1998

"A more perfect sympathy": College students and social service, 1889-1914.

Emily Mieras
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"A MORE PERFECT SYMPATHY": COLLEGE STUDENTS AND SOCIAL SERVICE 1889-1914

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Emily Mieras

1998

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

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Emily Mieras

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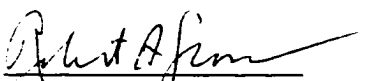

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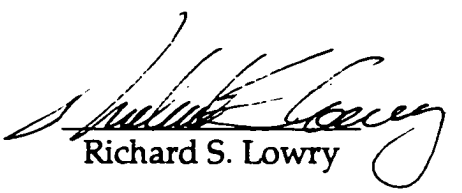

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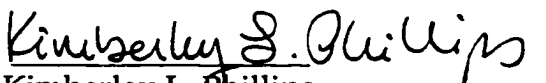

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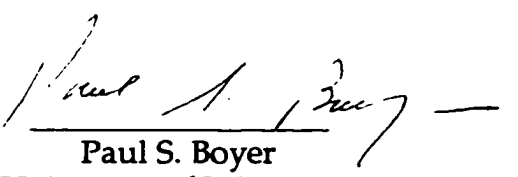

Paul S. Boyer
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although the prevailing wisdom has it that dissertation-writing is an isolating pursuit, the long list of people I must thank suggests that isolation is only half the story.

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Emily Mieras
Williamsburg, Virginia
July, 1998

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the rise of social service work among college students between 1889 and 1914, arguing that such service was a new phenomenon that both defined a distinct youth culture based on social responsibility and reconstituted the American middle class. In these years, educators and social reformers strongly encouraged students' involvement in social reform efforts, including settlement house work, community Sunday school classes and extension school teaching. Advocates of student service believed that educated young women and men had unique qualifications for helping others, that they could bridge the gap between economic and social classes, that service would help develop student character, and that reform work would enhance the practical value of a college education. For the predominantly white middle-class students who answered the call for social consciousness, service among immigrants and the urban poor became a rite of passage. In their interactions with the "other half," these young people both tested and reasserted prevailing notions of what it meant to be young, white, educated women or men.

Student service work emerged from three different, interrelated venues of social reform: Protestant Evangelical religious groups, the women's academic community and research universities. Each of these strands of reform left its own mark on the student service movement. At the Christian Association settlement house in Philadelphia, Protestant, male University of Pennsylvania students tried to reform defiant urban boys into model American citizens. At Boston's Denison House, college women incorporated their privileged experiences into reform work in order to make college life socially meaningful. At the Northwestern University Settlement in Chicago, students merged scientific impulses with Protestant convictions in their encounters with the neighborhood's working-class Polish Catholics. Students used these reform experience to shore up their own definitions of themselves as white, middle-class and Protestant and to reshape prevailing notions of gender identity. Male youth who performed service redefined manhood to incorporate nurturing tendencies usually associated with women. Women, meanwhile, used service to channel their schooling into socially acceptable and personally fulfilling paths and to justify the controversial project of female education. Though students challenged traditional gender identities for themselves, they reinforced them among the working-class and immigrant populations they encountered. Student service was institutionalized in permanent service organizations on college campuses. These associations assured colleges and universities a lasting role in promoting social reform efforts and shaping the class dynamics that helped determine the direction and content of those initiatives.

"A MORE PERFECT SYMPATHY": COLLEGE STUDENTS AND SOCIAL SERVICE 1889-1914

INTRODUCTION:

MIDDLE-CLASS STUDENTS AND THE REFORM IMPULSE

At the College of William and Mary, student community service is a "tradition," according to a 1997 article in the school's alumni magazine.[1] The magazine describes volunteer projects that include hundreds of students and range from mentoring local youths to cleaning up wildlife preserves. Appearing the same year that Peace Corps Director Mark Gearan spoke at the College Convocation, the article sounds a theme of encouraging student contributions to public service. Gearan refuted popular claims about the apathy of "Generation X," observing that many young people had already answered the call to service and urging such efforts to continue: "The great question for all of us...is how we as individuals and as members of a larger community can help solve daunting problems that confront us as the 21st century approaches. I believe that part of the answer lies in the power of service." [2] William and Mary has greatly increased its support for student service work over the past few years, partly by creating a paid administrative position for the head of the student volunteer services office. Through such efforts, the university creates a public image of institutional civic responsibility.

The College of William and Mary is not unusual. Community service draws equivalent support at colleges and universities nationwide, their efforts

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[1] William and Mary, Society of the Alumni, Fall 1997, 18-25.
[2] William and Mary News 4 September 1997.

complemented by national, government-sponsored organizations like AmeriCorps that provide students with economic incentive to do service. Some high schools have begun to require community service credits for graduation, and courses at many colleges and universities include a service component. Participants and proponents of community service at William and Mary and elsewhere celebrate its demonstration of social consciousness. Yet public interpretations of these efforts obscure its broader cultural implications, making the central assumption reflected in Gearan's speech: that promoting a sense of social responsibility is an essential part of the modern college or university's mission. The extensive service networks at many institutions suggest that volunteer work provides an integral part of extracurricular life. At the same time, these programs presume an affinity between youth and social responsibility. They also, of course, seek to address another trend in public discourse: the critique of political and social apathy supposedly prevalent among members of "Generation X." Today, in other words, it seems self-evident that community service is and should be part of the mission higher education performs for American youth.

Present-day attitudes about students' suitability for community service are far from new. However, they are not as timeless or natural as modern expressions of these ideas imply. The student social service movement has a distinct history, and the ideas that now seem intuitive emerged from a confluence of circumstances in the late nineteenth century that made fostering social responsibility among students a cultural imperative. A century ago, college students practiced service by proselytizing in urban slums, playing sports with young boys, singing college songs to groups of working-class and immigrant women, researching urban living conditions and performing plays at settlement house parties. The student service movement formed part of more

widespread Progressive Era social reform projects that scholars have amply described, but the story of student reform has gone virtually unstudied. This movement requires analysis in its own right. This dissertation offers a history of the origins of social service work among college students, setting it in the context of the social reform movements, attitudes toward youth, and discourses about class and gender that characterized the times.

The Prospect Union in Cambridge, Massachusetts encapsulates the themes of this study. This social service effort begun by Harvard students and faculty in 1891 shared many similarities with the settlement house work that became a major vehicle for student reform. Founded by Cambridge clergyman and Harvard Divinity School student Robert Erskine Ely, Harvard professor Francis Greenwood Peabody, and several Harvard College students, the Prospect Union was an extension school where university students and professors held classes and lectures for the working men of Cambridge. Within three years, the Union's membership had grown to 600, and about sixty students had volunteered as teachers.

Founders intended the Prospect Union to create closer connections between the students and the city's working men. Peabody described the organization as answering important needs for both its student-teachers and its working-class clientele:

> Here was a large body of men in Cambridge who had to work with their hands all day, but who were full of interest in the problems of the day, and saw the advantage of intellectual training; and here on the other hand, was a great University instructing a great number of young men in these same subjects of the intellectual life. Why not bring these two sets of men together? Why not make of

> the University, not merely a cistern to receive the water of culture, but a stream to convey it to other thirsty minds? [3]

Peabody expressed the concerns of his generation: the growing gap between social classes, the perceived aloofness of college students and professors and the debate over the university's public role. He also revealed his own class-based notion of "culture" and his assumption that sharing the fruits of university schooling would enrich the lives of working men.

To re-direct the cistern waters, Harvard's volunteer teachers offered classes including reading, elocution and argumentation, history, economics, philosophy, natural sciences, math, penmanship, and music. Lecturers from the University spoke on a variety of topics. Some were political: Socialism, Single Tax, Anarchism, Woman's Suffrage, Trade Unionism. Others were philosophical or academic: mythology, civilization of Ancient Babylon, "sources of happiness." The Union also sponsored outside speakers like socialist labor leader Eugene Debs, women's rights activist Lucy Stone, and social reformer Robert A. Woods. [4]

The association prided itself on its diverse membership, with one exception. Women were not admitted, although they could attend "ladies' night," which occurred every six weeks. [5] The Union acknowledged that it was "inconsistent" in barring women, but in its literature stated that the reasons were solely "practical," stemming from Harvard teachers' desire to teach only men, and the probability that "the workingmen themselves feel more of a sense of freedom and less timidity in exposing their deficiencies in education in the

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[3]Francis Greenwood Peabody, "Aims and Work of the Prospect Union," Prospect Union Review 21 March 1894, Box 2, Folder: Cambridge, Ma. Prospect Union. Pamphlets Collection, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN. (Hereafter SWHA.)
[4]"Historical Sketch," Prospect Union 1891-99, Prospect Union Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (Hereafter PU.)
[5]Prospect Union Review, April 4, 1894, SWHA.

presence of other men than if women also were present." [6] Though the association discriminated by sex, it did not restrict membership in any other areas. Its members included "black and white; twenty or more different nationalities; Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Agnostics; Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Prohibitionists, Populists, " and Labor Party members. [7] The majority of these "twenty" national groups were Canadians, Irish, Scottish, English, Scandinavian and German, which suggests that despite its claim to diversity, the Union's composition remained primarily northern European. [8] Although it did not endure much beyond 1920, the Union drew large numbers in its heyday and left a legacy in city community centers and university extension courses.

To create understanding between working-class men and privileged college students and faculty, Union staff shared their own brand of culture in their classes and lectures. Through their efforts, members believed, working men received numerous benefits:

> Their mental outlook is enlarged, the horizon of their understanding is broadened.... Wrong ideas of things and men are gradually dissipated. Possibilities of usefulness, resources of happiness, healthy ambitions have come to many a man whose life before had been a monotonous routine. Within him have been born a truer sense of the worth of men simply as men, a comprehension of the privileges of manliness and of knowledge, a sense of kinship with the best that men have been and done. [9]

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[6]"Historical Sketch," Pamphlet, The Prospect Union 1891-99, PU.
[7]Prospect Union Review 4 April 1894, SWHA.
[8]Pamphlet, The Prospect Union 1891-99, PU.
[9]"The Prospect Union 1891-1895," The Prospect Union Review 30 January 1895, SWHA.

Those who praised the Union were quick to assert that these new ideas did not make working men "restless and discontented." [10] Education merely gave them a new perspective that, if anything, could make them happier with their lot in life. Sharing "the best that men have been and done" was a tactic for dissipating class differences. Union members hoped that by welcoming working-class men into an intellectual brotherhood, they would inspire respect for their own "manliness" and "knowledge." A shared cultural perspective, perhaps, would be enough to overcome the social and economic chasm that remained when class meetings were over.

Not least important, this newfound fellowship subdued conflict by dispelling negative perceptions of the university itself, a goal the Union shared with many student service projects. Peabody expressed a common theme when he proclaimed, "It is good for Harvard students to have real friendships with the artisans of Cambridge, to know the problems and tastes of men brought up in other ways than theirs, to learn how other honest men are living; and it is good for workingmen to learn that Harvard is not a place of mere idleness and dissipation, but abounds in earnest and manly youths." [11] What would students gain from their "real friendships?" They would receive an education unavailable in the university walls, but nonetheless essential to their future lives. Work at the Prospect Union left a Harvard student "in greater measure than could otherwise be the case, prepared for the struggle which awaits him. The more he meets these men and the closer his contact with them becomes, the more he gets an insight into the actual conditions of life."[12] The Prospect Union, then, was to benefit both students and working men. The latter would gain new perspectives,

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[10]"The Prospect Union 1891-1895," The Prospect Union Review 30 January 1895, SWHA.
[11]Peabody, "Aims and Work of the Prospect Union," SWHA.
[12]"The Prospect Union 1891-1895," The Prospect Union Review 30 January 1895, SWHA.

ambitions and ideas; students would learn about a world that lay outside their privileged experiences and receive preparation for "life." At the Prospect Union, students would become socially conscious and dispel images of Harvard youth as isolated elitists. In the process, they would reform themselves even as they sought to reform others.

The Prospect Union exemplifies the student service movement in several important ways: its desire to bridge the gap between working-class people and middle-class students; its hope of providing college students with a broadening experience; its attitudes toward ethnicity; its intent to redeem college students from a reputation for being elitist and remote; and its attention to gender roles and sex differences. Educators and social reformers who encouraged service work self-consciously sought to create a youth culture marked by a sense of social responsibility. This investigation of the student service movement supplies an opportunity to study the cultural forces that gave rise to a belief in social responsibility and motivated individuals to move from discussion to action. In no way was it inevitable that college students would move beyond their books to form a united force for collective practical action to improve working-class living conditions. Encouraging students to develop a sense of social responsibility served specific ends for middle-class reformers, educators and religious leaders that shed light on their broader concerns about their society.

The impulse for student service emerged from three different venues of social reform: religious organizations, the women's academic community, and research universities. These different groups had complementary and sometimes competing impulses that illustrate the varied meanings of student reform. While they shared certain goals, they also brought different ideological programs, personal experiences, and political agendas to their work. This

project looks at three different contexts for student service work: the evangelical world of the YMCA, the woman-sponsored College Settlements Association (CSA) , and the research-oriented environment of the Northwestern University Settlement. Student work emerged first among college branches of the YMCA. As the YMCA expanded its outreach projects in the 1890s, other organizations like the CSA and universities themselves initiated student service ventures. These institutions maintained different emphases even while promoting similar ends. Together, they illustrate the multi-layered context for student reform and show the trajectory these initiatives took as they became more organized and bureaucratic.

These three strands of the student reform movement are particularly worth investigating because they reveal the major themes that characterized the movement. The YMCA-based reform efforts show the tension between religious and secular activity and the way these activities played into the association's concept of ideal manhood. The CSA provides a way to study the women's student service movement as part of a larger attempt to justify women's education and create a usable identity and future careers for educated college women after graduation. [13] Northwestern, a co-educational university founded on Methodist principles, illustrates the union between religious and scientific impulses in student reform. All three groups addressed contemporary assumptions about sex roles, ethnicity, and class identity, although they ultimately had very different ideas about the roles men and women should play in society and the extent to which the class gap could--and should--be bridged. Despite their differences, all three strands shared certain aims: to develop college students into responsible adult citizens; to provide young people--a potentially

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[13] Molly Ladd-Taylor, Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare and the State, 1890-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Kunzel, Fallen Women, Problem Girls; Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform 1890-1935 (NY: Oxford, 1991).

disruptive and liminal group--with a directed, productive activity; to contribute to bettering standards of living in poor urban areas; and to establish college students as a group with a responsibility to address social problems.

Each of the three aspects of student service expressed itself through settlement house work. Settlement houses, therefore, provide an important way to investigate the student service movement. Spatially, the settlement house also provided a logical site for student service efforts. In their domestic ideology, both settlements and college dormitories reproduced ideal middle-class homes. The settlement provided a reassuring environment for students who entered neighborhoods vastly different from those they had previously experienced, along with a physical embodiment of the values students were supposed to reaffirm within themselves and encourage in others.[14]

Scholars have produced copious studies of the settlement house movement in the United States, but though some passingly acknowledge the participation of college students, none have probed the extent of this participation or its broader meaning as part of a student service movement.[15] Furthermore, scholarship on the settlement house movement has often

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[14]John Rousmaniere discusses the similarity between the college and settlement environments, though not in spatial, aesthetic or ideological terms. He observes that students may have felt comfortable in the settlement environment because it was similar to places to which they were accustomed. "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894." American Quarterly 22 (Spring 1970) 45-66; Helen Horowitz describes the layout and ideological assumptions besides the building of female dormitories. Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their 19th Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf,1984); Dolores Hayden discusses settlement houses as communal environments, suggesting that this creation of an alternative homespace was one of their major accomplishments. The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981) 150-179.

[15]A founding text in settlement house history is Allen Davis, Spearheads for Reform (New York: Oxford, 1967). Later studies refine Davis' somewhat laudatory perspective. Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard 1978) 155-58; 222-23; Mina Carson, Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement 1885-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Numerous case studies exist on individual settlements, including Ruth Crocker, Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities 1889-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

emphasized its predominantly female composition. Settlement studies have paid much attention to the ways these establishments fostered female culture, offered middle-class women a way to move beyond the traditional boundaries of home and family, and served women as an entry point into a broader reform network. [16] In contrast, Mina Carson observes, "The American settlement movement was not exclusively a women's movement," and argues that, "It is impossible to quantify meaningful differences between the personal motives actuating the men and the women entering the settlement houses." [17] For individual motives, Carson's statement may hold true. Certainly, the philosophy that shaped settlement work, as Carson shows, was a product of both male and female thinkers. Reform leaders like Robert Woods in Boston and Graham Taylor in Chicago were as influential as Jane Addams, Vida Scudder or Mary McDowell. Importantly for this study, however, both male and female students were recruited to serve as volunteers, fellows, or short-term residents in settlement houses, and often their recruiters had different reasons for targeting each group.

This study investigates the meanings of settlement house work for college women and men. In the student branch of the settlement movement, gender made a difference. Reformer-educators who advocated student reform used different language to encourage men and women. For each, they held out the promise of self-fulfillment as the reward of helping others. But they promised distinct ways of helping these young people refine their own male and female identities. For women, this process meant creating new roles that challenged

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[16]Judith Trolander, Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers 1886 to the Present (NY: Columbia, 1987); Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," in Unequal Sisters, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990) 109-122 (orig. Signs 10, Summer 1985); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne," in Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (NY: Oxford, 1985) 244-296; Joyce Antler, "The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminine Identity 1890-1920, " Ph. D. diss Stony Brook, 1977. Muncy, Creating A Female Dominion.

[17]Carson, 49.

nineteenth-century definitions of true womanhood and justified the value of a college education. For young men active in student YMCAs, it meant reinforcing dominant male social and economic positions within a spiritual framework. For both groups, self-definition involved a process of class identification through which college men and women forged an understanding of what it meant to be middle-class, educated, and female or male in American society in the decades before the first World War.

Settlement houses marked an innovation in urban reform that built on older models of friendly visiting and scientific charity. Settlements promised a fresh approach to urban problems by attempting to address them from a neighborly perspective rather than from the evaluative position of the friendly visitor. Settlement workers rented or bought homes in poor urban areas and moved into them. Residents paid room and board fees and were expected to contribute to the house's neighborhood projects and sometimes to the upkeep of the building itself.[18] Settlers hoped that their location would supply an insider's view of city problems that included poor housing, unemployment, unsanitary conditions, crime, and hunger, as well as helping them establish friendly relationships with local people. Settlement workers distinguished themselves from charity workers, whom they believed adopted a more judgmental perspective that focused less on environmental and more on individual causes of social problems. They intended to address more systemic problems than did charity workers, who aimed at ameliorating immediate conditions. In practice, as Paul Boyer points out, the two groups employed similar tactics, such as friendly visitors, and settlement leaders adopted a judgmental stance that reflected their middle-class viewpoints.[19]

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[18]At Denison House, for example, residents paid an average of $6.50 for a week's rent. Denison House Papers, Series II. Folder 15, Minutes. 1892 -99. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
[19]Boyer, 156.

Settlement workers shared certain characteristics. As a group, they were generally white, educated, unmarried and middle-class. [20] In many cases, settlement houses did not address African Americans and viewed their problems as stemming from different causes than those of the immigrant poor. Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn has discussed the attitudes of white settlement workers toward African Americans, noting that those reformers who did address racial questions, such as Jane Addams, often interpreted the roots of black poverty as a combination of environmental influences, social injustice and the personal weakness these factors caused. [21] In other cases, reformers established separate settlements for African Americans. Lasch-Quinn also suggests a new definition for settlement work that would include religious settlements run by African Americans themselves. She describes an extensive network of such organizations. [22] This project does not address student service in African American settlements. College students at historically black colleges did participate in such ventures, but an exploration of these efforts awaits expansion of this dissertation. [23] Studying the part black students played in social reform would provide another perspective for analyzing the ways service shaped student identity. For African American students who engaged in such work, the stakes were different. Whether they saw their work as a means of racial uplift, or, like the white students, as a way of providing themselves with direction, questions of personal racial identity shaped their approach. Because this study elides that perspective, it omits this way of looking at the role that conceptions of

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[20]Davis, 33-34.
[21]Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House movement 1890-1945 (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1993) 10-17.
[22]Lasch-Quinn, 47-54 and throughout.
[23]Margaret Lowe's work on Spelman College demonstrates that women students there performed settlement work. "'Bearing the Mark of Spelman College'": Reform and the African American Female Body," paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, Washington, January 10, 1998.

race played in the student service movement. However, even at predominantly white settlement houses race was central to the way college student workers and their reformer mentors confronted the immigrant working class. When they thought about "race," they often meant "ethnicity." In the parlance of the times, they viewed working-class people, particularly immigrants, as members of another "race." Their perceptions of ethnic identity helped determine their responses and also affected the way their own identities emerged as culturally superior in the process of "exchange" between the two groups.

In their philosophy and practice, early settlement workers emulated British reformers who had founded several university-affiliated settlements. London's Toynbee Hall inspired many American reformers, and the almost mythic tales surrounding the founding of various settlement houses frequently refer to founders' trips to Europe and experiences in the London slums. Jane Addams and Ellen Starr were among the Americans who visited Toynbee Hall, and according to Addams, her visit there proved fundamental to her vision of Hull House, which she and Starr opened in Chicago in 1889. Like other settlement founders, Addams and Starr drew on the social philosophy of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin. These thinkers critiqued materialism and the emerging industrial order in nineteenth-century Britain and emphasized instead "the organic unity of mankind." [24] Ruskin injected material concerns with a sense of ethics. According to Ruskin, morality was inextricable from political and economic principles, a connection that clarified the interrelatedness of human values, the natural world, and economic systems. The measure of wealth, in this view, was human fulfillment, and ought to be evaluated on a personal, moral scale, rather than an abstract scientific one. "That country is the richest which

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[24]Carson, 2-3. Carson's Settlement Folk describes the antecedents of the American settlement movement in the British examples and in British social thought; see especially pgs. 1-50 on British influence and development of American settlement philosophy.

nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others," Ruskin asserted.[25] Settlement workers meant to exercise just that sort of influence, sharing aspects of their own experience with their neighbors, and hoping both by example and active education to encourage less fortunate individuals to pursue a better life. At the same time, their work was part of a broader reform program that imposed their vision of social order on the urban environment. [26]

The question this project considers is why students responded to the call for service, and why educators and reformers encouraged them to do so. Certainly, like any other socially-minded individuals, they may have been motivated by a sense of unease and distress at the inequities in their society. But the vehemence of rhetoric urging young people to be socially conscious, and the ways students themselves articulated their sense of social responsibility, suggests that forces beyond altruism were at work. The question remains of why social commitment emerged in such strength when it did, and why reformer-educators targeted students as a group in the way they did.

On the one hand, that students would have been motivated to become involved in social issues was not surprising. In their turn toward service, college students were like other predominantly middle-class Progressive reformers. They expressed concern about deteriorating living conditions in the cities, the widening disparity between members of different economic and social classes, the influx of southern and eastern European immigrants who increasingly

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[25]John Ruskin, "Ad Valorem," Unto This Last, in John D. Rosenberg, ed. The Genius of John Ruskin, Selections from his Writings (London, Routledge, 1979) 270.
[26]Boyer,155-58.

composed the nation's working class, and the threat these developments posed to what they saw as core American values.

The drive to involve students in social reform unified a broad range of cultural trends and ideological concerns. The student service movement united evangelical Christians, advocates of women's education, teachers of the new social science, proponents of physical fitness and muscular Christianity, eugenicists afraid of diluting the Anglo-American gene pool, psychologists concerned with character development, and urban reformers. Progressive-era reformers responded to what they saw as a nation in crisis. The tone of their response depended on their perspective. Some emphasized the commonality of all human experience and sought strategies to eliminate class conflict. Others focused on trying to contain the immigrant "threat." For some, the antidote lay in proselytizing; for others, in exclusionary immigration policies and Americanization strategies; and for still others, in efforts to create a sense of community between urban immigrants from different backgrounds.

When explaining their motivations for encouraging college students to become part of these reform efforts, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social reformers gave a number of responses. They cited their belief that these young people were particularly vulnerable to a phenomenon contemporaries termed "drift," and argued that service provided a way to anchor them and give them direction. [27] They pointed out the widespread perception that college students--and indeed, colleges and universities themselves--were hopelessly distant from the communities they lived in, wrapped up in a world of books, ideas, and recreation that had little to do with actual social conditions. Service, they argued, would neutralize the perception of educated youths as distant and

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[27]On this idea of bourgeois anxiety and drift, see T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization," in Richard Fox and Lears, eds., The Culture of Consumption (Pantheon 1983) 3-38.

elitist. They made arguments based on perceptions of essential gender characteristics, pointing out that women were particularly qualified to nurture underprivileged people, and that young men had the strength of character to serve as leaders and role models. Finally, they asserted that these young people had a unique gift to offer their society. Advocates of service believed college students' education, life experiences, and innate intelligence qualified them to help lead industrialized America out of the moral morass that they feared threatened to engulf the country's future.

College students themselves made similar claims in explaining their own readiness to staff reading rooms for working-class people, play games with immigrant children, and teach classes in urban slums. Some, like Harvard student Arthur Holcombe, touched on the theme of social responsibility: "We cannot, we must not, live for ourselves alone; from each according to his ability the world expects, and has a right to expect, contributions toward the common weal. Unless the college man comes to realize this fact while he is forming his habits and ideals, he may easily grow up into a one-sided man--a man who will receive but will not give, a man who will always be the world's debtor. "[28] Others, like Bruce Byall of the University of Pennsylvania Christian Association's settlement, emphasized the exchange of experiences, ideas and emotions that took place through settlement work: "I thought I had all the giving to do, but soon found they had just as much to give me. In short, I found that a settlement is a place where friends meet to give and take." [29] From the student perspective, then, service provided a way to contribute to society, to develop one's own character, and to create a sympathetic, mutualistic relationship with people who had vastly different life experiences.

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[28]Arthur N. Holcombe, "The Meaning of Social Service to a College Man" Intercollegian Nov 1905.

[29]Bruce Byall, "The Meaning of Social Service to a College Man" Intercollegian Nov. 1905.

Above all, contemporaries believed, service work prepared college students to contribute to society and provided a vital component of their education. The participation of students in service initiatives itself provided the proof of this assertion, according to Harvard student and Prospect Union member George Lyman Paine:

> That the student needs and appreciates acquaintance with the rushing life-struggle around him is shown in the yearly increasing number of men, who, under the inspiration and guidance of the Student Volunteer Committee, the YMCA, Mr. Birtwell and others, are taking part in every kind of helpful social work, such as Boys' clubs, Sailor missions, Chinese Sunday Schools, etc. This sort of work is essential if the University is to turn out men best prepared to further peace and happiness. The first step toward the amelioration of social conditions must be more perfect sympathy between all classes, which can come only through that mingling of the classes which will inevitably result in better mutual understanding.[30]

Paine's words reveal two underlying assumptions behind student service work. First, it was an essential component of a young person's education; second, because it increased proximity between middle-class students and working people, service was an important step along the way to solving social problems. The reformers of Paine's day tended to accept uncritically these assumptions about the necessity and consequences of student service efforts. Certainly, they

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[30]George Lyman Paine, "The Union and the University," Pamphlet, "The Prospect Union 1891-99," PU.

may well have believed their own reasons and may have genuinely felt a call to participate more fully in their society. In order to understand the cultural implications of student service work, however, it is necessary to interrogate these assumptions more critically and to investigate the social context of such assertions. Doing so reveals that the goals of those who motivated students to perform service might not have always matched the motivations of students who did the work. Similarly, the expectations student reformers brought to the communities in which they worked did not always correspond to the goals and motivations of the people who lived in the community and sought their services. Finally, investigating student reform reveals a complex set of ideas about class, gender, youth and social responsibility that provide the unstated underpinning for the student service movement.

Reformers' views about middle-class youth behavior arose partly in response to their perceptions of working class culture. As working-class men and women developed a leisure culture centered on male-female interaction, middle-class reformers sought to counter those pastimes. To them, the freedom associated with dance halls, Coney Island rides and movies meant looser sexual behavior among single, working class women and men that clashed with Victorian ideals of sexual restraint. [31] Reformers hoped to perpetuate their own moral standards. Creating the "more perfect sympathy between all classes" that Paine sought translated more often to attempting to make middle-class values normative. In practicing social service, college students joined a long history of middle class reform and benevolence in the United States that had expressed

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[31]Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) 1-10.

similar moral goals.[32] Indeed, the ethic of social responsibility itself constitutes one of the defining features of the nineteenth-century middle class.

This study presumes that a hegemony of middle and upper-middle class thought, values and goals characterized American society throughout the nineteenth century.[33] In the Progressive Era, a confluence of circumstances both tested and reaffirmed this ideological dominion. The presence of this dominant value system did not exclude the perseverance of other conflicting systems. Indeed, the dialogue between value systems is, on one level, the central feature of the encounter between social reformers--in this case, college students--and the working class and immigrant people they encountered. The story of that encounter is the story of the way each group modified or reaffirmed its own value system (or systems) in response to the other. [34] Because the balance of

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[32]See, for example, Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States (New Haven: Yale, 1990); Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, NY 1822-1872(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History. (Chicago/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789-1860 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

[33]When I use the term, "hegemony," I am following Lears's interpretation of Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony," which basically means the process by which a ruling class maintains power through "winning the 'spontaneous' loyalty of subordinate groups to a common set of values and attitudes." See No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994 (orig. pub. Pantheon, 1981) xvii-xviii; 9-10. Also Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," American Historical Review 90 (June 1985) 567-593.

The term "middle class," has been much debated. Some scholars locate the development of this group as early as the eighteenth century; others place its emergence alongside the industrial growth of the first quarter of the nineteenth. Scholarship addressing this topic includes: Stuart Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City 1760-1900 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Stephanie Coontz, The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families 1600-1900 (London/New York: Verso, 1988); Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence; Hewitt, Women's Activism; Gary Nash, The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Scott, Natural Allies.

[34]On how people whom reformers try to change also shape the terms of interaction, see Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960 (NY: Penguin, 1988); Regina G. Kunzel, Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work 1890-1945 (New Haven: Yale, 1993).

power lay on the side of the middle-class reformers, the exchange between these groups was inevitably uneven. The story of college student reformers helps explain the reproduction and continued dominance of a middle-class worldview in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These students assisted in reproducing the cultural hegemony of middle-class values as they engaged in social service work.

Late-nineteenth-century middle-class culture consisted of several core features: education, which increasingly included higher education; a sense of social responsibility; a certain set of manners, morals, and commonly held beliefs about "character"; shared rituals; an emphasis on family life; relatively comfortable financial circumstances and, most likely, a job that included working with the "head" rather than the "hands." [35] Inscribed in all these characteristics was a particular set of ideas concerning proper gender roles and order, notions that were also inextricably linked with conceptions of family life and the family's place in nurturing certain values. [36] These characteristics were not exclusive to the middle class, nor did middle-class Americans uniformly possess them. However, middle- and upper-middle class Americans defined these values in common terms that presupposed the superiority of their definitions over working-class corollaries. They also critiqued the opposite end of the spectrum: the leisured and wealthy who grew fat during the robber baron years and appeared to lack both a work ethic and a sense of social responsibility. Student reformers in working-class communities alternately challenged, undermined, and upheld these notions of middle-class culture as they went about creating their own identities as young, white middle-class American men and women.

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[35] I am drawing on Scott's parameters outlined in Natural Allies 82-83.
[36] See Coontz, The Social Origins of Private Life.

A distinct gender system characterized middle-class and upper-middle class identity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, conceptions of manhood and womanhood were highly unstable. As professional and educational opportunities began to increase for women, older ideals of female domesticity seemed untenable. Throughout the nineteenth century, a "cult of true womanhood" had defined middle-class ideals of female identity. Bolstered by the industrial revolution that took men further from their homes and widened the divisions between home and workplace, this ideal placed women at the moral and spiritual center of family life. This vision endowed women with a certain amount of power within the home; yet at the same time, it gave them responsibility for the moral welfare of their families, and, by extensions, all of middle-and upper-middle class society.[37] It also restricted the female domain to the home.

A morally superior ideal woman was also essentially asexual. The cult of true womanhood imagined middle-class women as "passionless" and therefore pure. [38] The ideology of passionlessness was new to the nineteenth century; earlier in American history, people presumed that women had "sexual appetites...comparable with men's if not greater." Paradoxically, prevailing understandings of gender also made women irrational, a trait that made them more likely to be overtaken by passion.[39] These ideas changed by the turn of the nineteenth century, with mixed effects. As Nancy Cott observes, passionlessness could work in women's favor: "Passionlessness was on the other side of the coin

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[37]On the ideology of female domesticity, see Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale, 1977); John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) 189; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," American Quarterly 18 (1966): 151-74.
[38]Cott, "Passionlessness, An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850," In Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, eds., A Heritage of Her Own: Toward A New History of American Women (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1979) 162-181.
[39]Cott, "Passionlessness,"164.

which paid, so to speak, for women's admission to moral equality."[40] The cult of true womanhood also benefited women by leading them to identify with one another. Consequently, women created strong mutual bonds based on perceptions of gender identity and forged intense female friendships. [41]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, understandings of ideal womanhood began to change. As women entered the public realm in greater numbers, prevalent beliefs about what a middle-class woman should be changed accordingly. [42] A controversial "'New Woman'" gradually emerged. She was "independent, athletic, sexual, and modern."[43] This new image became widespread at the same time that leisure pastimes became more heterosocial. These changes meant that, while women might no longer be seen as "'passionless,'" their bonds with one another became suspect. Close female friendship began to appear deviant, and the recognition of female sexuality brought with it intensifying fears of "unnatural" relationships between women.[44] At the same time, expanding opportunities for women heightened fears about the erosion of proper sex roles and the consequences such changes might have for middle- and upper-middle class Protestant visions of social order.[45] Far from accepted, the emerging New Woman was often mocked in the popular press. Images of spinsterhood proliferated, suggesting that many onlookers believed expanding women's prospects would only deter them from their appropriate jobs of marrying and mothering.[46]

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[40]Cott, "Passionlessness," 168.
[41]Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood, 1, 160-196; Peiss, 7.
[42]D'Emilio and Freedman, 189-90; Peiss, 7.
[43]Peiss, 7.
[44]D'Emilio and Freedman, 193; Peiss, 7-8.
[45]Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne," 245-46.
[46]Rosalind Urbach Moss, "Reinventing Spinsterhood: Competing Images of 'Womanhood' in American Culture 1880-1960," Ph. D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1988.

Notions of manhood were equally fluid in the late-nineteenth century United States. These years saw what Gail Bederman terms a "remaking of manhood." White middle-class men in this period perceived threats to their manhood and social power from economic, political and cultural sources. The number of self-employed middle-class men dropped, a development that diminished the chances of realizing the self-made entrepreneurial ideal. Meanwhile, immigrant and working-class men challenged white male middle-class power in politics and in the workplace, where labor unrest became increasingly common. Women began to enter previously male-dominated realms, such as the university and professions like medicine and social science.[47]

Bederman argues that the "remaking of manhood" countered these developments. This change occurred through a new ideology of "masculinity" that embraced aspects of primitivism and male passion.[48] Previously, middle-class Victorian manhood had espoused ideals of self-restraint and self-control. Within the sanctuary of marriage, men were expected to rein in their sexual passions, which were generally perceived as bestial.[49] By the turn of the century, male impulses began to be described in more constructive terms, although the ideal of sexual expression in middle-class marriage continued to be one of refined tenderness, not animal passions.[50] G. Stanley Hall encouraged support for the primitive by teaching that individual humans followed an evolutionary process that mirrored that of the whole human race. Young boys needed to pass through a primitive stage in order to become fully realized men. [51] To that end,

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[47]Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 11-14. Also see E. Anthony Rotundo, American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era (New York: Basic Books, 1993) 238.
[48]Bederman, 17-20; Rotundo, 238, 251.
[49]D'Emilio and Freedman, 179.
[50]D'Emilio and Freedman, 184-181
[51]Bederman, 92-94.

he encouraged boys to express their primitive impulses through physical activity. The Boy Scouts of America, as well as the YMCA, enacted these ideas when they encouraged athletics, camping trips and other rugged activities in young boys.[52]

The new manhood relied on an opposition between men and women, between black and white, and between different social classes. Some middle-class men at the turn of the century reacted to perceived threats to their status by opposing the entry of women into the male sphere. Still others attempted to appropriate aspects of traditionally "feminine" roles by emphasizing fatherhood and trying to re-masculinize the churches. Other men "appropriated activities which had been deemed working-class" partly through embracing sports such as boxing.[53] Bederman argues that middle-class men and women used concepts of race to redefine manhood around the turn of the century. She demonstrates that gender identity is a process that is both product and maker of historical circumstances. Paradoxically, however, conceptions of gender identity appear as natural, thereby "camoflag[ing] the fact that gender is dynamic and always changing." [54] In other words, though young men and women coming of age in the late nineteenth century could and did influence the meanings of manhood and womanhood for themselves, the ideals that shaped their visions of these definitions appeared static and intuitively true. College students who performed social service were part of these shifting gender systems. As they grew into adulthood on the college campus, they shaped their notions of self in response to these prevalent social ideas about male and female identity. Social service was one arena where they developed their own conceptions about such

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[52]Rotundo, 228.

[53]Bederman 16-17. Bederman makes a strong distinction between the terms manliness and masculinity, noting that each is historically specific and carried very different meanings at the time. I will follow her in using the terms appropriate to their context, and will use the term "manhood" interchangeably with each; when my sources use the words "manly" or "manliness" I will use them in my own text.

[54]Bederman, 7.

ideals. For both male and female students, service challenged traditional conceptions of gender identity and contributed to the "remaking" of both middle class manhood and womanhood.

If we were able to question students and advocates of student reform about their motivations, they would give various answers. They might say that service provided a unique opportunity for college students, that they were particularly qualified to perform it, and that student involvement would prove the value of higher education to the wider society. Understanding the forces that encouraged reformer-educators to advocate youth service and students to respond to their call, however, requires looking beyond the reasons they gave to see how those explanations meshed with broader social trends that influenced their actions. This dissertation will locate the meaning of student service in several areas. First, social service provided a way for adults to direct youthful male impulses into socially useful action. At the same time, it offered a direction for college women that both justified their own education and retained aspects of traditional femininity. These tactics were antidotes to a youth culture that appeared to be changing rapidly. As college enrollments increased, the duration of youth itself lengthened. Meanwhile, the work of psychologists like G. Stanley Hall popularized the concept of youth as a distinct social category. Thus, reformers encouraged young people to practice reform partly as a means of reforming youth themselves and giving them a sense of direction to counter the nebulousness of the adolescent years. For students themselves, service resolved a sense of "drift" that permeated their lives.[55] It helped them overcome a feeling of distance from real life and put them solidly in touch with contemporary social problems.

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[55]Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization" on idea of "drift."

Reformer rhetoric and students' own interests propelled them into the urban slum to do social service. Until they got there, the poor, immigrant working-class existed mainly as an abstraction. When students entered the city, however, their interactions with real people helped shape their perceptions. Reformers, no less than reformed, were influenced by the encounter. Reformer-educators believed student service would bridge the gap between social classes and foster understanding between two groups of people from widely different backgrounds. Students would gain first-hand understanding of the working-class life experience, while city dwellers would see that these representatives of the middle-class were sympathetic, involved, and had something to teach them. At least, this notion of mutuality was the ideal that drove student service. In practice, student reformers used service to reassert their own class identity. As young people in a liminal stage between childhood and independence, they found a way to identify themselves by practicing social service. This process of identification had different implications for men and women. For young men, it marked a way of reasserting middle-class male privileges; for women, service translated their privileged experiences into socially useful ones. College students' own perspectives as relatively privileged, predominantly white, Protestant young people shaped their vision of service and their own potential contributions to solving social problems.

Through their service work, students helped reconstitute the American middle class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. College women and men challenged middle-class conceptions of gender in their own reform work even as they attempted to convey traditional conceptions of male and female roles to the working class. At the same time, they helped define a new youth culture based on social responsibility. Once the student service movement entered university campuses, the link between service and education became

intuitive. At colleges and universities, the ethic of social responsibility became a permanent part of middle-class ideology.

Understanding why reformers and educators hoped to reinvent college culture as one of social responsibility means first investigating the college world they perceived at the outset of the student service movement. Higher education was very much in the public eye in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. College life was a popular topic in widely read magazines and novels. The changing content of university education, the contested admission of women, and the growth of research institutions contributed to a public discourse about colleges and universities. Meanwhile, images of college youth vacillated between a picture of promise and talent and one of unreliability, self-involvement and disruption. In part, the student service movement was an invention to counter these perceptions and demonstrate that, as Francis Peabody asserted, colleges and universities were not necessarily places of "idleness and dissipation," but institutions that could be integral to the broader society.

