The Lessons of Cassandra: Classical Learning and the Classical Legacy of Jane Addams and Hull House

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Unlike the capital cities of major European countries, Washington, D.C. houses no permanent collection of classical art. In the summer of 1990, however, its National Museum of American History acquired a new, permanent exhibition of artifacts that affirms the importance given to Greek and Roman antiquity by a major contributor to our distinctive American cultural heritage. Entitled From Parlor to Politics: Women and Reform in America 1890 through 1925, this exhibition highlights the accomplishments of perhaps the most distinguished and influential woman reformer of that period, Jane Addams (1860-1935), as founder and director of Hull House in Chicago (Mayo ?Parlor to Politics?).

A statement made in 1902 by one of Addams? friends, the philosopher and educator John Dewey, accompanies the photographs and printed materials displayed to illustrate the varied activities organized at this pioneering urban social settlement. The work of Hull House, says Dewey, has been primarily not that of conveying intellectual instruction, but of being a social clearing house (Mayo ?Parlor to Politics?). Yet, as Allen F. Davis observes, from the beginning Hull House was an educational institution. Central to its early goals was a desire to extend the advantages of a college education to the working men? (Davis 130-131). The items on display in the museum exhibit include three program bulletins that document the educational, and indeed intellectual, emphases of Hull House during its formative years. All three, along with other program announcements from the same period preserved among the Addams papers, testify that study of the classical world occupied a prominent place in the Hull House curriculum for well over a decade after the institution was founded.

The Hull House Classics Curriculum and its Context

The first of the three bulletins displayed in the exhibit was issued in October 1890, only a year after Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, her former classmate at Rockford Seminary, moved to Hull House in September 1889 (Davis 66-91; Knight 65-102). It announces College Extension Classes in Greek, taught by A.W. Underwood A.B; Elementary Latin, by J.A. Ryerson A.B.; Caesar, by Miss Miller, A.B.; and Vergil, also by Ryerson. The second bulletin displayed, from March 1892, advertises College Extension Courses on Greek Art, taught by Starr herself; Caesar, by Mr. Louis Greeley, A.B. Harvard; Latin Grammar, by Mr. C.C. Arnold, A.B. Hamilton; and Ovid, by Miss Alice M. Miller, A.B. Smith, presumably the same Miss Miller recorded in the 1890 bulletin as teaching Caesar, and in the January 1891 bulletin as teaching Cicero. It also describes a Plato Club for the reading of philosophic essays led by Miss Julia Lathrop, and a lecture series including presentations on Socrates and Classical Art.
Pages displayed from the third bulletin, dated spring 1901, announce a series of nine Public Lectures on the History of the World. The first four address: ?The Appearance of Man,? ?The Development of Civilization,? ?Egypt?, and ?Phoenicia and Judea?; the next four deal with Greco-Roman antiquity. All of the lecturers on classical topics, referred to solely by their last names and the title of ?Professor?, were faculty members at the University of Chicago, at different stages of their academic careers. Some additional details about these men and their academic careers help to contextualize their Hull House presentations.

Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, at this time Associate in Biblical and Patristic Greek, inaugurated the series with ?The Story of the Greek Republic.? Between 1901, the year he delivered this lecture, and 1908, Goodspeed (1871-1962) published seven books? on Homer and Greek papyri as well as on Biblical and patristic Greek?and was then promoted from assistant to associate professor in 1910. He later became renowned as a liberal theologian and translator of the Bible. Frank B. Tarbell, Professor of Classical Archaeology, then spoke on ?Life in Hellenistic Times.? Prior to joining the new University of Chicago Classics Department in 1893, Tarbell (1853-1920) had taught at Yale and Harvard, and served as Director of the American School in Athens; by 1901 he had already published seven books on Greek history and art (Dyson 103-104).

Frank Justus Miller, then Dean of Affiliations and Associate Professor of Latin, weighed in next, on ?Republican Rome.? A founding member of the University of Chicago Classics Department, Miller (1858-1938) had by 1901 published five books on Latin poetry, including a textbook on Ovid co-edited with William Rainey Harper, by then the president of the University of Chicago; Miller would later produce the Loeb Classical Library volumes of Ovid?s Metamorphoses (Latimer ?Miller?).

