dis- Approved	Referrals	Total Aided
1879-80	9,500	3,126	6,374	--	1,617
1881-82	9,294	3,938	5,517	--	1,844
1883-84	9,511	3,994	5,517	--	1,652
1885-86	11,090	4,990	6,100	--	2,349
1887-88	11,890	5,056	6,834	--	2,111
1889-90	13,565	6,015	7,550	--	2,350
1891-92	18,625	9,960	4,510	4,155	3,860
1893-94	39,235	13,247	10,182	15,778	8,017
1895-96	30,995	7,286	6,500	17,209	4,409
1897-98	25,086	6,615	5,560	12,911	3,739
1899-00	16,527	5,168	3,675	7,221	2,654
1902-03	12,011	4,182	3,190	4,639	2,041
1904-05	--	3,358	332	1,818	1,480

Source: Private Charities in Chicago: 1871-1915, 1871-1916,  
vol. 1, p. 102.

## APPENDIX C

Percentage of Families with Income from Wife,  
Children, and Boarders and Lodgers, 1901, by  
Age of Household Head

Families with Income from:	(0-4) (20-34)	(35-44)	(45-54)	(55+)
Wife	9.5	6.1	5.4	2.0
Children	10.5	25.0	37.4	1.3
Boarders/lodgers	14.6	19.7	40.9	22.1
Totals per age group	34.6	50.8	83.7	18.5
Minimum percentage families without such income	65.4	49.2	16.3	81.5

Source: Private Charities in Chicago: 1871-1915 (1916), vol. 3, p. 562.

## APPENDIX D

### COURSE OF STUDY.

#### THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

A Course of Lectures—G. W. NORTHRUP, D. D.  
 Old Testament History—REV. A. K. PARKER.  
 Early Church History—PROF. E. B. HULBERT, D. D.  
 Baptist History—REV. G. C. LORIMER, D. D.  
 Christian Doctrine } REV. P. S. HENSON, D. D.  
                           } REV. N. E. WOODS, D. D.  
 Bible Interpretation—REV. WM. M. LAWRENCE, D. D.  
 Church Order and Discipline—REV. C. PERREN.  
 The Church Organized for Work—REV. E. O. TAYLOR.

#### SUNDAY SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.

Normal Study of S. S. Lesson.  
 Teachers' Meeting—B. F. JACOBS.  
 Practical Training in Mission Sunday Schools.

#### BIBLE DEPARTMENT.

Normal Lessons } Life of Christ (first half of year).  
                           } Life of Paul (second half of year).  
 Daily Expositions, Bible Readings and Studies.

#### MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Physiology and Hygiene. Regular Course of Study.  
 Diseases of Women—DR. WILLIAM BYFORD.  
 Emergencies—DR. DAN'L NELSON.  
 Prevention of Disease and Care of the Sick—DR. HENRY P. MERRIMAN.  
 Diseases Common among Children, with Methods of Treatment  
—DR. JAS. H. EHRIDGE.  
 Anatomy and Physiology of Women—DR. SARAH H. STEVENSON.  
 Care of Girls—DR. EMMA GASTON.  
 Hygienic Uses of Water—DR. ALICE B. HARTWELL.  
 Poisons and Antidotes—DR. CHARITY SANFORD.

#### RULES OF ORDER.

Drill in Parliamentary Usages—REV. E. O. TAYLOR.

#### MUSIC DEPARTMENT.

Vocal Lessons—PROF. E. H. NOURSE.

#### MISSIONARY DEPARTMENT.

Systematic Study of Mission Fields, Home and Foreign.  
 Methods of Organizing and Conducting Missionary Meetings and Societies; Theories Tested in the Regular Monthly Meeting of a Class Society.  
 Practical Work on Mission District connected with the School.

#### TEMPERANCE DEPARTMENT.

Systematic Study of Hygienic and Gospel Temperance, Methods of Organizing and Conducting Temperance Meetings and Societies; Theories Tested in the Regular Monthly Meetings of a Class Society.  
 Practical Work on Mission District.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT.

Domestic Economy: Daily Practice in House Work; Preparation of Work for Industrial Schools; Adaptation of Kitchen Garden Principles.