Chapter one investigates contemporary perceptions of college youth and the conditions that fostered the student service movement on campus. The second chapter shows the roots of student service in YMCA campus organizations, describes the type of manhood the YMCA hoped to foster among college students, and outlines the strategies campus organizations used to market themselves to other students. Chapter three describes the way campus evangelicals became involved in community service. The chapter centers on the University of Pennsylvania's settlement house, which was one of the most extensive social service initiatives launched by a college Christian Association. This chapter shows how interaction with working-class boys in a Philadelphia neighborhood contributed to college men's process of identity formation and the ways they viewed their own masculinity. Chapter four turns to the women's

strand of the student service movement, the College Settlements Association. Focusing on the Denison House settlement in Boston, this chapter analyzes the way female students made use of their college experiences in their settlement work and argues that the education they received at the settlement contributed to their own sense of class and gender identity. The fifth chapter explores the Northwestern University Settlement in Chicago, an enterprise that merged scientific impulses with Protestant convictions to determine the approaches that the settlement and its student workers took toward the neighborhood's working-class Polish Catholics. Finally, the sixth chapter discusses the legacies of the student service movement, showing how it defined a distinct youth culture, affected the lives of its student participants, and helped shape a definition of middle-class social responsibility that would become institutionalized in American college and university life.

CHAPTER ONE:
COLLEGE SPIRIT, EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS, AND THE ROOTS OF STUDENT REFORM

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reformers, religious leaders and educators gave renewed attention to shaping young middle-class Americans into socially conscious citizens. However, it was by no means a given that academia should provide the backdrop for this development. Youthful activism might conceivably have grown in other social settings, such as churches and local reform associations. Several factors came together in these years to make educational institutions appear a logical place to cultivate youthful reformers. Shifting ideas about youth, changes in higher education itself, and a broadening public discourse about young people and education set the stage for the student service movement. These issues formed part of an extensive popular discourse on higher education voiced in popular fiction, magazines and newspapers. Educators responded to contemporary anxieties about youth by promoting service, which they believed helped positively mold student character. At the same time, service improved the public images of colleges and universities in an era when the mission of education was part of public discussion.

The changing face of academia itself put higher education in the spotlight at the end of the nineteenth century. Structural and curricular innovations encouraged a spirited debate about the purpose and form of college and

university training. In the 1890s, universities established professional schools and began teaching social science. Extracurricular activities expanded. Schools also altered the content and methods of a liberal arts education. Perhaps most significantly, educational opportunities for women proliferated. In addressing these changes, educators raised the question of how best to establish the relevance of college training to civic life.

The traditional liberal arts education focused on the classics, used recitation as a means of learning and did little to integrate social concerns into its curriculum. The move toward practical application of academic experience late in the nineteenth century reflected a sense that "'real life"' lay beyond the campus. To be truly useful, education needed to address that off-campus world. [1] A gap between the new, research-oriented university and the traditional liberal arts college characterized the educational terrain of the late nineteenth century. The growth of the research university, which promoted specialized knowledge for its own sake, threatened to widen the divide between intellectuals and the wider society. As universities focused more on pursuing higher forms of knowledge, their need to demonstrate their social usefulness grew more imperative. Becoming involved in social reform was one means of doing so. If they succeeded, these schools would thrive among the powerful institutions shaping American society at the close of the century. Otherwise, they might become isolated and irrelevant.[2]

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[1]Laurence R.Veysey , The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 61-62. Veysey uses the phrase "real life" to describe the sentiments of academics who promoted "practical public service" by universities.

[2]Steven J. Diner, A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) 6-7. Diner observes, "The higher education reformers of the late nineteenth century understood that the failures of the antebellum college stemmed in large measure from its reputation as elitist, aloof , and detached from practical affairs in a period of expanding democratic ideology. Whatever their version of reform, university advocates argued for it on the grounds of its usefulness to society." (13)

Colleges followed a different course from research institutions. Though less concerned with research and professionalization, they too faced an identity crisis exacerbated by the growth of universities and professional schools. As universities became more socially conscious, some traditional colleges clung to older ideas about inspiring intellectual curiosity and teaching morality. They, too, advocated social reform as a means of teaching students about the world. For colleges, encouraging social activism meant reviving an older form of connectedness between campus and community that was eroding as campuses became more inward-focused in the late nineteenth century. [3]

By the 1870s, some institutions of higher education had begun to offer graduate study and to adopt a practical orientation. Cornell began the trend when it opened in 1868. The university's first president, Andrew White, stressed that the school would integrate practical training and scientific study into every field.[4] The university offered a "model of utility" that other schools followed. [5] These institutions were at the center of contemporary debates over the mission of American universities. Should they pursue public service, abstract research, or the refinement of culture? [6] The answer fluctuated between these goals. Many educators sought public support by connecting their ideals to the improvement of American society. [7] Universities like Johns Hopkins, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Chicago emphasized the importance of

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[3]On this phenomenon, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987); W. Bruce Leslie, Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the 'Age of the University,' 1865-1917 (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); George E. Peterson, The New England College in the Age of the University (Amherst, MA: Amherst College Press, 1964).

[4]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, Third Edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1976)161; Veysey, 85.

[5]Veysey, 81.

[6]Veysey, 12.

[7]Veysey, 72.

reaching out to their communities.[8] These schools expressed a philosophy that became increasingly prevalent after the Civil War: that educational institutions should be actively involved in public affairs and in promoting social welfare. Schools could meet these goals through outreach programs, by molding students "into a force for civic virtue," and by seeking scientific answers to social problems. [9] Extension schools that offered college courses to people outside the institution also strengthened the tie between academics and their communities. The University of Chicago had one of the country's most extensive extension programs, encompassing both fee-paying students and working-class people who attended free lectures. Chicago's program was in keeping with the university's social mission, a goal realized in the settlement house that it ran as well in as the many civic connections of its first president, William Rainey Harper. [10] From neighboring Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern President Henry Wade Rogers also expanded the university's sphere into public affairs by supporting the Northwestern University Settlement House.[11]

Like Francis Peabody, faculty leader of Harvard's Prospect Union, these educators attempted to forge ties between the academic and reform communities. Their efforts sometimes met opposition from more traditional educators who believed colleges should focus solely on intellectual work and leave public service to civic officials and reformers. [12] Economist and social critic Thorstein Veblen also opposed universities' service mission, but his criticism arose from opposition to the alliance between business and education, which he

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[8]Johns Hopkins (1876) and Chicago (1892) were founded as universities with the main mission of graduate education. Brubacher and Rudy, 184; Diner, 12.
[9]Veysey, 12, 72.
[10]Diner, 17-21; 124. On extension also see Elisha Benjamin Andrews, "Two New Educational Ideals," Cosmopolitan September 1897, 568-576.
[11]Diner, 23.
[12]Diner, 26.

believed threatened the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. [13] The growth of universities and their orientation toward public affairs occurred simultaneously with the professionalization of academia. Academic disciplines launched professional organizations in these years, a process that culminated with the founding of the American Association of University Professors in 1915. At the same time, universities established professional schools to prepare students for careers, making college a stepping stone to more advanced training.

Structural and philosophical changes occurred alongside radical transformations in the curriculum. Teachers believed what and how students learned determined the types of adults they became. Thus, changes in curriculum meant more than that students might be saved from years of Latin. Their very social development was at stake. The rise of an electives system stemmed from a long-standing debate about whether colleges should focus primarily on instilling mental and moral discipline or on fostering knowledge for its own sake. Traditional college curricula offered a classics-heavy course of study intended to cultivate character in its young students. Such rigor was believed necessary to produce balanced individuals.[14] The decline of classical studies and the rise of electives did not happen overnight. Vocal debates over curriculum began in the early nineteenth century with pioneer electives at Harvard, Amherst, and the University of Virginia. None of these attempts endured for long, however, and the infamous Yale Report of 1828 upholding the importance of a set curriculum remained far more characteristic of higher education nationwide. [15] This report set the standard until late in the nineteenth century. The electives system finally took hold during a national period of

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[13]Diner, 26. Veblen expressed these views in The Higher Learning in America, which was published in 1918 but begun in 1906 after he left the University of Chicago.
[14]Veysey, 23-24.
[15]Brubacher and Rudy, 100-105.

educational reform whose origins are generally attributed to Charles Eliot, who became Harvard's president in 1869. Eliot gradually eliminated most required courses beyond the freshman year and broadened course offerings. [16] Many other schools followed suit. By the turn of the century, many colleges had foregone requirements in Greek and Latin, and offered students great freedom in choosing their course of study.[17] The rise of electives displaced the classics from their central place in the college curriculum. Yet educators remained no less concerned with fostering character.

Most professors viewed character training as an essential part of their job. Character comprised the essence of an individual's code of ethics and attitude toward the world. It was also a gendered concept. When educators mentioned character training, they implicitly referred to men. Writers did not use the term "character" in the same way when discussing women's schooling. Yale President Timothy Dwight called for character training in the same breath as he asserted the end goal of college education to be "manliness in all things" to be fostered by teachers who were men "of true manhood."[18] Women, on the other hand, were expected to cultivate manners and friendliness, balancing their new-found education with more traditional womanly traits. [19]

To Victorian-era Americans, character was a living thing that individuals could shape, for better or for worse. [20] Popular writers of the time offered step-by-step guidance for improving character and avoiding the pitfalls that might destroy it. Orison Swett Marden, author of several best-selling books on the

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[16]Brubacher and Rudy, 111-114.
[17]Veysey, 118.
[18]Timothy Dwight, "Modern College Education: Does It Educate, In the Broadest and Most Liberal Sense of the Term?V," Cosmopolitan August 1897, 442, 441.
[19]Lavinia Hart, "A Girl's College Life," Cosmopolitan June 1901, 190-91, 194.
[20]See Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale, 1987) for discussion of earlier nineteenth-century antecedents of these beliefs.

subject, emphasized that hard work would perfect character. "Discipline, education, and experience" were the key. [21] Individuals of true character demonstrated dedication to causes greater than themselves, thereby reconciling the needs of the self with the good of society.[22] Furthermore, they avoided the temptation to conform. The person of character, Johns Hopkins President Gilman asserted, did not "go with the crowd," did not avoid difficulties, and was not directionless. College students exercised strong influence on each other merely through their proximity: "What he is becomes a part of them [his friends]. What he says and does--even what he thinks--passes, in unseen ways into their minds and characters," warned Yale's Dwight. [23] Depending on each student's character, such influence could be as disastrous as it could be successful. To acquire the desired traits, students needed effective role models: "broad-shouldered men, of good digestion, lovers of exercise in the open air, capable of enlisting confidences and of keeping them--but, above all, men of high moral and social character." [24] When realized, true character epitomized Protestant manliness. [25]

To earlier nineteenth-century thinkers like William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Matthew Arnold, character was the equivalent of culture. One who possessed it was self-reliant and able to resist temptations posed by the material world. Charles Eliot Norton extended the vision by suggesting that "men of letters" would have the job of fostering character/culture in the wider population. This process would elide social class itself, in Matthew

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[21]Orison Swett Marden, Character: The Grandest Thing in the World (NY: Thomas Y. Crowell, Publishers, 1899) 154.
[22]Marden, Character, 17.
[23]Dwight, "Formative Influences in College Life Apart from the Curriculum," Intercollegian February 1899.
[24]Gilman, " Modern Education, II," Cosmopolitan May 1897, 36-37.
[25]Marden, Character, 10.

Arnold's view.[26] These ideas emerged in late nineteenth-century efforts at spreading culture, from museums and parks to cultural endeavors in settlement houses.

Early in the twentieth century, the concept of personality began to replace character in public discussion and advice manuals. Personality was character packaged to attract a crowd but devoid of anything substantive inside the packaging. [27] The shift from character to personality heralded a shift from "inner-direction" to "other-direction."[28] Unlike "inner-directed" people of character who derived their sense of self from ideals internalized early in life, these other-directed types depended on outside acclamation for approval.[29] People with strong personalities became "forceful, impelling" leaders who could "radiate force and communicate their strength to others. "[30] Like men of character, those with strong personalities exercised compelling influence on the people they met. Character and personality provided a hidden curriculum in higher education. The distinctions between the two were not

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[26]Joan Shelley Rubin, The Making of Middlebrow Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 9-15.

[27]Warren Susman has argued that the first decade of the twentieth century saw the crystallization of a new focus on personality. Stressing self-fulfillment and self-presentation, the idea of personality overshadowed the morality-centered concept of character that had dominated conceptions of the ideal self throughout the nineteenth century. Personality, as Susman describes it, focused on achieving a "higher self" rather than striving toward a "higher law," but also included "the suggestion that the self ought to be presented to society in such a way as to make oneself 'well liked.'" These dual requirements, Susman observes, presented the dilemma of how an individual could be both "distinctive" and a crowd-pleaser simultaneously. (Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and Twentieth-Century Culture.'" In New Directions in American Intellectual History, ed. John Higham, Paul Conklin. (Baltimore :Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) 212-226. I don't see as much difference between the two concepts as Susman does, particularly in relation to the YMCA, which always stressed both moral aspects and the importance of being agreeable to others.

[28]Terms from David Riesman et al, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale, 1961).

[29]Riesman, 14-24. Riesman links the different character types to stages in population phases and social development, arguing that inner-directed types appear during times of growth and expansion. Other-directed characters emerge in eras of declining population and increased centralization.

[30]Marden, Masterful Personality (NY: Thomas Y. Crowell, Publishers, 1921) 10.

always clear-cut.[31] In describing their ideal student, educators revealed the slippage between these ideals. They valued dynamic individuals who could be leaders, but they also hoped to train moral integrity. Those who were leaders should use their charisma to entice others toward socially responsible pursuits. Students could be each others' teachers. Case Western University President Charles Thwing claimed that "Personality is the rallying cry of the modern college. This represents the consummate result of all training. 'Is man a good fellow ?' interpreted in the largest sense, represents the most important question that we can ask regarding the college man, as regarding any other man." [32] In the early twentieth century, the college became the site of personality production, a task some saw as equally significant to liberal arts education itself. [33] The era's model male student, the "good fellow," united nineteenth-century notions of character with traits that came to characterize the twentieth-century concept of personality.

In part, debates over character training expressed changing attitudes about youth itself.[34] People began to view adolescence as a distinct developmental period, lasting from the time physical maturation began until children achieved independence. The concept was not entirely new, but in these years it gained new social importance, bolstered by the child study movement launched by G. Stanley Hall.[35] As age became a more important social category, various sectors of society mobilized to address young people's needs. Advice

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[31]Rubin, 23-24.
[32]Charles F. Thwing. "Some of the Changes in the Emphases in College Life," Intercollegian June 1899.
[33]One writer made this idea explicit: "The function of the college is the development of the whole personality." Emory W. Hunt, "The Place of Chapel in an American College," Intercollegian February 1919.
[34]Scholars of youth and adolescence in American society have generally taken men as their reference point. In this study, I hope to begin a similar discussion about notions of female youth.
[35]Dorothy Ross, G. Stanley Hall : The Psychologist as Prophet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) 335.

books discussed the proper age for marriage, pediatricians denoted certain behaviors as normal for each age group, and schools instituted age requirements and divisions.[36]

Like discussions of character, attitudes about youth were gendered. One set of hopes and anxieties applied for young men; another for young women. When people discussed male college youth, they assumed that young men were to inherit social and economic power in their society. The dangers they sought to avert--whether from the college environment, student peers, or individuals' own tendencies--threatened this inheritance. Women, on the other hand, remained tied to the domestic realm. Threats to young women endangered their abilities to be wives and mothers. Because conceptions of gender identity portrayed women as naturally more reserved and restrained than men, the rambunctious passions attributed to male students were not associated with women. As the category of adolescence emerged in the late nineteenth century, it was defined mainly in reference to male attributes and challenges.

Attitudes toward youth shifted along with this new age consciousness. Nineteenth-century American culture expressed a growing esteem for youth that emerged in popular culture as well as in economic and social policies.[37] In the late nineteenth century, a new public discourse on young men and women viewed them as enthusiastic, sympathetic, energetic and uniquely talented. These ideas, however, coexisted with older notions about the unruliness and unpredictability of young people, particularly young men. Attitudes toward youth had never been unequivocally positive. The idea of youth and the presence of actual youths were two different things. [38] Perceptions of youth in

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[36]Howard Chudacoff, How Old Are You? Age Consciousness in American Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989) 49-64.
[37]David Hackett Fischer, Growing Old In America (NY: Oxford, 1977) 122-40.
[38]This point is one I think Fischer ignores.

earlier decades often broke down along class lines, particularly when middle-class citizens faced the specter of unruly working-class young men. Indeed, young gangs were a common feature in nineteenth-century cities, and young men or boys were often the ringleaders in riots, public demonstrations, or the mob celebrations that characterized Christmas. [39] Such working-class demonstrations challenged local elites' security. Anxiety about disorderly youth grew stronger at the end of the nineteenth century, when reformers concerned about urban conditions saw street children as a major manifestation of the problem. Newsboys particularly troubled reformers. Often homeless, these independent and resourceful boys represented an inversion of the social order. When a Salvation Army Christmas dinner for them in 1902 erupted into a chaotic food fight, they acted out the "misrule" that made middle-class people anxious.[40]

Of course, how different was a food fight in a banquet hall from a bowl fight on a college green? Rambunctious college students were the middle-class counterpart to unruly street youth. Educators who sought to restrict such behaviors feared the uncontrolled passions of young men. Epitomizing his era's ambivalence toward adolescence, psychologist G. Stanley Hall believed the answer lay in channeling male passions to productive ends. In his view, adolescence was a turbulent time of rapid changes and growth in body, mind and feelings. New energies resulted from these transformations.[41] College, then, needed to be regimented like high school in order to assure that young men develop properly. [42] The stakes for Hall were high: If young men did not

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[39]See for example, Susan Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple: 1986), and Penne L. Restad, Christmas in America , A History (NY: Oxford, 1995) 39.
[40]Stephen Nissenbaum, The Battle for Christmas (Alfred A. Knopf, 1996) 124-25; 254-57.
[41]Ross, 326.
[42]Ross, 323.

achieve their full potential, they would become "effeminate" and dilute the country's manly vigor. They would also dilute the power of white Anglo-Saxon manhood. Gail Bederman locates this fear in late nineteenth-century discourses about race and civilization. For Hall, she observes, young boys' primitivism assured normal maturation. If they did not experience a period of instinctual expression, they would become effeminate. Racial degeneracy would result. [43] In Hall's view, only white, Anglo-Saxon young men would evolve to the highest possible level. Cultivating those individuals was therefore essential to preserving and furthering American society.

Hall did not apply his theories about primitivism and maturation to women.[44] But college women also challenged middle-class gender conventions. They claimed alternatives to woman's traditional place in the home. Sometimes, they lived outside the patriarchal household in close proximity to other women under circumstances that critics feared would promote same-sex sexual relationships. Women college graduates continued to challenge male dominance in the professional world by entering new careers like social work. In their own way, then, they appeared as dangerous to educators, psychologists and social critics as the young men whose youthful passions erupted in sports, bowl fights and college pranks. Like young men, young women had potential for good, but it required careful channeling into socially useful venues.

When educators and reformers attempted to infuse young people with social consciousness, they responded in part to their own anxieties about youthful passions and development. Late nineteenth-century college life fueled their fears. Extracurriculars were a central part of the college world and of college students' public image. Student literary societies had been established for

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[43]Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 77-88.
[44]Bederman, 97.

decades, as had some fraternities. But in this period, students began organized dramatics, started publications, formed singing groups, joined social clubs like fraternities and participated in intercollegiate sports--all activities not directly related to the curriculum.[45] Non-academic activities continued to draw more participants, prompting Princeton President Woodrow Wilson to observe in 1909 that "'the side shows are so numerous, so diverting--so important, if you will--that they have swallowed up the circus.'"[46] Extracurricular activities were equally important at women's colleges, where membership in clubs, dramatic organizations, and public service groups became an important part of female collegiate identity. Extracurriculars allowed young women to be intelligent without being bookish and enthusiastic without seeming undisciplined. Many educators supported the central place extracurriculars held in college education, arguing that these varied activities created well-rounded young people who were loyal to their college. The social service organizations that gradually emerged amidst these other activities were often billed as an alternative to more frivolous pastimes.

Extracurriculars helped create a sense of shared identity among college students. In student publications, writers urged their classmates to participate in campus activities to fulfill their duty to the institution. Tar Heel editorializers, for example, called on University of North Carolina students to do "something for the University. . . . Write for the Magazine--don't be so confounded wrapped in self and cigarettes. We need a more thorough awakening from our lethargy. While we have athletics and make a stir in one portion of the University, the other part sleeps on."[47] If students emerged from their apathy, they would realize their full potential: "In short, let's be men. The University is a place for

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[45]Brubacher and Rudy, 120-21.
[46]qtd. in Brubacher and Rudy, 121. (Wilson, "What is a College For," Scribner's November 1909.)
[47]The Tar Heel, 19 January 1894, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

men only not children." [48] Being a man meant looking beyond oneself and actively participating in the community. Unfortunately, some extracurriculars reinforced the very problem they were designed to solve. Students fought "for position on the playing field and in the newsroom, and learn[ed] the manly arts of capitalism. As they did so, they indulged their love of good times in ritualized violence and sanctioned drinking." [49] Rowdiness of this sort jeopardized college students' image rather than improving it. Though extracurriculars created a vibrant college community, they threatened to isolate students from the larger world. [50]

Male "college life" in the late nineteenth century had its own activities, contests and pecking order. There was "a glamour " about "the college town and the college at its heart, which was not to abate but rather to increase its enchantments, on past the climax of senior year."[51] Despite that "glamour," college was not exempt from the stresses of the wider community. The campus was a microcosm of that society, where students competed for athletic honors, social acceptance or academic prizes. For young men, membership in an eating club or secret society determined social acceptance. Each day, these students played out dramas of success and failure dependent on the vicissitudes of campus social life. [52]

Henry Seidel Canby came to Yale in the late 1890s, from Wilmington, Delaware, "a small city that had never tried to be Athens."[53] Son of a Delaware Trust Company executive, Canby grew up in comfortable surroundings. A book-

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[48]The Tar Heel, 19 January 1894.
[49]Horowitz, Campus Life ,11-12.
[50]Joseph Kett comments on the "insularity" of college campuses in these years. Rites of Passage, Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present(NY: Basic Books, 1977) 174.
[51]Henry Seidel Canby, Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College (NY: Arno, 1975, orig. pub. 1936) 24. This book is an analytical memoir of Canby's own experiences at Yale in the late 1890s.
[52]Helen Horowitz also describes college as a "staging ground for adult life." Campus Life, 11-12.
[53]Rubin, 110; Canby 23.

lover at a young age, he imagined college as "an assemblage of Parthenons and cathedrals." When he arrived, he threw himself into "college life," attending ritual wrestling matches between classes and carousing with his fellows.[54] Years later, however, Canby viewed that college life through a different lens. With hindsight, the activities that consumed students appeared merely strategies to get ahead:

> No one that I remember did anything that was regarded as doing, for its own sake. No, the goal was prestige, social preferment, a senior society which would be a springboard to Success in Life. And all gilded, made into illusion, by the theory that in such strenuosity we demonstrated loyalty to our society, which was the college, that thus the selfish man transcended his egoistic self-seekings, and 'did' something for Harvard, or Amherst, or Yale. [55]

College loyalty cloaked a passion for self-advancement. College newspaper writers of the period frequently exhorted their peers to become more active in campus life in order to show loyalty to the school. This goal was generally distinct from academic achievement. "Successful strenuosity" in extracurriculars guaranteed popularity among one's peers and promised post-college success. [56]

A widely read body of popular literature conveyed the intensity of "college life" to a public audience. College novels portrayed in excruciating detail the sports, secret societies, and pursuit of peer approval that characterized late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century campuses. These texts set the terms by which students, parents and onlookers would conceive the undergraduate

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[54]Rubin, 110; Canby, 23-55.
[55]Canby, 38.
[56]Canby, 43.

experience. Set at colleges with student protagonists, these books made their theme the tension between academic obligations and extracurricular diversions.

Like many such tales, The Adventures of a Freshman (1899) presented a young man from the country trying to make his way in the sophisticated college world. William Young is sober and studious when he arrives at college. He has left family and friends behind, including many who are skeptical of his venture. Indeed, his father refused to support his education. The world around him looks hopelessly sophisticated to his inexperienced eyes. Even his freshman peers are intimidating: though they were "as green, many of them, as he was, and trying just as hard not to show it. . . he did not know that. He thought they were upperclassmen and knew ever so much, and were looking at him." [57] Young's sobriety soon earns him the nickname "Deacon." His classmates mock his "greenness" and country ways, and he is frequently hazed by sophomores who ritually dunk freshmen into a nearby canal. Not surprisingly, the hapless youth begins to resent such treatment. Eventually he fights back. When the "Deacon" holds his own in a brawl against the sophomores, his reputation is made. He joins an eating club and plays for the football team. To his surprise, the qualities that previously inspired mockery were now social assets: His peers "respected him all the more for being quiet, and his soberness of mien, which had formerly made him ridiculous, now impressed these fellows as something fine. They were younger than he."[58]

However, William pays the price of trying to fit in with a "fast" crowd. His newfound popularity proves unsatisfying. "The Deacon" tires of his reputation for restraint and feels excluded when his friends boast about their evening exploits. Eager to join their nighttime revelry, Young takes up gambling.

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[57]Jesse Lynch Williams, The Adventures of a Freshman (NY: Scribner's Sons, 1899) 8.
[58]Williams, 119.

Unlike his wealthy friends, he has no financial support from his family to sustain his losses. When he accrues a huge debt, Young has only one recourse: to win a prestigious academic prize that brings a financial reward. He retreats to his sober stance and studies intensely, eschewing social life for academics. Sadly, he fails. William returns home in self-imposed disgrace, but discovers that in an unexpected reprieve, his father has decided to support his college education after all. And thus he learns, " 'Not all of what you are taught at college...comes out of the text-books--especially in the Freshman year.'"[59]

Gambling and striving to fit in with the "right" crowd could ruin unwary students. Hazing posed another danger to personal integrity. College hazing rituals inflicted repeated physical and verbal abuse, usually by upperclassmen on vulnerable freshmen. In Donald Marcy, the title character is an upright young man with inherited wealth who is a sophomore at "Harle College," a fictional hybrid of Harvard and Yale. For all his high principles, Donald joins his peers in the violence. When a Southern freshman, tellingly named Calhoun, calls a black student a "nigger," Donald and his Yankee peers exact revenge. After the Southerner threatens them with a rifle, they carry out a mock lynching: "Calhoun was choked, tossed in a blanket till he hit the ceiling, run out of his window on a rope, dangled in the cold night air in a very lightly robed condition, fed with milk from a bottle, and washed with vinegar and salt." After this ordeal, the angry sophomores decide to bury Calhoun alive. Donald takes pity on the freshman and rescues him. However, Donald pays a price for his participation in the hazing. When one of his friends is falsely accused of joining in, Donald confesses to the crime in order to clear him. As punishment, he is sentenced to "rustication," a form of college discipline in which a student was sent to a rural household to be rehabilitated through hard work and moral living.

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[59]Williams, 201.

Luckily for Don, his rustication takes place at the family home of a college friend. There, the family's minister father will look after him. In this pastoral setting, Donald falls in love with the clergyman's daughter, Fay. Throughout the rest of the novel, Don strives to prove his worth by living honorably and studying conscientiously in order to win Fay. In the end, his courage in the face of hardship--the death of his father and loss of his fortune--are rewarded with her love.[60] As in many college stories, a woman stirs Donald's motivation for bettering himself. Fay is also an antidote to his brute sexual passions. At college, a woman named Merry Gorond tempted those passions. Merry "was the kind of girl whom a fellow smokes a cigarette with, or takes too long drives with, too late, alone, on dark nights; the sort of girl whose hand a man would feel at liberty to hold without asking; and when he had got home would wish he hadn't."[61] After kissing Merry one night, Donald feels "strangely," and when he leaves a party at her house, "A sudden sick distaste of her filled his whole nature."[62] Fay produces no such ambivalent feelings. Intelligent, independent, and chaste, she "was not that kind of girl." Donald finds her charm and purity far superior to Merry's dizzying sexual appeal. Under her influence, Donald realizes "he was not now that kind of boy."[63] Inspired by Fay's moral fervor and intellectual intensity, Donald advances on his path to manhood.

Donald Marcy illustrates the temptations that the college environment placed in front of immature young men. Peer pressure, hazing, and sex evoked their primitive instincts. As G. Stanley Hall counseled, these instincts were a necessary stage along the road to adulthood. As Donald's story suggests, with proper guidance youths could be stronger men for weathering these

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[60]Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Donald Marcy 1893.
[61]Phelps, 84.
[62]Phelps, 87.
[63]Phelps, 132.

temptations. Tellingly, women are both temptresses and redeemers in Donald's world. The pure example of Fay helps Donald resist Merry's sexual allure. Fay is the catalyst in Donald's progress from boy to man. Donald Marcy reaffirms middle-class sexual norms by placing sexual expression firmly in marriage. Only when they are permanently united can Fay and Donald physically connect. Like a true nineteenth-century woman, Fay sets a spiritual example that influences Donald and helps preserve the sexual integrity of middle-class heterosexual relationships.

At the same time, however, Fay is a New Woman. A "college girl" herself, she demonstrates her intellect by discovering that one of Donald's classmates has cheated in an academic contest. By exposing him, she enables Donald to win the prize. However, when male students stand outside the dorm window cheering her accomplishment, she is too modest to face them and claim their praise.[64] In Fay, ideals of nineteenth-century womanhood are allied with emerging ideals of female independence. Even as her story celebrates her intelligence and resourcefulness, however, it reassures critics of women's education. Fay's intellect, contrary to critics' fears, does not undermine her role as wife and mother. Rather, it prepares her to do even better the tasks the cult of true womanhood set out for women earlier in the century: to inspire, support and advance their men.

In many college novels, including the classic Stover at Yale and the immensely popular Frank Merriwell series, the transformation from boy to man takes place on the playing field. Frank Merriwell is a leader among his friends, a good student, and a person of staunch moral principles. Yet even Frank is beset by contradictions. His generous spirit leads him to befriend a student whose father's reputation as a thief has made the boy a pariah on campus. Frank also

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[64]Phelps, 95-107.

engages in hazing--though only when he believes the cause is right. He suffers no qualms when he helps haze an arrogant freshman football player. Nor does he incur sanctions for his action. In this case, the novel suggests that hazing provides a grass-roots justice that can aid in a student's character development.

Throughout the Merriwell novels, Yale's football season traces a parallel plot with its own moral lessons. When Frank's friend Bart describes his growing love for football and for Yale, readers can see that football is far more than a game:

> 'I have begun to taste your spirit, Merriwell. Once I thought I hated Yale, but now I know I was mistaken. I have come to feel such love for her that I am ready to die to carry the blue to victory!'
>
> Frank stepped forward and grasped Bart's hand, his face lighting up for a moment.
> 'That's the right sort of spirit!' he cried. 'It is that feeling in the hearts of the defenders of the blue that has made Yale victorious in the past. It is the Yale spirit!'[65]

"The Yale spirit" is the key to college life. To feel it, students must throw themselves into college life. Only by giving to the school can they derive the benefits it offers in return. Any activity--from sports to fraternities--could build character if performed with the "Yale spirit." In Frank Merriwell's world, sports trained young men to be good citizens and future leaders.

The focus on sports in college novels formed part of a broader public discussion about college athletics. As if their authors heard the complaints of

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[65]Burt L. Standish, Frank Merriwell's Fun (NY: Street and Smith, Publishers, 1899) 35.

contemporary educators, the fictional athletes are well-rounded young man, notable for personal honor, academic prowess and sensitivity toward others. These characters offered an implicit response to widespread concerns about college sports, especially football. Like track, rowing and baseball, football was a major intercollegiate venture by the 1890s. Football inspired an impassioned debate about education, manhood, spectatorship and civilized behavior. [66] Educators, coaches and interested observers debated whether the sport helped train discipline, courage and restraint in young men, or whether its brutality, competitiveness and intensity actually degraded their character. Prominent on the sports pages of local and regional newspapers, football sparked public concern about the practices of turn-of-the-century colleges.[67]

Educators were not always certain the sport created the image they sought. In 1894, Northwestern University President Henry Wade Rogers--the same Rogers who turned the Illinois college into a university and helped found a social settlement--wrote to college presidents across the country asking whether they would consider banning intercollegiate football. The presidents he surveyed responded ambivalently. Although many shared Rogers' concerns about its "evil" tendencies and "abuses," most believed it too late to cancel a sport that had become integral to many university extracurricular programs. [68] Despite the lukewarm replies, these educators took Rogers seriously. Like him, they believed football was far more than just a game.

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[66]See Brubacher and Rudy ,131-134 on the debate over football. Also Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University, A History (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990 (1962)) 373-393, on rise of football, and controversy over perceived brutality.
[67]Rudolph, 373.
[68]JH Smart to Henry Wade Rogers, 5 December 1894, Henry Wade Rogers Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Northwestern University Archives, Northwestern University. Rogers' own letter is not part of this collection, but the responses to his missive indicate his concerns in writing. C. K. Adams to Henry Wade Rogers, 6 December 1894, Henry Wade Rogers Papers. Also other letters to Rogers on this topic.

Football awakened myriad concerns about the purpose of higher education, the meaning of manhood in late nineteenth-century America, and the public image of colleges and universities. Contemporary writers and social critics questioned the sport's place in institutions of higher learning. Some indicted it completely: "Football and hazing spring from the same savage soil. ... Both are fungi on the body pedagogic." [69] During one football season, eighteen players were killed. This debacle prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to hold a conference with university representatives to discuss the sport.[70] To football's defenders, such excesses did not invalidate the game. They believed that, at its best, football taught "courage, endurance and equanimity of spirit under provocation."[71] Coaches like Yale's Walter Camp stood up for their game. Camp asserted that football fostered rapid thought and self-control and insisted on its intellectual content: "The great lesson of the game may be put into a single line: *it teaches that brains will always win over muscle* !"[72] If that argument didn't convince critics, they might have been swayed by another: that football provided a "systematic outlet for the animal spirits in young men."[73] The sport's apparent brutality could be seen as just another way of exercising the primitive spirits G. Stanley Hall believed so crucial to proper male development. Besides, if students expelled their energies in sports, they might refrain from cane fights. Indeed, the student rebellions that had been customary on college campuses had disappeared by the late nineteenth century.[74] In essence, football's advocates argued that the sport was an effective means of controlling college youth.

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[69]Elbert Hubbard, " A Gladiatorial Renaissance," Cosmopolitan 34 March 1903, 599.
[70]Brubacher and Rudy, 133.
[71]John S. White, "The Education of the Foot," Cosmopolitan February 1894, 508.
[72]Walter Camp, Football, 1896, preface.
[73]Camp, 119.
[74]Brubacher and Rudy 124, 135. Also Horowitz, 55-56. 111. Also see Charles Kendall Adams, "Moral Aspects of College Life," Forum 8 February 1890, 672

Sports also gave students a tool to express college spirit. [75] College loyalty, in turn, could generate patriotism. Yale President Arthur T. Hadley lauded sports as a training ground for citizenship:

> It is frequently said that our college students overvalue athletics and undervalue intellectual achievement. To some degree this is unfortunately true. But so far as the athlete is working for the honor of the college as a whole rather than for his own individual glory, he is doing work which in its effect on character building is of a higher grade than the scholar who is studying for marks. Even a very high grade of work is bad in its net effect if it teaches a man to live for himself, while a thing less intrinsically valuable in its possible uses to humanity becomes a better means of character training when it is done with others and for others. [76]

A true man would express commitment to causes outside himself. By striving for college glory, student athletes set their sights on goals loftier than their own advancement. By giving students a sense of duty to forces outside themselves, colleges could build their character and prepare them for life.

The football controversy also addressed concerns about a changing curriculum. Students no longer endured the regimented teaching strategies of memorization, recitation, and strict requirements that had characterized the antebellum college. Sports filled the gap by supplying an equivalent form of discipline. Athletics also supplied a new way of shaping manhood. College sports were a middle-class counterpart to working-class pastimes such as

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[75]Adams, 675.
[76]Arthur T. Hadley, "How to Get the Most Out of A College Course," Intercollegian, October 1900.

boxing.[77] Football celebrated the union of strong minds and vigorous bodies, demonstrating that real men could be both jocks and intellectuals.

The concern about manhood evident at turn-of-the-century colleges and universities arose alongside the proliferation of women's colleges and the increase in coeducation.[78] Women were a growing presence on college and university campuses in the late nineteenth century, a development that sparked anxiety about the effeminization of education and female usurpation of male sex roles. Women's colleges in these years addressed similar issues of curriculum and student development, but with a different twist. Because female education was far from universally accepted, educators continually sought to justify it. When educators at Wellesley or Bryn Mawr debated the proper content of college education, they explicitly asserted its value and appropriateness for women. When students joined extracurriculars, they fostered a communal identity that affirmed the value of female education as well as expressing school spirit. At coeducational schools, these activities took on special meaning for women, who were usually shut out of male clubs and sports and forced to start their own.[79]

Beginning in the 1870s, educational opportunities for white middle- and upper-middle-class women increased rapidly. Over the next thirty years, schools offering higher education to women sought to justify their efforts. They made arguments based on expediency, pointing out that admitting women would help raise school revenues by increasing enrollment. Some educators acted on

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[77]On boxing, see Eliot Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986. Also Bederman, 1-5, 8-10.

[78]For an overview of attitudes toward women's higher education, see Patricia Palmieri, "From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the United States, 1820-1920," in Carol Lasser, ed. Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987) 49-64.

[79]Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale, 1990).

principle, believing that women had the same capabilities as men. Still others argued that the presence of women would help "civilize" and control male students. [80] Whatever the reasons given for women's education, its proponents faced opposition that endured well into the twentieth century. The proliferation of women's colleges late in the nineteenth century (for example, Vassar opened in 1865; Smith and Wellesley in 1875, Bryn Mawr in 1885 and Sophie Newcomb in 1887) and co-educational institutions (such as Berkeley in 1870, Cornell in 1873, University of Wisconsin in 1873, University of Chicago in 1892) made higher education for women less anomalous than it had once seemed. Yet older ideas about the dangerous effects of schooling on women's bodies, their children, and society at large remained pervasive. [81]

These criticism built on the work of Dr. Edward Clarke, whose influential book Sex in Education (1873) stressed the negative effects of schooling on female physiology. In Clarke's view, anatomy was destiny. He endorsed a separate-but-equal view of human biology, arguing that physical differences dictated distinct male and female life experiences. In order for men and women to develop to their fullest potential, they had to take their biological make-up into account: "Boys must study and work in a boy's way, and girls in a girl's way. They may study the same books, and attain an equal result, but should not follow the same method," Clarke declared. [82] The two sexes might be equal, but they were in no ways the same. Clarke opposed "co-education," by which he specifically meant identical education of men and women in the same school, but he also criticized single-sex female schools that utilized the same methods as

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[80]Charlotte Williams Conable, Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education (Ithaca: Cornell,1977).

[81]Gordon, 18.

[82]Edward H. Clarke, Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1873) 18.

boys' schools. When boys and girls were actually together, he argued, the dangers of physical ailment increased because of the competition between them.

Clarke believed women would fulfill their potential only by ceasing attempts to behave in the same way as men: "The new gospel of female development glorifies what she possesses in common with him, and tramples under her feet, as a source of weakness and badge of inferiority, the mechanism and functions peculiar to herself." [83] Of course, if women emulated men, they might also displace them in social spheres that had previously been male realms. When Clarke called for behavior to follow biology, he prescribed an antidote to fears of effeminization. Implicitly, he feared the destabilization of social norms of sexual division. [84] Women, of course, were unique in their ability to bear children, and Clarke believed their education should be tailored to suit their biological function. In part, this meant catering to the monthly "periodic" cycle. During menstruation, when female energies were supposedly drained, women should curtail mental and physical activities in order to avoid permanent damage.

If not carried out properly, female education could be bad for women, bad for their prospective children, and bad for the race as a whole. Clarke offered case studies to prove his point. His book described young women whose reproductive organs were stunted as a result of over-study, and who suffered fatal hemorrhages through physical and mental labor during menstruation. With its emphasis on the damage women could do to their reproductive organs, this argument raised fears of race suicide. [85] If white, Anglo-Saxon middle-class

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[83]Clarke, 129.

[84]Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale, 1982) 11.