Slated to give the next lecture, on ?Imperial Rome,? was Gordon Jennings Laing, at that point an instructor in Latin. A Canadian by birth and former student of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve at The Johns Hopkins University, Laing (1869-1945) is perhaps best known for collaborating with his colleague Paul Shorey, Professor of Greek at Chicago, on a revised version of Shorey?s school text of Horace?s Odes and Epodes. The volume is dedicated to the 1889 through 1895 alumnae of Bryn Mawr College, where both Shorey and Laing had formerly taught. In 1921, after serving as chair of the Chicago classics department, Laing began a new career as an administrator: first for two years as dean of the arts faculty at McGill University in his native Canada, and later?after his return to Chicago?as dean of the humanities division there from 1931-1935. Like Shorey, Laing would also serve as president of the professional organization for classicists, the American Philological Association, in 1924-1925 (Latimer ?Laing?). Finally, James Westfall Thompson, then Instructor in European History, would round off the series with ?Dissolution of Rome and Foundation of Modern Politics and Industrial Life.? A versatile and prolific European historian, Thompson (1869-1941) would rise to the rank of full professor at Chicago before departing in 1933 for the University of California at Berkeley.

Other program bulletins issued during the first decade of Hull House, from June 1890 through the midwinter of 1900, establish that classes in Latin were regular and classes in Greek frequent curricular offerings, with female instructors often teaching the Latin classes and occasionally teaching the Greek classes. The fall term of 1890 and the spring term of 1892 are not unique in offering three?rather than the more customary two?Latin courses. In April 1891 Alice Miller is said to be teaching both Ovid and Latin prose composition, and C.C. Arnold elementary Latin; in September 1891 Louis Greeley is advertised as teaching Caesar, Alice Miller Ovid, and Mr. Edward Blanchard, B.A. Beloit, elementary Latin. Several years later, in the January, February and April 1897 bulletins, a Miss Young, A.B. Wisconsin, is recorded as teaching courses in both beginning and intermediate Latin, and a Mr. E.C. Moore as teaching courses in both advanced Latin and Greek.
Among the female instructors, Alice Miller is listed as teaching Cicero in January 1891, and as teaching Latin prose composition along with Cornelius Nepos in January 1893. In that same term a Mr. B. Learned, A.B. Harvard, is said to be teaching elementary Latin. Miss Young is listed as teaching both beginning and advanced Latin in a number of bulletins from 1895 onwards, before eventually being succeeded by a Miss Johnson, also A.B. Wisconsin. 12

A Miss Turner, A.B. Michigan, is advertised as teaching Greek in both January and April 1893; a Miss Zimmerman is reported as the elementary Latin teacher in October 1893, with Jane Addams? nephew, John Addams Linn, A.B. Wake Forest, doing the more advanced course on Latin reading that term. 13 Zimmerman?s name surfaces again, in the spring and fall of 1894 and 1895, as the instructor in elementary Latin; in Fall 1894 an H.W. Brant is teaching Latin Reading. 14 Lastly, a Mrs. Russell Whitman, also A.B. Smith, is recorded as the intermediate Latin instructor in February 1894; although the bulletin does not indicate as much, this was Alice Miller, who had married Whitman in April 1893. While bulletins from the midwinter of 1900 and thereafter announce that Greek and Latin courses will only be offered if six or more applications are received, it warrants note that Miss Landsberg?who ordinarily taught courses in English literature?offered a Latin class in 1902.15

These bulletins likewise attest that courses on ancient history, Greek art and classical literature in translation figured among the Hull House curricular offerings in the 1890s, and that several lectures and special events during this period dealt with classical topics. The January 1891 bulletin lists a College Extension Course on Roman, the October 1894 bulletin a course on Greek, History. In October 1893 Starr led a ?reading party? on the translation of Homer?s Odyssey by Butcher and Lang, and taught a course on the history of Greek art; in January 1895 Starr gave a formal course on the Odyssey. The topics of the fall 1894 Social Science Club lectures include Socrates, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. A series of public lectures in 1897 traced the debt of the nineteenth century to Egypt, Greece, Rome, Medieval Europe and the Renaissance. In December 1899 Miss Mabel Hay Barrows of Boston trained a group of Greeks resident in Chicago to perform a six-act play in ancient Greek based on Homer?s Odyssey.16 Seven years later, she directed a troupe of identical ethnic background, this time all-male, in a production of Sophocles? Ajax, apparently in the original Greek (Wrigley and Davis). Meanwhile, the public lecture series of 1903-1904 featured recitations of Euripides? Alcestis and Sophocles? Antigone by two University of Chicago professors, R.G. Moulton and S.H. Clark. 17