#### FIELD WORK.

House to House Visiting; Women's Meetings; Industrial Schools for Children (including Missionary and Temperance Instruction) and Sunday Schools.

SOURCE: Missionary Baptist Training School (1884).  
 Chicago: R. R. Donnelly, pp. 5-6.

**Admission to the Infirmary (Poor House) at Dunning, 1888-1908.** Figures copied and reviewed from monthly reports at Comptroller's office. Numbers finally revised and many missing early returns added through the kindness of Mr. M. T. Campbell, Record Clerk at Dunning. For all additions the writer is alone responsible.

Year	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	TOTALS
1887-88			175	196				178	161		177		887
1888-89			196	278	317	182	223		195	196	184	270	2041
1889-90	314	275	410	267	208	208	234	187	200	234	250	270	3066
1890-91	324	524	800	1305	1052	364	246	272	229	267	276		5659
1891-92	319	382	346	270	553	285	280	286	297	308	261	312	3899
1892-93	617	502	612	647	482	399	379	359	376	441	390	400	5594
1893-94	609	553	333	333	290	341	308	362	338	393	349	451	4664
1894-95	558	497	525	445	282	293	316	319	356	296	303	357	4547
1895-96	424	400	363	276	229	239	245	228	261	289	287	365	3606
1896-97	286	347	354	289	239	231	212	247	231	231	241	214	3122
1897-98	283	324	247	213	180	157	202	197	197	210	176	201	2587
1898-99	301	303	275	158	134	153	156	122	139	153	128	146	2168
1899-00	178	227	257	199	187	141	147	155	151	124	150	157	2073
1900-01	236	230	238	130	114	109	115	135	154	154	170	170	1945
1901-02	195	197	216	170	128	133	167	125	126	171	140	178	1946
1902-03	157	256	201	131	129	112	111	114	122	121	133	232	1819
1903-04	173	234	178	193	137	149	133	136	125	129	150	150	1887
1904-05	190	233	256	194	159	120	147	141	149	137	155	196	2077
1905-06	211	196	237	187	161	131	126	146	157	169	142	160	2023
1906-07	160	198	166	219	178	155	158	135	110	162	171	164	1996
1907-08	203	267	266	260	195	167	142	177	183	203	174	184	2421
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>5738</b>	<b>6151</b>	<b>6300</b>	<b>5886</b>	<b>5037</b>	<b>3887</b>	<b>3822</b>	<b>3843</b>	<b>3901</b>	<b>4192</b>	<b>4045</b>	<b>4307</b>	<b>57109</b>

\*5 Months  
 \*9 Months  
 \*11 Months  
**Admissions at the Infirmary for 19 Years**  
 May 3822 June 3843  
 April 3887 July 3901  
 Sept. 4045 Aug. 4192  
 Oct. 4307 Nov. 5738  
 Feb. 5896 Dec. 6151  
 Jan. 6300 Mar. 5037  
 57109

**Admissions**  
 Jan. 6300 Highest  
 May 3822 Lowest  
 Difference 2478  
 In each of the 19 years there was on an average 130 more persons admitted to the Infirmary at Dunning during January than May.

APPENDIX E

SOURCE: Kinney (1909). Families in Chicago Granted Material Relief. Chicago: Drovers Journal Press, p. 8.

## APPENDIX F

DISPOSITION OF CASES: VIOLATIONS, MIS-  
DEMEANORS, FELONIES.

Disposition	Violations of city ordinances (Quasi-Criminal)		Mis- demeanors (Criminal)		Felonies (Preliminary Hearings)		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Discharged .....	3,140	79.7	287	40.7	456	47.2	3,883	69.2
Nolle pros. or non- suit .....	19	3.6	1	5.7	26	7.7	46	0.8
Discharged for want of prosecution....	123		39		49		211	3.8
<b>Total discharged</b>	<b>3,282</b>	<b>83.3</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>46.4</b>	<b>531</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>4,140</b>	<b>73.8</b>
Fined .....	309	7.9	19	2.7	....	....	328	5.8
Committed to House of Correction or County Jail .....	312	7.9	182	25.9	....	....	494	8.8
Probation .....	36	0.9	176	25.0	....	....	212	3.8
<b>Total convicted.</b>	<b>657</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>53.6</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>1,034</b>	<b>18.4</b>
Held to Criminal Court .....	....	....	....	....	436	45.1	436	7.8
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>3,939</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>967</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,610</b>	<b>100.0</b>

This table shows that of the most numerous group of cases, that is, the "quasi-criminal," 3,282, or 83 per cent, were discharged; that 46 per cent of the criminal (misdemeanor) cases were discharged and nearly half of those convicted were released on probation; of the felony cases, only 45 per cent were even held to the Grand Jury.