[85]This interpretation benefits from from Rosenberg's explanation of Clarke's arguments in Beyond Separate Sphere, xv-xvi; 3-12. According to Lillian Faderman, Clarke's book was published for the next twenty years. Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in the Twentieth Century (New York: Penguin, 1991) 13.

women did not bear children, they risked being outnumbered by immigrants. Although the wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe had not yet begun when Clarke published his book, the growing population of Irish immigrants made native-born white Americans uneasy.[86] Clarke observed that if women continued to injure themselves through inappropriate study methods, "the race will be propagated from its inferior classes."[87]

Clarke did not go unopposed. Women's rights activists who included Julia Ward Howe challenged his work in an 1874 collection of essays, Sex and Education. These writers charged that Clarke's book used faulty logic and factual inaccuracy. They cited counter-examples to disprove his assertions. In their view, Clarke reasserted "the old doctrine of woman's sphere." [88] Several respondents suggested alternative causes for the maladies Clarke attributed to excessive intellectual development. Novelist Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, who later penned Donald Marcy, pointed out that women seemed to suffer more from ceasing study than engaging in it. In her view, school was not to blame for healthy women becoming invalids after completing their studies. She offered a litany of alternative causes for their malaise, not least "the change from doing something to doing nothing" and the social expectation that marriage should be the logical end of education. "The sense of perplexed disappointment, of baffled intelligence, of unoccupied powers, of blunted aspirations, which run through the confidences of girls 'left school,' is enough to create any illness which nervous wear and misery can create," Phelps wrote. [89]

Clarke and his supporters had set the terms of debate. From then on, proponents of women's education had to respond to his statements when they

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[86]Rosenberg, 11.
[87]Clarke, 139.
[88]"C," VI, Sex and Education: A reply to Dr. Clarke's 'Sex in Education' (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874) 110.
[89]Phelps, "VII," Sex and Education 136-37.

made their case for women's colleges. In the 1880s and '90s the critique of women's education shifted from a concern for women's physical well-being to debates over its purpose. Yet the legacy of Clarke's work remained, despite an Association of College Alumnae study conducted in the mid-1880s to disprove the view that higher education was hazardous to women's health. In 1905, doctors claimed excessive schooling would decrease women's interest in sex, causing a bad marriage and few children. [90] This argument reflected shifting notions of female sexuality. The idea of female "passionlessness" had faded to allow the possibility that sexual passion did exist in women and could help a marriage. Paradoxically, doctors who made this argument affirmed female sexuality even while challenging women's right to higher education. In this case, women's sexuality served the interests of native-born white Americans. If their sexual passion ebbed from over-study, "race suicide" would result. This idea was a vivid spectre in the United States early in the twentieth century, raised by Theodore Roosevelt's calls for national motherhood and the imperialistic fervor fed by the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino war. [91]

Columbia professor Harry Thurston Peck, writing more than twenty-five years after Clarke, treated as facts the assumptions underlying his own indictment of higher education for women:

> A warhorse and a fawn cannot be fitted for pursuits that are identical. And so man's task in life, man's opportunity and man's duty must be absolutely different from woman's task and woman's opportunity and woman's duty. Everyone knows this as a matter of

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[90]Joyce Antler, "The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminine Identity 1890-1920," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1977, 61-62; 33.
[91]Antler, 36.

> common sense and not of theory. Every one knows that man was created to do the world's hard work, to blaze a path for civilization, to strive, to battle and to conquer. Every one ought to know that woman was created to make it possible for man to do this work by bringing him into the world a healthy, normal being, by rearing him up with all the infinite care, the wonderful patience, the intuitive knowledge and the clear prevision that none but woman has.

Peck's "common sense" claims solidly reasserted the cult of true womanhood for turn-of-the-century women. At a time when more women were challenging an ideal that relegated them to the home, he maintained that women served society best as helpmeets for men. Like Clarke before him, he affirmed a social order based on sexual difference.

Peck compounded these assertions about women's proper role with a list of peculiarly female characteristics at odds with women's capacity to carry out specialized tasks. Women were subject to spells of irrationality and they were prone to "mental myopia and "overwrought enthusiasm."[92] If women entered public life, they would both degrade their country through inept job performance and suppress their unique female skills.

Thus, anxiety over female education persisted as the second generation of women entered college and graduated into settlement house work, teaching, other service careers, and, less often, marriage.[93] Victorian conceptions of sexuality were another major factor. Young women's close proximity in college

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[92]Harry Thurston Peck, "The Overtaught Woman," Cosmopolitan 26 January 1899, 334-335.
[93]College educated women did marry less often. Of Bryn Mawr from 1889-1908, for example, 53 percent remained single. John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) 190.

dormitories fed fears of same-sex sexual relationships. Long before the label of "lesbian" became attached to female love, male planners of women's colleges voiced concern over the unnatural behavior that might result from women living together. Indeed, the practice of "smashing" or courtship between women was commonplace and accepted in the early decades of women's colleges. The designers of Smith College, aware of "smashing" among Vassar women, sought to design a school where surveillance of female students would be easier. Unlike the one large seminary building at Vassar, which allowed ample space for activities unobserved by authorities, Smith's living quarters were small "cottages" that would be easier to monitor and would duplicate the home environment. [94]

After college, some women established "Boston marriages," forming lifelong alliances with one another. Many settlement house workers and college professors made these emotional commitments. [95] Whether these liaisons were sexual or platonic remains unclear. But what is significant is that, by the late nineteenth century, medical professionals were suggesting that close friendships between unmarried women were unnatural and immoral. Gradually, women in Boston marriages were stigmatized as lesbians, although the term itself would not become commonly used until the twentieth century. [96] By then, the increasing popularity of work by sexologists and psychologists including Havelock Ellis and G. Stanley Hall bolstered ideas like Clarke's. As late as 1904, when the third generation of women was entering college, Hall continued to

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[94]Helen Horowitz makes these points about how college planners sought to control sexual behavior. Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) 68, 74-75.
[95]Intimate Matters, 190-91; Faderman, 15, 18, 19-20.
[96]See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Hearing Women's Words: A Feminist Reconstruction of History," Disorderly Conduct (NY: Oxford, 1985) 39-41; and on earlier nineteenth-century female friendships, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," Disorderly Conduct, 53-76.

question the wisdom of the venture, warning that excessive schooling could make women "functionally castrated." [97] While he sought to divest varying sexual practice of the stigma of abnormality, Ellis also reaffirmed notions of biological determinism. He argued that some women and men were homosexual from birth. Others, he believed, harbored homosexual inclinations that might emerge through contact with members of the first group.[98] In other words, some "sexually inverted" women could potentially "convert" those who might otherwise follow the socially acceptable path of heterosexual marriage. And, what more likely environment for "conversion" than the all-female space of the women's college?[99]

Indeed, Ellis believed women's schools often encouraged "passionate friendships, of a more or less unconsciously sexual character" between women. While these did not necessarily involve "congenital inversion," they might result in temporary same-sex relationships. In most cases, Ellis believed, a "relationship with a man brings the normal impulse into permanent play, or the steadying of the emotions in the stress of practical life leads to a knowledge of the real nature of such feelings and a consequent distaste for them."[100] Yet, he warned, in some instances these relationships might be "fairly permanent." Ellis hedged the question of sexual passion in these friendships, arguing that it was "subordinate and parasitic." But his ideas implied that college women could potentially form

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[97]qtd. in Intimate Matters, 190.

[98]Jeffrey Weeks, "Havelock Ellis and the Politics of Sex Reform, " Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis (London: Pluto Press, 1977) 157.

[99]Analyzing Ellis, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg observes, "For such women homosexuality was an acquired characteristic--preventable and curable. Placed in an unwholesome environment--a woman's boarding school or college, a settlement house, a women's club, or a political organization--the homosexual woman could succumb to the blandishments of the 'congenital invert' who sought her as a partner. Kept within a heterosexual world, she would overcome her predisposition and grow up to be a 'normal' woman." Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne," In Disorderly Conduct, 277.

[100]Havelock Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Volume I (New York: Random House, 1903) 219.

bonds that would encourage them to remain permanently aloof from men. This possibility, however infrequent, threatened ideals of middle-class home life central to preserving social order. Studies like those by Ellis fed anxiety about female education.

Meanwhile, college women's tendency to remain unmarried further fueled these fears: between 1880 and 1900, about ten percent of American women overall remained single, while fifty percent of college-educated women never married.[101] By the 1890s, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg observes, "The definition of female deviance [shifted] from the New Woman's rejection of motherhood to their rejection of men." [102] The biggest threat from women's education was its challenge to white middle-class gender norms. Seen in extreme terms, higher education threatened female identity itself by transforming women into men.

Women at coeducational institutions often faced discrimination and exclusion. At many such schools women developed a distinct extracurriculum and culture separate from the male world that shut them out.[103] "At its best," Lynn Gordon argues, "separatism attempted to put women's values at the center of university life. Even when separatism was solely a response to exclusion, it often developed into a positive force, as women pushed their fellow students and the university to acknowledge that separatism should mean complementary, but equal." [104] Separatism was not always restricted to activities. Despite being nominally co-educational, some schools held segregated classes for women and men. Others experienced a backlash against female education early in the twentieth century, when institutions that had previously admitted women on

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[101] Statistics from Faderman, 14.
[102] Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne," 265.
[103] Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale, 1990) 1-4.
[104] Gordon, 42.

equal terms with men established coordinate colleges, instituted quotas, or banned women altogether.[105]

When educators were not debating the sexual and biological implications of female schooling, they pondered its overall purpose. Should education for women replicate the curriculum for men, or should colleges try to address women's roles as mothers and homemakers? Women who promoted home economics, or domestic science, hoped women's colleges could help transform perceptions of housework. By "scientizing" women's traditional work, they tried to open new professions for women. By locating domestic science in women's colleges, they acknowledged that women had special educational needs. The field's pioneer, Ellen Swallow Richards, intended domestic science to be more than an expansion of women's duties within the home.[106] Principles of "scientific cleanliness" attempted to make housework scientific by applying germ theory to domestic labor. [107] The discovery of germ theory in the 1860s and '70s brought heightened attention to cleanliness. Proponents of domestic science believed it could further scientific approaches to housekeeping that would forestall the spread of disease. Indeed, as Nancy Tomes has shown, many advocates of home economics applied its tools to unsanitary living conditions in poor urban and rural areas. They were instrumental in expanding knowledge about germs and infectious disease. [108] Settlement house workers established model kitchens,

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[105]"Between 1902 and 1915, Wesleyan College banned women students; the U university of Rochester, Tufts University, and Western Reserve University set up women's coordinate colleges; and Stanford and Michigan adopted quotas for women's admission. Chicago established sep classes for freshmen and sophomore men and women, while Wisconsin reluctantly decided that it was too costly to do so." Gordon, 44.

[106]Sarah Stage, "Ellen Richards and the Social Significance of the Home Economics Movement," in Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti, eds. Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession (Ithaca: Cornell, 1997) 19.

[107]Nancy Tomes, "Spreading the Germ Theory: Sanitary Science and Home Economics, 1880-1930," In Rethinking Home Economics, 34-35.

[108]Tomes, 34-35, 41-43.

apartments and coffee houses to teach housekeeping methods to working-class city dwellers. [109]

Despite the cloak of science, home economics was a controversial pursuit. Some women's colleges, including Bryn Mawr, refused to teach it.[110] Notwithstanding the career goals and scientific principles that Richards and other leaders espoused, the field appeared too close to traditional female housekeeping roles to satisfy educators who eschewed sex-linked education. The Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) opposed home economics precisely because it advocated professional training in the field. The ACA feared these goals would detract from a liberal arts education.[111] Domestic science at Wellesley experienced a turbulent existence. Wellesley founder Henry Fowle Durant had aimed to give women an education parallel to male colleges. Over time, the all-female Wellesley faculty moved toward a "woman-centered curriculum," often studying women's writing and social roles. Domestic science, however, was too gender-linked for Wellesley: though offered for several years in the 1890s, it was dropped completely by the turn of the century.[112] Vassar, on the other hand, added home economics to a curriculum that otherwise closely duplicated that of men's colleges, emphasizing mathematics, social sciences, languages and literature. [113] For women as for men, the curriculum signified far more than the transmission of knowledge. For both groups, the content of a liberal arts education was believed to determine the types of adults students would become.

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[109]Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities (Cambridge: MIT, 1981) 151-179.
[110]Stage, "Introduction," In Rethinking Home Economics, 7.
[111]Stage, "Introduction," 8.
[112]Patricia Palmieri, In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley (New Haven: Yale, 1995) 10-12, 176-179.
[113]Gordon, 122, Antler, 54-55.

Once women had completed a college education, they faced new challenges. Often it proved difficult to balance their new ambitions with middle-class conceptions of gender identity. Many educated women experienced depression after graduation as they attempted to reconcile college lives with family worlds. One of these women, Hull House founder Jane Addams, attributed the difficulty to the "family claim" imposed on young women. Addams reasoned that before attending college, women were regarded chiefly as "family possessions." In college, a daughter developed new ambitions. There, she "received the sort of training which for many years has been deemed successful for highly developing a man's individuality and freeing his powers for independent action."[114] The ideals a woman learned at school conflicted with the family claim. When this tension caused ill health, the young woman was generally diagnosed with neurasthenia. For this form of depression, physicians commonly prescribed cures like the bed rest and inactivity applied at Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's famous clinic. In Addams's opinion, the treatment only made matters worse: "to be put to bed and fed on milk is not what she requires. What she needs is simple health-giving activity, which shall mean a response to all of the claims which she so keenly feels, and which shall involve the use of all her faculties." [115] Addams spoke from experience. She had experienced a period of neurasthenia after graduating from Rockford Seminary. This depression, compounded by back pain, forced her to leave medical school and enter Mitchell's famed clinic, where she became only more restless.[116] Uncertain about her future and burdened by family responsibilities, Addams suffered a depression common among educated young women of this era who sought to

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[114]Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family Claim," Addams, On Education, ed. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (New Jersey: Transaction, 1994) 65-66.
[115]Addams, 69.
[116]Allen Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (NY: Oxford, 1973) 27-39.

reconcile schooling and ambition with socially prescribed responsibilities. For Addams, the solution lay in making settlement house work an alternative to the traditional paths of marriage and motherhood.

A broad popular discourse about higher education addressed topics ranging from curriculum and sports to the proper roles of educated men and women. Educators openly pondered questions about their profession in the pages of such widely read magazines as Cosmopolitan, Munsey's, and Forum. [117] They were not alone. Editors and journalists shared their opinions; readers responded, and public figures like Jane Addams connected education to broader social concerns. These public commentaries reveal the underlying issues that permeated educational policy changes in these years and show how educators represented themselves to the reading public. Their themes also illuminate the philosophy behind college social service initiatives.

Writers on higher education argued about the overall purpose of higher education, the necessity of practical knowledge, making connections to other important social institutions, and the role colleges and universities played in character formation. Frequently these discussions employed gendered language that reaffirmed the boundaries between male and female students. Even when writers did not specifically address issues of masculinity or femininity, their language revealed assumptions about ideal womanhood and manhood. Equally often, these public discussions about education took male students as their reference point.

In an era when a self-taught industrial mogul like Andrew Carnegie could scornfully dismiss the value of advanced schooling, it was not surprising that

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[117] Founded in the late nineteenth century, these magazines steadily increased their readership. In 1897, McClure's circulation was 260,000; Cosmopolitan's, 300,000 and Munsey's 700,000. Matthew Schneirov, The Dream of a New Social Order, Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914 (NY: Columbia, 1994) 2.

educators took pains to make their work seem applicable to present-day concerns. Carnegie derided higher education in 1889:

> While the college student has been learning a little about the barbarous and petty squabbles of a far-distant past, or trying to master languages which are dead, such knowledge as seems adapted for life upon another planet than this as far as business affairs are concerned, the future captain of industry is hotly engaged in the school of experience, obtaining the very knowledge required for his future triumphs. . . . College education as it exists is fatal to that domain.[118]

Making education seem practical became a preoccupation. Both male and female education faced this challenge, though conventions of gender identity meant that practicality was often differently defined for women students than for men.

Practicality, however, was not to be confused with technical education. Educators assured readers that a liberal arts education could be useful. In the eyes of Henry Morton, president of the Stevens Institute of Technology, the move toward educational specialization represented a positive step in the "evolution" of the country's schools, but not one that should displace the liberal arts.[119] In their focus on practical applications, educators attempted to re-direct students' courses of study to justify them to the outside world.

In the 1890s, educators supplemented the old emphasis on ethics and character with "training for life." Cosmopolitan editor John Brisben Walker, who in 1897 solicited a series of articles from educators about the state of college

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[118]qtd. in Veysey, 13-14.
[119]Henry Morton, " Modern Education, III," Cosmopolitan June 1897.

education, believed college should prepare students for careers and marriage. To this end, he devised a "Scheme of Education" charting traits essential to a fulfilling life. "Wisdom" came first, with subcategories of "ethics, love," and "business principles." Lower on the list were science, citizenship training (including history) or business.[120] Addressing his discussion strictly to men, Walker warned that many young men floated into a profession without proper preparation "almost as if a recruit were to be sent into battle, minus sword or gun, with the idea that he could best learn the use of arms by seeing how his enemies managed them." [121]

Like several administrators who wrote articles for the series, Walker emphasized physical exercise. He recalled a visit to Harvard where he saw "dozens of young men hurrying back to their rooms, who were not well developed and looked pale and sickly." It was not only athletes who should be required to develop their bodies, he concluded.[122] Gilman of Johns Hopkins echoed Walker's admonitions about physical fitness at college:

> One of the first things that a college student should be taught is the significance of his body--not merely its structure and its functions, but the art of making the most of it, and the sin of abusing it. He should be taught the delicate structure of his brain and nervous system, so that his reason, and not merely the authority of his parents and teachers, shall always lead him to temperance and self-control.[123]

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[120]John Brisben Walker, "Modern College Education/Does it Educate, in the Broadest and Most Liberal Sense of the Term?" Cosmopolitan April 1897, 682.
[121]Walker, 685.
[122]Walker, 687.
[123]Gilman, 37.

Another theme pervaded these proclamations about health: the value of self-control. Through learning to control their bodies and minds, young men would be fitted for their future roles. This perspective expressed the mechanistic outlook of industrial capitalism at the close of the nineteenth century. Like machines, youths needed to have their different parts in working order. Only then could they turn out the best product: moral, healthy, American citizens.

Educators also adapted this factory discourse to domestic values. For Walker, training young men to choose wives was essential to preserving a healthy national family life. He recounted how one son's poor decision about marriage jeopardized his relationship with his father: "Uneducated regarding the duties which a grateful son owes to parents who have sacrificed much for his sake, there was developed a friction which brought misery to the father sufficient to destroy health and bring him to death's door." [124] Without proper education, college youth might destroy their own families through ill-advised emotional choices. Walker implied that listening to lectures on marriage could help forestall a disastrous choice. Indeed, he was not alone in advocating such experiments: Northwestern University offered "A Course in Matrimony" in 1898.[125]

Incomplete education threatened family stability, and students' independent lives at college separated them from positive home influences. Stevens Institute President Morton reminded readers of "a potent factor apt to be overlooked: the importance of "the family as a primary agency in human development."[126] For women, such issues were especially germane. To its champions, women's education actually produced better wives and mothers.

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[124]Walker, 685.
[125]"A Course in Matrimony," The New York Herald, qtd. in The Northwestern, 10 November 1898, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.
[126]Morton, 192.

Simultaneously, advocates of female education argued that women were dedicated students capable of academic achievement. Most were at school "for the purpose of fitting themselves to earn a livelihood. . . . The college girl takes up her course because she loves it, and because it is the means to a much-desired end," wrote Cosmopolitan writer Lavinia Hart. College women were superior to men, who Hart believed attended college more to enjoy social life, make social and business connections, or merely do what their parents expected.[127] At the same time, Hart kept a firm grip on practicality. She also believed women's schools needed to provide more practical training for "House and Husband-keeping:" "While mathematics will be a very good thing for giving balance to her mind and poise to her conceptions generally, she can't feed them to the baby; and she can't talk Greek to the cook."[128] Advocates of women's education sometimes foundered on contradictions as they sought the best way to make their case. Fearful of going too far in praising women's intellectual dedication, Hart took pains to reassure readers that college women would end up in the home where they belonged.

Popular discussion of female education generally assumed that maternity was central to female identity and to training future citizens. Not uncommonly, these traditionalists were women who believed education should further women's roles as mothers and wives: "To woman is given the mission of maternity, the basic fact of mortal life: not the mere bearing of children in an accidental, incidental way, but the mission of the perpetuation of the race; the direction and shaping of the race; and, until she understands and studies to fulfill her trust to the utmost, she has failed in her obligation and privilege," wrote Katrina Trask. She concluded that women had no right to demand more rights

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[127]Hart, 188.
[128]Hart. 193.

from men--such as the suffrage--until they had demonstrated that they could perform these primary tasks successfully. [129]

Women's college alumnae themselves sometimes argued for practical courses of study that would prepare women for housekeeping. Rachel Kent Fitz, Radcliffe '94, addressed a 1900 Class Luncheon in 1900 on the subject "Radcliffe as a Matrimonial Training School." Fitz bemoaned the school's inadequate preparation for marriage. She argued that while Radcliffe readied its students for the intellectual side of marriage, it failed to equip them for the practical side: "It prepares her in one way...in that it makes her the intellectual equal of man. She can think with him, work with him, aspire with him; his thoughts are her thoughts, though spiced and enriched by her own individuality. . . . . " A Radcliffe education provided the type of knowledge that "enables a wife to enter into the kingdom of her husband's mind and by entering in, to possess and to enlarge it. " "Latin and Greek, Logic and Metaphysic," were not enough. Women learned nothing about "the processes of nutrition, " "the chemistry of food, of sanitation," "physiology and... hygiene."[130] Radcliffe had a duty to be "more than a man's college," Fitz proclaimed. A woman's college, the school should educate women for their female roles.

College life became an increasingly public issue late during the nineteenth century, leading educators, reformers and activists to demonstrate the relevance of educational institutions to the world around them. Through controversial issues like college sports, female education, and rambunctious activities like book-burning riots, students entered the public eye. Even visitors to one of the grandest events of the century had an opportunity to celebrate college life.

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[129]Katrina Trask, "Motherhood and Citizenship: Woman's Wisest Policy," Forum XVIII January 1895, 610.
[130]Rachel Kent Fitz, "A Five-Minute Address at the'94 Class Luncheon, Cambridge, June 28, 1900," Radcliffe Magazine December 1900.

Harvard's exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exhibition included "two plaster casts representing the typical college youth and the typical college woman of the US. The dimensions for these life-size figures are the average of more than 10,000 measurements made at different colleges according to the directions of Dr. Sargent, Director of the Harvard Gymnasium. The photographs for the general contour of the body and the features of the face are composites." [131] The exhibit followed the craze for scientific measurement and the quest to form (in this case literally) a certain type of student, and made plain that college life was significant to the public at large. Most dramatically, the exhibit consciously reduced individuals to composites, demonstrating how college could mold young people into cooperative community members.

The public discourse on higher education reflected similar themes. Educators expressed these goals in gendered language, making manhood the main feature of properly educated men and traditional female qualities a persistent hallmark of educated women. Practicality itself was defined in terms of gender, class and race. Educators carefully distinguished practical training from the technical education that might be confused with vocational training offered primarily to immigrants and working-class urban dwellers. For college students, practical schooling meant preparation for middle-class lives that would include a home, a happy marriage, and a prosperous career. For women, it often meant learning how sustain that marriage, raise children, and make housekeeping a fulfilling career. Whether discussing the need to control rambunctious youth, to preserve ideals of manhood and femininity, or to train good citizens, educators expressed a domestic agenda. Central to their goals were preserving marriage, family, and the moral home.

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[131] Tar Heel, 20 April 1893.

When educators and social reformers began encouraging young men and women to enter social service, they addressed all these issues. In service, students could train themselves while helping others and simultaneously contribute to making the college or university central to social change. The rhetoric promoting social service echoed dominant concerns about higher education. Educator-reformers hoped to convince young people to be more community-minded and responsible, even as they hoped to perpetuate the domestic foundations of social stability. In the process, these young people would become a vanguard for morality, instilling similar ideals in the working-class population. YMCA leaders, women college graduates, and research university faculty all promoted service among students. They revealed the interplay between religion, gender and social science perspectives in forming a new model for middle-class American youth.

CHAPTER TWO:

"KINGS OF TOMORROW": YMCA CAMPUS ASSOCIATIONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF "CHRISTIAN" MANHOOD

Josiah C. McCracken, University of Pennsylvania Medical School Class of 1901, was a model "college man". Dark-haired, husky and muscular, McCracken looked like what he was: a star football player and the captain of the track team who held the intercollegiate record for shot put and hammer throw and competed in the 1900 Olympic Games. The Tennessee-born McCracken was also his class president for four years. He was, by some accounts, "perhaps the most popular man ever graduated from the University of Pennsylvania ...Upon [his] receiving the diploma at his commencement, the whole audience...rose to their feet and loudly applauded, an ovation never before given in the history of the University." [1] Joe McCracken could serve as a role model for his athletic accomplishments, his school spirit, and his dedication to medicine. But he had another side as well. As president of the University Christian Association for three years, he helped found one of the Association's most enduring institutions: University House, a settlement house in a working-class neighborhood across the Schuylkill River from the University. McCracken's sense of Protestant mission determined his post-graduate career. He became a missionary doctor at a Christian-Association affiliated medical school in China. In Joe McCracken, the

[1] 1911-1915 Scrapbook, Christian Association Records (UPS 48.1), University Archives, University of Pennsylvania (Hereafter UPA).

Young Men's Christian Association visions of a moral, manly, socially conscious life were fulfilled.

Joe and his peers at the University of Pennsylvania were part of a wider Christian movement that spread across America beginning in the 1880s, as increasing numbers of colleges established branches of the Young Men's Christian Association. These organizations initially focused on recruiting young college men and helping them live spiritual lives. Student by student, the world would be won for Christianity. Yet as fraternities gained hold on college campuses and an increasing number of extracurriculars competed for students' attention, the YMCAs needed more than Bibles to attract members. The campus organizations gradually adopted social service programs. These efforts were at once instances of Christian humanitarianism and shrewd strategies to gain new members. At the same time, the reform that YMCA students practiced in urban neighborhoods complemented their efforts to realize a certain model of manhood. YMCA leaders imagined a new breed of men who would be strong and tender, spiritual and business-savvy. Working among poor people, particularly young boys, was a way for these white, middle- and upper-class Protestant college students to build their own character.

When campus YMCA representatives offered association literature to new students, they supplied their version of a survival guide to life as an educated man in industrial America. The YMCA promised to help students gain a supportive community, seek spiritual fulfillment, and ensure their own masculine identity, all in an evangelical Protestant environment. Placed in the context of their society, this spiritualism became a tool for assuring social position. The story of how YMCAs evolved on campus, the philosophy they espoused, the practices they employed, and their push toward social service illuminates the use of religious philosophy among college students in late

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. YMCA leaders and students became spiritual entrepreneurs, seeking to assure the hegemony of their own religious, social and moral creed.

I. The Impulses behind Student Work

The establishment of college YMCAs in the 1880s marked a new development for the national Young Men's Christian Association, although the campus groups followed the organization's original philosophy and responded to similar concerns about contemporary social conditions. The YMCA was established in London in 1844 and came to the United States in 1851.[2] The association made its objective the nurture of young men from rural areas who were newly arrived in cities and lacked a secure home environment. City YMCAs promised a supportive community in a potentially chaotic urban setting: they opened reading rooms, offered classes, occasionally helped newcomers find work, and ran boarding houses. [3] In so doing, they hoped to steer young men away from drink, prostitution and what YMCA members might have termed unsavory company. The idea caught on quickly: within ten years, the association had 25,000 members spread over more than 200 local branches.[4] By the turn of the century, membership had expanded tenfold.[5] True to their Protestant mandate, city YMCAs ran Sunday Schools, distributed religious tracts in poorer neighborhoods and handed out relief during hard times.[6]

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[2]C. Howard Hopkins, A History of the YMCA in North America (NY: Association Press, 1951) 5-7.
[3]Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1978) 112-16.
[4]Boyer, 113 .
[5]Boyer, 113.
[6]Hopkins, 26.

Soon the organization was occupying physical spaces that symbolized the ideological and spiritual territory its leaders hoped to conquer. In 1859, a YMCA in West Baltimore erected its own building, setting off a national trend among Association chapters. Paula Lupkin has termed YMCA buildings "manhood factories" through which urban businessmen, the Association's main sponsors, strove to perpetuate middle-class values amidst post-Civil War industrial capitalism.[7] Although the YMCA attempted to gain workers as members in poor city areas, its emphasis remained decisively middle-class.[8] College work cemented this outlook.

In the city and on college campuses, the YMCA responded to a broad range of social concerns. As for many other middle-class Progressive Era reformers, rapid growth and deteriorating conditions in American cities headed the list, augmented by growing anxiety about the increasing number of southern and eastern European immigrants to the United States after 1880. YMCA activists who proselytized among college students shared the alarm other Protestant Evangelicals displayed in responding to these trends. Anti-Catholicism lay at the root of many such fears. These sentiments had a long history in the United States, rooted in a nationalism that doubted Catholics could ever be loyal American citizens because of their allegiance to the Pope. Anti-Catholics believed "Romanism" carried connotations of luxury and debauchery that were anathema to the self-reliant work ethic intrinsic to the republican tradition.[9] They were also suspicious of the collectivist philosophy that characterized many Catholic immigrants' social organization and appeared to

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[7]Paula Lupkin, "Manhood Factories: Architecture, Business, and the Evolving Urban Role of the YMCA, 1865-1925." In Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt,eds. Men and Women Adrift, The YMCA and the YWCA In the City. New York: New York University Press, 1997, 40-64.
[8]Boyer, 115-116.
[9]John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1955) 5-6.

contradict American notions of individualism. In the late nineteenth century, anti-Catholicism resurged in tandem with nativist sentiment, prompted in part by a growing Irish Catholic political presence and opposition to Catholic efforts to win public funding for parochial schools. In 1886, minister Josiah Strong voiced an extreme form of middle-class Protestant fears about immigration and Catholicism in the best-selling Our Country. Written to garner support for home missions, his book gained a wide following. Strong warned against a rising Catholic threat that was part of a broader national moral decline. In his view, "Romanism" threatened "fundamental principles of our free institutions." Because Catholics owed authority to the Pope and to God, they were loyal to "A foreign potentate" and constituted "*a very possible menace to the peace of society.*"[10] Moreover, Catholics opposed public schools, which Strong believed central to American democracy.[11] Finally, Strong hinted at a Catholic conspiracy to take over the western United States: "As the West is to dominate the nation, she intends to dominate the West," he avowed.[12] In face of "Romanism," an immigrant threat, "intemperance," urban disorder and other "perils," Strong preached that only intensified Evangelical fervor could keep the United States on track to its divinely ordained manifest destiny. [13]

The depression of 1893 renewed anti-Catholicism and changed its emphasis as well. Catholic immigrants themselves, rather than religious authorities, became the subject of attack. The American Protective Association, a secret anti-Catholic society formed in 1887, vowed never to vote for Catholics. Anti-Catholicism also manifested itself in boycotts and nativist propaganda.

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[10]Josiah Strong, Our Country (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1963 (orig. pub.1886)) 60-65.
[11]Strong, 71-73.
[12]Strong, 86.
[13]This interpretation also benefits from Jurgen Herbst, "Editor's Introduction," Our Country.

Though the APA declined in influence after 1897, anti-Catholicism remained a powerful undercurrent in American society.[14]

Though it did not explicitly voice these views, the YMCA reflected such sentiments in its championship of Protestant hegemony and its appropriation of the term "Christian" to denote its own strictly Protestant Evangelical mission. When the YMCA describes its "Christian" philosophy, therefore, it can be interpreted as a Protestant approach that, although inter-denominational within Protestantism, viewed Catholics as "other." Hostility toward Catholicism provided the backdrop to YMCA activities in American cities and to the outreach by Protestant college student members in urban slums.

The redefinition of evangelical Protestantism itself in this period compounded anxiety about Catholicism and urban unrest. [15] Some ministers felt embattled in face of moral and practical challenges created by urban growth, and they redoubled their efforts at conversion. Others decried the increasing secularization of their society. Many followed the lead of revivalist preacher Dwight L. Moody, who worked with organizations like schools and publications that did not always claim a specific denominational affiliation.[16] Moody got his own start at the YMCA, and he maintained life-long connections with the Association. Campus groups and national conferences often sponsored him as a speaker, and he presided over the early YMCA summer conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts, where he had founded boys' and girls' schools. Like the YMCA, Moody made youth conversion one of his main goals.[17] In a time when Protestants felt particularly challenged by rapid social and cultural change,

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[14]Higham 62, 77-87.
[15]Historian William McLoughlin has termed this period the "Third Great Awakening" in American culture.
[16]George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925 (NY: Oxford, 1980) 34.
[17] Marsden notes the influence of the YMCA on Moody's focus on youth. Fundamentalism, 34.

it made sense that youth would become the focus of their evangelistic campaigns. As both tangible and symbolic embodiments of the nation's future, young people appeared the key to preserving Protestant values.

YMCA proponents of student work hoped to offset the secularization of higher education. Even as the academy was addressing Darwin's theory of evolution, colleges began to move away from their explicitly religious orientation. As separate divinity schools were founded, religion passed out of the mainstream college curriculum and ceased to be a part of every-day academics for many students. The sheer proliferation of colleges in these years challenged the dominance of older, religiously based institutions.[18] Meanwhile, religious tests for professors and required student attendance at chapel disappeared from many schools. [19]

As religious influence waned within the academy, the YMCA mobilized to fill the gap and ensure that Protestant values remained central to the college experience. If religion would no longer be central to the academic curriculum, the YMCA would try to make it a vital part of the extracurriculum. Issuing an inter-denominational appeal, the organization aimed to reach as many students as possible. Campus programs were tailored to college-aged youth. Through student work, the YMCA hoped to strengthen Protestantism in American society and spread its beliefs across national and generational boundaries. To succeed, however, YMCA leaders first had to convince students that "Christian" commitment was a desirable extracurricular activity.

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[18]The Morrill Land Grant Act, 1862, led to growth in institutions of higher education, which continues into late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

[19]All this material on secularization of higher education is taken from Martin E. Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land (Boston: Little Brown & Co, 1984) 300; andMarty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (NY: Dial, 1970) 202-203.

II. The Beginnings of Student Work

Veterans of YMCA campus organizing often dated its origins to the 1808 "Haystack movement" at Williams College, a short-lived missionary venture developed during a rainstorm as its founders huddled against a country haystack for shelter.[20] Though the group did not endure, it set a precedent for student religious activism later in the century. These efforts found early voice at the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan, each of which claimed the first college YMCA organization.[21] Princeton also claimed credit for establishing a national student movement. In 1877, a series of revivals swept the New Jersey campus, inspiring a national conference of college students to discuss "Christian work." The resulting 1877 meeting in Louisville, Kentucky drew representatives from twenty-one colleges and marked the beginning of the North American Student Movement. [22]

At the Louisville convention, the YMCA's national governing board made college work a central part of the Association's mission. College YMCAs were "to promote spirituality and Christian fellowship among its members and aggressive Christian work by and for students" and to provide these services:

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[20]JohnMott, "Early History of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, " Addresses and Papers of John Mott, YMCA Archives, Universityof Minnesota, Saint Paul, MN.

[21]In 1908, the University of Virginia YMCA newsletter reported a presentation by one of the group's administrators that "gave conclusive proof that this was the first ever organized for college students," in 1858. This discovery presumably laid to rest the long-running dispute with the University of Michigan. Madison Hall Notes, 17 October 1908, (Box 2, RG 28/2641-b) University of Virginia Archives (UVA).

[22]Wishard, Luther. The Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, The Jubilee of Work for Young Men in North America, NY: International Committee of YMCA, 1901, YMCA Archives. Origins information from printed materials in Michigan folder, YMCA Student Work Files, Work by State, One pamphlet gives date of founding as 1858; Also Hopkins, "A History," Chapter One. Also Intercollegian May/June 1891, "The Planting and Training of the YMCA of the University of VA. John Mott, "The World's Student Christian Federation/Origins/Achievements/Forecast," WSCF, 1920, Student Work Files:WSCF, History and General Information, YMCA Archives. A caption under a photograph of "The Christian Student" statue at Princeton in this essay credits the school's Philadelphia Society with founding the "North American Student Christian movement" in 1877.

"Devotional Meetings....Personal Work....Work in the College Neighborhood. . . Missionary Meetings...The Association Room....Inter-Collegiate Christian Sympathy." [23] The need was great, according to one writer for the Intercollegian, the student movement newspaper:

> Consider the problem which the College work is trying to solve. 60,000 students in the colleges of the United States and Canada; less than half of this number are professing Christians, and less than one third of professing Christians are even nominally connected with any kind of Christian organization. Consider the vast number who are connected with religious societies in College who are inactive, and we have a faint conception of the condition of the field and need of work.[24]

The YMCA addressed this need by developing a vast institutional network to send the organization's message to colleges nationwide. In so doing, the Association made education an essential ingredient in its ideal Protestant man and highlighted its middle- and upper-middle class orientation.

At Louisville, the Convention appointed a Secretary for college work, a position held first by Luther Wishard, who had been chair of the Philadelphian Society (later the YMCA) at Princeton.[25] Two years later, the Convention gave student work a permanent home in the International Committee. [26] Wishard

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[23]"The College YMCA," Intercollegian February 1879.
[24]Intercollegian October 1880.
[25]Hopkins 277-79; Hopkins' chapter "The Rise of the Student Movement" (271-308)discusses in detail, also noting pre-1877 efforts by Robert Weidensall to increase this type of endeavor. Also see Luther D. Wishard, "The intercollegiate YMCA," From the Jubilee of Work of Young Men in North America (A Report of the Jubilee Convention. NY: International Committee of the YMCA, 1901) YMCA Archives.
[26]Hopkins, 281.

launched a major promotional campaign that included campus visits, mass mailings, and a circular, The College Bulletin. A year into his work there were ninety-six campus Ys. They spread across the nation, reaching "the University in California, almost in sight of the Golden Gate," by 1887. [27] In 1891, 345 campus associations existed nationwide. [28] A YMCA official proudly noted in 1899, "in our colleges nearly fifty per cent of the student body are professing Christians, whereas not twenty percent of the young manhood of the nation at large is Christian."[29] The numbers continued to grow, reaching 629 associations in 1900, and a total membership of more than 31,000. [30] Members sometimes included faculty as well as students. [31] These student groups commonly had "general secretaries," who were non-student officials paid to run the organization, and Boards of Directors that included professors and professional YMCA leaders. Group members elected students to hold the other governing positions. Campus YMCAs were linked through regional networks, each of which also had a secretary who oversaw campus organizations and acted as liaison between regional campus groups and the national YMCA.

The student Christian Associations were essentially training grounds for YMCA leadership roles. Students who entered at the bottom level as Association campus members could eventually advance to national managing positions. Indeed, many did follow this path, choosing post-college careers as missionaries or YMCA officials. Viewed as a business venture, the YMCA had succeeded in running a promotional campaign, gaining supporters, and creating a self-sustaining organization.

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[27] Luther Wishard, "Pacific Coast Tour." Intercollegian May 1887.
[28] Hopkins, 282.
[29] Intercollegian June 1899.
[30] Intercollegian June 1900.
[31] For example, the Princeton Philadelphian Bulletin for 1901-02 lists its membership as 708, including 417 active, 242 passive and 49 faculty. Student Work, Box 16, YMCA Archives.

In 1895, the YMCA made its student vision international. Student groups all over the world united to establish the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF), aiming to create a central organization that would sponsor events, give students a sense of their connectedness, and symbolize the unity of humankind.[32] The WSCF convened annual conferences to discuss its accomplishments and goals. John Mott, a major figure in the student Christian movement, believed the WSCF was essential to its success.

If so, it was partly because the WSCF institutionalized student religious fervor. The campus YMCA movement began as a handful of college groups and grew into a national network. The YMCA's extensive bureaucracy mirrored other developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which saw the rise of Taylorism, systematic management and a pragmatic, scientific approach to social problems. But the Association's bureaucracy also reflected the businesslike aspects of Evangelical Protestantism in this era, when religious leaders engaged in "personal empire-building." Such efforts "encouraged individual initiative and freedom from centralized regulation," fostering " a religion structured according to the free enterprise system."[33] The YMCA promoted an empire for its organization, rather than for individuals. Even so, it struggled to claim its place among competing social and religious interests. The WSCF was one strategy the organization used to promote its own welfare.

Seen in this light, student work appears a significant component of Associational empire-building.