What I (and doubtless others familiar with the landscape of U.S. classical studies, both at the end of the nineteenth century and today) find striking about these Hull House courses, lectures and performances is the larger educational context in which they occur. According to the March 1892 Hull House bulletin, the classes in the College Extension Department charged fifty cents a course, and were staffed by volunteers, ?chiefly?college graduates. Of the twenty-five College Extension Courses advertised in that bulletin, fourteen have female instructors; of these women, four are identified as graduates of Wellesley, and four as degree-holders from other women?s colleges. In addition to her courses on Caesar, Cicero, Ovid, and Nepos plus Latin prose composition, Alice Miller is listed in the 1892 bulletin as offering a class on Political Economy.

The 1891 bulletin records J.A. Ryerson, the elementary Latin and Vergil instructor in 1890, as supervising the ?library hours for working boys?, called ?Young Citizens? Club; it notes that Greeley, the instructor of the course on Caesar, was also teaching a class on bookkeeping. It specifies that one class on calisthenics and sewing is for Italians only. A ?Working People?s Social Science Club??for discussing such topics as ?Strikes,? ?Trade Unions? and ?Socialism??shares billing with the 1890 courses on beaux arts and belles letters.
The 1892 bulletin mentions the newly opened Bureau for Women’s Labor, sponsor of lectures in the Diet Kitchen and on proper care of little children. It announces the availability of Women’s Gymnastic Classes for members of the Bookmakers? and Shirtmakers? Union; it heralds the formation of the Columbian Guards (?a company of twenty-five lads?pledged to good citizenship and a clean city?); it also lists such lectures of the Working People’s Social Science Club as ?Child Labor,? ?The Chicago Police? and ?Labor Organization.? The 1901 bulletin announcing the series of public lectures on world history by University of Chicago faculty members details a subsequent lecture series on industrial history. Its topics include ?Labor Conditions Among the Jews? (by a woman, Mrs. A.M. Simons), ?Slave Labor in the Roman Empire,? ?From Slavery to Serfdom? and ?The Day of the Craftsman and the Institution of Workmanship,? by Professor Thorstein Veblen, the celebrated University of Chicago sociologist and economist.

How are we to explain the seemingly anomalous participation by university classics faculty in these events, and the seemingly anomalous integration of these Latin, Greek and other classical studies classes, into the educational program at Hull House? After all, neither the writings nor the growing body of studies on fin-de-siecle American classicists would suggest that as a group they shared a commitment to or even any sympathy for the avowed aim of Hull House: that of transforming impoverished immigrants into productive American citizens by effecting large-scale social, political and economic reform, and particularly by promoting organized labor. Nor does our evidence on American classicists at this time imply their strong support for educational environments dedicated to the acknowledgment and celebration of ethnic diversity, especially at institutions heavily staffed and in fact run by women, feminist women. In this period even the classics faculty at the all-female Bryn Mawr College consisted of males such as Shorey and Laing. The APA only had its first woman president, Abby Leach of Vassar, in 1899; it did not have a second, Elizabeth Hazleton Haight, also of Vassar, until 1933 (Briggs ?Leach?; Lateiner ?Haight?).

Indeed, the discipline of classics had a fairly conservative stamp at this time, even at the new institution of higher education taking shape not far from Hull House itself. In a 1991 article, E. Christian Kopff called attention to the reactionary political and cultural views of Paul Shorey, who was appointed to the chair of Greek when the University of Chicago was founded in 1892, three years after the establishment of Hull House. Citing Shorey’s proud claim that he ?preached conservatism,? Kopff likens Shorey’s 1928 essay in *The Atlantic* entitled ?Evolution: A Conservative’s Apology? to an 1892 contribution to the same monthly: ?Creed of the Old South,? written by the vocally conservative Gildersleeve, whom Shorey greatly admired.

Kopff goes so far as to ascribe prescience as well as superiority to Shorey’s alarmist concern that the educational reformers of his day ?will wipe the slate of everything that antedates Darwin’s The Descent of Man.? Hyperbolically, Kopff asserts that ?Shorey would not be surprised at the New York State Regents? denunciation of ?Eurocentric? education and the Reverend [Jesse] Jackson’s ?Western Civ has got to go.? (Kopff 1991). But if Shorey shared Kopff’s own distaste for curricular change, then it warrants particular notice that Shorey’s junior and less senior Chicago classics colleagues apparently still felt free to further the counterparts and precedents of late twentieth century educational reforms. By participating in this lecture series, they furthered Hull House’s efforts to view the achievements of Greco-Roman antiquity together with those of earlier Mediterranean cultures, and to foster a wider awareness that Asian and African as well as European traditions furnished the roots of Western civilization.