SOURCE: Report of the City Council Committee on Crime in the City of Chicago. (1909). Chicago: City of Chicago, p. 35.

## APPENDIX G

TABLE SHOWING IN PARALLEL COLUMNS THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR  
LAWS OF ILLINOIS, 1870-1916

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION

## CHILD LABOR

- 1872 An Act providing for the health and safety of persons employed in coal mines.  
*Age and occupation.*—Employment of child under 14 in mines forbidden.  
*Enforcement.*—County surveyor *ex-officio* mine inspector.
- 1877 An Act to amend act of 1872.  
*Age and occupation.*—Employment of child under 12 in mine forbidden.  
*Enforcement.*—County board to appoint competent inspectors.
- 1877 An Act to prevent and punish wrongs to children.  
*Age and occupation.*—Employment of child under 14 in occupation dangerous to morality, health, or life forbidden. Child so engaged may be taken into custody of court.  
*Enforcement.*—No provision.

# EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR LAWS

- | COMPULSORY EDUCATION   | CHILD LABOR   |
|--|---|
| <p>1883 An Act to secure to children the benefit of an elementary education.<br/> <i>Age limits.</i>—8 to 14.<br/> <i>Period of attendance.</i>—12 weeks annually.<br/> <i>Exemptions.</i>—Mental or physical inability; completion of required course; instruction at home or in private school; distance of two miles from public school.<br/> <i>Enforcement.</i>—School directors and boards of education to prosecute offenders.<br/>           Penalty, a fine of \$5 to \$20.</p> | <p>1879 An Act providing for the health and safety of persons employed in coal mines.<br/> <i>Age and occupation.</i>—Employment of child under 12 or illiterate boy under 14 forbidden. Certain occupations forbidden under 18.<br/> <i>Enforcement.</i>—County board to appoint inspectors.</p> <p>1883 An Act to amend act of 1879.<br/> <i>Age and occupation.</i>—Employment of child under 14 in mine forbidden.<br/> <i>Enforcement.</i>—Governor to appoint competent inspectors.</p> |
| <p>1889 An Act concerning the education of children.</p>   | <p>1887 An Act to amend act of 1879 and amendatory act of 1883.<br/> <i>Age and occupation.</i>—Employment of child under 14 in mine forbidden.<br/>           Parent to make age affidavit.<br/> <i>Enforcement.</i>—State inspectors.</p>   |



COMPULSORY EDUCATION

CHILD LABOR

*Age limits.*—7 to 14.

*Period of attendance.*—16 weeks annually, at least 10 to be consecutive, at school giving prescribed instruction in English.

*Exemption.*—Mental or physical inability; completion of course of study; instruction at home or in approved private school.

*Enforcement.*—Board of Education to appoint truant officers to apprehend children and to prosecute parents. Penalty prescribed for not securing attendance of child and for misstatement concerning age of child.

1893 An Act concerning the education of children.

*Age limits.*—7 to 14.

*Period of attendance.*—16 weeks annually, at least 12 to be consecutive, at public or private day school.

1891 An Act to prevent child labor.

*Age and occupation.*—Employment of child under 13 in any store, shop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, forbidden; employed child must have school certificate.

*Exemption.*—If earnings are required to support aged or infirm relative.

*Enforcement.*—No provision.

1893—An Act to regulate the manufacture of clothing, wearing apparel, and other articles in this state, and to provide for the appointment of state inspectors to enforce the same, and to

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

*Exemption.*—Physical or mental inability; instruction elsewhere; excused for sufficient reason by competent court of record.

*Enforcement.*—Board of Education may appoint truant officers as in 1889. One member of board to be appointed to hear reasons for non-attendance.