Meanwhile, the organization enlisted college students in missionary activity. In 1886, at the first student meeting at Mount Hermon, YMCA campus

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[32]Synopsis of WSCF goals drawn from John Mott, "Achievements and Opportunities of the Worldwide Student Movement," WSCF Report, 1902, YMCA Archives, and WSCF Pamphlet (ca 1913, according to handwritten note), Student Work Files: WSCF, Folder 2, YMCA Archives.
[33]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, 34.

representatives inaugurated the Student Volunteer Movement. Dwight Moody himself presided at the conference, which would become an annual ritual. Of the nearly 250 students who attended this four-week event, the majority planned to enter service careers as ministers, missionaries, YMCA secretaries, or teachers.[34] At the 1886 conference, the "one-hundred of Mount Hermon" took the first step on this path. When they accepted a call to become missionaries, the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) was born. Student representatives and career YMCA leaders then began a massive recruiting effort for male and female college graduates who would take the YMCA's vision to countries including Brazil, China, India and Turkey. John Mott, himself one of the Mount Hermon one hundred and a central figure in the YMCA student movement, saw the SVM as the culmination of YMCA student work because it promoted the organization's ideals of Christian brotherhood across the globe. [35] In part, Mott believed, mission work drew followers because its promoters emphasized its difficulty. One Baptist missionary was particularly skillful in drawing recruits because he "presented missions as a war of conquest and not as a mere wrecking expedition. It appealed to the strong college athletes and other fine spirits of the colleges because of its very difficulties."[36] YMCA students became part of a modern-day crusade for Protestantism that promised to forge them into manly warriors dedicated to a noble cause. By 1911, almost 5000 students had signed up for the battle overseas. [37]

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[34]List, "Delegates Attending First Student Conference at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, July 1886," Student Work: History Materials 1889-1928, Box 61, YMCA Archives.
[35]Mott, "Early History of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions," in Addresses and papers of John Mott, YMCA Archives, and "The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Student Volunteer Movement," reprinted in Andrea Hinding et al, eds., Drawing Strength from the Past: Documents of the YMCA Student Movement(YMCA, 1987) YMCA Archives.
[36]Mott, "The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Student Volunteer Movement," 6.
[37]Mott, "The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Student Volunteer Movement."

As the scope of the student movement widened, YMCAs gained a major presence on college campuses. Soon campus chapters were publishing handbooks and guides for freshmen. YMCA members offered assistance to new students who needed directions or temporary lodging. As the associations grew, they pushed for buildings of their own. Finally, in an era when religious observance remained a commonplace, if declining, part of daily life even among college students, the YMCA organized Bible Classes, Sunday services and various discussion groups to encourage students to define their own relationship with a Protestant God. With their panoply of services and activities, campus YMCAs constituted a moral and religious corollary to the fraternities that flourished in these years. Like fraternities, Association chapters emphasized brotherhood, manliness and ritual; through their moral teachings, they challenged fraternities' rowdy, hedonistic cultures.

Although YMCA student groups drew large numbers nationwide, they were not uniformly popular. Some members argued that it was better to have a smaller, more devout membership than one whose quality of faith did not match its quantity. The University of Pennsylvania fell into the latter category. When the Christian Association (CA) began at the school in 1892, members were discouraged by their classmates' response. In 1893, the school yearbook scoffed openly at the Christian Association's efforts to raise a building fund, calling the fund "the terror of the poor, the harassing demon of the rich—to which latter class the Y has always belonged." Yearbook writers lambasted the Daily Pennsylvanian newspaper for being overly supportive of the organization's efforts.[38] The charge may have had some validity, as over the years many CA members edited the undergraduate daily.

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[38]The Record of the Class of '93. UPA.

Over the next few years, the CA took steps to gain more respect. The Association intensified its activities, acquired rooms in Houston Hall, which also housed the student Union, and elected officers and committees. In 1898, the Association separated itself from the city YMCA, and in 1901 incorporated as the Christian Association of the University of Pennsylvania. By that year, recruitment had improved, and "the prejudice which once existed toward the YMCA" subsided. "Instead of looking at the YMCA as a collection of 'long-faced religious cranks' or 'gospel sharks' from which he had better steer clear," observed CA President Joe McCracken, "the average student realizes now that the Christian Association is a band of young men who are themselves trying to live strong, manly lives, and who are also endeavoring to persuade their classmates to do likewise." [39] McCracken believed the organization should focus on recruiting only active members. The CA members included high-profile students who had received academic scholarships and led major campus organizations like the football and track teams, Daily Pennsylvanian, and the glee club.[40] Yet the organization still bemoaned its membership levels, even though they surpassed national campus averages.[41] For an organization predicated on evangelical Christianity, the job was never done until all souls had turned to Christ.

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[39]"First Annual Report of the CA for the College Year of 1900-01," Handbook of the University of Pennsylvania and first Annual Bulletin of the Christian Association, September 1901. Christian Association Handbooks, UPS 48.15,UPA .

[40]Reports to International YMCA, 1898-1910, Box 1, Folder 3, Christian Association Records, UPS48.1, UPA.

[41]The problem of student apathy toward the YMCA did not go away. A 1909 Daily Pennsylvanian editorial, continuing the newspaper's tradition of Y boosterism, bemoaned students' lack of interest in the organization. The writer noted that all college activities from debate to sports drew enthusiastic participation, except for the Christian Association, despite its stated inclusiveness: "There is no barrier--nothing to prevent a man, who is a man in every sense of the word, being useful, and benefiting himself while helping others. This organization should hold one common interest for all classes of men and be their meeting ground." "Christian Association," Daily Pennsylvanian 9 February 1909 Scrapbook 1908-1910, Box 33, Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.

III. YMCA Principles and The Inculcation of Christian Character

At the same school that nurtured upstanding, socially conscious Joe McCracken, freshmen and sophomores annually staged a "bowl fight" in which they fought bloodily and brutally over possession of a wooden bowl. One year, this University of Pennsylvania battle ended with five students losing their clothing and fighting on, completely naked. Students also marked the end of classes with an annual "cremation ceremony" when sophomores "enjoy the delicious luxury of dancing around the funeral pyre of books that have taxed their brains." [42] Such ceremonies release the worst impulses in college youth, according to YMCA leaders and other anxious onlookers.

College men had great potential but they also harbored dangerous passions that, if unchecked, could spark rebellious behavior like the bowl fight. Intensely dualistic beings, they vacillated between extremes of intellectual dedication and rowdy primitivism.[43] Such was the view the YMCA adopted to explain the urgent need to convert college youth to active Protestants. As early as 1881, Oberlin professor W. G. Frost described these mixed impulses in terms that shaped YMCA goals on campus for decades:

> We work for young men because they are a valuable class, worth winning. They have youth, strength, courage, fire, enthusiasm, and

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[42]Clippings, "Bowl Fight at the University," Evening Telegraph 1897, and "Books Ablaze on Franklin Field," Remington Scrapbook UPS2/R388, UPA.

[43]These beliefs reflected the teachings of G. Stanley Hall, who believed expressing primitive instincts was an essential part of male development. These instincts needed to be expressed, but they also needed to be properly channeled in productive ways to create healthy men. On Hall, see Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 77-120.

> pluck....they are the kings of tomorrow; they are the hope of the world.

In Frost's view, college men had a unique capacity for greatness. The very talents that had brought them to school made them potential leaders. Moreover, they had a responsibility to fulfill this potential. But at the same time, these youth "are a tempted class. They have strong passions and weak wills." In college, these wills might be tested:

> We cannot measure the different kinds of sin and temptation, but we all know that those temptations which are the subtler--the more ethereal, refined (if sin can be refined), are the ones that are the most deadly; and these are what the college man has to contend with. [44]

To be sure, less "subtle" sins like drinking, gambling and patronizing prostitutes beckoned the college man. But turning away from God through other worldly pursuits was enough to endanger their Christian spirit. Male college students appeared at once full of potential and vulnerable to such "student temptations" as "pride, indifference, worldliness, dilettantism, impurity." [45] Indeed, YMCA members themselves may not have been immune to the pull of festivities like the bowl fight; one active CA member and settlement house founder carefully pasted

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[44]W. G. Frost, "Work Among College Students," Intercollegian December 1881.
[45]Report of World's Student Christian Federation Conference 1898. Student Work Files, YMCA Archives.

clippings about the bowl fight and book cremation in his personal scrapbook each year.[46]

In the college setting, young men fell prey to such "temptations." Danger came in form of classmates who might thwart their study and moral growth. Such characters set a bad example:

> The superficiality of an intellectual globe-trotter, the cheap and spectacular daring of the spiritual aviator, the dogmatic cocksureness of the tyro who mistakes the mudpuddle made by the last shower for the ocean in its greatness, the isolating and selfish luxury of the slippered recluse, the insidious snobbishness of the nouveau savant! [47]

These characterizations reflected stereotypes about college life prevalent in popular discourse. College novels, for example, frequently portrayed characters who intimidated or awed their fellows with superficial signs of sophistication, excessive displays of wealth, or pretentious demonstrations of superior intelligence.

The "intellectual globe-trotter," "spiritual aviator," "tyro," "slippered recluse," and the "nouveau savant," were stereotypical characters who epitomized broader nineteenth-century concerns about personal character. Above all, these types were superficial beings lacking inner strength and defined by outside influences. The "slippered recluse" was too selfish to connect with the

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[46]I think W. P. Remington, a very active Christian Association member and co-founder of University House, participated in these events because the clippings describing them are in his scrapbook. Remington Scrapbook, UPA.

[47]Howard S. Bliss, "Students and the Application of Christ's Teaching to Modern Life: To National Life." Report of World's Student Christian Federation Conference, 1911. YMCA Archives.

outside world, while the "intellectual globe-trotter" traversed too many academic topics to learn any well. Such persons were no more than hollow posers. The dangers of superficiality raised a serious problem for many late nineteenth-century thinkers. What if a successful faker managed to pass as a person of character? Such an individual might lure unsuspecting young students to follow his example. In a world preoccupied with the production of images--from the new advertising industry to the construction of social personae--it could be difficult to tell the original from the copy.

In a time when individuals were fearful of drift and in search of authenticity, superficiality crystallized middle-class, educated individuals' distress about their times.[48] These concerns played on older notions of sincerity and hypocrisy integral to a middle-class worldview. [49] To become good Christian men, the YMCA believed, youth had to avoid superficial behavior. While their contemporaries wasted time or drifted into "sin," YMCA students would be seeking personal fulfillment through spiritual pursuits. Religion promised a path away from "drift." "Drifting" had the specific Christian implications of moving away from God. But it also suggested a lack of connection to other people or any definite life-purpose.[50] Building on the view of

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[48]See, for example, Jackson Lears on the concept of authenticity in No Place of Grace. And Edith Wharton's novels, which describe the angst characters experience as they try to negotiate the boundaries between the real and the fake in late Gilded Age and Progressive Era America. Karen Halttunen introduces the concept of sincerity in Confidence Men and Painted Women A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale, 1987). Although she is talking about an earlier time period (1830-1870) the trends in thought that she describes persist into the period I am considering.

[49]Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women.

[50]Jackson Lears, among others, has discussed the preoccupation of middle-class people, particularly intellectuals, with a sense of weightlessness and alienation that epitomized their feelings of rootlessness in their society. In 1914, Walter Lippmann discussed a different aspect of the notion of "drift," using it to describe the situation that the nation as a whole had reached by the point, and suggesting that people needed to exercise increased "mastery" over their circumstances as they confronted the modern world.

young men as dualistic beings, the YMCA purported to anchor them through communion with God and service to their fellow humans.

Of course, principles were one thing and practice another. YMCA leaders realized that talented, confused, self-directed young men might need some encouragement in following their advice. To many students, after all, a college environment offered an exciting new freedom from family constraint. The YMCA had to work hard to convince students to return to a moral, community-oriented life. Hence, the University of Pennsylvania Christian Association told its board of directors: "We desire to assist in making the character basis without which there can be no really successful physicians, lawyers, dentists, teachers, scientists or business men." [51] Campus YMCAs turned religion to practical uses. Their brand of Protestantism promised young men the tools necessary for survival and success in a changing world. In turn, the organization assured its own longevity by training students who would continue its work.

The solution to drift, dilettantism and duality lay in building a manhood that realized YMCA ideals while promising college men success, fulfillment, and even fun. The YMCA's ideal man lay somewhere between rugged masculinity and gentlemanly manhood. The YMCA's conception of manhood demonstrates that the transition between the two types was not quick or simple. [52] The Association's vision, however, was more than a transition point between two ideals. Between 1880 and 1920, the YMCA promoted a new version of manhood that combined the era's business savvy with the refined gentility of an older age, added the Association's religious orientation, and mixed in a dose of the rougher "masculinity" that seemed likely to assure success and gain followers in their

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[51]"A Look into the Future," Report to Directors, c. 1900, Box 1, Folder 8, Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.

[52]Bederman makes this point in Manliness and Civilization.

own time. This "manhood" lay somewhere between "manliness" and "masculinity."

The concept of the whole man was central to the YMCA vision. Accordingly, even as urban YMCAs began to build athletic facilities, campus YMCAs encouraged college members to participate in sports, to show school spirit, and to be good students. [53] The whole man would possess "'gemuchtlichkeit'" or the quality of "'being a good fellow in an unobjectionable way.'" [54] A "good fellow" was

> not one who is sociable only in his own set or Fraternity, but one who is kind and courteous to every one. He should be a gentleman. He should be neither a prude nor an egotist. He should learn his books as becomes a searcher after truth, but he should not forget that better than book knowledge is the art of judging men. [55]

YMCA "good fellows" epitomized the union of nineteenth-century notions of character with the twentieth-century concept of personality. Moral individuals of integrity, they also galvanized others to follow their lead.

YMCA leaders took Christ as their ideal man, and encouraged members to follow his model. They should be sensitive, nurturing, and gentle, as well as skilled leaders who drew others to the moral path they charted. By example,

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[53]The UVA YMCA for example, emphasized the importance of college athletics. (Madison Hall Notes 9 September 1908.
[54]qtd. in editorial, Madison Hall Notes 26 September 1908.
[55]Madison Hall Notes, 26 September 1908. The word "gentleman" was split over two lines, so, I'm not sure if it's supposed to be one word or two. connotations are clearly different. Given the Southern context and the particular sense of the word "Gentleman" at the University of Virginia, I prefer to think it's one word and adds an additional layer onto the meaning of manliness for the UVA YMCA.

they should encourage Christianity in others, from classmates and neighbors to strangers in another country, thousands of miles away. YMCA youth were to strive to be, like Jesus, "the forceful man of invincible good-will." [56] The Christ-like model of manhood presumed nurturing traits often associated with women. As religious leaders, the YMCA men challenged the growing role of nineteenth-century women in religious life.[57] If YMCA youth could embody the gentleness, morality and nurturance advocated as ideal feminine qualities, women became irrelevant--at least to the evangelizing goals of the YMCA. The YMCA ideal was a self-sufficient male space.[58]

Strength, refinement and spiritual fervor, however, were not enough. Rationality was also essential to making good men. YMCA leaders preached that rational thought distinguished men from beasts and allowed them to know God. College students had a duty to cultivate this rational faculty. Unfortunately, they often neglected this mandate:

> The fact is that few of us are really using the faculty that makes us men, and our so-called thinking is mere wondering--a species of day-dreaming. How many students in our colleges spend one hour a week in independent thought outside the prescribed lines? University men are expected to think, but they do it only because

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[56]Edward I. Bosworth, "Can We Know and Have Fellowship with God?" WSCF Report, 1911. YMCA Archives.

[57]See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg on mid-nineteenth century roots of this trend. "The Cross and the Pedestal: Women, Anti-Ritualism, and the Emergence of the American Bourgeoisie," in Disorderly Conduct, 129-164. On appropriation, see Bederman 16-17.

[58]Indeed, the organization's ambivalence toward its sister organization, the YWCA, suggests that its leaders hoped to maintain this self-sufficient male vision as one which could guide all Protestant evangelicals--male and female. See Jodi Vandenberg-Daves, "The Manly Pursuit of a Partnership Between the Sexes: The Debate Over YMCA Programs for Women and Girls, 1914-1933." Journal of American History March 1992 (1324-1346).

> they must, and examinations await them. Beyond this the majority of us are no better, may be worse, than the man on the street. [59]

Privileged college students who failed to think were actually worse than the ordinary, unpromising "man on the street." The latter stood for the working-class male whose perceived physical strength was part of a rising ideal of masculinity. In contrast with this model, the YMCA reaffirmed the virtue of intellect. In realizing the capacity to think, college men proved themselves more human and more manly than men who labored with their hands and were less inclined to "pause and ponder." In this view, the very future of humanity required that college men continue to dominate over non-thinkers. At the same time, however, the YMCA adapted pieces of passionate, primitive masculinity to fit its needs. The YMCA man would be rugged and strong as well as intellectually formidable. The YMCA's ideal manhood united characteristics from elite branches of society: the businessman's entrepreneurship, the gentleman's refinement and education, and the physical vigor of college athletes and upper-class sportsmen.

How would these true men be made? YMCA leaders preached that personal influence among students was crucial to realizing the Association's vision. Peer influence could be deadly, but it could also provide unmatched training for manhood. Here, YMCA leaders practiced a brand of "positive environmentalism." [60] Like urban reformers who believed improved environments would foster social change, YMCA members designed social settings intended to effect individual growth and change at school. Their environment took shape metaphorically through personal friendships and

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[59]Philadelphian Bulletin April 1892, Student Work Files, Box 16, Folder: NJ/Princeton, PB 1891-92, YMCA Archives.

[60]Positive environmentalism is Paul Boyer's term; Urban Masses and Moral Order.

tangibly in the buildings the association established as refuges from the rest of campus.

The human environment was the key to the YMCA plan. Man by man, YMCA leaders were to win the world for Christ and the Protestant middle class. The University of Pennsylvania Christian Association stated as its "prime purpose... to use the Christians of the University in the reaching and converting of the non-Christians, to exert a Christianizing influence upon the University at large. " Central to this goal was " Christian living." [61] Student members hoped to convince their peers to eschew the immoral temptations of college life: drink, gambling, and irresponsibility. The close proximity of students on the college campus made peer influence particularly powerful—for good or for bad. YMCA men had the responsibility of ensuring that only positive influence prevailed.

The YMCA's effort to create "Christian" brotherhood began on campus with individual outreach but became national through the network of campus organizations. The national Association's student department sponsored various activities to forge unity between YMCA college branches across the country. One method was the Day of Prayer held each February and simultaneously observed by students at different schools. The Association also sponsored a Week of Prayer in November. YMCA publications publicized the day in advance to gain maximum participation. [62] Even so, not all student groups participated. [63] Attempting to cater to many needs, the Association also offered a "college vacation ticket" for YMCA members to purchase. It allowed them to use the facilities at YMCAs all over the country, thereby expanding "Christian

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[61] Report of the General Secretary, 1899-1900, Box 1, Folder 6; "Final Report of the General Secretary." Box 1, Folder 7, Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.

[62] Mott, "Achievements and Opportunities of the World wide Student Movement," WSCF Report 1902, YMCA Archives.

[63] The Pennsylvania Christian Association, for instance, often missed participating in either the Day or Week of prayer, according to the Reports to the International YMCA 1898-1905, Box 1, Folder 4, Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.

fellowship." Ticket privileges included "use of the library, reading-room parlor, gymnasium, bowling alley and baths, admission to lectures, medical talks, musical entertainments and social and religious gatherings, and the fellowship of the best class of young men in the community."[64] Presumably the ticket would protect young men from what was sometimes described as "the spiritual injury of the vacation." [65] "Spiritual injury" appeared particularly likely during the summer. YMCA strategists feared that in summer, left without the guidance of school work and the example of campus YMCA leaders, young people tended to lapse into useless activities. Writing in 1921, Yale student secretary Elmore McKee summed up the organization's Protestant work ethic: "In our general summer attitude of life and in the whole tenor of our beings we shall have to choose between the spirit of a 'moral holiday' and that of a vacation which really marks a milestone of progress in our personal lives." [66] In a society geared to material progress, time wasted was currency lost--whether that currency be material or spiritual. Summertime stood out as a moral battleground when young men faced intensified versions of the "temptations" that lurked during the school year: selfishness, lethargy and directionlessness.

The Y's most significant attempt to unify student groups came through summer conferences. In July 1886, the first summer conference at Mount Hermon drew 235 students representing ninety-six colleges.[67] The conference began as a meeting for Bible study and went on to offer athletic programs and "inspirational addresses." [68] Soon, these conferences expanded, adding locations at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin; Asheville, North Carolina; and Pacific Grove, California. Campus associations strongly lobbied to convince students to attend

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[64]C. K. Ober, "The College Vacation Ticket," Intercollegian December 1882.
[65]Phrase from "How to Avoid the Spiritual injury of the Vacation," Intercollegian June 1899.
[66]Elmore McKee, "The Ethics of the Summer Resort," Intercollegian June 1921.
[67]Hopkins, 296.
[68]Hopkins, 296.

the conference and measured their group's overall success partly on the size of their annual delegation.[69] Organizers hoped to convince students to see themselves as members of a united whole, dedicated to a single cause. For some, this worked: one Yale delegate noted that at the Conference, "class and society barriers, which stand in the way at other places. . . are removed." [70] More to the point, these events fostered similar thinking among people who already shared basic aspects of life experience because of their sex, class, religious and racial identities. In part, perhaps, the barriers they overcame were due more to the "college life" that created social hierarchies on campus than to their own socio-economic origins.

As on campus, influence was the key strategy at summer conventions. Conference promoters asserted that association with the men of high character who taught and lectured during the event, along with the company of like-minded students, would renew participants' zeal for self-improvement. In the process, they would become better Christians, better citizens, and better men:

> The great need of most college students today is training in Christian character and unselfish service. It is in this capacity that the summer conference is of such great value, for it fills out and develops a student into a man of broader vision, or a richer and a more balanced manhood. [71]

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[69]This desire to encourage conference participation comes through in campus newsletters and other association writings from a variety of schools.
[70]F. H. Sincerbeaux, Intercollegian, April 1900.
[71]W. J. McKee, "A Richer and More Balanced Manhood," Intercollegian April 1909. McKee was from Cornell.

Conferences tried to achieve this "balanced manhood" by addressing all sides of the "body, mind, spirit" triangle. Young men attended lectures by well-known Christian orators and held philosophical discussions with their peers.

Recreation, sports, and outdoor environment provided other essential experiences. A conference-goer at Pacific Grove described the power of the event's outdoor activity and spiritual training:

> One cannot go to Pacific Grove and come away unchanged. No matter what he is going to be--preacher, missionary, doctor, lawyer, business man--he cannot pass those ten days, where he has the chance to study world problems, a chance to go down on the rocks and feel the power of the mighty Pacific, to taste and smell its salty spray, a chance to go out into the hills and get the smell of the pines, without receiving something that will make him a far more efficient workman in whatever field he enters.[72]

In praising the power of the natural environment, conference-goers echoed reformers' emphasis on wholesome rural life as an antidote to city evils. [73] In this case, however, spiritual fellowship and natural beauty were the ingredients that would transform the student into the man.

With their outdoor focus, these conferences duplicated aspects of the vision of manhood that surfaced at the turn of the twentieth century. This image celebrated strength, courage, ruggedness and violence. Traits previously derided as "primitive" became qualities to be emulated.[74] The true man exercised those

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[72]"Student Conference Experiences," North American Student, April 1913, YMCA Archives.
[73]See Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order, on the ways pastoral idealism informed urban reformers' projects in the late nineteenth century.
[74]Bederman, 17, 22-23.

qualities rather than suppressing them.[75] He also learned from strong men who led him to self-fulfillment. This ideal suggested that a true man could also be a good follower.[76] The connection was essential in the YMCA world, where young men were expected both to lead others and to follow them to develop their own "Christian" manhood.

IV. Putting Beliefs into Action

Spreading YMCA beliefs about manhood and the moral life took work. Campus associations developed aggressive advertising strategies to win recruits. Like other businesses selling products in the burgeoning advertising world of the late nineteenth century, the YMCA spouted slogans, made promises, and offered practical solutions. For an organization that relied on strength in numbers, successful marketing could be the key to success. The YMCA competed for members with myriad other college organizations from drama to debating societies. Often campus Christian Associations were dissatisfied with their membership levels. The way campus YMCAs saw it, other groups claimed students' time and made religious activism seem a chore. Worse yet, these activities sometimes countered the morality, temperance and industry the YMCA encouraged. Thus, campus religious leaders had to show students that their group was indispensable to college life. This marketing technique appeared in promotional materials, YMCA buildings, and in the rationale that drove the group's social outreach.

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[75]E. Anthony Rotundo discusses this shift in ideals of manhood in American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era (New York: BasicBooks, 1993).
[76]Rotundo, 238.

Campus YMCAs presented themselves as surrogate families that would replace those that young, naive students had left behind, offering community, comfort, and moral guidance. From the beginning, student Christian Associations offered assistance and advice to new students. Membership recruitment began over the summer, before new students had even arrived. Leaders of many campus Christian Associations sent letters to incoming students describing the association and encouraging them to join. College YMCAs also published handbooks, which all students received upon arrival. Though tailored to each school, these handbooks always contained similar information.

Handbooks had an official appearance that created the impression that the Christian Associations were a central part of each school. Introductory notes welcomed students and informed them that Christian Association members eagerly anticipated meeting them. Some handbooks opened with testimonials from administrators, like this statement from the University of Pennsylvania's Vice-Provost: " [The Christian Association] offers splendid opportunities to 'do a bit' for your fellows in a quiet way; it gives chances to work with congenial spirits; to drive away 'the blues,' and in a great measure it provides something of that home life which one leaves behind and for which everyone longs so earnestly." [77] The YMCA invited students to leave their belongings at the Y rooms while they looked for lodging; it welcomed them to weekly prayer meetings; and it offered to help them find a place to live. Community, family and cheerfulness: this was the Y's recipe for surviving freshman year.

The handbooks included information about the college campus, history and buildings, undergraduate rituals and traditions, and the Christian Associations' activities. Not least important, handbook writers offered new

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[77]Student Handbook 1908-09, University of Pennsylvania Christian Association, CA Handbooks, UPS 48.15, UPA.

students random bits of advice to facilitate their progress through college: "Empty vessels make the most sound, " "Don't worry if you're not spotted as a genius at once," and "Don't fall for booze and late hours. Your bodies are weak enough and your minds are dull enough without making them weaker and duller. " [78] Students could find specific advice about the University, with a twist that reflected YMCA visions of manhood: "The University discipline is manly and self-reliant. There is no system of espionage or of demerits, nor of petty restraints, nor of compulsory pledges. The discipline aims to develop character by educating the conscience." [79] Sometimes the Handbook even aimed to help students have a good time: " If in the afternoon you are not engaged in athletic sports, spend some of your time in seeking out the beautiful and picturesque spots in the country around Chapel Hill. No more beautiful walks than those in this romantic hill country can be found in the State." [80] Not surprisingly, such advice echoed the YMCA's views about achieving true manhood. Students needed to foster character, follow their consciences and avoid dissipation. Meanwhile, they should seek respite in the outdoors, in environments similar to the pastoral retreats chosen for YMCA student conferences.

Finally, the handbooks laid out blatant guidelines for the manliness students should strive to attain at college: "Be a Christian gentleman, the type of manhood which this University most admires. The rake, the fop, the sport and the prig are out of place here." [81] The pamphlet degraded the characters associated with student temptations and made clear that those "types" were not men. Of course, the major advice implicit in all Handbooks was that students

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[78]Student Handbooks, University of Pennsylvania Christian Association 1908-09; 1916-17. CA Handbooks UPS 48.15, UPA.
[79]University of North Carolina Handbook, 1905-06. C 378 URY, University of North Carolina Collection, UNC Archives, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (UNC).
[80]University of North Carolina Handbook, 1907-08, UNC.
[81]University of North Carolina Handbook, 1902-03,UNC.

should avoid such problematic fellows by relying on the YMCA for guidance, companionship and non-academic pastimes. Touting the Christian Associations centrality to the college experience, the handbooks sought to make this statement a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Winning new students to the YMCA fold was the most important work student members performed. Campus groups advertised themselves through social events, lecture series, flyers, and notices in school newspapers. Published information could not replace personal contact, which Christian students viewed as the most important method of achieving a following. [82] Members were advised to branch out beyond the organization in order to avoid appearing cliquish. [83] When students became members, they signed a pledge to follow Christ.

Once students had joined, the group worked hard to keep them. Many believed specific tasks were essential to maintaining members' interest: "the new converts should be assigned to some definite kind of work. . . . Put them upon committees, elect them to offices, appoint them to neighborhood work, and keep them occupied with special responsibilities."[84] The word "definite" conjures its antithesis, "drift." Definite labor within the YMCA would anchor students and keep them from drifting away from the organization and from God. Social service would become one solution to drift.

The YMCA could create a home more easily if it had a building to serve its members. "It is a well-recognized fact," one writer observed, "that the possession of handsome rooms, or, better yet, of a beautiful and suitable building not only increases the efficiency of an Association in its regular work but obtains for it a

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[82]See, for example, "A Look into the Future," Report to the Board of Directions, c. 1900, Box 1, Folder 8, University of Pennsylvania Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.
[83] Tissington Tatlow, "How to Enlarge the Range of the Influence of Our Unions," WSCF 1905, YMCA Archives.
[84]Intercollegian April 1882.

material increase of respect and attention on the part of students who do not pretend to be religious men." [85] Buildings had always been important to urban YMCAs, providing literal and metaphorical shelter for youth against the dangers of the city.[86] College association buildings served similar purposes. A building unified activities, called attention to the group, and supplied a permanent place to hold events. Moreover, a building established credibility for a campus YMCA, allowing it to compete with other groups--notably fraternities--that also occupied their own space. Fully aware of these implications, campus associations nationwide agitated for buildings of their own. In 1920, John Mott measured the achievements of the World's Student Christian Federation in buildings: "In 1895, there were in all the world twenty-one buildings devoted to student movement purposes, and their aggregate value was app. $400,000. At the present time there are ninety-one such buildings valued at a little over $2,500,000."[87] Student centers in North America possessed approximately half these buildings, Mott added; the rest were mainly in Asia.

Like urban YMCA buildings, the campus structure aimed to keep students off the "streets"--in this case, any place or company where students might be gambling, wasting time or drinking instead of studying or praying. To this end, buildings were available to non-members as well, although those visitors were sometimes requested to pay an admission fee. At the University of Virginia, the Y opened Madison Hall to everyone, but requested a $2 membership contribution. The organization charged for different privileges: Both members and non-members could pay to play tennis, with non-members

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[85] Intercollegian December 1890.
[86] Lupkin, 44.
[87] Mott, "The World's Student Christian Federation/Origins/Achievements/Forecast,' 1920. Student Work, WSCF/History and General Information, YMCA Archives.

paying an additional 50 cents; baths were only available to members, for $2.[88] Buildings also helped campus associations increase their own financial resources.

As the model Christian home on campus, YMCA buildings tried to present a welcoming and moral environment. A typical "Association Room" might be

> Neatly carpeted; the walls hung with pictures and mottoes, always heated and in the evening cheerfully lighted, it is one of the most attractive rooms in the college building. It is well supplied with papers and magazines, both secular and religious. There is a . . . cabinet organ and a good supply of hymn books . It is the students' room, where they always enjoy meeting to read, sing and pray. About it are clustered many precious memories of 'times of refreshing' when one and another of our companions was born into the Kingdom of God.[89]

Such rooms expressed the precepts Catharine Beecher had established decades earlier in An American Woman's Home. For Beecher, properly arranged and decorated homes fostered moral living. Aesthetics possessed "a place of great significance among the influences which make home happy and attractive, which give it a constant and wholesome power over the young, and contributes much to the education of the entire household in refinement, intellectual development, and moral sensibility."[90] Like stalwart young men, the home itself exuded morality and exercised influence through its very existence. Beecher's moral

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[88]Madison Hall Notes 9 September 1908.
[89]"The College YMCA," Intercollegian February 1879.
[90]Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, American Woman's Home (Hartford: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1994 (1869)) 84.

home was a woman's domain, and her book supplied a how-to manual for establishing one. Like the YMCA, she conflated Christianity with Protestantism.

The YMCA building offered the same qualities of an aesthetically pleasing, wholesome, moral refuge, with one key difference: women played no vital role in its upkeep. With its inclusion of light, pictures, and suitable reading matter, a YMCA room resembled Beecher's ideal dwelling. But its men had appropriated the female qualities of nurture and spiritual guidance central to earlier nineteenth-century visions of middle-class domesticity. Away from their own homes, the men recreated moral domesticity on their own. They needed no women to do it.

In addition to providing rooms for meeting and socializing, libraries, and prayer meetings, the campus YMCAs organized Bible Study and Mission Study classes. These courses were sometimes listed in the official college catalog. The increase of mission study classes in the late nineteenth century reflected the YMCA's growing attention to foreign mission work. Christian Association students formed Student Volunteer Bands to win missionary recruits. They did so partly through joining activities that allowed them to meet more students.[91] Some Christian students became missionaries after college. When campus YMCAs led missionary training courses, they appealed to students' practical inclinations by preparing them for their future work.

Finally, the YMCA asserted its usefulness to college students by making community service part of campus programs. Members believed that such efforts served altruistic, practical and social purposes. In city neighborhoods, and especially in working-class boys, the YMCA saw another area ripe for redemption. Reflecting their era's anxieties about working-class unrest and immigrant influx, YMCA leaders preached their values of home, manhood and

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[91]Wilbert B. Smith, 'the Student Volunteer Band," Intercollegian February 1920.

Protestant morality in city neighborhoods. College youth seemed a logical vehicle for this work. Some YMCA leaders and educators believed community work would enable students to channel their own unpredictable passions into useful social ends. At the same time, students could help tame the passions in urban youth that appeared so threatening to the white middle-class. As with other efforts to recruit members, social service advocates upheld the importance of a supportive male community, the power of peer influence, the ways YMCA membership could enhance college experience, and the need to preserve the values associated with the traditional middle-class home. Not least importantly, social service work supplied practical experience that might draw more members to campus Christian Associations.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE CAMPUS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND "ACTUAL WORK"

When YMCA student members left campus to practice social service in urban slums, they put into effect the ideals of white middle-class Protestant manhood, character, discipline and influence taught in their campus associations. The movement toward social service began gradually and was not immediately accepted because leaders feared the YMCA's spiritual goals would suffer. Students who took up such work expressed Social Gospel ideology by adopting the belief that leading a Christian life meant working to improve this world, rather than concentrating solely on reaching the next. In doing so, students moved campus YMCA activity in a more secular direction. These students also bridged the gap between two competing brands of Protestantism that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. The first emphasized "individual salvation" and "a life to come" while the second was more concerned with "the social order and the social destinies of men" and worked openly for social change. [1] The YMCA adhered to both these beliefs by emphasizing individual moral improvement and spiritual fulfillment, while also demonstrating a desire to improve current human conditions.

Although YMCA students had engaged in small-scale community work from the start, national officials warned against the dangers of putting a temporal

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[1] Martin Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (New York: Dial, 1970) 179.

goal before a spiritual one. While some cautiously acknowledged the value of participating in public service efforts, a more common theme was the need to avoid embracing social works at the expense of spirituality. Service opponents believed the YMCA's practical activities should be used only to hasten the primary goal of evangelizing the world, not as ends in themselves. The parent organization did not officially recognize the extent of student service until early in the twentieth century. H. P. Anderson, Secretary of the Student Department, expressed a typical view. Though he acknowledged its potential for strengthening the men who did it and for uniting "town and gown," he warned the "only unfavorable result to the Association" was that social service "has a tendency to divert men from the work among college men which is perhaps more directly our work." [2] In other words, winning college men to the fold was more important to the Association's goals than winning over working-class urban populations.

When YMCA leaders did reconcile themselves to student service, they justified the impulse by connecting the betterment of this world to the attainment of God's kingdom. In 1920, John Mott wholeheartedly endorsed the practice:

> immediate contact with social needs. . . gives the student a vivid insight into social conditions; it develops in him larger understanding of and a more genuine sympathy with his fellow men; it acquaints him with methods of practical helpfulness; it promotes reality in Christian experience....in not a few cases, such

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[2]H. P. Anderson, "Religious and Philanthropic work Outside the College," Intercollegian, May 1903.

> participation and service has proved to be a guide or stay to religious faith. [3]

"Practical" examples and "immediate" experience would help students pursue their spiritual quest. More pragmatically, such experience "has proved to be a.... stay to religious faith." In other words, service could actually keep students in the YMCA by strengthening their religious fervor. The University of Pennsylvania's Christian Association members also believed that "definite work" like service would entice members by directing their energies into activities that yielded tangible results. With the case put this way, it seemed foolish for Association leaders, ever-concerned with membership, to oppose service. If student reform could help the YMCA as much as the people it served, the benefits outweighed the potential costs.

YMCA social service advocates expressed Social Gospel impulses. Social Gospel ministers like Charles Sheldon and Walter Rauschenbusch believed industrialization exacerbated class tensions and limited individual potential. Drawing on the ideas of an earlier activist minister, Washington Gladden, they argued that individuals and institutions should assume responsibility for these social problems and work to improve the whole society. Rauschenbusch's 1907 best-seller, Christianity and the Social Crisis, made Social Gospel ideology an important strand in Progressive thought. Rauschenbusch advocated a brand of Christianity that would promote cooperation and solidarity, eroding class barriers and causing "a gradual equalization of social opportunity and power." [4] YMCA leaders expressed similar principles, although their views never

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[3]Mott, "The World's Student Christian Federation," 1920. Student Work Files, YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN.

[4]Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991 (1907)) 414.

approached the radicalism of Rauschenbusch's claim to equalize "social opportunity and power." Though they described a vision of class harmony, YMCA students did not seek to overturn existing hierarchies between social classes.

Social Gospel thinkers also advocated government initiatives to solve social problems. In their view, institutions and not individuals were to blame. In advocating social activism, these ministers shifted Protestantism from a focus on individual spirituality to the problems of this world.[5] Susan Curtis has argued that Social Gospelers also eased their own "private fears" as they struggled to find meaning in their society. Part of a generation whose mores no longer applied to the changing society they faced, these individuals needed new ways to make sense of the world. [6] These concerns stemmed from anxiety about their own class position. By the turn of the century, such ideas became implicit in reform efforts like settlement house work and explicit in college courses that combined scholarship on religion with studies of "social crisis.'"[7]

Through service, then, students would pursue a Christian mission by helping others. But service would help students find themselves as well. Young people might have trouble reconciling self denial with personal needs, but if they could do so they would achieve "true life":

> Christ was stating the deepest law of human life, and a commonplace of experience, when He said that it was only by sacrifice, by self-giving that true life begins. Conserve life for our selfish ends, and we have starved and lost it; it is cold, dead,

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[5] This synopsis of Social Gospel thinking draws on Susan Curtis, A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) esp. "American Protestantism at A Crossroads," 1-15.
[6]Curtis, x, 8.
[7]Curtis, 9.

> shrivelled, if we regard it as our private enterprise, we lose interest in it and it turns to bitterness and ashes. But if life is Christ's trust to us, we are 'on our honour towards God,' and nothing is petty or hard: all is transmuted. [8]

By doing service, students defined an identity marked both by spiritual self-fulfillment and commitment to others. In the Protestant Evangelical view, this was the only identity worth having.

The significance of YMCA students' service efforts reached beyond the unification of Christian philosophy and practice. Service work brought college men into contact with people of very different economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds. In that encounter, students attempted to convey the same beliefs integral to their own identities as middle-class educated white men. Among these working-class people, this philosophy became a tool to establish social order. Even as they attempted to reform others, however, YMCA students were re-formed themselves both by the practice of service and by the people they encountered.

Off-campus service work took several forms. The University of Virginia chapter made community service and Christian missionizing central from the group's beginning. Students taught Sunday school classes at a mission in the Ragged Mountains, seven miles from the campus, an area that was home to people the University President in 1908 described as "the poorer mountain folk." [9] Students also led a Sunday school at the County Poor House and a "negro

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[8]B. Burgoyne Chapman, "Students and the Applications of Christ's Teachings to Modern Life: To Student Life," WSCF Report 1911, YMCA Archives.

[9]J. William Jones, Reminiscences of the Organization and Early History of the YMCA," Madison Hall Notes 19 December 1908; speech of President Sloan, Madison Hall Notes 19 September 1908. YMCA/2641-b, Box Two, University of Virginia Archives (UVA).

Sunday School."[10] The group's constitution made its community obligation explicit:

> But the great end for which the Association was formed, is to employ and encourage the disposition to do good. Oftentimes it has happened, heretofore, that young men of high-toned piety, and zeal for work, have been deterred, by apprehension of lack of sympathy, from participating in those duties which are so essential to their own spiritual growth; or from ignorance of the wants of the community, have either made no attempt at direct personal efforts or failed to give them the most efficient direction. Such need no longer be the case. [11]

The YMCA would bridge the gap between religious theory and social practice. Students teaching Sunday School in the mountains upheld YMCA principles by fulfilling a duty to others, applying their spiritual training to practical ends, and demonstrating that at least some college students were aware of their duty to society and to God. On another level, of course, participation in YMCA activities supplied the direction and moral foundation that would save college men from "temptation." In helping others lay the key to personal success.