The integration of classical studies into the Hull House curriculum may at first glance seem less anomalous than the participation of university classics faculty at Hull House events. Invoking an essay by George Kennedy, Marie Cleary remarks that in the nineteenth century ?Latin was required for admission to practically every traditional liberal arts college or university, and widely required for the Bachelor of Arts degree.? Cleary then observes that in 1899-1900, when comparatively few Americans were enrolled in
public high schools, 50.61% of those attending studied Latin, even though only 10.82% were preparing for college (Cleary 12-14).\textsuperscript{22} Materials displayed in the “From Parlor to Politics” exhibit from the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C., founded by Nannie Helen Burroughs and opened in 1909, also demonstrate the privileged academic position of Latin at that time. They list four years of Latin along with such subjects as Negro History in describing the high school curriculum for its African-American clientele.

Nevertheless, it is instructive in this context to look at course descriptions from the catalogue of Rockford Seminary, the \textit{alma mater} of Jane Addams herself. Owing in part to Addams’ own efforts when she was still an undergraduate, Rockford became a college granting the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1882, and awarded her one of its first four degrees that year (Tims 25; Davis 21-23; Knight 42). These listings?not only of Rockford’s college preparatory Latin requirements but also of its undergraduate Latin offerings, including electives?do not even mention some of the Roman authors taught at Hull House, such as Alice Miller’s specialties of Cornelius Nepos and Ovid.\textsuperscript{23} By the same token, few college preparatory programs at the end of the nineteenth century resembled Hull House by offering classes in ancient Greek. Cleary furnishes statistics showing that in 1899-1900, the same academic year when more than half of the students in U.S. public high schools studied Latin, only 2.85 % of all high school students were taking Greek (Cleary 15-16).\textsuperscript{24} The Hull House classes on Greek literature in translation, the lectures on Greek and Roman subjects, and the recitals and performances of Greek literary works further bespeak a belief in the value of classical studies generally, not merely a recognition of specific, minimal college preparatory requirements in Latin.

\textbf{Jane Addams and the Classics}

We can better understand the high valuation accorded to the classical world during the early years of Hull House by examining the lifelong interest in Greek and Roman antiquity evinced by Jane Addams herself. I would like to now document this interest, suggest that it helped energize Addams’ social activism and inform her political thought, and argue that this interest explains the prominence given to classics in the Hull House curriculum during its earliest years. Latin and classical studies loomed large in Addams? academic preparations for entering Rockford in 1877. As a ten-year old she rose at 3 A.M. to read Pope’s translation of the \textit{Iliad} and Dryden’s of the \textit{Aeneid} (Linn 26). Davis reports that her father paid her five cents for each of Plutarch’s \textit{Lives} that she finished (Davis 8-9).

One of the two items from Addams’ high school years catalogued among her papers is a cryptic page, dated 1875, that contains two Latin phrases and her signature. The other is a translation of books one through four of Caesar’s \textit{Gallic Wars}, dated 1876 and 1877. Addams? Rockford transcript records that she enrolled in required Latin classes during her first and third years (apparently exempting the required second year class on Cicero), and in an elective Latin course, evidently on Tacitus, during her fourth. Winifred Wise’s 1935 biography of Addams for children states that Addams met Ellen Gates Starr in Latin class (Wise 69). Courses in ancient history and on ancient literature in translation also figured in Addams? academic program. Class notes filed with her Rockford papers include a long list of questions about the historical background and veracity of Shakespeare’s \textit{Julius Caesar}, as well as a statement beginning “The world received from classical culture the two ideas?state and rationality?.”\textsuperscript{?}

The Rockford transcript documents that Addams began the study of Greek, an elective, in 1878, her second year. Addams’ nephew claims that she “concentrated on” Greek and Natural Sciences, the latter in preparation for her studies at the Woman’s Medical College in Philadelphia, which she entered after leaving Rockford, only to drop out after seven months when she suffered a complete physical breakdown (Linn 59 ff.; Tims 23; Davis 27-29; Knight 39-41). By the spring of 1880, Addams had attained sufficient
proficiency to deliver the Rockford junior class oration in Greek. She chose as her subject Bellerophon, likening the mythic hero’s victory over the Chimera to the winged idealism that can conquer social wrongs (Wise 80; Knight 30). Unfortunately, the Greek oration is not preserved among her papers.