1897 An Act to promote attendance of children in schools and to prevent truancy.

*Age limits.*—7 to 14.

*Period of attendance.*—16 weeks annually, 12 to be consecutive, at public or private day school. Term for children under 10 to commence with school year; for children over 10 not later than December 1.

*Exemptions.*—Mental or physical inability; instruction elsewhere; excused for sufficient reason by competent court of record.

*Enforcement.*—Board of Education to appoint truant officers as in 1889.

CHILD LABOR

make an appropriation therefor.

*Age and occupation.*—Employment of child under 14 in manufacturing establishment, factory, or workshop forbidden. Parent to make age affidavit for employed child between 14 and 16. Certificate of physical fitness may be required.

*Duty of employer.*—Must keep register of all employees under 16.

*Enforcement.*—State factory inspectors.

1897 An Act to regulate the employment of children in the state of Illinois and to provide for the enforcement thereof.

*Age and occupation.*—No child under 14 to work for wages. Extra hazardous employment forbidden for children under 16. Age affidavits required. Presence of child under 16 in work place prima facie evidence of employment.

*Hours of labor.*—No child under 16 to work more than 10 hours a day, 60 hours a week.

*Duty of employer.*—Must keep register of all employees under 16.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

1899 An Act to enable boards of education or boards of school trustees to establish and maintain parental or truant schools.

*Establishment.*—Mandatory within two years in cities of 100,000 or over; in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 at any time by majority vote. No school to be at or near any penal institution.

*Commitment.*—Child guilty of truancy or habitual violation of school rules may be committed by court, to be kept till 14, unless previously convicted of offense punishable by confinement in penal institution.

*Parole.*—To be granted if record is satisfactory. Child who violates parole to be returned to Parental School, and not to be paroled again for specified term. Principal of school attended by paroled child must report each month to Parental School.

*Miscellaneous.*—Incorrigible child may be transferred to reformatory. Parents to supply clothing. Rules of management in general same as for public schools.

CHILD LABOR

*Enforcement.*—State factory inspectors.

1899 An Act to revise the laws in relation to coal mines and subjects relating thereto and providing for the health and safety of persons employed therein.

(Child labor provisions same as in act of 1887.)

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

1903 An Act to amend the act of 1897.

*Age limits.*—7 to 14.

*Period of attendance.*—Public or private day school, for entire session; not less than 110 days of actual teaching.

*Exemptions.*—Same as in act of 1897.

*Enforcement.*—Same as in act of 1897.

1907 An Act to amend act of 1897 as amended in 1903.

CHILD LABOR

1903 An Act to regulate the employment of children in the State of Illinois, and to provide for the enforcement thereof.

*Age and occupation.*—Employment of all children under 14, and of children between 14 and 16 at specified dangerous trades forbidden. Girls 14 to 16 not to do work requiring constant standing; children 14 to 16 must have age and school certificates; if illiterate must attend evening school. Presence of child under 16 in work place prima facie evidence of employment.

*Hours of labor.*—Children under 16 not to work more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours a week. Night work forbidden.

*Duty of employer.*—Must keep register of all employees under 16.

*Enforcement.*—State factory inspectors.

1905 An Act to amend act of 1899.

*Age and occupation.*—Child under 16 not to work in any mine. Parent to make age affidavit.

*Enforcement.*—State mine inspectors.

# EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR LAWS

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION

## CHILD LABOR

*Age limits.*—7 to 16.

*Period of attendance.* Same as in act of 1903.

*Exemptions.*—Mental or physical inability; instruction elsewhere; excused temporarily for cause by teachers; between 14 and 16 excused if necessarily and lawfully employed.

*Enforcement.*—Same as in act of 1903.

1909 An Act to establish and maintain a system of free schools (Secs. 274, 275).

*Age limits.*—7 to 16.

*Period of attendance.*—Public or private school for entire session; not less than six months of actual teaching.

*Exemptions.*—Same as in act of 1907.

*Enforcement.*—Same as in act of 1907.

1911 An Act to revise the laws in relation to coal mines and subjects relating thereto, and providing for the health and safety of persons employed therein.

(Child labor provisions same as in act of 1905.)

SOURCE: Abbott & Breckenridge. (1917). Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 440-446

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