As at the University of Virginia, campus groups elsewhere launched their service careers with Sunday Schools and classes for local people or college workers. [12] At Harvard, YMCA students served as "speakers for evangelistic

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[10]"History of the Founding at the University of Virginia of the First YMCA Among Students," Madison Hall Notes, 24 October 1908; 19 December 1908.
[11]"Constitution and By-Laws of the YM CA of the UVA , Session 1859-60," UVA/YMCA/UVA Chapter, 2993-D,Box One, UVA.
[12]"The YM-YWCA At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill," (history), Student Affairs, Series 7, Box 3, Folder: Campus YM/YWCA: Histories, University of North Carolina Collection, UNC Archives, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (UNC).

services at missions and tramps' lodging houses." At Cornell, college men occasionally spoke at church-sponsored "Young People's Societies."[13] Harvard Christian Association members opened a "reading-room for fishermen" in Boston, reportedly visited by 160 men daily, as well as a "juvenile library" in East Cambridge, where they held clubs and classes.[14] At many colleges, students also worked for boys' clubs at nearby settlement houses and churches. Sports were the main activity in most boys' clubs. YMCA workers believed athletics kept boys off the streets, taught them to work together, and gave student workers the chance to "come into as close personal contact with the boys as possible."[15] Working with these boys also gave college men a chance to practice for future leadership roles. Boys' clubs were more than recreation; they were places where middle-class students asserted authority over working-class youth. As an analysis of the University of Pennsylvania's settlement house will show, however, this authority was often contested.

Workers tried to teach the boys the same ideals of manhood they promoted for themselves, thereby extending these values into another generation and social class. As with personal work among students, YMCA community outreach stressed the importance of influence and personal contact in character development. Boys in city neighborhoods read the Bible, just like Christian Association students; they listened to sermons, just like the students; and they played sports, just like the students. Seen in this way, they, too, were being trained to become manly yet masculine men. But the same activities students performed had different implications among working-class boys because of Christian Association members' inherent assumptions about social class. A close

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[13]"Philanthropic Work at Harvard," Intercollegian May 1902; Association Record, May 1905, Cornell YMCA, Student Work Files, Box 16, Folder: NY: Cornell, YMCA Archives.
[14]E. C. Carter, "Religious Activities at Harvard," Intercollegian, June 1901.
[15]"Settlement Work at the University of Pennsylvania" Intercollegian May 1902.

look at the University of Pennsylvania's settlement house will show how the interaction between these groups both reproduced and challenged notions of middle-class manhood among YMCA students.

Christian Manhood in a Philadelphia "Slum"

YMCA social service reached its most developed form in University House, a settlement house across the Schuylkill River from the University of Pennsylvania. Here, Pennsylvania students created a home away from home for themselves and the working-class boys and girls who attended their Sunday School classes, camps, and sporting events. Within the walls of University House, Pennsylvania Christian Association (CA) members promulgated the same masculine Christianity they encouraged among each other. In its staff, activities, and goals, University House epitomized the YMCA's program for promoting Protestant Christianity among the poor. Its strategy relied in large part on reproducing the middle-class notions of gender, domesticity and culture that characterized these college students' own lives. The concept of discipline provides a central theme at University House, where settlement leaders intended to foster self-control in students as well as local residents. University House founders intended it to be the first step in bringing God's kingdom to earth. To that end, they staffed it with "manly, wise" and "forceful" young students, offered a variety of programs from sports and baths to dramatics and dancing, and established a building that embodied a middle-class ideology of domesticity.[16]

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[16]The settlement was not officially called "University House" until the Lombard Street building opened in 1906. Early on, CA members referred to their work as the "South Street Mission" or the "University Christian Settlement." For the purposes of convenience, I am using the term "University House" throughout, through I distinguish between the phase of work that took place before and after the building on Lombard Street opened.

According to settlement histories, University House began on a January Sunday in 1898, when University of Pennsylvania student-athletes Joe McCracken and Bill Remington took a cold walk across the Schuylkill River bridge. In the working-class Irish neighborhood on the other side, they spoke with groups of boys who were building a fort they said was intended to assist the Spanish American war effort. Inspired by this encounter, McCracken and Remington decided that they should launch Sunday School classes among these boys. [17] The oft-repeated founding story suggests that student-reformers saw University House as an almost divinely-ordained event, galvanized by a chance encounter and brought to fruition by a sudden vision. Over the next few years the project grew from Sunday school to a boys' club to a settlement house with activities for women and girls as well as local boys. The endeavor began in rooms on South Street, then moved to a larger rented house. In 1906, the permanent settlement house on Lombard Street was completed after a $60,000 fund-raising effort. [18] In these spaces, the Christian Association attempted to reproduce its version of Christian manhood.

Christian Association leaders stated three-fold goals for the settlement: "to bring practical Christianity to bear effectually upon a particular section of Philadelphia," and "to develop student character through service to others less fortunate than themselves, and to train students for effective, intelligent, Christian work after graduation."[19] Settlement work also served unstated but equally important ends for the students themselves: It offered them another way to use their position as white middle-class men to address the challenges posed

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[17]Undated history, c. 1957, Box 1, Folder 13, Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1. Also Ellen V. Connorton, "University House and Its Place in the Development of the Settlement Movement, with Implications for Contemporary Social Work Practice, " MSW Thesis May 1992, 18, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA (UPA).

[18]Connorton 25.

[19]Brochure, 1908, "Some Actual Methods of Student Christian Work," Scrapbook 1908-1910, Box 33. Christian Association Records, UPS 48.1, UPA.

by changing conditions in their society. Finally, settlement workers hoped that by providing "practical" or "actual" work, the venture would rally more members to the Christian Association. Like many other campus YMCAs, the CA was never satisfied with membership levels. Yet the group believed extending its religious services was essential to campus spiritual life. Of the students enrolled at the university, fewer than half belonged to evangelical churches. Growing numbers, however, began to live in campus buildings as opposed to boarding locally or commuting from home.[20] To onlookers, these new living arrangments meant students lacked the moral center a home provided, which made the CA's mission appear even more vital.

As time went by, the CA developed more directed projects and gleaned more members. The organization established committees to direct its activities on topics including finance, bible study and city work. Regular bible classes and weekly religious meetings and missionary meetings were staple activities. By 1898, the association listed 94 active members out of a student body of 2800; by 1899,187 out of 2800. By 1908-09, the association's membership rose to a record 456 out of 4570 enrolled students. [21] These growing numbers suggest that the "practical" work tactic was successful in attracting new members.

The Christian Association marketed the settlement house as beneficial to the organization itself, to the people of the neighborhood, and to the individuals who worked there. From the CA's standpoint, the settlement supplied "a splendid field for concrete Christian activity" where young men could put ideals into practice. Planners hoped the work would affirm those ideals and reinvigorate members' enthusiasm. At the same time, settlement work "counteracts the selfish tendencies of an absorbing University course," the

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[20]Reports to International YMCA, Box 1, Folder 4, Christian Association Records, UPA.
[21]Reports to International YMCA, Box 1, Folder 4, Christian Association Records, UPA.

Association's General Secretary asserted.[22] Working among the poor would also address a problem common to higher education across the country: the perception that it distanced students from the world around them.

At the same time, student leaders at the Association, as well as its General Secretary (who was paid and appointed by the national organization), emphasized that the settlement had to remain true to its evangelical vision. While some settlement houses played down their religious philosophy, the CA made it explicit. Christian Association General Secretary and University House Resident Director Thomas S. Evans argued that religion should not create "a chasm between resident workers and the neighborhood people," nor threaten "social harmony." Rather, it would "promote[s] sympathy and love."[23] Evans believed a Christian perspective was essential to social service:

> Our position is that morality is the basis of Settlement and all other social work, that religion is the basis of morality, that Christianity is the final religion, and that constant conscious fellowship with the living Lord Jesus is the sum total of Christianity and of life. There is no genuine life apart from Him--it is mere existence. Therefore, the only complete Settlement is the Christian Settlement.[24]

In other words, because religion was an integral part of life, any worthwhile activity incorporated it by definition. In this way, Evans justified the settlement's proselytizing mission in a neighborhood whose residents subscribed to a different version of Christianity. University House workers entered an area

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[22]University Christian Association Final Report of the General Secretary to Graduate Advisory Committee, 1899-1900, Box 1, Folder 7, Christian Association Records, UPA.
[23]T. S. Evans, "The Christian Settlement," Intercollegian November 1907.
[24]Evans, "The Christian Settlement."

where a "chasm" already existed between them and local people, who were predominantly Irish Catholic. When they glossed over these difference with statements of their mission's universalism, the settlement asserted its own Protestant perspective. Evans also justified students' involvement by drawing on Social Gospel teachings to stress that "Christian" practice was central to the YMCA's missionary work.

The Devil's Pocket neighborhood appeared the perfect location for what the Christian Association students hoped to accomplish. Many characteristics of the area made it appear ripe for redemption. The class background, religion and living conditions of its inhabitants challenged CA members' middle-class Protestant principles. At the same time, its unruly children posed a threat to social order: "This neighborhood... teems with children most of whom know nothing of the joys of home life" but come forth "from dirty alleys and cellars." [25] These phrases repeat the major concerns of most late nineteenth-century white middle-class social reformers: overpopulation, immorality, an imperfect home life, and dirt. Children were described as "teeming"--language these reformers might just as easily use for pests like rats and bugs as for human beings.[26] Indeed, these children were metaphorical pests who threatened the social order, and students directed great efforts at controlling them.

In fact, despite CA members' perceptions, the settlement house neighborhood, though poor, was better off than many sections of the city. Some residents in the neighborhood owned their own homes, and a majority of dwellings housed only one family. Furthermore, the literacy rate in the area was higher than in other neighborhoods.[27] Residents in the settlement neighborhood

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[25]Undated Pamphlet, c. 1899, Remington Scrapbook, UPS2 R388, UPA.
[26]Thanks to Megan Haley for opening my eyes to the many implications of the term "pest" and the language used to describe pests.
[27]Census Records data from 1900, 1910. Urban Archives, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA (URB).

were mainly native-born. [28] Of those with foreign-born parents or who were foreign-born themselves, the majority were Irish and many were Catholic. [29] More than a third of the seventh ward's population was African-American, as was over a sixth of neighboring ward thirty. But University House in its early years catered mainly to Irish residents. [30] Men held jobs as laborers, carpenters, and drivers for different commercial companies; neighborhood women did washing, cleaning and cooking for organizations in the area or for other families. Both men and women worked at the local mill. [31] Judging by the population, the proportion of families to dwellings, and the low literacy rate, other parts of Philadelphia might have been equally needy. Areas a few miles to the east had more illiterate residents and more families living in single dwellings during the first ten years of the House's work. The area around the "Devil's Pocket," then, though poor and disadvantaged, may have seemed a likely place for Christian Association work to succeed. Its proximity to the school also made it a logical choice. University House workers objected when newspaper reporters labeled the area a slum, observing that the name degraded settlement house efforts and the progress of the people who lived in the area.[32] Their own language about the neighborhood, however, suggests that they viewed it as a slum themselves.

The perspective Christian Association students had of the local Irish working class was determined by their own backgrounds, which contrasted sharply with those of the people they met across the Schuylkill. Most of these

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[28]University House, and the buildings that preceded it, stood in Ward Seven bordering the thirtieth Ward to the south.
[29]According to case files, which date mostly from 1910s. University Settlements Papers, URB.
[30]To the best of my understanding, Western Community House served black residents of the area. Case records from the 1910s mention some African American families. But other accounts of house activities do not, and in a few places that discuss the history of these different houses (which eventually merged with Dixon House to form University Settlements in 1945) hint that activities were segregated. (See Box 20, Folder 239, URB 20, URB; Box PC 5, photo, URB)
[31]Jobs taken from case files. Box 4 and 6, University Settlements Papers, URB.
[32]"The Settlement House Not Doing Slum Work," Old Pennsylvanian May 19, 1906. Box 20, Folder 244, University Settlements Papers, URB.

students were privileged, Protestant, educated and accustomed to a certain amount of luxury. Settlement co-founder William P. Remington epitomizes the lives of these Christian Association students and the perspectives they brought to settlement work. Remington had devoted parents with the luxury of buying a summer home near the beach where their children learned to swim and sail and vacationing at places like Luray and Niagara Falls. One of four children, "Willie" soon emerged as a family "peace-maker" in sibling disputes. By the time he was eleven, he consistently ranked first or second in his class at the private Forsythe school and had established himself as a competitive runner in school track events. As a high school student, he attended the Northfield conference in 1897, indicating his growing Christian consciousness. His family's money enabled him to attend elite schools and spend the summer at a YMCA camp rather than working. Similarly, his extracurricular prominence rested on a comfortable financial base. Some students (perhaps those not as active in the CA) may have had to work to support themselves in college; Remington did not. Consequently, when he was admitted to the University of Pennsylvania, he threw himself into YMCA work and athletics. He became a champion hurdler and competed in the 1900 Paris Olympics with McCracken. A knee injury cut short his race: "I was bitterly disappointed, but still the Americans were carrying away everything and my own regret was soon swallowed up in the general joy." In the spirit of teamwork, Remington put his team and country's success before his own. Nor was he socially lacking: he attended school dances and banquets, and joined Psi Upsilon and various literary societies. He also edited the Pennsylvanian for four years. Bill shared his beliefs and interests with another family member: His brother, Percy Remington, also went to Penn, participated in sports and worked at the settlement. After graduation, Bill Remington pursued his religious career. While serving as a rector, he maintained other interests,

including membership in various local civic organizations. He eventually became an Episcopal bishop in Oregon. [33] Remington conformed to the "body, mind, spirit" model proposed by the YMCA. His success--measured in YMCA terms--was possible largely because of his privileged class position. Because successful manhood was class-defined, making working-class boys into "whole men" was a very different project from making men of college students, even when the language of manhood was essentially the same.

When the settlement house began, it focused mainly on teaching Sunday School classes for local boys, drawing about fifty in its second year.[34] Soon the settlement incorporated athletic events and classes, and began activities for women and girls, which were usually led by female settlement volunteers. Early on, about seventy-five girls attended classes that included cooking, sewing, clay modeling and singing. [35] Work with women and girls was originally conceived as a means of supporting the moral aims of boys' work: "if the boys are to attain the highest plane of living, they must have the support of their sisters." [36] Strengthening the Christian home, after all, required strengthening all its parts. The settlement also became a recreation center for the neighborhood, in hopes of offering what reformers viewed as wholesome pastimes that would keep local people out of bars.

The physical environment of University House embodied its workers' ideals and aims. Early on, a few students inhabited and managed the buildings. When former CA General Secretary Thomas Evans became director, he and his wife moved in as well. Settlement workers modified the all-male domestic

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[33]Remington information from Remington scrapbook ; University of Pennsylvania Alumni Catalogue, 1917, and Alumni Record File, UPA.
[34]Final Report of the General Secretary to the Graduate Advisory Committee," 1899-1900, Box 1, Folder 7, Christian Association Records, UPA.
[35]Handbook, June 1903, Christian Association Handbooks, UPS 48.15,UPA.
[36]"Report of the Superintendent of 'The University Christian Settlement." University Handbook and First Annual Report of Christian Association, 1901. Christian Association Handbooks, UPA.

structure of the campus YMCA to demonstrate the nuclear family living student workers encouraged. After a few years, a new building seemed imperative. Opened in 1906, the house on Lombard Street replaced a" group of unsightly brick houses." The very structure of the new settlement house empowered its work: "that building is designed and arranged and furnished to carry out in brick and stone, in broad hallways and solidly furnished, plainly decorated rooms, the spirit of those who projected, built and carry on the work itself."[37] Yet the size of the building threatened its objectives. Fearing that it housed too many nooks and crannies where local children could misbehave, settlement workers established various rules for entry. The settlement adhered to a "total abstinence" policy on alcohol, and directors warned that any disciplinary violations would be "punished to the full extent of the law."[38]

In its fee structure and organized schedule, the "Christian Settlement" resembled other social settlements in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Club participants paid fees, and people living in the immediate neighborhood had priority for joining groups with high membership. Settlement directors said fees gave participants a sense of ownership in the venture and countered appearances of charity. Of course, fees also helped raise necessary revenues for the enterprise. In the new building, workers undertook activities similar to those at other settlements. University House ran a playground, kindergarten and nursery, offered classes like hygiene, history, cooking and anatomy, and organized competitions that included basketball games and debates. In addition to organized spectator sports, the settlement sponsored dramatic productions, blackface minstrelsy shows and holiday parties. [39] By the time the

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[37]Old Penn Weekly Review, 2 November 1907, Information Files, Religion. Folder: Christian Association/University Settlement Activities, UPA.
[38]"The New Building," "Club Topics," February 1906, Box 20, Folder 244, University Settlements Records, URB.
[39]Box 31, Folder 269, University Settlements Records, URB .

house had been open for three years, more than 600 boys and girls used its baths weekly in the summer, about 1600 used the playground every week, and 600 neighborhood people attended local baseball games. Clearly, the house had become a center of neighborhood activity.

University House settlement workers gradually professionalized their project by beginning case work. Case workers visited local families to assess their living conditions. They offered donations of food or coal, mediated domestic disputes, helped people find jobs, or referred them to other social service agencies like the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.[40] In the process, the House moved away from its explicit religious mission. Lists of weekly activities do not even mention Sunday school classes after 1909. Nonetheless, the problems settlement case workers perceived in the neighborhood reinforced their efforts to further Protestant middle-class notions of domesticity and morality.

Case workers addressed pressing issues from domestic abuse to hunger. Classes and clubs taught the rudiments of being good mothers and practicing hygiene. Case workers documented local people's problems with alcohol abuse, domestic violence, lack of money, food, and proper health care, and dirty living conditions. The problems they described indicated reversals of white middle-class norms: when a family was not functioning properly, the mother might be working instead of the father, or the children might be "keep[ing] house," or the family might lack husband and father altogether. [41] Although Progressive reform and Social Gospel ideology identified environmental causes for social problems, case workers at University House still described neighborhood problems in terms of individual failures to meet certain standards. Their

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[40]Case Files, University Settlements Records, URB.
[41]Quote from Box 6, Folder 34, University Settlements Records, URB; Case Files, University Settlement Records, URB.

interpretation reveals their attitude toward the Irish Catholics and African Americans in the neighborhood. A father might be "quite no good" and unwilling to find work or "sort of worthless." [42] If case workers who paid home visits believed families were trying to find work, and to keep a clean house, they made more favorable assessments. In their proposed antidotes to these problems, they encouraged women to work, advice that shocked members of the neighborhood who did not believe women should be working outside the home.[43] Indeed, settlement workers might not have given the same advice to women of their own class. Local people might have seen a woman's ability to remain at home as a hallmark of middle-class standing. Settlement workers also encouraged husbands to work, however, and the critical terms they used to describe unemployed men suggest that they believed men should be the primary providers. In a family where a woman had to be the sole support of her children, middle-class domestic morality turned on its head.[44]

In their perceptions of Devil's Pocket boys, Christian Association settlement workers reflected their age's widespread concern with rescuing children from useless and immoral lives. For this reason, work with neighborhood boys provided the centerpiece of house activity and philosophy in its early years. Keeping children off the streets was a major goal for urban social reformers. The streets symbolized everything middle-class reformers most feared about working-class youth. The world of the streets inverted the carefully structured ideal of the middle-class home, creating a place where children ruled themselves. [45] In the streets, children might encounter agents of immorality from

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[42]Box 6, Folder 35;Box 4, Folder 8, University Settlement Records, URB.
[43]"A History of University House," Box 20, Folder 243, University Settlements Records, URB.
[44]Case Files, University Settlements Records, URB.
[45]Christine Stansell, among others, has described reformers' views of the streets in City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789-1860 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Joseph Kett also discusses the way boys and young men were viewed as susceptible to "urban vice." Rites of Passage: Adolescence in American 1790 to the Present (NY: Basic Books, 1977).

saloons to prostitutes. [46] Reformers did not credit children for the alternative street worlds they created, which provided them with a community, and, sometimes, with money. [47] Young boys did not need settlements to form clubs; elsewhere in the city the had already begun clubs of their own.[48] Such alternatives, however, threatened the ideals Christian Association students valued. Without a guiding Protestant hand, these working-class boys formed coalitions that challenged a middle-class sense of social order. By creating their own organizations among these boys, student-workers undermined the development of an independent working-class male youth identity. Through encouraging sports, group activities, and summer camp attendance, Christian Association workers attempted to duplicate their own YMCA experiences among working-class boys. If YMCA leaders feared the "passions" of college students, they believed local boys to be much worse. In their eyes, the Devil's Pocket, with its boys gathering on street corners, cutting school, and playing pranks, was the college campus run amuck.

Students claimed their work endeavored to "develop the moral natures of the boys on South Street, the ultimate aim being their conversion to Jesus Christ" and to bring "the student and the working people together for mutual benefit."[49] After the settlement building opened, the University Provost said it "'stood for friendship between the students....and the young men and women on the east bank of the river.....He...pointed out what an invaluable education is open to the students who will but avail themselves of the opportunity to study human

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[46]David Nasaw interprets these fears as part of what motivated reformers to try to limit children's presence on city streets. Children of the City (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1985) 138-157.

[47]Nasaw, Children of the City.

[48]"Annual Reports from Departments, Box 1, Folder 9, Christian Association Records UPS 48.1, UPA.

[49]"First Annual Report of the Christian Association for the College Year of 1900-01," Christian Association Handbooks, UPS48.15; Pamphlet, nd, c. 1911, "One Aspect of University Student Life," Scrapbook 1911-1915,UPA.

nature from every conceivable point of view.'"[50] The "benefit" derived, however, was not necessarily the same for reformers and the objects of reform.

Settlement house promotional materials stressed the value of fellowship between students and working people, partly because this knowledge could be useful for students who "expect to employ laboring men." [51] In this case, it seemed, the benefit was all on the students' side. Such experience would have practical applications in the workplace, said Settlement Superintendent and CA member John Strain:

> Real ignorance of this social question has caused much trouble between capital and labor. . . . To the Settlement worker there can be but one solution to this problem which is a sane one, namely to get the one class to understand the other. If we can get the capitalist to understand that the laboring man is something more than a mere 'lump of matter' and to feel some personal responsibility for each man whom he employs; and on the other hand have the working man realize that he is a co-partner with his employer in the success which must be achieved, and that he is not to prey upon his employer's time or property, we will have attained that ideal in society towards which all men look.
>
> The students who are to be the future world's masters can come into actual contact with the people and conditions in our Settlement House. There the son of wealth and the working man

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[50]"Press" 1/20/08, Box 20, Folder 244, University Settlements Records, URB.
[51]Booklet, "Pennsylvania in Intercollegiate Christian Work," Scrapbook 1911-15, Christian Association Records, UPA.

> are on equal footing and the one soon comes to realize the other's position, and that old prejudice on either side soon fades away.[52]

In an era characterized by dramatic shows of working-class labor activism, these idealistic pronouncements had a significant subtext. Improving "understanding" was code for preventing conflict. If employers viewed working people less as "lumps of matter," employees might be less likely to disrespect employers' "time and property." But the two groups were not truly "co-partners." Humanizing the treatment of workers helped dispel resentment toward employers. Such tactics, CA rhetoric implied, could go a long way toward stifling class conflict. Young, white, educated men thereby assured their own dominant position. At the same time, they enforced their claim to masculine dominance by furthering a labor system run by men.[53] In this way, the male-centered domestic environment worked to reproduce its male leaders. In a time when women were entering colleges in increasing numbers and beginning to breach the professional world, this affirmation of male dominance in business marked an important claim to social power.

Christian Association members made clear that successful business practices were essential to spreading a Christian moral framework. Not surprisingly, Charles M. Sheldon, author of the best-selling Social Gospel novel In His Steps, lauded the moral prospects of business: "Perhaps the greatest service a Christian business man, at the present time, could render, would be to help solve the tremendous problems centering about the making of wealth, or the adjustment of business methods to a strict Christian standard. A Christian

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[52]John D. Strain, '07, Superintendent. "Actual Work at the Settlement," c. 1907, Information Files, Religion. Folder: Religion/CA/University Settlement Activities, UPA.

[53] Indeed, women reformers in settlement house work in this period often adopted a different view of class relations, for example by becoming involved in the labor movement.

business man today, if he has any real definition of Christianity, must feel that he is himself at the heart of one of the greatest places for service that man can ever fill." [54] Sheldon was not alone in this opinion. In the eyes of these turn-of-the-century Christians, business could be as moral as any other pursuit. YMCA articles often described the businessman's role in social betterment. Christian men, in this view, had a moral responsibility to improve business practices. Creating understanding and good feeling between future employers and employees marked the first steps in the process.

Working with local boys was the first step toward training a compliant work force. Above all, settlement house activities for boys aimed at creating discipline. Through Sunday School classes, sports, and summer camp outings, CA students tried to make Devil's Pocket boys conform to their standards of behavior. The activities did not always go as smoothly as CA members hoped, however, as local boys resisted their discipline. The effort began with Sunday School classes that served the double function of providing Protestant schooling and bringing boys in from the streets where they might cause trouble. Their young charges were easily distracted: "if...after minutes of arduous endeavor to obtain quiet that prayer might be offered, a death-like hush fell upon them, and the prayer was about to begin, a small urchin with a key of G-voice piped out 'touch-down,' there was nothing to do but to wait for a subsidence of the laughter." [55] Once the South Street house opened, students expanded sports activities, perhaps in hopes of increasing young boys' attention spans. The

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[54]Charles M. Sheldon, "The Personal Dynamic in Social Service," North American Student April 1913, YMCA Archives. This trend toward making business moral also fits with Susan Curtis' argument about the gradual commercialization of the Social Gospel itself.

[55]"Report of the Superintendent of 'The University Christian Settlement." University Handbook and First Annual Report of Christian Association, 1901. Christian Association Handbooks, UPS 48.15, UPA.

building included separate rooms with equipment for wrestling and boxing. [56] Organizers limited membership to forty boys between the ages of ten and seventeen and received almost one hundred applicants, picking members "indiscriminately" from among them. [57] Though religion itself was not enough to attract a following, once students began leading organized sports, even Sunday meetings drew a crowd. Indeed, meetings proved so popular that "a one hour service was no longer sufficient, but the boys begged to have more singing and reading." [58] Entry into the house required behavior that conformed to settlement standards. Boys who challenged these rules were asked to leave. [59] Settlement workers marked their progress partly by gauging the extent to which discipline had improved. Channeling boys' rowdiness into sports was one way of teaching them to express their manly passions in what these student workers saw as an appropriate format. Equivalents of the Pennsylvania "bowl fight" would not be permitted within settlement walls.

Sstudent workers themselves were the most important part of settlement work with boys. By their own example, Pennsylvania students encouraged these urban boys to follow their footsteps toward Christian living. They promoted activities that reproduced college life in an effort to gain respect and to duplicate the activities they believed formed character. The 110 original members of the "University Juniors," for example, learned University of Pennsylvania songs and cheers, which they chanted when they went to watch college sports events. [60] Bringing these boys to the college crossed class

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[56]"A History of University House," Box 20, Folder 243, University Settlements Records, URB. This document has no date and no author, but was written by someone who was there at the beginning.
[57]"A History of University House,"URB.
[58]"A History of University House,"URB.
[59]"Report of the Superintendent of 'The University Christian Settlement." University Handbook and First Annual Report of Christian Association, 1901. Christian Association Handbooks, UPS 48.15, UPA; "A History of University House," URB.
[60]"A History of University House," URB.

boundaries, but it also reinforced them by demonstrating the socio-economic distance between the geographically close neighborhoods of the campus and the Devil's Pocket.

Student workers assumed that sports would draw boys who could then be enticed to remain for religious programs. They made use of the love of physical activity, spirit of competition and raucous tendencies that they saw as inherent male traits. At both the settlement and the college, YMCA activities attempted to channel these masculine qualities into less threatening modes of expression. Christian Association students reproduced among South Street boys the same battle against temptation that they waged among themselves. Across the Schuylkill, however, the stakes and goals were different: these boys were being trained not to lead the world, but to peaceably inhabit it. The danger was not that they would fail to meet their potential and decrease the number of qualified leaders in their society, but that they would irrevocably disrupt that society through becoming unruly, immoral adult citizens or labor activists. In privileging sports as a source of Christian masculinity, Christian leaders co-opted working-class pastimes for their own ends. The potential threat of rowdy activities like boxing was channeled into an activity that allowed expression of primitive "manly" impulses while furthering character development.

In the eyes of the Christian Association, men like Joe McCracken who had become leaders among fellow students were uniquely qualified to draw young boys away from temptation. Christian students hoped their example could turn these working-class Irish Catholic boys away from crime and uselessness. Small moments, they believed, could change the course of a life: " a word, a cheerful fireside, an early friendship are influences that will determine whether honor or shame, heaven or hell, awaits the newsboy whose cry you just heard in the street. Help us to alter the environment of these boys so that our

words may produce the maximum of good influence upon their lives." [61] Of course, students did not expect their work to succeed immediately. Following the principle of adopting Christ-like behavior, they planned to exercise gentle, persevering, yet forceful influence. When they met resistance, they interpreted it as justification for their endeavor.

For Christian Association settlement workers, winning respect was not always easy, and students often ended up engaging the boys on their own terms. Students sometimes combined their efforts at leadership with demonstrations of physical force. Indeed, physical strength often set the terms for exchanges between local boys and student visitors. CA members interpreted boys' misbehavior as evidence that they needed to learn manners and discipline. But misbehavior could also be seen as instances of class struggle that helped shape the interaction between the two groups of young men.

At times, Christian principles were not sufficient to subdue the boys' "rough-housing" and only physical force would succeed. When a staged political debate between local boys turned into a brawl, "the only way [CA worker John] Brown could stop the fight was to throw [the boy] down the stairs to the floor below, from whence he was ushered to the street." [62] The boys met less brawny university students with skepticism. One neighborhood boy remembered that headworker Bruce Byall "was not as husky as Stauffer or Joe McCracken, very mild looking and soft spoken. We thought we would take him like Dewey took Manila but we soon found him plenty tough...."[63] A few years later, Percy Stockman became Headworker. He was "a very small and slim student, weighing about 105 pounds." His size and his name did not inspire obedience, "but he soon proved he was a regular guy and had plenty of guts." Stockman

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[61] "A History of University House," URB.
[62] "A History of University House," URB.
[63] A History of University House,"URB.

established his reputation through a boxing match with a local man. Though he lost the bout, the incident proved his courage and physical hardiness. [64]

Christian Association workers may have interpreted resistance as proof of working-class boys' lack of self-control. But it also suggests that these local boys were willing to accept students' discipline on their own terms. When it suited them, boys would behave properly to remain in the house. When they acted up, they might be expelled and forced to "stand out on the corner in the cold." If they could contain themselves within the house walls, they stood to benefit from its amenities. Conversely, perhaps being expelled from Sunday School was actually a boon to boys who did not relish these lessons in the first place. Meanwhile, despite college students' efforts at crowd control, plenty of other opportunities for "rough-house" persisted in the neighborhood: a local gang convened regularly in a housing court not far from the building, and even during settlement-sponsored sports events fighting broke out among spectators. [65] These continued tussles over misbehavior show that local boys were selective in choosing when to conform to the rules CA workers set forth.

Summer camp offered another important setting for Christian Association students to teach manhood to Devil's Pocket youth. Like the YMCA's camps for its own members, these retreats were in pastoral settings by the sea or in the country. They offered the boys a combination of spiritual and physical activity. In sponsoring such events, the YMCA joined other late-nineteenth century advocates of the "fresh air" movement who believed in offering city dwellers escapes from the urban environment. The country, they believed, provided a wholesome place for rest, recovery, and, in many cases, reform. Many settlement houses ran camps like the one the Christian Association sponsored at Longport,

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[64]A History of University House," URB.
[65]A History of University House," URB.

New Jersey, and workers viewed them as unique opportunities to influence city children. Harry Blake Taplin of Boston's Hale House settlement summarized the virtues of camp:

> A vacation in the country, in the mountains or at the seashore, with plenty to eat and all the fresh air and sunshine the world can give, is of very great value after a year spent in a congested tenement; but when the vacation is carefully directed so as to secure all the possible values, then it becomes a training as well and counts for much more than mere recreation. A lasting impression is made on the mind, better habits become ingrained, new standards are unconsciously adopted and life is seen from a wider angle. One leader who has had long experience, said recently, that he could get closer to a boy's inner nature by sleeping with him in the open on a mountain top than in any other way he knew. [66]

Only by intensive immersion in nature could the damage of the city be undone. By its fifteenth year, Hale House sponsored two New Hampshire camps: the Camp Hale Vacation Centre for Boys on Squam Lake, and the Girls Vacation House on Laurel Lake near Mount Monadnock. Workers emphasized physical fitness in their discussions of the camp's accomplishments, approvingly noting weight gain among the girls, and charting the boys' gains in weight, height, upper arm, thigh and chest size, as well as lung capacity.[67]

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[66]"Fifteenth Anniversary of Hale House, A Social Settlement 1895-1910," Pamphlets Collection, Folder: Boston Hale House, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (SWHA).
[67]"Fifteenth Anniversary of Hale House, A Social Settlement 1895-1910," SWHA.

Like other outdoor reform projects, the CA's Longport, New Jersey camp placed students and boys in closer proximity than ever before. In this intensive, rural community of men, students believed their influence most likely to be respected. The young campers, however, had different ideas. Once, a group of boys deserted their camp for Atlantic City, planning forbidden purchases of cigarettes and tobacco. Joe McCracken pursued them there and brought them back to camp, where he told tales of Olympic training in Paris intended to sway the boys toward more respectable conduct. One camper remembered later:

> He related how these Athletes refrained from smoking and chewing tobacco, drinking intoxicants, and keeping late hours, and had spend [sic] hours in practice developing their minds and bodies so that they would be in the best possible mental and physical condition to do their parts in winning the Olympic Championship.
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> As Joe sat upon that sand pile telling us of the advantages gained by living a pure clean life, and playing our games hard and fair, the light of the campfire fell upon his face and showed such strength of character and sincerity, that it impressed us so that we never forgot his advice. [68]

At least to this memoirist, Joe McCracken created a strong impression of manliness with his athletic prowess, "sincerity," and "character." Even so, the boys absorbed his story only after they had successfully completed their getaway to Atlantic City. Respect for Joe's rugged masculinity did not necessarily inspire unquestioning obedience. As for McCracken, he used his story to teach the

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[68]A History of University House," URB.

connection between character and success. The story of his own self-mastery was a parable for the boys' enrichment. But because these boys belonged in a lower social class, self-mastery also entailed obedience to Joe and his fellow CA members. Longport offered boys a welcome reprieve from the city heat, but at the price of moral lectures from camp leaders. Even at the oceanside camp, however, the boys resisted YMCA students' control. At Longport, the making of masculinity was an interactive process.

The outcome of CA students' outreach among the Devil's Pocket youth is difficult to gauge. At least one Irish Catholic youth who belonged to a settlement club grew up to become an entry in a settlement case file who "drinks heavily and cannot hold a job." Former student worker Bruce Byall tried to find him work with the American Ice Company. For a time, the man held a job, while living under "impossible" "sanitary conditions" and sick children. His wife left him and then returned, and he was rejected for the World War One draft for physical reasons. Soon after, he was stabbed to death "on the other side of [the] river." [69] For him, at least, membership in the "University Juniors" did not guarantee lifetime success.

Even had the University House boys dutifully followed all the rules set out by the CA men, they could not have become "kings of tomorrow." Presumptions about working-class people and Irish Catholics in particular excluded them from that category. The Christian Association students in Philadelphia produced a community geared toward sublimating class conflict and encouraging the reproduction of gender-based socio-economic hierarchies. In their work in "Devil's Pocket," Christian men tried to become "wise, forceful men of invincible good will" who could sway others to follow a Christian path. In Philadelphia, they intended working-class boys--and later men, women and

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[69]University House Case Files, Folder 10, URB.

children—to become their followers. Their work aimed to improve poor living conditions and address social problems, but it also intended to restrain working-class equivalents of the "passions" college men tried to tame among themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR : REAL LIFE AND DEFINITE WORK: THE COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS ASSOCIATION AND DENISON HOUSE

College women represented a "new order." They possessed all the qualities traditionally associated with womanhood: "Quick sympathy, unfailing tenderness, the desire to minister to suffering whether of soul or body, swift intuition, and a high spiritual ideal." At the same time, they had a natural sympathy with the "workers," a sense of "culture," and, perhaps most importantly, "a willingness for personal service." This unique new woman had "a peculiar effectiveness for sociological work" that should be channeled into practical outlets for applying women's natural sensitivity and desire to foster social change. In this way, Wellesley professor and social activist Vida Dutton Scudder characterized the young women she hoped to encourage in settlement house work.[1]

Sentiments like Scudder's drove the participation of female college students in social reform. Participating in projects similar to those of YMCA men, these middle-class white Protestant women nonetheless set forth a distinct agenda of their own. Their service helped forge their paths as educated women. This effort broadened women's "sphere" to include organized activism in labor, prisons and child welfare. At the same time, these college women struggled to define the relationship between gender, class and personal identity. Through

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[1] Vida Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need," a paper presented to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Oct. 24, 1890. Vida D. Scudder Papers, Box 2, folder 14, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts (hereafter VDS).

settlement house work, they addressed these issues and formed usable identities as educated, socially conscious women. Female students combined their distinct experiences as educated middle-class women with attention to pressing social needs. This combination developed a sense of self both personally fulfilling and socially acceptable.

Even as they reformed themselves, these students reformed contemporary definitions of gender, class and the relationship between the two. This chapter will focus on one effort college women alumnae and students made to strengthen the connection between educated women and urban reform. Denison House was a Boston settlement house founded specifically to give college women an outlet for humanitarian impulses. There, college students volunteered and sometimes came to live. The story of its founding, the philosophy that inspired its workers, and the content of student contributions at Denison House illuminate the implications of women students' service efforts.

I. Women, Service, and the College Settlements Association

Denison House was one of four settlements sponsored and supported by the College Settlements Association (CSA), a group of female college alumnae that gave the union of women's education and service an organized voice. Conceived in 1889, and enduring until its conversion into the Intercollegiate Community Service Association in 1917, the CSA supported settlements in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The group formed at the same time that reformers across the country were founding settlement houses with the goal of addressing the problems of urban poverty from a neighborly perspective. The CSA, however, had a mission that distinguished it from hundreds of similar projects nationwide: its founders explicitly intended to integrate college women

into social reform projects. Their rationale was two-fold: By virtue of their sex, education, class and cultural sensibilities, young women were uniquely qualified to contribute to such efforts. At the same time, these characteristics predisposed them to benefit from such work themselves. Intellectually curious and innately sympathetic, young women were open to learning about other aspects of human experience. This notion of an exchange between reformer and reformed characterized most settlement house work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By making a college education and womanly qualities part of the mix, however, the CSA made a distinct argument. Another important thread ran through the CSA's philosophy. Challenged both by society's restrictive view of women's roles, and by the distance between a liberal arts education and social problems, these students could find direction in settlement house work. In the process, they justified female schooling itself by suggesting one possible place women could apply their college experiences. [2]

Vida Scudder exemplifies the varied impulses behind the CSA's work. As one of its founders, she embodied its mission and set the course for its future. Scudder remained committed to Denison House throughout her life. In her later years, Scudder deprecated her role as a reformer, yielding the historical spotlight to Jane Addams and others. However, she was a major figure in the college settlement movement and an influential spokesperson for integrating educated women into social reform. [3] She articulated the independent woman-

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[2]Carrell makes this argument: "The development of the service ethic in women's colleges reflected the needs of the schools themselves to carve out a purpose which would bring them badly needed support." (67)

[3]Elizabeth Carrell quotes a 1950 letter by Scudder that observes, "'Of course, I was always a mere outsider and theorist. . . Miss Addams and Chicago, not the CSA, were the centre of Light that Settlements had to throw." Elizabeth Palmer Hutcheson Carrell, Reflections in A Mirror: The Progressive Woman and the Settlement Experience. Diss, University of Texas at Austin, 1981. (Scudder qtd. on p. 446, from letter to Isabel Pifer, May 10, 1950.)

scholar-activist ideal the CSA hoped to promote. Her life also exemplifies the challenges young women faced after leaving college.