At her Rockford commencement the next year, 1881, Addams presented a valedictory address in English, entitled ?Cassandra.? After comparing the mythic seer’s tragically discredited powers of prophecy to the socially undervalued intuition of women, she summoned all women to gain ?what the ancients called auctoritas? and demonstrate ?that intuition is a way to knowledge and truth.? She described the feminine ideal to which she herself aspired, by proclaiming ?The opening of the ages has long been waiting for this type of womanhood. The Egyptians called her Neith?The Greeks, Athene; the Romans, Justice, holding in her hands the scale pans of the world. Now is the time for a faint realization of this type, with her faculties clear and acute, from the study of science, and with her hand upon the magnetic chain of humanity? (Addams papers; Davis 22-23; Knight 33-34)

Adams experienced eight years of physical illness and personal unhappiness between graduating from Rockford and founding Hull House. In her autobiographical Twenty Years at Hull House, she characterizes two particular winters, spent in Baltimore, where her stepbrother was studying for his doctorate at Johns Hopkins and her socially ambitious stepmother hoped to find her a suitable husband, as ?the nadir of my nervous depression and sense of maladjustment.? But she fondly remembers ?the fascinating lectures given? at Hopkins by Rodolfo Lanciani of Rome on Roman archaeology. She also relished her visits to Rome, Athens and Naples while on two extended tours of Europe during this period, undertaking a serious study of the early Christian catacombs in the eternal city. Her project, however, was terminated by a debilitating attack of sciatic rheumatism (Lasch 19-25).

Jane Addams? writings during the years at Hull House emphasize the importance and relevance of Greek and Roman culture not only for her own progressive mode of thought but also for all contemporary Americans. She cites the classical heritage of Greek émigrés to argue that newcomers to the United States must take pride in the accomplishments of their natal countries as well as adopt American ways. In her own words: ?You will not be able to substitute anything half so valuable as the child?s loyalty to his parents and his home traditions?You must not take away, you must add?[Has a child] been properly taught if he never learns to recognize that the Greek peddling bananas at the corner once wakened ever morning in sight of the Acropolis, and what that sight has meant to him?? (Linn 236). As Daniel Levine discerns, ?Addams favored a pluralistic society in which assimilation did not mean an elimination of differences? (Levine 156).

Classical allusions run vividly like a bright colored ribbon through her work. In a 1909 essay published as The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets, Addams hails the ancient Greeks as a paradigmatic precedent for integrating the erotic drives and glorifying the subcultures of young people. After invoking the characters of Diotima and Socrates in Plato?s Symposium, she reflects ?Perhaps we need to take a page from the philosophy of the ancient Greeks?To the Greeks virtue was not a hard conformity to a law felt as alien to the natural character, but a free expression of the inner life. To treat the fundamental susceptibility of sex which now?drives young people themselves into all sorts of difficulties, would mean to loosen it from the things of sense and to link it to the affairs of the imagination?.to speed it on through our city streets amid spontaneous laughter, snatches of lyric song, the recovered forms of old dances?It would thus bring charm and beauty to the prosaic city? (Lasch 94).

In her 1914 essay on behalf of female suffrage, ?The Larger Aspects of the Women?s Movement,? Addams maintains ?even the conservative Boers...of South Africa had given the right of franchise to the women who had trekked and fought and ploughed by their side in the spirit of the early German women
who evoked the admiration of Tacitus.? (Lasch 161). She evokes the work of the classicist Gilbert Murray in her preface to The Long Road of Women’s Memory. A spiritual reflection written in 1916, it combines her strongly feminist and pacifist views with her interest in women’s oral reminiscences (Addams ?Long Road? ix ff.).

It warrants notice that several letters from and about Addams to the African-American civil leader Mary Church Terrell, herself a classics major at Oberlin College, date from these years of Addams’ intense involvement in the world peace movement. A brief note from Addams to Terrell dated December 1918 expresses her delight that Terrell had consented to join the U.S. delegation to the Women’s International Congress in Europe the following spring. Other correspondence reports that in November 1919, Terrell was elected to the executive board of the new Women’s Peace Party, which claimed Addams as honorary president. Terrell would later, in 1929, firmly refute the charge that she had criticized Jane Addams for pursuing a policy of segregation in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, stating “I owe a great deal to Miss Jane Addams and her co-workers which I shall never to able to repay.”

Addams dedicated her final book, The Excellent Becomes the Permanent, to her friend and fellow Hull House resident Dr. Alice Hamilton, citing Plato as the inspiration for her title. Her nephew worried that “Perhaps its feeling is too Greek to permit the volume to become a Christian handbook?” (Linn 397). But, as Alice Hamilton’s autobiography movingly documents, Addams was greatly in Hamilton’s debt. Remembered as the founder of industrial medicine, and as the first women to be appointed to a faculty position at Harvard, Alice Hamilton vocally admired, and had at one time seriously studied, Greek antiquity and its literature (Hamilton 36-37, Sicherman 23) She shared this passion with her elder sister Edith Hamilton, an educator who in the early 1930’s was launching her second career as a best-selling author on classical and particularly Greek culture (Hallett ?Edith Hamilton?).

Another Hull House resident with classical interests merits our attention in this context as well: Clara Landsberg, daughter of a Reform Jewish rabbi, who was mentioned earlier as teaching a course on Latin in 1902. Landsberg had attended Bryn Mawr College with a third Hamilton sister, Margaret. The two became life partners, although they lived apart for several decades: Landsberg resided at Hull House, and taught German and Latin in Chicago; Margaret taught science in the lower division of the Bryn Mawr School for girls in Baltimore, where Edith, a Bryn Mawr College alumna as well, served as headmistress from 1896 through 1922. They were eventually able to live together as a couple when Edith hired Landsberg, despite the opposition of her supervisor?M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College and founder of the Bryn Mawr School in her native city?to hiring Jewish faculty and admitting Jewish students (Hallett ?Edith Hamilton? 130-132). Alice Hamilton is buried with Margaret and Clara, Edith and her life partner Doris Fielding Reid, their sister Norah and her mother in a graveyard in Hadlyme, Connecticut, where Alice, Margaret and Clara went to live after their retirement.

Jane Addams? special affinities with the classical world were publicly recognized in 1910, when Yale University awarded her the first honorary degree it had ever given a woman, with a Latin phrase that the Roman poet Vergil used in his epic Aeneid to characterize the Carthaginian queen Dido: Dux Femina Facti (Linn 239). Like Dido in Book 4 of the Aeneid, who was driven to suicide by the fama, “ill repute,” that destroyed her public credibility when her lover Aeneas abandoned her?Addams gathered her share of invidious fama. At the height of World War I she was denounced as an unpatriotic, self-important, pro-German “ass” for her pacifist views, and for advocating “weird measures” and championing “impossible people”to keep herself constantly in the headlines? (Davis 245-246). In the decade after the armistice the Daughters of the American Revolution interpreted her pacifist activism as “doing everything she apparently can to lessen the ability of America and other countries to resist a Communist uprising and civil war?” (Davis 267). Nevertheless, she received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, the same year that Good Housekeeping
magazine named her first among ?America?s Twelve Greatest Women,? and was revered at the end of her life as a ?practical humanitarian and saint,? ?the feminine conscience of the nation? (Davis 283, 286).

A quarter-century ago, another University of Chicago faculty member, Allan Bloom, who shared with Jane Addams a special enthusiasm for Plato?s thought, assailed feminism as ?the latest enemy of the vitality of classic texts.? (Bloom 65). Paradoxically, he and his followers also lamented that classic texts, among them those that we classicists cherish, are forced to serve the dynamic purposes of present-day political activism, including feminist agendas. We do well to remember that Jane Addams used the texts, and the ideas, of Greco-Roman antiquity when promoting her own, inclusive, humanitarian agenda: by drawing on her nation?s diverse human resources and cultural strands to create a democracy illuminated by the lessons of the past, sustained by enlightened and productive workers, and nourished by caring civic communities; by formulating arguments and implementing strategies to achieve women?s equality and global peace. She bequeathed to subsequent generations an American cultural tradition, with a distinctively Chicago flavor, which is at the same time a feminist, activist, pluralist and democratic classical legacy, to be continued with hope and pride.

Bibliography

Jane Addams Papers: University of Illinois at Chicago. The University Library, Jane Addams Memorial Collection (on microfilm and available at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). These papers include Hull House bulletins and yearbooks; Addams? translation of Julius Caesar?s Gallic Wars; Rockford Seminary bulletins; Addams? undergraduate notes and a transcript of her speech ?Cassandra.?