Born in 1861, Scudder had a privileged childhood. She and her mother lived in Europe for nearly four years (her father died when she was a baby). Upon returning, Scudder attended a private girls school in Boston, then spent another year-and-a-half in Europe with her mother. Following this European sojourn, she studied at the Boston Latin School and then Smith College. By the time she graduated from Smith, she had been diagnosed with "double curvature of the spine," an ailment which called for more time in Europe after graduation to complete her cure. She also experienced severe depression upon her graduation.[4]

When Scudder lived in Oxford with her mother, her college friend Clara French, and Clara's mother, she "woke up to the realities of modern civilization and decided that I did not like them." [5] In part, her awakening stemmed from the philosophy she encountered in John Ruskin's classroom. By the time Scudder was at Oxford, Ruskin was in his sixties, and many believed he was mentally ill. Scudder, however, thrived in his lectures. Like other American and British reformers, she found inspiration in Ruskin's views. She also learned about Toynbee Hall and the British university settlement movement, efforts that complemented Ruskin's organic view of society. Like other American reform efforts, the CSA would benefit directly from Ruskin's influence. Scudder's experiences in his classes "kindled ....the flame of social passion." In that year, she wrote, "Shame had wakened, and an uneasy sense of responsibility; privilege unshared was a fret that would not heal." [6] She determined that college

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[4]Patricia Palmieri, In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 90.
[5]Scudder, On Journey (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1937) 78. Foregoing information on Scudder's life also taken from On Journey.
[6]Scudder, On Journey, 109.

settlements offered a way to overcome the gap between social classes and share what was best in each.[7]

In retrospect, Scudder believed her Oxford experience had helped her come "within hailing distance of reality." Her growing social consciousness solved a tangible problem: her sense of intangibility. Since her childhood, Scudder had experienced a sense of dislocation and a conviction that reality lay somewhere beyond her grasp. "She was unable to find reality anywhere. The most solid phenomena disappeared as she encountered them," she later recalled, describing her childhood self. [8] When she accepted a teaching position in English at Wellesley College two years after returning to the United States, at a salary of $500 a year, she embarked on a task that seemed convincingly real. [9] Settlement work anchored her more firmly to reality.

Scudder was not alone in seeking "solid phenomena." The quest for "reality" was an amorphous but deeply troubling problem that preoccupied educated Americans in the late nineteenth century as they sought to place themselves in a rapidly changing world. In these years, Jackson Lears observes, "For the educated bourgeoisie, . . . reality itself began to seem problematic. . . . A dread of unreality, a yearning to experience intense 'real life' in all its forms--these emotions were difficult to chart but nonetheless pervasive and important." Settlement house work offered one manifestation of this impulse. [10] Teaching was another. Scudder chose both. For educated women, the quest for reality

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[7]On Scudder's childhood, college experience, moral awakening in England, and impulses behind CSA, see Mina Carson, Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 38-41.

[8]Scudder, On Journey, 91, 49.

[9]Scudder, On Journey, 96.

[10]T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization," Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., The Culture of Consumption (New York: Pantheon: 1983) 6. Lears observes, "This quest for 'real life' was the characteristic psychic project of the age. It energized the settlement house movement, as legions of sheltered young people searched in the slums for the intense experience they felt they had been denied at home." (10).

was particularly important. They faced a society that did not provide many outlets for the ambitions they had cultivated in college. Without direction, they might become depressed or overtaken by family claims. Depressed women might be diagnosed as neurasthenic and strongly encouraged to take a rest cure that only further limited their options. Denison House provided women with "definite work," a term they articulated repeatedly as if to assure themselves of both the usefulness of their labor and their own solid mooring in lived experience.

In the fall that Scudder began teaching at Wellesley, she reunited with several Smith classmates in Northampton, Massachusetts. As the women "strolled those wide Connecticut River meadows which are the glory of Northampton" discussing the work of the British reformers, Scudder recalled, "Suddenly, a Thought flew among us, like a bird coming out of the air; flashing above and around, seen, vanished: Why could not we young women start something of the same kind in our own country?" [11]

The idea did not succeed immediately. Scudder later described times of despair when money and support seemed unforthcoming. But two years later, the first college settlement opened on Rivington Street in New York City; the next year, in 1890, the College Settlements Association was officially founded.[12] At the same time that Scudder and her friends made their plans, Jane Addams was launching Hull House in Chicago. "Strange how spiritual radios all over the world will at the appointed moment catch the same vibrations!" [13] Scudder observed in her autobiography, noting that the CSA women had no knowledge of Hull House when making their own plans.

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[11]Scudder, On Journey, 110.
[12]Scudder, On Journey, 111-112; 135.
[13] Scudder, On Journey, 110.

Certainly, the spirit of reform was in the air. In 1886, Stanton Coit had founded the Neighborhood Guild in New York City. Also patterned after Toynbee Hall, the Guild flopped after a few years. In 1892, it re-emerged as the University Settlement, its goal "to bring men and women of education into closer relations with the laboring classes in this city for their mutual benefit."[14] Meanwhile, YMCA campus branches steadily increased social outreach, though the University of Pennsylvania's University House would not open until 1898. The CSA women, the founders of the University Settlement and YMCA service advocates shared a common goal of motivating educated young people to social reform.

For the CSA, however, the situation of educated women provided a unique imperative. The central aspects of Scudder's own experience as a woman born into privilege, uneasy with her social advantages, temporarily directionless and morally awakened in her formative intellectual years, epitomize the reasons college settlements appealed to young women. Scudder typified many women of her age group who struggled to fulfill their own needs and beliefs without completely refuting middle-class expectations of their roles.[15] Like other CSA settlements, Denison House provided these women with an important resource--a community of like-minded women who could support each other when they challenged socially prescribed norms like marrying and mothering.

The desire for personal direction and fulfillment guided CSA work. The group's founders also desired a reciprocal relationship with the poor. "It cannot be stated too often that the residents in a Settlement have quite as much to learn

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[14]University Settlement Society Bulletin No. 1, January 1892, Pamphlets Collection, "University Settlement" folder. Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. (SWHA)

[15]Carrell, for example, notes that "Vida Scudder and Ellen Starr reflect in a way that is particularly clear and vital the crisis of identity which afflicted so many women in their generation." (15)

from the community about them as they have to give to it," a 1903 Denison House pamphlet observed.[16] The corollary to their rhetoric of "exchange" was a fundamental belief in the common humanity of all people. Scudder and others stressed that college women could pave the way to a new understanding between members of different economic and social classes. The CSA women approached these goals with mixed success, but their democratic foundation provided the basis for their own shifting and contradictory attitudes toward social class.

CSA founders believed college women brought unique qualities to the urban environment, not least what Scudder termed a natural sympathy with the poor. They also possessed "that breadth and sensitiveness of perception which we mean by culture."[17] By "culture," Scudder meant an appreciation for art, literature and big ideas that transcended day-to-day working life. In the CSA's view, the ability to transmit "culture" gave college women a special role to play. By channeling their education into settlement work, women could apply their natural qualities to practical social needs. Education would also help women cultivate qualities not generally recognized as part of their innate character, such as common sense and "executive power." In settlements, they could put these qualities to use.[18] CSA literature emphasized that settlement work would broaden young women's horizons by exposing them to different life experiences.

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[16]"Denison House/93 Tyler Street, Directory of Clubs and Classes, 1903," College Settlements Papers, Box 3 Folder 16, Sophia Smith Collection, Northampton, MA.
[17]Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need."
[18]Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need"; Rosalind Rosenberg notes that Jane Addams also emphasized the ways such work helped college graduates. Rosenberg says that 'Hull House provided both a sanctuary and a purpose for many women--a sanctuary from the 'family claim' that so many of them found suffocating and a purpose that satisfied their desire for independence and accomplishment without undermining their sense of womanhood." Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)33 .

Settlement life, Scudder believed, had a transformative power on those who encountered it:

> I know what strengthening of ideals has come out of it, what quickened enthusiasm and what enlarged wisdom our residents have brought out of their Settlement experience. I think it is almost a true generalization to say that no resident who has entered a settlement has ever left it in the same attitude as that in which she entered. The theorizing about problems that perplex us is one thing; but the active effort to help, and the actual presence of those dark problems--the knowing them face to face through personal experience--is quite another thing. . . our settlements, I am sure, give exactly the highest and best training that a woman could possibly have to enable her to be of the best service to her day and generation. [19]

Settlement work expanded individual minds, but at the same time, fulfilled a practical purpose: preparation for "service." What better way to justify the value of female education? Educated women, according to college settlement advocates, would make superior social servants. Indeed, many women in this era launched prominent public service careers from settlement houses. They included Julia Lathrop, first Children's Bureau director, and labor activist Florence Kelley, both of whom lived at Hull House during its early years.

The College Settlements Association administered these ideological missions. Founded on ideals of education, reform, and opportunity for college

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[19]Scudder, "Speech to the Eastern Kindergarten Association," 11 February 1896, Box 2, Folder 14, VDS.

women, the CSA raised money and publicity for its four settlements and developed a network that encompassed more than twenty east coast colleges. Scudder and her co-founders--Jean Fine and Helen Rand--began the work of the CSA in 1889 with the Rivington Street Settlement in New York. In the spring of 1892, the college settlement in Philadelphia opened its doors, followed by Denison House in December. Boston's South End settlement took its name from Edward Denison, an Oxford graduate and "young Englishman of wealth and social position who in 1867 lived in East London in a tenement house and held classes for children and older people."[20] Denison died only three years after embarking on his mission, and became an icon for the settlement movement in Britain, and, later, the United States. For the women moving to Boston, he was a suitable model who had demonstrated "a devotion of heart, and a cool clear-headedness of method which [they] would be glad to imitate. "[21] The CSA added its final house in 1910, when Baltimore's Locust Point house became affiliated with the association.[22]

The CSA acted as an umbrella organization for its settlements, though each house ran independently under its own executive committee, which was elected by the CSA electoral board. The central organization's electoral board consisted of representatives from colleges who were members of the group, as well as two representatives of the non-collegiate members. By 1892, the CSA Annual report listed twenty-one colleges as institutional members; the total

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[20]Denison House information pamphlet, 1904, Folder 99, Denison House Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter DHP). Note: The references to the Denison House Papers are based on an inventory in use in November-December 1995, before the collection was microfilmed. The new inventory may not fit these references.
[21]Carson, 6. Excerpts from CSA Annual Reports, Boston Report of Headworker 1893, Folder 57, DHP.
[22]Information about the association's early history contained in the Annual Reports of the College Settlements Association, held by the Sophia Smith Collection.

individual membership was 765 (of these, 546 were college-affiliated members).[23] Eventually, the organization also sponsored sub-chapters in private high schools.[24] College members paid dues of $5 each, supplying revenue that the CSA distributed between its settlement houses. [25] If the fee seemed too hefty, group memberships enabled each young woman to pay only $1. The funds the CSA provided were not enough to run each house. Ideals and enthusiasm were important, but without money, none of it could happen.

Concern about money preoccupied Denison House's Executive Committee. Residents faced endless troubles at the house itself: poor plumbing, lack of space, and general disrepair. 93 Tyler Street was a rented house that required extensive renovation before it was ready for occupancy. The settlement in the four-story brick building began with nine bedrooms, a basement, and a walled-in backyard. After a few years, its programs had outstripped the space provided. Denison House leaders relied upon external financial contributions to realize their plans. CSA contributions provided one source of income. But without major support from wealthy benefactors, the donations from college women and alumnae would have been almost useless.

One of the house's chief benefactors was Cornelia Warren, who over the years provided consistent support, including financing mortgages and offering her sprawling Waltham estate of Cedar Hill for fund-raising events and daily outings. Daughter of Boston's Samuel Dennis Warren, who had made his fortune from paper mills, Warren often came through with cash when the settlement house needed money for repairs, programs or expansion. Warren exemplified an older tradition of female philanthropy. Though she never

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[23]Third Annual Report of the CSA, 1892. CSA Reports, Settlements Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
[24]Radcliffe Magazine December 1902.
[25]Information about composition and activities of CSA from College Settlements Association Constitution, VDS.

attended college herself, she studied independently with Harvard philosophy professor George Herbert Palmer and eventually became a Wellesley trustee. She never married and made her home at the Waltham estate. Various causes drew her attention, including the Boston Home for the Incurables, and upon her death a eulogist commented, "The law of her life was Christian service. The achievement of her life was Christian character." [26]

Certainly without Warren's stalwart support, Denison House would have been hard pressed to accomplish its goals. Late in 1895, Warren purchased the original house. By that time, the settlement project had grown beyond its walls, so Warren purchased No. 91 as well, then transferred them to the CSA for two mortgages totaling $17,000. [27] By 1910, the House encompassed three other buildings on the same block and had begun a cooperative house for young women nearby. Within twenty years, the House became several houses, dominating the neighborhood until changing neighborhood conditions--and a perceived decrease in demand for its services--caused the settlement to relocate in the Dorchester-Roxbury area in 1942.

In addition to raising money, the CSA facilitated communication among its members by holding yearly conferences and publishing annual reports from each member house. The organization also co-sponsored three fellowships for college graduates that would allow them to conduct a sociological study at one of the settlements. The grants allowed research by women like Mary Gove Smith, who arrived in 1904 to study the South End's "Italian Colony" and remained for several years, eventually becoming the head of the House's Italian Department.[28]

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[26]Information on Warren from Martin A. Green, The Mount Vernon Street Warrens, A Boston Story, 1860-1910 (New York: Scribner's 1989) and Wellesley College Archives, file on Cornelia Lyman Warren.
[27]Nov. 5, 1895, Executive Committee Minutes 1892-99, Folder 15, DHP.
[28]Denison House Executive Committee Meeting Minutes 1901-06, Folder 17, DHP. DHP Annual Reports, Folder 58+, DHP.

CSA membership grew rapidly in the organization's first several years, and each settlement house quickly expanded its activities and community network. By 1896, Vida Scudder could speak triumphantly of the group's accomplishments to date, noting that about one hundred college women had lived in the settlements for two months or more, while many others had stayed for a few weeks.[29] CSA settlements did occasionally include male residents and workers, but the organization retained its central purpose of rallying college women to "the work." Like other college settlements, Denison House was a site for the production of a new female identity, forged on the college campuses of Radcliffe, Wellesley, and Smith, and augmented by the practice of "definite work."

II. New Neighbors in The South End

The female college students who worked at Denison House came mostly from Radcliffe and Wellesley. Occasionally, students from more distant Smith, in Northampton, spent school vacations working there. The environments these students occupied daily were dramatically different from the world they encountered at the settlement house. At Wellesley and Smith, students living on campus inhabited an environment both literally and metaphorically removed from social ills. Wellesley was like a rural country retreat, where imposing college buildings and cozy student cottages clustered around a peaceful lake. [30] When Denison House opened in 1892, Radcliffe still lacked a cohesive campus of its own. Opened as the "Annex" to Harvard in 1879, the school had no dormitories until 1901. Its students often boarded in local homes or commuted.

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[29]Scudder, "Speech to the Eastern Kindergarten Association," 11 February 1896, VDS.
[30]Helen Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) 95-104; 40-55.

Nonetheless, the stately streets of old Cambridge were a world apart from South End tenements. Thus, these students' education in "reality" began with the journey to Denison House and the neighborhood they found when they arrived.

Though not as poor as some neighborhoods on New York's Lower East Side or even on St. Mary Street where the CSA ran its Philadelphia settlement, the Denison House environment was a drastic change for college women used to comfortable surroundings and middle or upper-class living. The house stood at 93 Tyler Street. Running between the South End and South Cove, Tyler Street was "a rather quiet one, mainly brick dwelling houses, and much superior to the South Cove proper. "[31] Denison House was established among single-family houses that had been converted into tenements. Many nearby buildings were boarding houses, a circumstance guaranteed to rouse fears of immorality among urban social reformers who suspected that the practice of taking in boarders bred sexual freedom and endangered family life. Boarders might also threaten children's health and morality. Settlement worker Esther Barrows, who worked in nearby South End House, noted that "avaricious parents" sometimes put money ahead of their children's welfare. Once a little girl told her, "' The man who sleeps in my bed with my sister and me is going to give me a great big doll for Christmas.' [The girl] was asked quietly, 'And who is this man?' "I don't know his name, but he is one of our lodgers,' was her reply. " Barrows recounts that when the girl's statement "was verified... the case [was] handled at once and very ably by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children."[32] When settlement workers perceived a threat to children's moral or physical health, they acted quickly.

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[31]CSA Annual Report Excerpts, Oct. 1892, Folder 57, DHP. (N.B. this was written before house actually opened in Boston.)
[32]Esther G. Barrows, Neighbors All, A Settlement Notebook. (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1929)156.

In immigrant neighborhoods, however, boarders were often recently arrived friends or relatives of the home's original occupants. [33] Most often, boarding could signify communal networks, not instances of vice. In some cases, boarding houses served as a support network or surrogate family for single women. Both parties benefited: landlords or landladies received extra cash, and renters sometimes found a family atmosphere or subsidies of food or services that helped them survive.[34] Settlement workers' reaction to the practice expressed their own assumptions about what a moral home should look like.

South End residents were also ethnically different from the people these white Anglo-Saxon college students and alumnae were used to seeing. Residents around Denison House were mainly Irish, but the population was diversifying. In 1892, Jewish, Italian, German, Hungarian, Polish and Armenian immigrants lived in the area.[35] A Chinese neighborhood was close by, and "not far away [were] very poor and even criminal districts." In settlers' eyes, neighborhood was poor, dilapidated, and unsanitary: few tenements had bathrooms, and there were "no public baths except in the river. " During the winter, some landlords shut off the water altogether to avoid frozen pipes. Settlement residents believed local people badly needed advocates on their behalf: " Many tenants are too [ignorant] and shiftless to stand up for their own rights. " [36] The biggest problem appeared to be alcohol, the root of most of the "evils of the neighborhood," which housed many saloons as well as" illegal kitchen bar-rooms."[37]

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[33]Dominic Pacyga points this out in discussing Polish immigrants in Chicago. Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880-1922. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991. 70.

[34]On these beneficial aspects of boarding, see Joanne J. Meyerowitz, Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) 70-72.

[35]CSA Annual Report 1893, Folder 57, DHP.

[36]CSA Annual Report 1893, Folder 57, DHP.

[37]CSA Annual Report 1893, Folder 57, DHP.

The first residents of Denison House were a small group of women philanthropists and college alumnae. They recorded their early neighborhood encounters in Dickensian terms, describing raucous children and drunken men, as well as denizens like the elderly and nearly incapacitated Collins sisters from Nova Scotia: "One is totally blind and can hardly walk. The other has lung trouble but can work a little when it is not too cold. Everything was neat and clean and a friendly visit now and then will cheer their lonely lives."[38] They met " Jennie Roseli, the invalid sister of Mary Roseli the one-armed flower seller of the Boston and Albany station, " who "adds to the small income her sister earns, by making paper flower, dolls and other fancy articles of paper. "[39] And they learned the nuances of the trade in illegal alcohol from Mr. Orr, their local policeman. One man, he told them, "kept a kitchen bar room, and kept liquor under his sink, with a big waste pipe and a false top." Another, "Gary," was " a man with a hole in his head from the war, crippled. He sells two cases at a time, and begs the police not to interfere, as he cannot earn a living in another way."[40] This city world brimmed with new--and potentially disturbing--experiences.

Settlement residents found some neighbors helpful and welcoming. "We have come here to be good citizens [and] neighbors, but as yet we have not given kindnesses; we have received them on every hand," Denison House resident and lifelong supporter Helen Cheever observed in the first month after the House opened. When the women moved in, their neighbors heated water for them, helped them clean, and offered to tend the furnace. [41] Cheever interpreted these gestures as signs of good will; they were also probably efforts to make money. The man who tended the furnace, for one, was out of a job. Yet, others

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[38]Denison House Diary, Jan. 11, 1893, 127, Folder 73, DHP.
[39]Denison House Daybook, Jan. 20, 1893, 11, Folder 74, DHP.
[40]Denison House Diary, Jan. 31, 1893, 137, Folder 72, DHP.
[41]Denison House Diary, Jan. 31, 1893, 137, Folder 72, DHP.

"refused pay for services, declaring that they were glad to have such neighbors as we were, [and] to do for them. "[42]

Once installed in Tyler Street, settlers labored to establish a home that could serve as a model for the neighborhood. Settlement workers would reform their surroundings by personal influence and example, demonstrating a brand of what Paul Boyer calls "positive environmentalism." Unlike charity workers, they redirected their focus from the sins of the individual to the problems of society and made their goal individual redemption through environmental rehabilitation. [43] In so doing, they made society take the blame for poor urban conditions, a view Denison Headworker Helena Dudley made explicit:

> There is a comfortable hypothesis in many minds that people are poor because of sin or shiftlessness, and that society cannot be held responsible for this self-imposed misery. A small part of the blame rests assuredly on the individual who wills not to make the effort of which he is capable, but as we have seen, the tenement child, the father to the man, begins life in an environment so unwholesome, with the natural physical endowment so weakened by early toil that neither vitality nor ambition stirs to more effort than will just supply the body with immediate necessities. Of course we are speaking of the average not of the exceptional individual who moulds his circumstances by force of body and mind.

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[42]Denison House Diary, Jan. 31, 1893, Folder 72, DHP.
[43] Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1978) 220-232; 155-158.

> Does not the weight of blame rest then on society that so far has been too short sighted and too selfish seriously to attack at the roots the problem of our tenement house region? [44]

In this view, tenement dwellers lacked the tools but not the ability for self-improvement. The first settlers at Denison House hoped their close proximity to their neighbors would help them supply those tools.

Like their counterparts in the YMCA, Denison House workers believed in the power of personal influence. To one local school teacher, such influence was what the neighborhood needed most, to help in

> directing innocent intercourse and pleasures between young people....in providing them with good literature... in getting into shiftless homes [and] teaching the people to be thrifty....in helping old [and] young to save their money..... In general the sad thing about this part of the community was its low moral tone; the ugly things among which the children were brought up, the ease with which they could obtain bad things [and] the scarcity of good influences--Poverty is not the worst evil here; but the ignorance which ends in poverty, vice [and] crime.[45]

The teacher foreshadowed the concerns that came to dominate settlers' lives: the battle against what they termed ignorance and immorality, the redemption of children, and the need for a positive environment.

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[44]Helena S. Dudley, "Scope of the Settlement," Denison House Annual Report, 1900, Box 3, Folder 17, Settlements Collection, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[45]qtd. in Denison House Diary, Folder 72, DHP.

Over time, professional social work superseded notions of character and influence at Denison House as at other settlements. But these ideas remained a powerful force that affected settlement programs and diagnoses of problems. Of course, emphasizing environment did not necessarily prevent settlement workers from criticizing their neighbors. Despite redefining society as the source of urban problems, they retained a judgmental view and an element of blame when assessing local people. [46] Successful environmental change would be measured by individual conformity with the standards of cleanliness, cultural appreciation, and industry that the settlement workers themselves upheld.

These standards were manifest in Denison House itself, where residents adopted older notions of domesticity to their own project. As in Catharine Beecher's "American Woman's Home," women were this homestead's guiding spirits. Unlike that model dwelling, however, the family the house ministered to was metaphorical, encompassing both its large group of unrelated female inhabitants and the neighborhood's residents. Like the women's college dormitory, the settlement overturned established notions of middle-class domesticity by establishing a woman-centered house in which a complete family did not need to include men or biological children. Neighborhood children sufficed, and the bonds of female friendship between residents became the equivalent of family ties. As if to prove this point, Denison House dwellers referred to each other as "the family." Even as they challenged aspects of traditional womanhood, however, women at Denison House reasserted their own primacy as moral caretakers. By accepting this mission, they upheld the nineteenth-century image of woman as moral and spiritual guardian. This role was significant in a time when men such as the students at University House

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[46]Boyer, 156.

were establishing communities that were primarily devoid of women, yet intended to provide the moral uplift traditionally seen as a female purview.

Denison House workers aimed to create a welcoming atmosphere that simultaneously offered comfort, culture and refinement: "The parlor has light-papered walls, a few suitable pictures, rattan furniture, a piano, and plants and flowers; the dining-room, separated from the parlor by folding doors, has a sunny window, light-wood furniture, and a general air of cheerfulness. "[47] In January, "a bright wood fire snapped and glowed in the fireplace of the cosey parlor of Dennison [sic] House, on Tyler street. In the muslin draped windows were growing plants, while on the walls were lovely pictures, the whole interior being homelike and attractive." [48] In its physical surroundings, the House became a shrine to its own ideals.

For special events, the House put on an added show. In 1896, eighty people attended a housewarming to celebrate the completion of building repairs, an event also attended by "seven fairies dressed chiefly in white" who came to "give their blessing to our new house." The colors, decorations and tone of the main room conveyed warmth, comfort and thrift. Decorators had hung "Sprays of barberry, and ferns, and autumn leaves ...about the room," thereby bringing nature indoors and beautifying the room inexpensively.[49] The room had a white and green motif; a "bas relief of the Madonna and child" was among the decorations deemed tasteful enough for its walls. "The beauty of the whole effect simply filled our hearts with pride," the College Settlement News reported. [50] College students donated money to furnish rooms named after their schools. Separate areas maintained notions of privacy, "suitable pictures" supplied art,

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[47]Clipping from Transcript, Feb. 17, 1894, Folder Six, DHP.
[48] "Ladies of Dennison [sic] House." clipping, Jan 21. No year given, but is probably 1894, because of reference to "the present distress." Folder Six, DHP.
[49]Again, settlers reflected Beecher's advice with these natural decorations.
[50]"A House-Warming at Denison House," College Settlement News, Nov. 1896, Folder Six, DHP.

and the sunny windows and plants contributed a sense of healthfulness. Meanwhile, the rooms named after colleges physically demonstrated students' support.

Such surroundings were intended to positively influence the "neighbors" who came to visit. As with other settlement houses, Denison's separate living, eating and entertainment spaces set it apart from tenement dwellings. Esther Barrows described a local child's response to South End House: "Our little visitor... looked around our sitting-room as if searching for something, and then asked, 'Where is the bed?' 'Upstairs,' we said. 'And here's a whole room without a bed? What a waste!' It was she who came in later to ask whether her club might hold its next meeting in our residence. 'To see the house and how you live in it.' It was delightfully primitive to have to explain how a whole house was used." [51] In Barrows' view, such explanations were "primitive" because they expressed living habits intuitive to members of her social and economic class; yet, they were "delightful" because settlement workers desired exactly such opportunities to demonstrate what they viewed as "right living." Denison House created a positive example through its design and decor, but it also set the home and its residents apart from the people who lived around them, not least because its size allowed residents to separate private and public spaces to an extent impossible in three- or four-room tenement dwellings.

The house environment would have been more familiar to college students. [52] As well as influencing local people, these surroundings influenced the college women who came there to volunteer or to live. In this way, the House was like the college dormitory, whose architects tried to build a physical

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[51]Barrows, 154-55.

[52]John Rousmaniere points out familiarity between settlement and dormitory in "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894." American Quarterly XXII (Spring 1970) 45-66. As I will show, I think the impulses behind student settlement work went beyond the comfort from the familiar environment, as Rousmaniere implies.

environment that would mimic the types of behavior educators hoped to encourage in young women.[53] When Radcliffe began building dormitories after the turn of the century, architects invoked these principles. The first floor of Bertram Hall housed ample spaces for entertaining and gracious living, including a gallery, terrace, and two dining rooms. The house mistress occupied separate rooms on this level. Upstairs, students lived in suites with bedrooms off central studies and a common parlor. The hall evoked the same comforting, refined atmosphere as Denison House: "We enter. The stairs, tempting us upward, are directly before us. By the glimpse of a fireplace, however, we are drawn to the left, through the gallery with its seats and its high panelling, into the dining room, fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide lighted by seven large windows. . . . Seats built into the walls and book-cases, add to the charms of the library." The second floor was arranged to allow one student to have one or two rooms, or " to share three rooms with a friend. " Like the settlement, the dormitory design allowed for privacy and communalism at the same time. The working spaces of the hall were carefully out of view: servants lived on the third floor, and the servants' hall, kitchen and laundry were in the basement. [54]

When the new dormitory formally opened, Radcliffe President Agassiz made clear that it was to be more than a physical structure. The Hall would both derive character from its inhabitants and encourage character in them:

> We all know that the character, what we may call the bearing of a home, is something which derived from the quality of its inmates. The maintenance of such a character in its higher sense will depend upon the students themselves,--upon their own refinement,

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[53]Horowitz discusses these ideas throughout Alma Mater.
[54]Radcliffe Magazine March 1901.

> simplicity and dignity. ...a home implies responsibility, and [students'] highest ambition with reference to it should be to maintain a high standard of good breeding, of kindly intercourse and consideration for each other, which give after all, under any social conditions, the key-note to gentle manners. [55]

Building dormitories gave Radcliffe an important tool for shaping its students and fostering "character" among them. Applied to young women, this term meant "refinement," "breeding," and above all, manners. It was no accident that settlement houses duplicated these aspects of middle-class living. In its physical environment, Denison House told young women that although they were challenging certain aspects of female roles by leaving their comfortable campuses and practicing social activism, other central features of middle-class womanhood should remain intact. In their work among the South End residents, Denison House women exhibited the same contradictions. They taught working-class women and girls principles that solidly reasserted the same domestic values they challenged for themselves.

At first, Denison House settlers seemed motivated more by ideological impulses than practical plans. [56] During their first year, Denison House women sought their "definite work" in disparate places: bringing flowers to the sick, paying visits on their neighbors, and meeting with local labor groups, Salvation Army representatives, or charity organizations. The settlers also opened their house to neighborhood children, hoping to keep them off the streets. Gradually, they began activities that would bring more people to the house. A month after the House opened, workers had already begun these "enterprises": " Games for

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[55] Radcliffe Magazine March 1902.
[56] See Denison House Diary 1892, DHP.

school children Wed and Sat. afternoons. Music for friends in vicinity Thursday eves. Embroidery class, Miss Cate, Tues eves."[57] By the end of that year, residents had instituted regular classes in English, business, art, current events, embroidery, singing, and gymnastics. [58] Like many other Progressive reformers, settlement house workers found the antidote to their procedural uncertainties in organized, scheduled activities.

When they began these activities, they subtly but significantly shifted their philosophy. At first, women had branched out into the neighborhood. They took to the streets, paying visits and getting to know people in other local institutions from working girls' clubs to churches. Though they continued these activities as long as the House remained in the area, organized clubs and classes shifted the focus of their work to the House itself. Forays into the neighborhood were undertaken with House activities in mind; settlers who paid visits on local women inevitably encouraged them to attend a club or evening "musicale" at 93 Tyler Street. Settlement residents hoped to create community within the neighborhood and between themselves and their new neighbors, and they wanted to offer pastimes that would keep children off the streets, men out of bars, and give women a chance to relax outside the home. By making the settlement a community center, however, Denison House workers contributed to the lopsidedness of the "exchange" between settlement residents and local people. The community settlement workers sought to create within the House was a white, Anglo-Saxon middle-class American community whose values set the terms for the interaction between the two groups.

At Denison House, social services, clubs and classes resolved settlers' initial uncertainty about how to proceed. The House supplied sanitary milk,

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[57]Denison House Minutes, Series II, Folder 15, Jan.30, 1893, DHP.
[58]Denison House Minutes, Series II, Folder 15, Dec. 11,1894 DHP.

conducted a kindergarten and a nursery, and helped local people find medical help, shelter, and sometimes work. The modified milk station soon sold about 112 bottles a day to families from the neighborhood and in nearby communities. The House also hired a resident nurse who supervised milk intake and paid home visits to the babies. [59] Some clubs were purely social, such as the Katharine Club for young women, while others took specific themes such as social science and drama. The sloyd club did modeling in clay and wood, part of the manual training advocated for adolescent boys.[60] Over the years, the settlement expanded its class offerings to include regularly scheduled classes in cooking, arithmetic, sewing and Shakespeare.[61] The House also sponsored a "penny bank" intended to help children learn the virtues of saving and encouraged local home-based libraries. Boys' work eventually became specialized, requiring a worker hired specifically for that purpose, a job that brought $50 a month by 1902. [62] Some clubs taught homemaking and mothering skills. In the Mother's Club, women learned settlement workers' "American" rules for raising children and decorating and cleaning their homes. On a typical day, they heard a talk "on the Beautiful" which instructed them in "How to make ourselves [beautiful] in the eyes of our children and others, how to make new homes beautiful, without money; how to walk and sit properly, etc. "[63]

These projects demonstrated practical morality. Settlement workers required acceptable behavior in children (by their middle-class American standards); taught women how to keep their homes "beautiful" (presumably with the subtext of keeping the family together and the men out of the bar); and

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[59]Annual Report Excerpts, 1904 (unclear because section undated, but 1905-06 follows this selection in the folder) Folder 57, DHP.
[60]Denison House Minutes, Series II, Folder 15, DHP. "Program of Regular Engagements," 11th Annual Report of CSA. Sophia Smith Collection.
[61]Eleventh Annual Report of the CSA.
[62]Denison House Minutes April 9, 1902, Folder 17, Minutes 1901-06, DHP.
[63]April 26, 1895. Denison House Daybook 1894-97, Folder 76.

trained children and adults in practical skills. At times, however, their work proved more radical. Like Hull House residents, some Denison House women became involved in the labor disputes that raged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The House was the site of labor organizing meetings, and its residents started alternative organizations that would help people in the neighborhood find work. Denison women were particularly interested in helping women wage earners, and to that end, opened a sewing work room to help the unemployed women who would work an eight-hour shift for 75 cents a day. [64]

In all their projects, Denison House workers adamantly distinguished themselves from charity workers, despite apparent similarities in their programs. Groups like the Charity Organization Society or Associated Charities focused on donations and "friendly visiting." Charity workers went door-to-door in poor neighborhoods to discover local people's needs so that they could refer them to another charity group, or supply money, coal, or food. Like YMCA men at University House, Denison settlement workers set themselves up in poor neighborhoods so that they could become "neighbors" and avoid the stigma and patronizing aspects of charity. When Denison House workers supplied aid to unemployed people during the 1893-94 financial crisis, they explained it in a way more commensurate with their ideals:

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[64]Scudder, "Early Days at Denison House," Series I, Carton I, Folder One, DHP; uncited clipping, "Ladies of Dennison House[sic] Jan. 21, no year, but presume 1893-1894 because of reference to "the present distress", Series I, Carton I, Folder 6; ;"Work For Women," uncited clipping, Series I, Carton I, Folder Six, DHP. Carson describes settlement workers' labor activism in Settlement Folk, focusing particularly on Hull House and Denison House and describing how some settlement workers, including Vida Scudder, became socialists (77-84).

> as friends, they [the ladies of Denison House] see many cases of want that would otherwise be unknown, and the sufferers might perhaps perish in silence. . . .
>
> As far as possible . . . help is given through the regular agencies; but the ladies have some money which they are able to loan to people whom it seems better to assist privately, as the recipients have always been above soliciting or receiving aid and feel their situation very keenly.
>
> All this is done in a neighborly and friendly way and not by any means as charity or almsgiving. It is found, too, that the poor help the poor....[65]

When settlement workers did perform traditional charity, they consciously redefined them as friendly assistance. Residents often provided modest funds to local people, but always in exchange for some service, however small. Doling out money crossed the line between friendship and charity, but if the House women could find a reason to pay their neighbors, the practice seemed acceptable. Indeed, in such generosity of spirit, settlement women found concrete expression of the fellowship that was among their goals: "We believe more and more that the most important part of our work in Rivington Street is to be 'nice' to people," remarked the headworker at Denison House's fellow College Settlement in New York City.[66] Whether "niceness" was friendship or charity might have been a question better asked of its recipients, who may have had their own views of their new college neighbors' motives.

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[65]"Ladies of Dennison [sic] House," Jan. 21, no year, but presume 1894 because of context. Folder Six, DHP.

[66]Rivington Street Settlement, Fifth Annual Report, Sept. 1894, 17.

Requesting money was one way local people tried to adapt settlement houses to their own needs. Merely because South Enders used Denison House services and attended parties, classes and clubs does not mean they bought settlement ideology wholesale. Rather, they adopted its programs to meet their own ends and privately dismissed the parts that did not fit their beliefs or needs.[67] Sometimes, local people forced settlement workers to take on jobs they did not want. When one neighbor approached South End House residents to request help finding a husband she was politely told the house could not help her. But soon after, without telling anyone her plans, or asking directly for help, the woman left her child at the settlement house for the day. Settlement workers believed she spent the time "husband-hunting."[68]

Local people frequently approached residents asking for money or assistance finding a job or housing. At times these individuals stretched the patience of settlement workers who had not conceived of themselves as charity workers. In their descriptions, a woman like Mrs. Julia Sullivan was "a lying, drinking woman," lazy, unreliable, and unable to help herself. But Mrs. Sullivan frequently appealed to them for help and got it: advances for her rent money, assistance finding new lodging, and work for her elder daughter. At first, Mrs. Sullivan was able to use settlement workers to her own ends. But finally Denison House workers arranged to have Mrs. Sullivan's son taken away, with her daughter's permission, on the grounds that she was an unfit mother.[69] In the end, Denison House workers had the upper hand. Settlement workers used their relationship with other charity organizations like the Society for the Prevention

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[67]Regina Kunzel has shown how unmarried mothers used the Crittenton homes and other institutions for single mothers in their own way, circumventing house rules, creating networks of their own, and developing their own definition of unmarried motherhood. Kunzel, Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work 1890-1945 (New Haven: Yale, 1993) 84-92.

[68]Barrows, 33.

[69]Information on Mrs.. Sullivan from DHP Folders 72-76.

of Cruelty to Children to solve problems like Mrs. Sullivan's in ways they believed suitable.

Denison House workers did not always meet with a positive response from their "neighbors." The settlement's programs for local children fueled controversy between House residents and the local Catholic Church. When Denison resident Helen Cheever faced off with the parish priest, Father Billings, the two engaged in more than a turf war. Cheever found herself hard pressed to convince the clergyman that home life could be fostered by experiences children and young adults had at the settlement. "He could approve nothing which would separate interests of children from their homes," she observed. " I said we felt that very strongly. To increase home life was one of our strongest desires. That if we made friends with a family [and] went to a home, [and] could perhaps get the children to ask a few friends into the home, we might teach them to make it attractive there. Father Billings felt doubtful about this; as it would separate the other children from their home."[70] To Billings, settlement activities were an incursion of Protestant Evangelicalism into Catholic homes.

Cheever attempted to reassure him that the settlement had no desire to sway children from Catholic beliefs: "If at the end of a year you find a single person a less good Catholic because of us; I shall be sorry [and] surprised. Wait [and] see. Only it strikes me that you had better trust us, let us try our own plans, [and] watch results." Billings and Cheever negotiated over appropriate pastimes for Catholic children, and the priest agreed that helping sick or needy children in their homes would be acceptable. They also discussed reading material. Billings tried to persuade Cheever to read only Catholic books to parish children, but she convinced him that "some books which belonged to everyone, [and] yet were not [Roman Catholic]" might be acceptable. Cheever reported that

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[70]December 27, 1892, Denison House Daybook, 13. Folder 72, DHP.

the two reached an agreement, and that Billings agreed to give the settlement time before making a public statement about its work. Only a few months later, however, Billings told Cheever that he had warned Catholic children away from the House because he did not approve of the clubs that settlement women were holding for local boys. [71]

Cheever was at a loss to understand Billings' perspective. To her and her fellow settlement residents, Denison House was an alternative home where they could better fit children for duties within their own families. In Cheever's view, Billings' concerns were a barrier to the "definite work" she believed the House needed to do. Encouraging young people and children to visit the house seemed a logical way to keep them off the streets. House games and companionship constituted wholesome entertainments. But to Father Billings, such activities were anathema because they challenged one of his core beliefs: "'the sacredness of home.'" They also threatened the Catholic solidarity of his parish.

The conflict between Billings and the settlement illustrates the tension between the neighborhood's established Catholicism and the Protestant, particularly Episcopalian, views espoused by incoming settlement workers. Such tension had a long history in American cities. In response to evangelical relief associations organized after the second Great Awakening, Catholics had created their own charity societies to counter this wide-spread Protestant network. The Catholic charities were more interested in immediate charity and relief than in social change. Furthermore, as an "immigrant, working-class institution" in the United States, the Catholic Church lacked the financial support and influential backers available to Protestant reformers. [72] Cheever's description of Father Billings makes him seem like a somewhat paranoid opponent whose mission was

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[71]March 21 1893, Denison House Daybook, p. 62-71 Folder 72, DHP.
[72]Michael Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America (New York: Basic Books, 1986) 61-63.

to sabotage the settlement women's new venture. Seen in the context of the long-standing tensions between Protestant and Catholic charity workers and their approach to social relief, however, his reaction makes sense. What Cheever saw as Billings' hostility was actually an effort to protect his people from Protestant infiltration into their homes, cultures and beliefs.

Children were a battleground in this religious and cultural struggle. Billings believed encouraging them to become part of a home other than their own would undermine the local power of the Catholic Church. [73] As with many of the goals espoused by Denison's residents, different conceptions of home and proper child-rearing dictated each side's response to the issue. When settlers sought to locate the center of moral teaching in their house, rather than the children's own home, they separated parents and children. Through their focus on children, they assumed views of childhood that their neighbors did not necessarily share. [74] In the process, they ascribed needs to local people that may have differed from the needs locals perceived themselves. [75]

Middle-class American visions of childhood portrayed it as a sacred, separate, and somewhat mystical time. Childhood was heavily romanticized in Victorian culture. To European immigrants--and to impoverished descendants of immigrants living in the United States--such visions were foreign indeed. As Elizabeth Ewen observes in her study of New York City immigrants, "adolescence was a foreign concept. A middle-class American adolescence, and

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[73]On tension between Catholics and Protestant reform methods in Boston, and on Catholic visions of women and family, see Paula M. Kane, Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism 1900-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) 27, 148, 151.

[74]Elizabeth Ewen makes these arguments about conflicting cultural values in New York City; they can apply to the South End of Boston as well. Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925(NY: Monthly Review Press, 1985). See especially chapters, "Agents of Assimilation," "Our Daily Bread" and "New Images/Old Bonds."

[75]Susan Traverso, "'A Watch Upon the Road Going Down to Jericho': Denison House, 1892-1903, "M. A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989.

extended childhood marked by schooling and leisure, made little sense to immigrant parents and children brought up in the logic of family obligation and work." [76] The college women at the settlement were themselves incongruous to people accustomed to beginning a life of hard work in the period middle-class Americans called adolescence. These women occupied a liminal stage that had no parallel for poorer immigrants and working-class Americans; with the luxury of their educational background and class position, they were able to hover between job and family.

Despite Father Billings' protests, activities for children became a central feature of Denison House life.[77] These initiatives revealed the conflict central to their original goals of transcending class differences. Local children became ambassadors into their own homes, carrying the values settlement workers endorsed. Settlement women believed they bridged the class gap by trying to bring living standards closer together between the two groups. At the same time, they remained true to their own cultural values. Children were the future citizens the house could help shape. Settlement workers could help make responsible contributors to American society who would uphold the same values they promoted at Denison House. Keeping children off the street, teaching them manners and cleanliness, and trying to share what Vida Scudder called "culture" furthered such aims. From Father Billings' perspective, though, children under settlement influence were less ambassadors than a threat to Catholic community.

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[76] Ewen, 99.

[77] Traverso has argued that the settlement's work with children marked a departure from the settlers' more idealistic goals of social reform, manifested, for example, in labor activism. Work with children made the settlement more a service organization and less an instrument of major social change. In the end, she says, tensions between the house and its supporters over labor goals, contradictory aspects of the settlers' class ideology itself, and differences between how the settlers' and the locals perceived the area's "needs" made these goals hard to realize. I see children's activities somewhat differently.

Saturday afternoon games for young ones were really behavioral training classes. "Children came for games," a worker reported. "Bad boys [were] told that they could not come because they had not been gentlemen. Immediately [they] were bent on retaliation but were silenced by Mr. Prince."[78] Orderliness, politeness, cleanliness and fairness: these were the virtues settlement workers expected children to cultivate. A casual game of jackstraws among schoolboys became a vehicle for cultural change. South End House's Barrows believed such activities instilled habits that could train children to become responsible citizens: "It is the active...recreation which the Settlement can offer to young people as a means of developing the individual for leadership which will bring up from the dead level. In a few cases where we have discovered a hobby, we have been able to use it in endless ways--sometimes for the salvation of the person."[79]

If children learned ideology from jackstraws, what did students learn when they came to play with the children on Saturday afternoons? These women became metaphorical mothers who forged new career paths for college-educated women. By training new, or disadvantaged, Americans for citizenship, they made themselves an integral part of Progressive reform efforts. As Robyn Muncy describes, settlement house women were part of a "female dominion" that influenced the development of the welfare state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Work with children was a starting point at settlements like Denison House--one which gained national prominence and importance with the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912. For college women, it was an opportunity to expand their horizons and address social problems while remaining true to ideals of motherhood.

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[78]Daybook, Dec. 1, 1893, Folder 75, DHP.
[79]Barrows, 161.

III. College Students' "Definite Work" in the City

When they came to Denison House to "help with children," college students from Radcliffe and Wellesley both challenged and affirmed notions of their own proper roles as middle-class young women. These potential refugees from marriage and motherhood saw themselves as mothers to the masses in the South End. Their work at Denison House demonstrated conflicting ideas about their view of class hierarchies. They tested notions of middle-class female respectability by practicing settlement work, and they espoused the humanitarian rhetoric of Denison House projects. Yet their contributions were products of their own distinct experiences.

College women were involved in all the House programs. They appear most frequently as leaders of clubs and classes, helpers with children's activities, and entertainers at House parties. Those who came to stay for longer than a day were privy to the ongoing round of House work that included offering poor relief, medical aid, paying house visits and working with other local charities. The identities college students created through their work were products of the interrelationship between the two environments. And, just as the local people did not always use the settlement as its workers intended, college students had their own reasons for participating and their own goals.

This second generation of college-educated women brought their personal concerns to settlement house work. They were preoccupied with shaping their own image, with the question of how educated women could marry and remain fulfilled, and with finding post-college occupations. These concerns were manifest in the college extracurriculum of which settlement house work was a part. Women students in the 1890s and early twentieth century

created an extensive extracurriculum that helped shape their ideal of the "college woman." [80] By the 1890s, both Radcliffe and Wellesley emphasized the importance of a college identity based on shared school activities. School spirit became equated with participation in these groups:

> because some girls in college seem to be possessed by the spirit of inertia as far as many of its organizations are concerned, it is thought wise for the sake of the freshmen to give a little admonitory talk on the evils of indifference.... [Indifference]...may be defined as a lack of desire to choose. Now this is the disease that some of us are affected with. We don't care, and the worst of it all is, we don't care that we don't care. But we can affect a virtue if we have it not and by and by it becomes our own. . . . So let us affect enthusiasm for a little while at Radcliffe, and lo! the love of life and living will come softly , like the light of dawn.[81]

This rhetoric expressed serious concerns about college identity and female students' public image. School spirit offered college women a shared identity and a purpose. It also justified female education. If women showed themselves to be active, involved students who benefited from college, they could disprove skeptics who believed education prevented women from performing their ideal social duties.

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[80] Until the turn of the century, the extracurriculars at Wellesley were more developed than at Radcliffe, mostly because the school itself was more centralized. At Radcliffe, the creation of a female environment was secondary at first, as the school's main purpose was to provide an education equal to that men received at Harvard. This changed by the 1890s. Horowitz, Alma Mater, 92, 102, 104.

[81] Editorial, Radcliffe Magazine, Dec 1908, 28.

Being a good college citizen meant putting the school's interests first: "If every individual who is enjoying the inestimable advantages of our College would have the attitude of mind which asks not 'what can Radcliffe College do for me? but 'what can I do for Radcliffe College?" there would be no dream of a possible future too optimistic to be realized."[82] Fortunately, the goals of helping the school and helping oneself were not generally exclusive. Becoming part of the CSA expressed school spirit. Settlement work also addressed students' personal anxieties.

Fiction by Radcliffe women reveals their anxieties about the future. Their stories show that college women openly voiced uncertainty over their future place in society. One fictional heroine tries to talk to her young husband when he comes home from work. "'What shall we talk about?'" he asks, having little to say himself. Bleakly, Ruth confronts her future life :

> She could see...only evenings like this one stretching on endlessly forever. Tom always there--far away from her. She saw him stoop down and kiss her when he went away in the morning, and again at night when he came home. Always the same. The dreary conception of her tiresome days without pleasure and without pain horrified her. [83]

This woman is "frightened at what she was finding in her own mind." Once a refuge, the mind becomes a trap when stifled by a monotonous marriage. Another fictional heroine on the verge of marriage envisions a future she feels powerless to change: "'I shall not be happy,' she said slowly, 'but they will never

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[82]Editorial, Radcliffe Magazine, April 1909, 139.
[83]Mary P. Howland, "The Sketch," Radcliffe Magazine June 1899.

know.'" [84] For this unhappy bride, self-empowerment means the ability to present a public face. Unable to realize personal happiness, she must settle for a lesser brand of control: the power to shape others' perceptions of her, despite her inability to positively shape her own future.

The question of whether college women could happily marry was part of the public discourse among female students. Even as some student writers expressed ambivalence about marriage, other students and alumnae argued that good marriages were the ideal end of a college education. Such discussions fed students' own uncertainty about what to do after college. Teaching seemed an inevitable if not always desirable career. [85] Not all young teachers shared these views; some expressed genuine enthusiasm about their work. But the ambivalence of those who did not reflects more than literary convention. At a time when teaching was one of the few careers readily open to college-educated women, the choice to teach did not always seem a choice. [86] Radcliffe women warned those who saw teaching only in "pecuniary" terms to consider other options such as government or charity work: "If a 'would-be' teacher regards a child merely as a recipient of knowledge, she would better catalogue books or compile a dictionary for so she will do less harm to herself and her work."[87]

School speakers informed students about careers other than teaching. Hester Cunningham, Radcliffe '99, encouraged students to consider jobs resembling her own as "private secretary" to a "professional man" or college professor. She emphasized the importance of a woman's "personality" in her ability to do this work, and highlighted the qualities that would make for success: "intelligence about everything, interest in general subjects, accuracy in

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[84]Katherine Fullerton, "Miss Clayton, A Study," Radcliffe Magazine Dec 1899.
[85]See "Epistolae" class of 1892, Wellesley College Archives.
[86]In the Wellesley Class of 1892, for example, 34 of 116 women went on to teach, the greatest number in any one profession. Decennial Report Class of 1892, Wellesley College Archives.
[87]"Editorial," Radcliffe Magazine April 1908.

detail, absence of egotism, genial temper, and good health....pleasant manners and a neat style of dressing."[88] For women, "personality" meant the ability to serve someone else well, a very different meaning from the charismatic leadership educators believed personality bestowed on men. In jobs like Cunningham's, a winning personality was no assurance of advancement.

Graduates also discussed opportunities for women in retail or interior decorating. To Rose Sherman '94, a librarian's career achieved a social service. The librarian's "duties combine those of a business manager, home maker, social worker and public spirited citizen. No one has an opportunity to influence and serve a larger number of people." The job required " broad general knowledge," and "deep human sympathies." [89] A woman with a college education would be uniquely fitted for such work because of the broad liberal arts training she received and the innate sympathy woman were believed to possess.

The question of future careers pervaded college women's activities. They sought pursuits in which they could express themselves and apply the knowledge they gained at school. Often, they turned to jobs that allowed them to serve others. For this reason, advocates of college settlement house work stressed that it trained "its residents and outside workers in intelligent and thoughtful, as well as sympathetic, social service."[90] Echoing Vida Scudder's beliefs, one Radcliffe woman asserted, "We college graduates are peculiarly fitted for this type of social work. Our minds have been trained for investigation, while to many of us comes the desire, after four years of intellectual self-development, for active, definite work for others."[91] College settlement work prepared women for a "definite" direction after college, even as it rounded out their extracurricular

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[88]Hester Cunningham, "The Private Secretary," Radcliffe Magazine December 1909.
[89]Rose Sherman, "The Librarian," Radcliffe Magazine February 1910.
[90]"College Settlement Notes," Radcliffe Magazine March 1903.
[91]Radcliffe Magazine, June 1904.

college experience. In addition, it enhanced traditional feminine qualities of sympathy and nurturing, reflecting the mixed messages about female identity that college women received even at women's schools.

Some educators continued to stress that male and female education should remain distinct. Echoing the views of his colleague, Harvard President Charles Eliot, Radcliffe President LeBaron Russell Briggs told graduating seniors:

> I have little sympathy with the higher education of women if it battles against those distinctions between men and women which are radical and eternal. That indeed is the lower education of women. No woman was ever the better for imitating a man; few, if any, are the better for some forms of professional life. I had rather a girl--however highly educated--were a nurse than a criminal lawyer. As a nurse, she would bring to bear, enlarged and refined by college training, those tender accomplishments which have made women the comfort of the world.[92]

Certainly many educators at women's colleges did not share Briggs' views. At Bryn Mawr, for example, M. Carey Thomas vociferously opposed theories about the inherent differences between men and women. But Briggs' address indicates that women's education remained controversial in American society. No wonder, then, that students received ambiguous advice about their own futures.

To compound students' uncertainty, women's higher education experienced a backlash early in the twentieth century. Fearing the "effeminizing

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[92]LeBaron Russell Briggs, "Commencement Address June 1906," Radcliffe Magazine December 1906.

[of] higher education," schools including Stanford and Michigan placed quotas on female admission while Wesleyan banned women altogether. [93] Gender identity, it seemed, remained as important to determining the value of a college education as when Vassar opened its doors in 1865. In such a time, young women listening to Briggs found no easy solutions to their own questions about post-college life. Settlement work offered one answer. Its participants helped raise school spirit and realize the ideal of the well-rounded college girl. In settlement work, students found an antidote for ennui and a possible career path. Working in settlements also caused college women to confront their own middle-class identity.

Membership in a school's College Settlement chapter, therefore, constituted far more than another extracurricular. Because it brought college students into contact with a different world, it required them to face broad philosophical questions. For Radcliffe student Amy Brooks, Denison House work proved transformative:

> ...to be successful in College Settlement work, both as regards what you do for yourself and what you do for others, there are certain lessons that you must learn. First of all, you must learn not to regard yourself as engaging in a grand and glorious mission for uplifting down-trodden humanity. For my part, until I got into the work, I used to think with a sigh, 'It takes all kinds of people to make up a world.' But I soon came to the conclusion that the people who make up the world, whatever their sphere, are, after all, pretty much the same.[94]

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[93]Gordon, 43.

[94] Amy Brooks '05, "College Settlement Work at Radcliffe, "Radcliffe Magazine December 1905.

Brooks' humanitarian conclusion embodied CSA founders' ideal: that students develop a sense of a shared humanity and reciprocity with the people in poor neighborhoods. Her statement also suggests the price of CSA philosophy. Her assertion of commonality belied fundamental differences between her life experiences and those of the people she met at Denison House. This blindness was central to college women's settlement work and marked one way in which these young students reinscribed the very class lines they sought to challenge.

Students participated in Denison House in several ways. Some remained supporters from afar, contributing money and other donations. Others regularly taught classes and oversaw club meetings. Some spent vacations at the settlement, and a few returned to become residents after graduation. In keeping with its CSA mandate, Denison particularly welcomed college graduates as residents, though it did not limit residential acceptance to women with college degrees. In any given year between 1893 and 1918, at least four of the house's residents (who generally averaged about fifteen at any one time) and sometimes as many as thirteen were college graduates. Of these, the majority generally came from Radcliffe or Wellesley. Although college students appeared regularly at house functions, CSA organizers, House leaders and student members themselves were often unhappy with the level of student involvement. CSA membership on campus was high, but these figures did not reflect the number of students who regularly participated in settlement work. In 1906, for example, 160 Radcliffe students belonged to the chapter, but of these only twenty held classes at Denison and other settlements. "An unusual amount of interest" in Denison House from Radcliffe students meant that ten students were holding classes weekly, while "several others responded to the call for workers for whom

no classes could be found." [95] The CSA met the challenge of attracting student workers by promotional writing in school publications and by sponsoring campus events, such as teas where settlement workers like Helena Dudley or Vida Scudder spoke to arouse enthusiasm for "the work."

The CSA members who did not visit Denison House made important contributions from a distance. Their membership dues augmented the settlement's always precarious income. They also made other gifts, particularly at holidays. During the Christmas season, students contributed money to sponsor House Christmas parties, as well as sending presents. Smith women gave boxes of mittens and clothes; Radcliffe students offered a Christmas tree and boxes of "books for the boys;" Wellesley students donated "dressed dolls" at Christmas time, which were distributed to local children.[96] On at least one occasion, students exhibited their one hundred dolls on the Wellesley campus, charging admission and holding a beauty contest to judge between them: "The vote resulted in a deadlock between a doll in a green empire dress, dressed by Miss Ruth Breenlay, and one dressed in black velvet, by some girl who was too modest to put her name on her exhibit," a local paper observed following the event. Proceeds from admissions and the accompanying fudge sale helped fund a children's Christmas party at the House. [97]

Dolls reveal the symbolic content of the exchange between students and local people. Local children welcomed the dolls, according to settlers' accounts. Perhaps the toys provided both welcome playthings and a source of day-dreaming that could help these young girls temporarily escape the difficulties of their everyday lives. Yet the dolls also served as teaching tools. The well-

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[95]Radcliffe Magazine, December 1905.
[96]Christmas 1895, Denison House Daybook, Folder 76; Dec. 21 1894, Folder 76, DHP.
[97]From undated clipping, "Prize Dolls at Wellesley," Series One, Folder 7, DHP. Another clipping on the same page is dated January 5, 1913; this undated story probably comes from the same time period, since these clippings tend to be in chronological order.

dressed toys expressed an image of what college students hoped to encourage local girls to be. Just as they did in sewing, cooking, and household classes at Denison House, college women offered an example to the local girls who received their gifts--an example of good, patient handiwork, refined dress, and proper female occupations. Dolls, dressed, cared for, and donated to young girls, were symbolic expressions of these values. The dolls rounded out the training the settlement offered to young neighborhood girls: from "Little Mothers" classes to instruction in cooking and housekeeping. The dolls also conjured a vision of a life in which, like their middle-class patrons, South End girls would have the leisure time to enjoy playing with dolls. The dolls thus pointed to a major lack in tenement life: the luxury to enjoy playing with toys. The very girls who received the dolls might already be serving as "little mothers" at home to younger brothers and sisters. With these gifts, college women offered examples of traditional gender roles for local girls and women--even as they challenged these roles themselves by pursuing an education. Equally important, by dressing dolls and competing for the finest fancywork, these educated young women asserted their own femininity to an outside world that often feared the masculinizing effects of women's education. [98]

College women often contributed to Christmas activities at the settlement, which played an important role in creating community within the House and between its residents and their neighbors. Bringing Christmas to the masses was an established tradition in American society. In less enlightened sectors than settlement houses, the rich paid cash for tickets to watch the poor wolf down a Christmas dinner at Madison Square Garden. [99] Holidays, however, were more

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[98]These doll competitions were made public in local newspapers.
[99]Stephen Nissenbaum, The Battle for Christmas (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996) 251-53.

than obvious opportunities for beneficence (or stimulators of individual guilt). They were rituals of communal identity.

College students were essential to Christmas rituals at Denison House: "We could hardly face the demands involved in our Christmas parties were it not for the dolls and money which the Wellesley Chapter sends for this purpose," settlement workers observed one season. [100] Each year, holiday celebrations at the House grew more elaborate; by the turn of the century, the House offered several Christmas parties for members of different clubs. Years later, Headworker Geraldine Gordon fondly remembered Christmas at Denison House:

> 'I never come into the Green Room, especially at Christmas time, without remembering the occasions made lovely by [Headworker] Miss Dudley's presence. I can not begin to describe the beauty joy and gladness that filled this place. The Tree was decorated with most loving care as a Norse Tree of Life, with the symbols of the old Pagan religion. She stood by it and told how it grew from a Pagan to a Christian tree.'[101]

Residents and neighbors celebrated Christmas by listening to Dudley recount the legend of the tree. Each decoration had a special meaning: "there are four great reindeer, that feed on the branches as the four seasons pass, and twelve lesser reindeer that nibble away at the little green twigs, and as they eat, the twelve months pass." [102] From the angels at the top to the consumable twigs at

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[100] Annual Reports, excerpts, Folder 58+, DHP. 1903 date penciled in at the top of these excerpts.
[101] qtd. in Vida Scudder, "Early Days at Denison House," Series One, Folder One, DHP.
[102] "Denison House in 1892-1945 --A Powerhouse for American Democracy," Edward W. Hudson, Series One, Folder Three, DHP.

the bottom, the Christmas tree expressed a Christian hierarchy and message of rejuvenation. Just as the tree changed from pagan icon to Christian symbol, settlement workers hoped to uplift the poor from "squalor" to "culture." The Denison House Christmas tree reaffirmed the settlement's universalist approach. In celebrating Christmas, settlers sought common ground with their neighbors of diverse ethnic backgrounds, and particularly with the large number of Irish Catholics in the neighborhood. Christmas events played down cultural differences by emphasizing commonality. Yet these rituals also reaffirmed the hierarchical relationship between settlers and local people. Christmas parties at Denison House established "invented traditions" that gave the House a history, its residents and visitors a sense of belonging, and provided part of the mythology behind the settlement's identity.[103]

Students who participated in settlement work by sending holiday gifts or donating money reproduced traditional charity relationships by playing Lady Bountiful to Boston's poor. Other college students, however, challenged these divisions when they went to the South End to work at Denison House. Young women worked there holidays or summer vacations or moved in for a while after graduation. Others came at intervals to contribute to the House's ongoing program of clubs, classes, and entertainment.

Students' part in clubs and classes made them central to the House's daily work. Women students taught classes including language and literature, travel, and art. Some led college extension courses.[104] In 1901, Radcliffe graduate Bertha Scripture '97 headed the evening classes division at the House. That year, course offerings included two by Radcliffe women: Shakespeare and "a

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[103]My perspective on ritual and tradition is influenced by Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," In Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge/NY: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 1-14.
[104]Radcliffe Magazine December1899.

travel class in which England and Scotland are the topics."[105] By 1909, students were teaching cooking and sewing classes, as well as overseeing children's activities. These duties formed part of the domestic science trend, as well as reflecting the craze for industrial and manual training that permeated educational initiatives among the working class.[106] Manual training, or sloyd, classes were popular at settlements across the country; at Denison House, college students also offered a course in "cutting and pasting" in preparation for basic sewing instruction.[107]

In travel courses, middle-class young women applied their privileged life experiences to settlement work. Acting on the assumption that travel was broadening, they shared their experiences with others. Students, graduates, and non-college women gave talks at the settlement about their forays abroad, both to places their listeners might never have imagined traveling and to countries that might once have been home. In December 1900, when the settlement offered an evening course on "travel in Italy," the speaker would have been discussing a place familiar to many of the neighborhood's new immigrants. Indeed, by 1909, the settlement had an entire department dedicated to "the Italian work." These discussions only heightened the distinctions between speakers and listeners who most likely had not had the opportunity to visit tourist destinations in their native country. Travel was a luxury shared by full-time house residents as well as part-time workers. Denison House headworker and Bryn Mawr graduate Helena Dudley received a three-month vacation each year during which she usually traveled to Europe. Post-graduation pilgrimages to Europe--like the one Vida Scudder made with her mother and her friend Clara French--were common in these years. The luxury of vacation highlights the distinction between the

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[105] Radcliffe Magazine December 1901.
[106] Radcliffe Magazine February 1909
[107] Radcliffe Magazine February 1910.

settlers and their neighbors. Settlers tried to establish a "friendly" relation through recounting vacation anecdotes, but their stories also called attention to class differences. These stories included local people while keeping them at a distance. Travel tales also offered college women a way to redefine their own class-based experiences by making them part of the reform effort. A symbol of luxury became a pedagogical tool. Through sharing travel stories, college women transformed personal privilege into public service.

For many college women, entertainment provided the medium of exchange with South End residents. At one Valentine's Day celebration, the Wellesley College Banjo club entertained a "very large number" of local visitors. After settlement workers handed out "Valentines, in the shape of cards with verses of poetry written on them + a pink stuck through each," guests ate refreshments and joined with the students in singing college songs + Song of the Workers."[108] The college songs appear incongruous in this setting. What function could it serve for South End residents to listen to or join in caroling choruses like, "College days are from care and sorrow free, and oft we will seek in memory, the days that are past, far too joyous to last 'neath the oaks of our old Wellesley"?[109] It is hard to imagine lyrics less appropriate to the lives of local people, whose days were far from free of "care and sorrow." On the other hand, the songs' relaxing images may have provided a welcome escape for listeners and a form of communal activity. To discover what the South End residents thought of these songs is difficult, if not impossible. Ultimately, the practice of singing college songs tells us more about the singers than the listeners.

Students did more than sing songs. They performed plays--from Shakespeare's works to "Little Women"--as well as music and poetry readings

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[108]February 14, 1895, Denison House Daybook 1894-97, Folder 76, DHP.
[109]Wellesley Christian Association Handbook, 1903, Wellesley College Archives.

for forty-person audiences at weekly settlement house parties. When they shared their college version of recreation, students implicitly countered the emerging working-class pastimes of dance halls, shows, and sexual freedom that reformers believed posed a moral threat.[110] At the same time, students drew residents into their own youth culture by urging them to sing college songs. [111] While the social usefulness of encouraging working-class mothers to sing Wellesley's "Alma Mater" appears mysterious, group songs performed an important function for the college women themselves. As with drama, travel experiences, and classes that reflected their liberal arts education, college songs allowed women to make their private college experiences public. By making their college identities into the components of social change, these women enhanced their public value.

In the process, they brought bits of their own college culture to the city. Drama and music were integral to extracurricular life at both Radcliffe and Wellesley, where students prided themselves on demonstrating well-rounded interests: "you may see the same girl playing basketball at an indoor meet who does honor work in history, who on Friday at the Idler Club, will figure as an eighteenth-century belle." [112] A group that performed charades, plays and other entertainments, the "Idler Club," was one of Radcliffe's most popular organizations. Clubs, sports and entertainment formed a mainstay of extracurricular activity at these women's colleges.[113] The club structure at Denison House found corollaries at Radcliffe, where students joined philosophy, history, science, German and classical clubs. By 1899, the school had begun a

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[110]Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the Century New York (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).
[111]Denison House Daybook 1894-97, February 14, 1895, Folder 76, DHP.
[112]Editorial, Radcliffe Magazine, June 1899.
[113]Helen Horowitz describes the development and increasing importance of the extracurriculum in the 1890s, noting that the three central features of campus life were "organizations, athletics and dramatics." (Alma Mater, 159).

choral society, and by the turn of the century, sports teams. Radcliffe students performed an annual operetta and sang in a Glee Club. College women at Radcliffe were to be "not...students only, but thorough all-round girls; they were to dance and sing and play like healthy young animals; they were to learn not only to think like scholars, but to feel, like women. And surely this broadest aim, to make good and useful women, is higher than any which is merely scholastic."[114]

In a time when divisions between high-brow and low-brow culture were becoming rapidly more acute, such performances had greater cultural implications than students may have realized.[115] Certainly drama and theater were not unique to college or even to middle or upper-class society.[116] By all account, these events were popular at Denison House. Sixty people "besides family"--as settlement workers called each other--attended the Wellesley Shakespeare Society's 1894 performance of She Stoops to Conquer and the Pyramus and Thisbe scene from Midsummer Night's Dream. [117] The dramatic craze carried over to internal house activities; beginning in 1898, local youth participated in a Dramatic Association at Denison House, which performed an annual Shakespeare play. The acting corps rehearsed during the winter, and gave several performances of the show in the spring, even taking it on the road to the campuses of Wellesley and Radcliffe. Proceeds went to the House.[118] The dramatic association was the most publicly successful Denison House club. As

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[114]Letter, Clara F. McIntyre '00, Radcliffe Magazine June 1909, 217. McIntyre was responding to an article making comparisons between Radcliffe and other women's colleges. In particular, she took on the assertion that Radcliffe 's aim was "purely intellectual," arguing that, in fact, the school sought to provide a broad range of experiences for young women.

[115]Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1988).

[116]Pacyga, for example, describes extensive dramatics by Polish fraternal groups in Chicago's immigrant neighborhoods.

[117]March 8, 1894, Daybook 1894-97, Folder 76. DHP.

[118]Information on dramatics from Daybooks and House Diaries, and Executive Committee Minutes, DHP.

with other house activities, the structure and purpose of this group reproduced the club-oriented structure of college extracurricular life.

Such performances also had an instructional component. Settlement workers believed that in addition to broadening local people's cultural horizons, art could serve as social therapy. Esther Barrows recounted the story of a young boy who reputedly was deterred from violent behavior by a visit to the art museum. A child who would defile the home was a savage, but art could mediate against the boy's baser impulses. Seen in this light, artistic contributions were by no means superfluous to the settlement mission. Scudder, for one, believed art might prove crucial to solving social problems: "After all, I think that one of the chief things our Settlements can do is to increase in the community the capacity for joy," she said in 1896. That sense of joy, she argued, provided the line between savagery and civilization:

> I do not believe the savage has it, do you? He has a capacity for animal spirits, but I do not believe he has the capacity to appreciate those subtle and exquisite joys which come from an unusual note in music, a trace of color in the sunset sky, a tone in the voice of a friend, a thought beautifully rendered in verse. All that order of joy which pertains to the higher life is shut away from people who have not reached that stage of civilization. But suppose *we* were shut away from all that. . . how monotonous and dreary life would be to us! And think of what the life of our wage-earning population consists. . . . [119]

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[119]Scudder, "Speech to the Eastern Kindergarten Association," 11 February 1896, Vida D. Scudder Papers, Box 2, Folder 14, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. (VDS)

No longer a mere luxury, art supplied a ritual of incorporation that momentarily redeemed less privileged individuals from the trials of their daily lives. Young women, perhaps, found their authentic experience as bearers of artistic experience. Placed in the settlement context, the performance of art became an act of salvation.

Scudder's ideas about art reflected her assumption that people occupied different "stages" in life. The people she saw daily around Denison House might not be "savages" exactly, but surely they were lacking some "capacity" that would enable them to share the cultural joys she prized. Thus, part of reformers' role was to help people clinging to lower rungs climb higher up the social ladder. Art appreciation might be both means and reward for such progress.

Scudder did her part to share culture with local people by introducing poetry to South End children: "I read a little Shelley [with] a group of girls, and a little Wordsworth, and a little Tennyson, and a little Browning. I was supposed to be teaching them writing, and the way I brought the poetry in, was by giving them a dictation exercise." As a result, she wrote, the girls started reciting lines from Wordsworth in "the steam laundry."[120] For Scudder, such a scene presented an ideal union of practical and aesthetic ends. Poetry could help young girls learn to write, it could bring them a transcendent form of joy, and it could keep them occupied while they labored over the laundry. In Scudder's framework, the pursuit of intellectual ideals was not at odds with the more practical problems facing urban America; rather, the fulfillment of one fostered the other--an organic vision more than worthy of a student of John Ruskin. Of course, Scudder's gift of art did not release the young girls from their arduous duties. Wordsworth might have given them relief during their labors, but they

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[120]Scudder, "Speech to the Eastern Kindergarten Association," 11 February 1896, VDS.

still had to do the laundry. Once again, a lack of leisure time prevented local people from realizing the ideal that college women offered them.

Dramatics achieved similar educational ends. It was no accident that settlement workers approved performances of works like Little Women and Sara Crewe. With its laudatory, sentimental portrayal of family life, of strength under suffering, and selfless dedication to the unfortunate, Little Women expressed messages settlement workers hoped to convey to their neighbors. Sara Crewe's story also suggested that gentle perseverance in the face of adversity would ultimately yield rewards. This tale of a young heiress who loses father and fortune and is forced to become a scullery maid also highlights the grace and understanding that comes to the main character even as she is poorly treated, starving and shabby. In the end, her fortune is restored, and she is adopted by a rich friend of her father's. Sara is rewarded for facing her trials without losing her moral integrity and kind spirit. Such tales also reflected the lives settlement residents themselves tried to lead by donning the lifestyle of the poor (to an extent) and dedicating themselves to service. The medium of entertainment seemed guaranteed to succeed in teaching by example.

No doubt, South End residents derived genuine enjoyment from dramatics and other cultural activities. After all, they chose to participate in these events, and did so in large numbers. Perhaps acting out stories provided these young people with a welcome chance to escape their daily realities through another story. Perhaps it was simply fun, and provided a chance for personal recognition on the stage.[121] Like the dolls and the travel classes, however, these activities symbolized a middle-class lifestyle based on leisure time. Offered an

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[121] One woman who lived in the Hull House neighborhood in Chicago and made use of its services wrote a play for the House dramatic society to perform and had nothing but praise for the role of Hull House dramatics in the lives of local participants. Hilda Satt Polachek, I Came A Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

example of the good life, local people would be hard pressed to meet its criteria. Local girls could come close to the middle-class ideal by reciting poetry, but only over steaming tubs of laundry. Little girls could find respite with dolls but perhaps had to return to taking care of real children at home. And local youths could perform dramatics that released them from daily cares, but in the end, they remained obligated to jobs that would support themselves or their families.

Finally, college women made another contribution specific to their student identity. They played hostess to South End visitors on their college campuses. Particularly at Wellesley, college students and faculty occasionally entertained visiting groups of city mothers and children for daytrips that included teas and a row on the campus lake. For their guests such outings might have provided a welcome break from city dirt, smells and heat, especially in the summer. Settlement workers believed these excursions to Wellesley to be a great success. After one outing, a Denison House resident reported, "Pictures, music, lunch, flowers, boating, and pond-lilies seemed to justify the enthusiastic remark of one of the children--'why seems to me we have everything!'"[122] For a few hours, perhaps these children did have everything. But their possession of such delights was obviously transitory. Unlike the Wellesley students, who enjoyed cozy cottages and lake-side views year-round, or even the Denison residents, who lived in a house maintained by donations from generous patrons, these children and their parents had to return to surroundings starkly different from this pastoral scene.

College women who invited city dwellers to temporarily share their space expanded their efforts to challenge class boundaries and to share the advantages of their social and economic position. By allowing the city to penetrate the rural campus, college women countered the image of seclusion and distance associated

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[122]Denison House Daybook 1894-97, July 17, 1894, 53. Folder 76, DHP.

with higher education. They also joined a host of other reformers who lauded the benefits of the country and "fresh air" as both physically and morally uplifting. In addition to college women making their own experiences into tools of social change, they made their school environment the site of reform as well.

Such outings were part of a broader program to help city residents leave the urban environment in the summer months. Advocates of the "fresh air " movement believed the city was unhealthy and proclaimed the physical, spiritual and moral benefits of country living. In keeping with these beliefs, many settlement houses ran summer camps or helped pay for mothers and children to visit the country for extended periods of time. Like University House, Denison House ran a summer camp for boys. The camp opened on New Hampshire's Lake Wentworth in 1908 and accommodated sixteen boys for six weeks. The advantages to camp were many, according to Headworker Dudley:

> It brings the leaders and the boys into closer contact, making possible mutual understanding and the spirit of comradeship. It teaches the boys ideas of system, or regularity of living, and it builds up their bodies, giving them a strong foundation for clean living. .... The work of a modern Settlement is sufficiently extensive. What is needed is some means of making it more intensive. This means is supplied by the camp, which if properly managed, may have a lasting influence for good upon those who attend long enough to catch its spirit. [123]

Furthermore, Dudley noted that good behavior during the year at House activities "merit[s] the privilege of a long stay at camp." As with day-trips to

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[123]Excerpts from Report of Headworker, 1908-09, Folder 59, DHP.

Wellesley, camp was a reward for good behavior that met settlers' expectations. Misbehavior could bar children from such adventures, as with one girl whose actions one day at Wellesley caused a settlement worker to note tersely:" "it is suggested that Lucy Brown be not taken on any more picnics with other children present."[124]

College students at Denison House performed varied roles as visitors, entertainers and teachers. Their work fostered the broad purpose of settlement activities: to teach the basics of maintaining a moral, clean, American home, to keep children off the streets, and to provide what they and their mentors saw as cultural uplift. When college students sang songs, taught classes, or shared their own experiences with local people, they believed they were "shar[ing] the better part of life with the men and women of the poor."[125] They acted out of a fundamental faith in the power of culture to provide inspiration in individual lives. At the same time, as Scudder stated, settlement workers believed that those who came to work there would themselves derive great benefits merely from learning about the lives of the poor. They would receive an education, as one college woman claimed: "To know and be able to sympathize knowingly with human nature, is an education of the broadest kind." [126] But their education was not only in the people they met, the dirt they encountered on the streets, or the lives of poverty, joblessness, and struggle about which they learned. When they came to the house, the activities they performed there taught them the value of their own class-based cultural beliefs.

Students came to the South End bearing the gifts of their own experiences: travel abroad, college dramatics and art. Singing songs, hosting parties, and leading boating expeditions all provided key components of college

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[124]July 6, 1894 27. Folder 76, DHP.
[125]Kappa Alpha Theta Journal 17: 4.
[126]Kappa Alpha Theta Journal 10:1.

students' settlement work. Such activities shared a central characteristic that sheds light on the type of culture students encouraged. From dolls to songs, these pastimes were hallmarks of a leisured middle and upper-middle class. College women at Denison House demonstrated and shared a brand of culture inherently dependent on the luxury of free time. Vida Scudder may not have had leisure in mind when she discussed the "culture" college women possessed, but without it, working-class people could not enjoy the uplifting activities settlement workers promoted. For college students, such pastimes were a way of life, but to South Enders they could be only a temporary diversion.

Perhaps more than anything else, leisure and its accompanying financial stability created a permanent division between college settlement workers and the South End people they called "neighbors." The centrality of leisure time to college students' settlement work suggests a larger purpose to their efforts that ultimately belies CSA founders' stated goal of bridging class differences. College women helped re-articulate a long-standing middle-class ethic of social responsibility. Because students made their college experiences central to this process, higher education itself became instrumental to creating class identity. At the same time, social reform efforts helped college women establish a socially useful position for themselves as educated middle-class women. The process of self-reform integral to the work of college women at Denison House ultimately undermined their desire to cross economic and social class lines. Concerned simultaneously with justifying their own advantages and with asserting their commonality with working-class city residents, college women foundered on a contradiction. As they forged new paths for themselves, they taught working-class South Enders to conform to more traditional patterns of gender roles. They also reinforced their own class-based definitions of "right living." Perhaps

convincing local people to adopt aspects of college culture allowed them to believe that, as Amy Brooks put it, all people were "pretty much the same."

CHAPTER FIVE:
SPREADING "GOOD NEWS":
THE "LABORATORY" OF THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT HOUSE

In Boston, college alumnae recruited female college students for "the work" at Denison House, hoping to take advantage of these women's unique qualities. In Philadelphia, Christian Association members exhorted their fellow students to join the Association and work at the settlement house to make better men of themselves and the boys they encountered there. Meanwhile in Chicago, different impulses inspired another effort to make college students part of the solution to urban problems. Northwestern University urged students to work at the settlement named after the school, which had helped establish it in 1891.[1] A burgeoning research institution founded by Methodists forty years earlier, Northwestern united religious and scientific impulses in rallying students to social service.

Northwestern sociology teacher Charles Zeublin founded the settlement in "a few dark, squalid rooms on Division Street," in a neighborhood called West Town. Like many of his contemporary reformers, Zeublin received inspiration

[1]The settlement was independent of the University but retained close connections to it. The school was not the main source of financial support, though it did provide one source of fund-raising. However, students, faculty and administrators were affiliated with the settlement, and university publications exhorting students to work there treat the settlement as an unofficial affiliate.

from a visit to London's Toynbee Hall. [2] The Chicago settlement's founding members, who included Northwestern President Henry Wade Rogers and his wife, Emma, had goals similar to settlement workers elsewhere: to encourage "university men and women" in "sharing ...the life of the poor;" "to supplement the scanty opportunities of the people for mental, social and moral development;" "to cultivate a neighbourhood feeling, which, together with a healthy home life, must be the basis of social stability;" and to make "attractive" "Christianity itself." [3] The venture began with two permanent residents, a reading room staffed by Northwestern students, a kindergarten and children's clubs. By 1901, it had moved three times, finally ending up in a four-story brick building at Noble and Augusta streets, where it still stands today.

As the settlement expanded physically, so did its services. When the new building opened, workers ran a day nursery, a savings bank and a library and offered classes that included Shakespeare and Social Economics. The settlement ran a picture loan system that allowed children to borrow photographs of famous paintings to hang temporarily in their own homes. And settlement workers addressed the neighborhood's sanitation problems, opening the area's first pasteurized milk station.[4]

In such projects, the Northwestern University Settlement (NUS) resembled settlement houses across the country. Students who worked there performed similar activities--teaching classes, playing with children and organizing clubs.

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[2]William Hard, "The Northwestern University Settlement," In Arthur Herbert Wilde, Northwestern University: A History 1855-1905 Vol. II(NY: University Publishing Society, 1905) 379-91. Some accounts put date of opening as February 1892. Northwestern University (NU) Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

[3]Northwestern University Course Catalogue 1897-98; "Circular No. One" (March 1892), "The Northwestern University Settlement Association," Box 16, Folder: NUS Circulars 1891-1907, Northwestern University Settlement Papers, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois (Hereafter NUS).

[4]Emory S. Bogardus, "History of Northwestern University Settlement," 50, 55-63. Student Papers, NUS.