Includes letters from Lucia Ames Mead to Terrell on November 19, 1919; Addams to Terrell on December 20, 1919; Terrell to Addie Hunton on February 1, 1929 (?If I thought the W[omen?s] L[nternational] L[egacy] was pursuing a policy of segregation now I should not hesitate to say so?. I feel like emphasizing my gratitude toward and love for the women who stand at the head of the W.I.L. I owe a great deal to Miss Jane Addams and her co-workers which I shall never be able to repay?).

1. The exhibit, ?From Parlor to Politics,? was reviewed by E. Boris in Radical History Review 50 (1991) 191-203. Knight?s review of work on Addams since 1960 on 275-279 discusses and tries to account for the renaissance of work on Addams? [sic], but does not mention the exhibit.

2. For Addams? friendship with Dewey, see Hamilton 65; Lasch 175-199; Davis 96-97; Knight 94. As Lasch observes, 176: ?It is difficult to say whether Dewey influenced Jane Addams or Jane Addams influenced Dewey. They influenced each other and generously acknowledged their mutual obligations. Hull House and Dewey?s experimental school at the University of Chicago constantly exchanged ideas and personnel.?

3. Davis also notes that in 1902, after Addams became disillusioned with the settlement?s early educational goals, she wrote, ?The academic teaching which is accessible to workingmen?is usually bookish and remote, and concerning subjects completely divorced from their actual experience?The men come to think of learning as something to be added to the end of a hard day?s work?? In view of the many women teaching in the College Extension, Addams? emphasis on its male clientele is noteworthy.

4. For the full list of courses in Latin, Greek and classical subjects, and of lectures and special events, at Hull House from 1890-1904, see the Appendix. Although I have been unable to identify Ryerson, he may have belonged to the prominent Chicago family of steel manufacturers and philanthropists. Underwood would appear to be Arthur Waring Underwood, a lawyer born in 1863 who graduated from Williams College in 1884 (Leonard 580).

Alice Miller published an article on ?Hull House? in a New York periodical, The Charities Review, in February 1892, pp. 167-177; on 171, describing the College Extension program, she observes that it was staffed by graduates of Michigan, Toronto, Williams, Yale, Wellesley, Harvard, Smith, Beloit and Rockford.
Several letters by Miller, who graduated from Smith in 1883, as well as by her older sister, Helen Lyman Miller, class of 1880, are housed in the Smith College Archive.

A brief autobiography written by Miller’s grandson, Manly W. Mumford (1925-2003), http://www.mumford.cx/mwmpblog.html provides the information that she was the granddaughter of Roswell P. Mason, mayor of Chicago at the time of the Great Fire of 1871, and married to Russell Whitman, a descendant of various Pilgrims including Edward Winslow, second governor of the Plymouth Colony. She is consequently the Mrs. Russell Whitman recorded as teaching intermediate Latin in February 1894. According to the 1911 Smith College Catalogue of Officers, Graduates and Non-Graduates, she taught at Miss Rice’s School for Girls from 1890-1892, married in April 1893, and gave birth to the first of her five children: Helen, Mumford’s mother, on April 28, 1994, during the last term that she taught at Hull House.

5. For Starr and her friendship with Addams, see Lasch 2-7; Davis 12 ff., especially 45-85, and Knight 27 ff., especially 59-68, 83-86 and 250-251. For Louis A. Greeley, see Leonard 243: after graduating from Harvard College with honors in Chemistry in 1880, he attended Harvard Law School for two years, then practiced law in Chicago and eventually became a professor of law at Northwestern University in 1902. I have not been able to identify Arnold.

6. For Lathrop, see Hamilton 73; Lasch 177, on John Dewey’s participation in Lathrop’s Plato Club; Davis 75 ff.; Knight 121-123. Like Addams, Lathrop had attended Rockford Seminary, but transferred to Vassar College after a year, graduating in 1880.

7. I have drawn these biographical details from the biography of Goodspeed that accompanies the Edgar Johnson Goodspeed Manuscript Collection at the University of Chicago.

8. Among these Bryn Mawr College classics alumnae was Edith Hamilton, B.A. and M.A. 1894, sister of Hull House resident Dr. Alice Hamilton, both of whom will be discussed further below.

9. I have taken these biographical details from the biography of Thompson that accompanies the James Westfall Thompson papers at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

10. For Burchard, see Davis 75 and 92, who identifies him as Hull House’s first male resident. Burchard, who also guarded the paintings at the art exhibit at night and took dictation from Addams, later became the Secretary of the National Community Center Association.

11. I have not been able to identify either Young or Moore.

12. I have not been able to identify either Learned or Johnson.

13. For John Addams Linn, who was killed in France while volunteering for the YMCA in World War I, see Hamilton 232, Davis 256; and Knight 215, 225, 228. His brother James Weber Linn, a University of Chicago alumnus and later English professor, was Addams’ first important biographer (Tims 12-13).
14. I have been unable to identify Brant.

15. For Clara Landsberg (1873-1966), who was at this time the head of Hull House’s evening classes, see Hamilton 78 and 360; Sicherman 141 ff., Hallett ?Edith Hamilton? 117 n.19 and 127 n.51, 131-132 as well as the discussion below. Landsberg lived at Hull House from 1899-1920, and for most of that period also taught German at Miss Haire’s/the University School for Girls.

16. For Mabel Hay Barrows Mussey (1873-1931), see the Barrows Family Papers at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Her husband, Henry Mussey, was professor of economics at Columbia University and Wellesley College, and twice managing editor of The Nation.

17. According to the University of Chicago Record for 1906-1907, both Moulton and Clark taught in the University Extension, Moulton—a popular British extension lecture from Cambridge University—as Head of the Department of General Literature, Clark in the Department of Public Speaking.

18. Mrs. A.M. Simons is presumably May Wood Simons, the wife of Algie Martin Simons, for many years editor of the International Socialist Review; May Simons was herself extremely active in the Socialist movement at this time.

20. See also Kopff ?Paul Shorey? 1990 and ?Shorey? who notes that when Shorey was appointed as the first professor of Greek at the University of Chicago in 1892 at the age of 35, his father sat on the Board of Trustees. For Gildersleeve’s conservatism, and apologies for the Old South, see Briggs, ?Letter of Gildersleeve to Horace E. Scudder, 1891, in Briggs, Letters: 183-184; ?Basil L. Gildersleeve? in Briggs and Calder: 109-110. For his racism, anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, see Habinek 231-236, and Lupher and Vandiver 322-346.

21. However, at least one of Shorey’s senior colleagues held strongly progressive political views. Hamilton 82-83 recalls picketing in a strike with ? Professor (William Gardner) Hale, head of the Latin Department at the University of Chicago, and finding herself ?in perfect safety? from police arrest because of his presence. She continues, ? We were discussing the poems of Catullus, his favorite Latin poet. He was tall and very impressive, every inch a scholar and a gentleman, yet he could not understand why the police would not arrest him?, Of course the police had too much sense to provide such headlines for the papers.? For Hale (1849-1928), who arrived at the University of Chicago in 1892, after teaching at Harvard and Cornell, but did not participate in the lecture series on world history, see Briggs ?Hale.? He was the first director of the American Academy in Rome from 1895-196, and served as APA president in 1892-1893.

22. For additional statistics about secondary school Latin study in the US at this time, see Kelsey, 465.

23. Indeed, the information in the Rockford catalogue about their offerings in classical studies does not provide much detail about the authors studied: a recent biographer (Knight 29) received the impression that in her junior year Latin class, Addams ?had studied the oratory of Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus?, though neither the poet Horace nor the historian Tacitus wrote oratory, and indeed Tacitus explored its
decline in his day in his *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.

24. For additional statistics about secondary school Greek study in the US at this time, see Kelsey, 466.


26. For Addams and Terrell, see Knight 227-229. Sicherman 220 quotes a letter from Alice Hamilton, dated April 13, 1919, to Addams? partner Mary Rozet Smith, stating ?The colored lady, Mrs. Terrell, is affectionate and very autobiographical. She really looks so little like a Negro that I doubt if people mostly know she is one.?

27. See also Sicherman 408-409, a letter from Alice to Rosemary Park, President of Connecticut College, for Women, in 1961. In response to Park?s suggesting that a new dormitory at the college be named for Alice and Edith, Alice insisted ?Edith?s name must come first. It is not only that her writings of Greece and Rome will always be of lasting value, while mine on dangerous trades are already out-moded, but she is the elder sister??

28. Sicherman 411; as Tims observes on 56, Norah illustrated Addams? *Twenty Years at Hull House*; she also illustrated Alice Hamilton?s autobiography.

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