They also witnessed comparable reform perspectives. Like other settlement workers, NUS founders and permanent staff hoped to be neighbors, not charity workers; like them, they focused on environmental improvement as the key to individual betterment; and like others, they moved into professional case work and played an active role in referring their "neighbors" to other social service agencies. These practices, however, stemmed from different roots. Unlike Denison or University Houses, Northwestern's settlement focused little attention on students' personal development as men or women. Rather, the settlement emphasized that it could serve as both teaching tool and means of professional development while realizing humanitarian impulses. Denison and University Houses also believed settlement work would provide an education, but their workers expressed this goal in gendered language. At Northwestern, a coeducational research university, questions of gender took a backseat.

For Northwestern University, the settlement house extended its expanding research program. The university was reforming its own identity in these years. As Northwestern became more secular and adopted a research focus, educators and administrators joined their era's public discussion over the purpose of higher education.[5]When Northwestern opened in 1855, it was heavily influenced by the Methodist leadership that had established it. Named for its location in the Old Northwest, the university was subsidized by the Methodist general conference that supported many schools.[6] The all-male student body of Northwestern's early years went to chapel once a day and followed a traditional course of study that included Greek, Latin and classical history. The 1851 Act of Incorporation provided for twenty-four of the university's thirty-six trustees to

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[5]Steven Diner argues that research universities sought to create stronger ties to the community partly through becoming involved in urban social reform. A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1980).
[6]Harold F. Williamson and Payson S. Wild, Northwestern University: A History 1850-1975 (Evanston: Northwestern, 1976) 2-9.

be appointed by Methodist Episcopal conferences in the region.[7] Though faculty and students were not required to belong to any particular church, the university remained loyal to these beginnings. Students from various religious backgrounds attended the school--some were Catholic, some Jewish, but most came from various Protestant denominations. [8] Gradually, administrators adjusted religious requirements. By 1896, students only had to attend three-fifths of chapel exercises each term. If they failed to meet this requirement, term hours were added to their graduation requirements. They could make up the deficiency by acquiring a surplus in chapel attendance. If they failed to do so, they could register for classes only after submitting a special petition to the faculty.[9] Faculty realized that students were products of a more secular age. Reluctant to do away with chapel altogether, they nonetheless modified their religious demands to fit the changing times.

By the turn of the century, the midwestern liberal arts school changed direction dramatically. It became a co-educational institution with several professional schools and a diverse curriculum. The change began in 1869, when E. O. Haven accepted the university presidency on the condition that women be admitted "on equal terms with men."[10] When Henry Wade Rogers became president in 1891, he began to turn Northwestern into a research university. He added new departments, appointed more instructors with Ph.D. degrees, and linked the university to contemporary civic issues. [11] These ties were important to Rogers because he believed a university's mission included furthering the progress of the community and the nation:

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[7]Williamson and Wild, 5.
[8]Williamson and Wild, 5.
[9]Northwestern University Course Catalogues,1891-92; 1895-96. Northwestern University (NU) Archives.
[10]Crow, Martha Foote. "Women in the University Since 1874," In Wilde, Northwestern University, A History 1855-1905, Vol. I, 84.
[11]Diner, 21-22.

> A University in which professors merely teach classes realizes only a part of the purpose of its being. The University is a place where instruction is imparted, but it is also a place where the boundaries of knowledge are enlarged, where original investigation and research are to be carried on and the sum of human knowledge increased. . . . In carrying on original investigation the University best commends itself to the whole body of the people and puts itself in touch with the entire community. Its professors are no longer mere teachers of a class, but they are in the largest sense the benefactors of their race and the instructors of mankind.[12]

Research, then, would help mankind and give professors a role greater than the influence they might achieve in the classroom itself. Rogers' support of the settlement house met these goals. Making the university part of a broad social reform effort was one way of making it a "benefactor of [its] race."

Meanwhile, educators also asserted that a traditional liberal arts education would help humanity. Sociology professor George Coe believed that the liberal arts fostered culture, which he defined as writing, music, and other arts. To him, such talents formed part of the nation's wealth:

> Some one must see to it that poetry and the appreciation of it shall not cease from the earth; that the pure love of learning shall not grow cold; that moral and religious ideas shall not be surrendered to selfishness and sensuality. ...though we have direct regard for the future occupations of our students, we strive so to build up the

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[12]Rogers qtd. in Wilde, Northwestern University: A History 1855-1905 Vol. I.

> broadly human that in the machinery of civilization, the man shall not be lost to himself or forget his relation to his generation, to all humanity and to God.[13]

Culture--defined in terms of art--was instrumental to human salvation. Like Vida Scudder explaining why poetry was valuable to laundry girls in Boston, Coe implied that high culture could have practical consequences. Coe himself was an ardent supporter of settlement house work. He served as secretary of the Northwestern University Settlement Association and ran the first boys' club at the settlement, where youths learned parliamentary law, military drill, and history. [14] These class topics suggest the ways settlement workers hoped to shape local boys. Teaching them law and history would give them an appreciation for social institutions while military drill would teach them discipline and self-restraint. A sociology professor himself, Coe epitomized the union of scientific investigation and a classical liberal arts ideal.

Coe's own colleagues met the changing times with courses that gave students hands-on experience with social problems. By the mid-1890s, the department of moral and social philosophy offered ethics and sociology. Ethics classes treated both the "phenomenon of the moral consciousness" and "the application of Ethical principles to the ordinary problems of life and of citizenship."[15] In sociology, students analyzed "the chief social problems" including "immigration and race problems. Social pathology. The conditions of dependency, or of the dependent classes--criminals, paupers, intemperate, the insane and the weak minded."[16] A few years later, the Economics department

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[13]Coe qtd. in The Northwestern, 3 November 1893, NU Archives.
[14]The Northwestern 10 June 1892.
[15]Northwestern University Course Catalogue 1895-96.
[16]Northwestern University Course Catalogue 1895-96.

adopted a class in "present day social problems." Students began doing field work in sociology classes, which they could use for credit toward their degrees. These projects allowed students to "at the discretion of their instructors investigate and report on certain social and industrial institutions in the neighborhood of Chicago." [17] The Northwestern University Settlement supplied one venue for these investigations.

Educators also hoped to preserve religious life at college. Expressing a common view, Coe noted that college students were older than "the age most favorable for conversion," which was generally understood to be about sixteen for young men and "somewhat earlier" for young women. The college had the challenge "of adapting our methods so as to win him before his character becomes altogether fixed."[18] The key to doing so was establishing a college religious life that was "robust, open-eyed, sympathetic, aggressive, and extremely practical. It ought to be the most sociable part of college life, and as far as possible removed from everything that hints of a 'pious clique.'"[19] Coe saw several ways to foster such a religious life. He believed teachers and mentors should be open when speaking with students about religion; that students should pay attention "to the practical duties of life" in order to "offset" "the tendency to overweening intellectualism;" that religious education should foster "free self-expression;" and finally, that "the student should engage in active effort to do good."[20] Students should be made to feel partly responsible for the moral life of their fellows. They could also achieve these ends by paying attention to

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[17]Northwestern University Course Catalogue 1907-08.
[18]Joseph Kett, among other scholars, discusses perceptions of common ages for conversions. Kett, Rites of Passage, Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present (NY: Basic Books, 1977) 205-210. George Coe, "The Religious Problem in Colleges," The Northwestern 13 April 1899. Coe uses the pronoun "he," but he also discusses women, so this "he" can be taken to include female and male college students.
[19]Coe, "The Religious Problem in Colleges," The Northwestern 13 April 1899.
[20]Coe, "The Religious Problem in Colleges," The Northwestern 13 April 1899.

the moral life of their society. When educators--Coe included--encouraged students to work at the settlement, they offered one such "active effort." At the Northwestern University Settlement, students could develop their Protestant convictions and put them into practice.

At the turn of the century, then, several ideas about the purpose of a university education coexisted at Northwestern. The school made adjustments to a secular age and positioned itself as a research institution while retaining a liberal arts focus on culture along with an often unspoken Protestant morality. Northwestern resolved the potential identity crisis confronting a liberal arts college metamorphosing into a research university by retaining aspects of the old even while embracing the new. As Coe and Rogers illustrate, the school tried to balance its emerging commitment to research and social practice with an older focus on the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. At the University Settlement, students could try these ideas out for themselves. At once "laboratory," "house of the interpreter," and service agency, the settlement expressed Northwestern's varied goals and gave students, faculty and administrators a place to enact them.

Chicago's West Town appeared ripe for their endeavor. The settlement's neighborhood bordering the Chicago River occupied one of the "worst wards in the city" as reformers saw it.[21] Living conditions were substandard, and the ward was one of the city's most densely populated areas. Such "overcrowding," to reformers, was "the chief factor in promoting disease, immorality and other kindred evils of the tenement wards." [22] The neighborhood's garbage-filled streets were paved with cedar blocks that residents often removed for fuel, leaving "ruts and 'chuck-holes'."[23] Houses opened off dark alleys, lacking

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[21]NUS Circular, June 1896, Box 16, Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.
[22]George Nesmith, "Northwestern University Settlement, 252 W. Chicago Avenue, October 1900," Box 16, Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.
[23]George Nesmith, "The Housing of the Wage-Earners of the Sixteenth Ward," 15. NUS Circular October 1900, Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.

"sunshine and fresh air, " so that "the foulness of the air in some of the rooms is stifling beyond power of description." Many of these tenements were without bathrooms.[24] Though the buildings were surprisingly uncrowded inside (an average of four rooms per family), they were jammed close together on lots with no room for gardens or fresh air. [25]

Entertainment was another problem reformers faced in West Town, with its "five-cent theaters" showing "silly if not vicious pictures," "Greek ice-cream parlors with their cheap music, slot machines and every opportunity for the meeting of chance acquaintances," and "any number of saloons and billiard halls, where the boys and even the girls are welcome. In settlement workers' eyes, the "worst of all" were the "dance-halls--always with bars attached."[26] For reformers, such environments were anathema. To counter them, the settlement house established alternative dance halls that would be alcohol-free.

Most of the ward's 70,000 residents were immigrants and unskilled laborers who worked in local manufactories or tanneries, making an average of $1.50 per day.[27] When the settlement opened, the largest ethnic groups were German, Polish and Scandinavian.[28] Of these groups, settlement workers believed, "The Scandinavians have the highest ideals of living and the Poles the lowest."[29] Over the next fifteen years, the Polish population dominated, and Jewish and Italian immigrants became a large presence in the neighborhood, leading Head Resident Harriet Vittum to comment in 1909 that "the neighborhood has changed...from a self-respecting German and Scandinavian

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[24]Bogardus, "A Study in the Psychology of Adolescence" 23. NUS Student Papers, NU Archives.
[25]NUS Circular June 1896. Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.
[26]Annual Report, Oct. 1909. Box 1: Folder: Annual Reports of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.
[27]Nesmith, "The Housing of the Wage-Earners of the Sixteenth Ward," 18-19.
[28]NUS Circular March 1892, Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.
[29]Nesmith 19.

neighborhood, to one made up almost wholly of Poles and Russian Jews."[30] Vittum observed that the contrast between life in the old world and the new could be dramatic:

> Transplanted from peasant villages and small manufacturing towns, where they live in cottages with small yards and garden patches, to crowded tenement districts like this, where there are hundreds of people in one block, it is no small wonder that they soon find themselves helpless and adrift in our noisy city life. Understanding neither our language nor our laws nor our customs, they are at the mercy of every sort of graft and imposition that can be practiced upon the unwary.[31]

Like many others, Vittum interpreted this culture shock as an indication of immigrants' need for help. The solution was to inculcate them in "our language...laws[and] customs." Whatever customs new arrivals brought with them were clearly insufficient to help them adjust to life in an American metropolis. "Drift" was the enemy. Without guidance and direction, these immigrants would not become useful members of American society. At the moment, "They are almost all of them Americans in process, but not yet in completion," as one onlooker commented.[32] The job of reformers, therefore, was to help them adjust to the new environment by encouraging Americanization.

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[30]Bogardus, "A Study in the Psychology of Adolescence," 25; "Annual Report of the Head Resident," October 1909; Box 1, Folder: Annual Reports 1910-29, NUS. Dominic A. Pacyga and Ellen Skerrett, Chicago: City of Neighborhoods/Histories and Tours (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986) 166-170.

[31]Annual Report of the Head Resident October 1909, Box 1: Folder: Annual Reports of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.

[32]Hard, "The Northwestern University Settlement," 384.

Americanization required reforming the environment tenement dwellers inhabited. To settlement workers, such reform was vital to solving urban problems of crime, dirt and poverty. At their worst, reformers believed these conditions created individuals like six young murderers who "lived in miserable tenements in the most congested spot in Chicago." To the reformers, the ward's challenges were at once aesthetic, sanitary, economic and moral. Neighborhood people appeared to lack "social organization or social ideals, and...leadership or fellowship with those who might inspire them to more human and wholesome living." [33] Settlement workers aimed to help local people find common ground that would give them a stake in improving their own environment.

In fact, West Town was not as chaotic as reformers believed. By the 1890s, the area was well on its way to becoming the city's largest Polish neighborhood and was considered the capital of Polonia, or the Polish-American community. The Polish parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka was one of the largest Catholic parishes in the world at a time when the American Catholic church was undergoing major expansion.[34] Within one generation from 1884-1914, the Catholic church in the United States doubled in size. [35] Indeed, in Chicago in 1893, Catholics were forty percent of the population. However, they were also more than half of the city's most impoverished residents. More than half Chicago's wealth, in contrast, belonged to non-Catholics. Class lines reflected religious tensions and differences. When groups like the American Protective Association fought Catholic political influence, they reacted to a Catholic

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[33]Circular June 1896, Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars, NUS.
[34]Pacyga, Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880-1922 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991) 126-127; Pacyga and Skerrett 166-67.
[35]Joseph John Parot, Polish Catholics in Chicago 1850-1920, A Religious History (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Press, 1981) 97.

political presence that did not reflect genuine economic or social power in the city. [36]

Polish immigrants to West Town were part of these trends. The intersection of Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues with Division Street--not far from the settlement's final home at Noble and Augusta--became known as Polish downtown, and various national organizations had their headquarters there, including the Roman Catholic Union and the Polish Women's Alliance.[37] Polish immigrants to Chicago began numerous fraternal organizations, libraries, secular societies and churches that recreated aspects of the Polish villages they came from.[38] The area also included many Jewish immigrants from Poland and Russia, as well as Ukrainians and Italians.[39] At the funeral for the four Haymarket Riot defendants executed in November 1887, twenty-thousand workers from all these immigrant groups joined the cortege and many more turned out to pay their respects.[40] Shows of working-class solidarity like these were at the heart of some middle-class reformers' anxiety about urban disorder. In institutions like social settlements, they offered associations of their own that implicitly countered the alliances these immigrants might form among themselves. Though settlement workers often lamented the lack of community between immigrant neighborhood residents, displays like the Haymarket funeral suggest that these people did in fact find common causes. Reformers, however, hoped to substitute common causes less threatening to their visions of social order.

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[36]Stead, 154, 265.
[37]Pacyga and Skerrett, 169.
[38]Pacyga, Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago, 126-145.
[39]Pacyga and Skerrett, 170; Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area, Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses , Ed. The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1984) 62.
[40]Pacyga and Skerrett 171. Carl Smith, Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 125.

The problems Northwestern University Settlement workers addressed in West Town mirrored those that like-minded reformers perceived across the city. Visiting Chicago in 1893—the year of both the extravagant Columbian Exposition and of a serious depression--British journalist and clergyman William Stead painted a vivid picture of the city's failure to help its poor and improve living conditions. A stranger's first impressions of Chicago, Stead asserted, were "the dirt, the danger, and the inconvenience of the streets," closely followed by "the multitude of mutilated people whom he meets on crutches." The unfortunate "mutilated" citizens were the victims of railroad accidents. Unhampered by safety requirements, tracks "cross the city at the level in every direction" endangering passers-by. To Stead, this circumstance represented the "tyranny" of the corporation over city life and the inability of civic institutions to meet the people's needs. Equally overwhelming was the number of tramps in the city who swept over it "like the frogs in the Egyptian plague."[41] Stead praised the charitable organizations that tried to counter poverty, vice, and crime, and he harshly indicted the idle rich who did nothing to contribute. He was particularly enthusiastic about Hull House, opened by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889. Equating Addams and her supporters to Christ going among the people, he advised, "What is wanted is a multiplication of Hull Houses all over the city."[42]

Indeed, Addams was not alone for long. Soon after Zeublin opened Northwestern's settlement, the University of Chicago established another that retained close ties to its parent university, embodying the school's commitment to social change. Established in 1894 by the University Christian Union's Philanthropic Committee, the settlement stood in the stock yards and meat

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[41]William T. Stead, If Christ Came to Chicago! (Chicago: Laird and Lee 1894) 188, 23-25.
[42]Stead, 412.

packing district and served a varied group who included Bohemian, Polish, Finnish and Slovakian immigrants. One way the University enacted its affiliation to the settlement was by appointing its head resident to teach in the university's department of sociology. [43] As at Northwestern, theory and practice were closely linked. These settlements, as well as Chicago Commons, drew heavily on college graduates for residents and part-time volunteers.

To students coming from rural Evanston, West Town would have been a culture shock indeed. A small town northeast of Chicago, Evanston had grown up along with Northwestern after the university board established the town in 1853. Like the university, the town was founded on staunch religious principles epitomized by its commitment to temperance. Evanston resident and Woman's Christian Temperance Union president Frances Willard observed that forty years after its founding, the town had never had a "legalized saloon or bar-room.... and the sentiment of the town is so strong in favor of prohibition that the subject of granting licenses has never yet come up in the local elections." [44] Furthermore, the university charter provided that no liquor should be sold within four miles of campus. The trustees--who owned most of the town's original land– also included a "clause in every deed of transfer, declaring a lapse of title in case intoxicants were ever vended." [45] The town of twelve thousand had fourteen churches of various Protestant denominations and one Roman Catholic church. [46]

To Willard's eyes, Evanston was a pastoral haven:

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[43]"University of Chicago Settlement 1908," pamphlet. Neighborhood Houses, Box 2: Chicago: University of Chicago Settlements, Pamphlets Collection, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
[44]Frances E. Willard, A Classic Town: The Story of Evanston By 'An Old Timer' (Chicago: Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, 1891) 167.
[45]Willard, 166.
[46]Willard, 98-142.

a quiet city that still prefers to call itself a village; kissed on one cheek by Michigan's waves, fanned from behind by prairie breezes, jeweled with happy homesteads set in waving green, and wreathed about with prairie wild flowers, a town as comely as a bride, even to strangers' eyes. The peculiar glory of the village is its trees--its long avenues bordered with wide-spreading elms and maples and grand old oaks, that stood proud sentinels over Indian wigwams in ages past. Broad streets bordered with parks and walks that run by unfenced velvet lawns, tell of freedom and peaceful security. A large fountain plays on the public square, and about a small park a block or two away are clustered three churches and a fine club house, while the stately Methodist spire is not far to seek. The college campus by the shore is still a grove of massive oaks amid which stand the noble buildings of the university. Winding along the beach, by the jaunty boat house and life-saving station, skirting the campus, runs the famous new driveway from Chicago--Sheridan Road--which, half a mile north of the college halls, passes the waterworks and lighthouse and leaves Evanston to pursue its winding way to Fort Sheridan. Count half a dozen blocks of stores, half a score of smaller churches, four spacious public school buildings and a fine high school, and fill in the rest with comfortable and often palatial homes for about twelve thousand people, and you have a faint outline of the picture which Evanstonians love.[47]

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[47]Willard,13-14.

Willard described an ideal image of a small, self-contained American town, filled with God-fearing, civic-minded people who enjoyed a vigorous intellectual and public life and lacked for little. With this scene as a reference point, the dirty streets, close quarters and multiple languages of West Town would have been foreign indeed. Educators who advocated student participation in the settlement may have had this contrast in mind, hoping to open students' eyes to social problems absent in Evanston and most likely, in the communities where they had grown up. If student reformers took pastoral Evanston as their model living environment, they set a standard no city could reach.[48]

Settlement organizers appealed to students' sense of social responsibility, their desire for self-fulfillment, and the value settlement experience held for their future lives. [49] "Upon you falls the burden of service. The gifts of the ages have been laid at your feet. Of other men's labors you have reaped the fruit, but your brother is disinherited," Head Resident and Northwestern alumnus Harry Ward told students. [50] In Ward's view, students "would never know what life is until they should see some people enjoying themselves that never did before; that the student must study the social conditions not only in the class-room but also in the slums. " [51] Ward added that this work would revive human faith in God: students should venture into the sixteenth ward "if you want to feel the divinity of man, if you want to know that God is in his heaven and that all will go well." [52] Settlement work could give students a true education and bring them closer to God at the same time.

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[48]See Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1880-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1978) on how nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban reform programs modeled themselves on a pastoral ideal.
[49]See, for example, appeals by Head Resident C. J. Tisdell and President Rogers at meeting held to raise interest in settlement, reported in The Northwestern 30 September 1892.
[50]qtd. in The Northwestern 9 March 1899.
[51]The Northwestern 17 November 1898, paraphrasing Ward.
[52]qtd. in The Northwestern 17 November 1898.

Student settlement workers could also help improve their society. To Reverend Samuel J. Smith, sociology lecturer at the University of Minnesota, the settlement was nothing less than one of God's "signs" "that there shall be a rebuilding of the modern city." Speaking at a public meeting to raise support for the venture, Smith asserted that "the American city is a vast workshop in which to fashion Anglo Saxons." The university could help meet this end by training people to work in a "human laboratory." Smith railed against schooling that seemed distant from social problems:

> If the university is to mould modern life it must do its work first hand. We are through with the nice young teachers with their immaculate ties and dainty ways, who read essays tied up with blue ribbons to a few young ladies and an occasional man. The world wants stalwart men; men who know men; men who have convictions. The diploma of your Institute will mean some day that its graduates have worked in a human laboratory that they might be able to work among men. [53]

The teachers at the settlement would be no "immaculate" and "dainty" individuals. Rather, the rough conditions of West Town themselves would instruct students in social problems and give them practice in resolving them. College students who went to Northwestern's settlement, then, could join in "fashion[ing] Anglo-Saxons" and make their own educations more useful. Unlike many who promoted the Northwestern University Settlement, Smith invoked gendered language to make his points. Women as well as men were working at the settlement, and women students were often instrumental in rallying support

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[53]Samuel J. Smith, qtd. in The Northwestern 13 October 1898.

for it on campus. Nonetheless, Smith claimed the project for American manhood.

For Smith, making immigrants into Anglo-Saxons was possible because he believed Anglo-Saxonism rested not only on physical characteristics, but also on "psychical" qualities: "A vast social capacity, a sense of individual responsibility, a love of freedom, a reverence for law, a profoundly religious instinct." [54] In this case, ethnicity rested not only in skin color, facial features, or country of origin, but in a complex set of values that urban reformers felt were crucial to creating ideal American citizens. The predominantly white, Episcopalian and Methodist young men and women who attended Northwestern University were equipped by birth to transform Chicago's Polish, German, Italian, Hebrew and Irish population into true "Anglo-Saxons." Themselves predominantly products of an "Anglo-Saxon" upbringing, they embodied the traits Smith hoped to encourage in others. Smith believed that improving individuals, one by one, was the way to eliminate "the evils of the Sixteenth Ward," a plan he called "the method of Christian activity." This strategy entailed "such a development of each individual that low thoughts and life will be impossible."[55] Smith called for the same Christian influence that YMCA leaders advocated. Personal attention and positive examples would help city dwellers elevate themselves and their surroundings. To successfully do so, however, they had first to become "Anglo-Saxon."

Like YMCA organizers at University House, Headworker Ward and others appealed to the pragmatic side of settlement work as well. The settlement could teach students about the "problem of labor" and the effects upon individuals of a social system dependent on industrialization. [56] Sociology

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[54]Smith, qtd. in The Northwestern 13 October 1898.
[55]Smith, qtd. in The Northwestern 13 October 1898.
[56]qtd. in The Northwestern 9 March 1899.

Professor Caldwell believed this work would demonstrate "that truly organized effort of society that is needed if we are to cease developing and helping to create numbers of people for whom we are obliged to work instead of with whom we are privileged to work as associates." To this end, he said, the settlement aimed to "stimulate the people of a neighborhood to organize themselves for the purpose of the enjoyment of their full rights and privilege as citizens." While teaching local people these skills, students themselves received a valuable education and "the opportunity of learning the conditions of personal social efficiency and of efficient social service." [57] For Caldwell, at least, the skills settlement work taught both city dwellers and students aimed in part at closing the class gap created by industrialization. They could also help fit students for a lifetime of service.

Settlement workers pursued varied methods of gaining student support, believing that "the success or failure of this movement lies largely in the hands of the student community."[58] Advocates tried to raise interest and money among students through holding campus meetings and offering a special student rate of one dollar to join the Northwestern University Settlement Association. College organizations including the Women's Hall and the Young Women's Christian Association joined the effort, sometimes staging "entertainments" of music, readings, and pantomime to benefit the venture.

The university also sponsored a fellowship that allowed one student to live at the settlement for a year in exchange for free tuition and a small stipend. This student helped with settlement projects and conducted research about the neighborhood. The fellow epitomized the exchange reformers promoted between students and West Towners: "To the Settlement [the fellow] would

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[57]W. Caldwell, "The Settlement Idea," The Northwestern 7 March 1901.
[58]qtd. in The Northwestern, 29 September 1893.

bring the impulse for research, the scientific methods and the culture which we here enjoy; while to the minds and hearts of the students he would bring the experience of his labor and make them acquainted with the conditions of life in that depraved district."[59]

The Northwestern fellowship had an uneven history. At first supported by the university, it became defunct when money ran out and was revived by student fundraising. When students pleaded with administrators to revive the award, they cited similar opportunities that the Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin offered at the Chicago Commons settlement. [60] Sometimes, the fellowship made the difference between a student attending school and dropping out. Chester Spies received the grant during his second year at college, and when he did not receive it again despite Headworker Harriet Vittum's efforts to win it for him, he became a salaried employee at the settlement rather than continue school without fellowship funds. [61] Outside organizations also offered occasional grants. Fittingly established by the Colonial Dames, one scholarship enabled "a young man [to] come here once a week to instruct a class of boys in US History and civil Government,"[62] an effort that, like Professor Coe's courses, attempted to teach immigrant boys basic knowledge believed essential to Americanization. Despite help from these outside sources, students and settlement workers alike continued to press the university to do its share. "When Wisconsin has done so much, Northwestern ought to do a great deal more," one supporter observed, referring to a fellowship established at the Northwestern settlement by the University of Wisconsin. [63] For at least one

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[59]The Northwestern 27 April 1899.
[60]The Northwestern 27 April 1899; 1 June 1899.
[61]Report of Head Resident for March 1911; Report of Head Resident to Council--NUS October 1911-Jan 1, 1912, Box 10: Folder: Head Residents/Quarterly Report Drafts 1911-19, NUS.
[62]Annual Report 1909, Box 1. Folder: Annual Reports, NUS.
[63]Neighbor August 1901. NU Archives. Also see Bogardus, "A History of NUS 1891-1909," 76.

student each year, the fellowship provided the opportunity to put educational theory into daily practice and become a full-time "neighbor" to the West Town residents.

However, efforts to encourage students to work at the settlement house were never quite as successful as organizers hoped. The intensity of recruitment efforts suggests reformers' concerns about student unruliness. [64] The predominantly Midwestern, Episcopalian and Methodist students did not always behave with the decorum and seriousness professors expected or express the social consciousness they hoped to see. Students at Northwestern sometimes demonstrated the same wild behavior that existed on other campuses, such as hazing and physical battles between members of the college classes. Northwestern students conducted a "cane rush " that paralleled Penn's bowl fight. The point of this game was for the sophomores to break a five-foot-long pole held by the Freshmen within thirty minutes. Although "any method of overpowering one's opponent was legitimate...it was seldom any more serious damage resulted than black eyes, broken noses, torn coats and crushed hats. " [65] If the freshmen won, they carried canes--considered a status symbol--for the rest of the school year. Perhaps to some students, this practice displayed a touching display of class spirit. President Rogers, however, thought otherwise. He banned the practice in 1891. Students briefly revived the tradition after a football game held to celebrate University Day in 1896. As a result, the school's trustees banned University Day. [66]

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[64]The Northwestern was another place where settlement supporters appealed to students. The newspaper often published favorable articles about the settlement along with please for increased involvement. Since students who worked at the settlement were often members of the newspaper staff, the connection is not surprising.
[65]Laura Foster Ullrick, "Student Life in the Later Days," in Wilde, Northwestern University: A History 1855-1905 Vol. III, 154.
[66]Ullrick, 163.

Undergraduates themselves feared that excessive play would tarnish the school's image. While they believed in college spirit, they also hoped to appear responsible. Some students worried that the school's thriving social life threatened to replace intellectual activity at the center of college life. [67] Social life at Northwestern was a continuous round of receptions, parties and dinners--activities that some students could not easily afford. Some feared that students "who can ill afford the expense necessary to one who does not care to make a hermit of themselves" might be discouraged from attending the school.[68] Not least important, the students' reputation affected public perceptions of the university and of the value of its degree. No wonder that some undergraduates were chagrined when their peers battled each other for free food at President Rogers' inaugural reception.[69] The proposal to end a ban on saloons in Evanston within four miles of the university also met strong opposition. [70] Improvements in scholastic performance, however, proved reassuring:

> The work of the college is rapidly growing better. The time is passing by when the student can hoodwink the professors and get his degree for his shrewdness. This is a welcome change and is bound to have its influence on the future of our institution. The reputation for thorough work is worth more to any school than the reputation for a large attendance. [71]

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[67]The Northwestern 11 March 1892.
[68]The Northwestern 11 March 1892.
[69]The Northwestern 20 February 1891.
[70]The Northwestern 17 March 1893, qtg. item from Notre Dame Scholastic, and 7 April 1893, noting failure of the Lyman Bill.
[71]The Northwestern 10 June 1892.

These students realized that once they left school, their own careers might well rest partly on the institutional "reputation" they forged as undergraduates.

Rambunctious spirits could hurt the school, but some kind of college spirit seemed essential to its success. Students and educators alike defined this positive "college spirit" as combining loyalty, belief in the value of knowledge, and a willingness to participate in the college community. A student with spirit should "not hesitate to exert [oneself] a little more in behalf of [Northwestern's] interests." [72] Equally important, enthusiasm for school activities helped students reach their own potential. "Something more than routine-like devotion to study and work is needed to enable a man or woman to realize the supreme end of all college life--fitness for the battle of life and for the highest possible discharge of one's duty as a human being," Professor Caldwell believed.[73] In his view, spirit encouraged the purpose of education, which was the cultivation of "something of that essential nobility of mind and generous openness of the soul to all causes and all phases of life." [74] To Caldwell, spirit was a transcendent quality akin to nineteenth-century visions of character. Achieving it could help develop students into full-fledged adults. Perhaps reflecting his school's coeducational status, Coe applied his vision of spirit to men and women alike. Unlike the predominantly masculine character that writers like Orison Swett Marden promoted, Coe's version could help women, too, achieve "the highest possible discharge of duty."

The Northwestern University Settlement, then, served many ends for college students. It could channel student spirits into useful social work, test practical solutions to urban problems, enhance the school's reputation, help foster Protestant Christianity among local people and make "Anglo-Saxons" out

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[72]The Northwestern 10 June 1892.
[73]Caldwell, "College Spirit," The Northwestern 25 May 1899.
[74]Caldwell, "College Spirit," The Northwestern 25 May 1899.

of urban immigrants. Finally, working there promised to make students themselves into socially conscious citizens.

Students who came to the settlement participated in all its projects, from neighborhood studies to teaching classes and leading daily excursions back to their own Evanston campus. Often, their contributions addressed one of the settlement's main goals: promoting an ideal home. Like other reformers, workers at Northwestern University Settlement believed that "if society is ever to be reformed, we must begin with the home, for with few exceptions, the individual is what the home makes him." [75] The home should have an "elevating influence," and it was up to the woman to provide it:

> We sometimes hear the remark, 'Well, I'm not "'fixed up," but then I'm married.' The taking of the marriage vows should not be considered a release from the duty of appearing attractive. It is then that the greater effort should be made to be happy and sympathetic. What husband, feeling that there is a cheerful home awaiting him, can stop at the saloon on his way from work or can gamble away his money at cards?[76]

To be a good wife and mother, a woman needed to be attractive. If she succeeded, her husband would stay away from the saloons and her children would learn good habits and Christian values. In her ability to attract her man lay her potential for saving him--and the family--from moral degeneracy. At Northwestern, women forged new paths as students at a coeducational school, and at the settlement, women student volunteers helped expand their public

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[75]"The Home a Social Factor," The Neighbor March 1900, NU Archives.
[76]"The Home a Social Factor," The Neighbor March 1900, NU Archives.

roles through social work. But the values they taught local people remained resolutely traditional when it came to gender identity.

The settlement planned activities that kept children off the streets and taught domestic skills. Northwestern settlers were particularly concerned with children's play. When they established the neighborhood's first playground, settlement workers joined the playground movement that took off in the 1890s. Playground advocates hoped to promote moral order by providing children with a controlled outdoor space to play. [77] Structured experiences, these reformers believed, would help shape youthful character, develop valuable skills for later life, and help control adolescent impulses. [78] Settlement workers also intervened to improve family life, often by making contributions that verged closely on the charity they meant to avoid. One woman recalled that the settlement offered distractions from the hardships she faced with her family. "There were one or two Christmases when the only presents my two brothers and I received were from the Settlement House," she recalled. "Times were bad, and everyone was poor, but children were made to forget that at the Christmas parties there." [79]

Residents of the Northwestern Settlement saw it as a model family. The Settlement's "true work" was to have "an elevating influence in the homes of those living near." The influence would show itself in making children interested "in good books [with] wholesome pictures," in learning to take care of the house and themselves, in saving money; and in teaching mothers how to make better food and clothing; and in 'inspir [ing] the young men with a desire for cleaner politics." In such uplift lay the path to "the desired condition of society." [80] The

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[77]Boyer, 242-243.
[78]Dominick Cavallo, Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981) 2-3; 88-92.
[79]Letter to Harriet Vittum from Jean Paewa Jaeger, 26 October 1947, Box 22, Folder: Harriet Vittum Correspondences, NUS. Jaegar may be referring to the 1910s.
[80]"The Home a Social Factor," The Neighbor March 1900, NU Archives.

settlement intended to exemplify these characteristics itself. Their own "family," with the resident housekeeper as "House Mother" should serve as an example to the tenement families around them:

> ...the mother spirit [of the housekeeper] must reach beyond the immediate family [of settlement residents] and must encircle the aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents who make up our neighborhood. They all come to us every day, sometimes with needs that appeal, and sometimes just asking favors that don't seem exactly necessary. They may ask the Housekeeper for a pot of coffee for a party, and then, like 'own' children, run off leaving dirty cups and disorder in the clean room which was meant to be an example of cleanliness and homeyness. Maybe the example didn't 'get in' this time--there are too many generations of a different, less domesticated sort of life back of them--but sometimes the charm will work.[81]

To settlement residents, local people were like children. Residents themselves were wise parents who set examples for them to follow and indulgently excused their lapses. The settlement set itself up as a "House of the Interpreter" to determine the needs of neighborhood people, but its workers reserved for themselves the final decision about which needs "appeal[ed]" and which were not "exactly necessary." [82] The needs they respected furthered their own vision of an orderly society.

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[81]"To the Council and Supporters of NUS," (1916), Box 1: Folder: Annual Reports of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.

[82]"House of the Interpreter" phrase from Annual Report of Head Resident 1913, Box 1: Folder: Annual Reports of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.

Protestant Christianity was an implicit theme in Northwestern University Settlement projects. The settlement was not only a model home; it was a model (Protestant) Christian home. Wholesome living, individual betterment, and human brotherhood were settlement goals that invoked Christian principles. Settlers also saw themselves as part of a divine plan to improve the world. They were doing God's work, they believed, and for that reason their efforts were blessed. Though settlement residents did not offer religious instruction, such beliefs were never far from their minds:

> The University Settlement is a living gospel. It is good news to all whom it reaches. While no Sunday School of preaching service is provided, the spirit of the work and of the Residents is the Christ-spirit of loving our neighbor as ourselves...and ministering to him.[83]

To this end, settlement workers pursued alliances with the "churches of every denomination in the ward," believing "it will take all the agencies for good now at work and many more to keep pace at all with the influences for evil."[84] The most powerful churches in the ward, however, were Catholic. When settlement workers expressed their belief that local people had lived "a different, less domesticated sort of life" before emigrating, they implicitly critiqued ethnic institutions like the Polish Catholic church.

Often, students at the settlement worked with the neighborhood's children. To the settlement's permanent residents, students were valuable role

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[83]Circular No. 4, March 1894, Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars (Published), 1891-1907, NUS.
[84]Circular No. 4, March 1894, Box 16: Folder: NUS Circulars (Published), 1891-1907, NUS.

models for local youth. In West Town's children, settlement goals seemed most likely to be achieved:

> From the miserable tenements, where life is dull grind, and family life as we know it is nil, come the boys and girls who are soon to be the citizens of Chicago. The mothers and fathers are too busy, too ignorant, and too tired to care much about being Americanized, but the children are eager for every new inspiration. They are susceptible, and will reflect just what we give them. [85]

To reformers, children had not yet been worn out by tenement life and still cared enough about life to try new things and want to be "Americanized." Because they were future "citizens," it seemed vital that this new generation absorb the values settlement workers believed necessary to good citizenship. In their work with local children, Northwestern University Settlement workers tried to teach the discipline, self-control and practical skills that they believed would prepare them to be Americans.

When Northwestern student Chester Spies came to the settlement, he was an immediate success with children and settlement residents. He was "so enthusiastic and able, so popular with the boys [;] seem[ed] to everybody just the one." Spies began a Boy Scout troop at the settlement that seemed "destined to solve the boy problem in a such neighborhoods as ours. The ideals are high, the laws well defined, and the activities so varied that every side of boy nature is developed." [86] To develop "boy nature," leaders like Spies taught boys survival

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[85]Annual Report of the Head Resident, October 1909, Box 1: Folder: Annual Reports of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.

[86]"Report of Head Resident for March 1911, " Box 10: Folder: Head Residents/Quarterly Report Drafts 1911-19, NUS .

skills like cooking and first aid, manual training, physical exercises, camping and gardening. Spies, his fellow reformers later concluded, "has demonstrated what the right spirit can do for boys. He has won each boy under his influence, and the development has been very evident." [87] When Spies' university fellowship proved unrenewable, the settlement offered him a salary to remain working there. In lieu of finishing his studies, he became head of the boys' department. When he left the settlement after more than four years, he took a job with the Boy Scouts of America.[88] He also married a fellow settlement house worker, Edna Rebeca Walters, who was housekeeper and director of the Domestic Science Department, where young girls learned "Something of food values, how and what to buy, and how to cook simple nourishing food [and] the care of person and home."[89] Taken together, Spies and Walter's work illustrate the values reformers hoped to teach local boys and girls. Young women would learn an Anglo-American view of the proper way to run a home, while boys would develop physically, learn discipline and become proficient in manual skills that could help them find work.

Bringing the Boy Scouts to the settlement disseminated middle-class notions of "boy nature." Founded in 1910, The Boy Scouts of America grew out of the projects YMCA leaders had begun for young boys as early as the 1870s. Though these groups arose in response to anxieties about middle-class boyhood, they became active among working-class boys as well.[90] Like YMCA men at University House, settlement house Boy Scout troops transplanted a middle-class

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[87]All quotations about Spies from "Report of Head Resident March 1911," Box 10, Folder: Head Residents/Quarterly Reports/Drafts 1911-19, NUS.
[88]Report of the Head Resident for Year Ending Sept. 20, 1915. Box 1: Folder Annual Report of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.
[89]Annual Report of Head Resident October 1909, Box 1: Folder Annual Report of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS. The Neighbor 28 June 1919, NU Archives.
[90]David I. MacLeod. Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

institution to a working-class neighborhood. The Boy Scouts, like the YMCA, hoped to cultivate character. In a working-class setting, however, this goal had different implications. The settlement house workers believed that such "development" could turn young boys in a wholesome direction for their future. Without it, they might fall prey to "temptations such as drove the four young murderers to the gallows." [91] To reformers, the stakes were higher among working-class boys whom they believed inhabited an environment rife with immorality, temptations, and living conditions that encouraged inhuman behavior.

Northwestern University Settlement workers did not stop at trying to provide antidotes for working-class boys' unruliness and apparent lack of character. They also hoped to discover the reasons for their behavior. With this end in mind, Northwestern student Emory S. Bogardus embarked on a study of local adolescent boys. In 1908, Bogardus moved into the Northwestern University Settlement as the school's resident fellow. During the next year, Bogardus, who had already received his Bachelor's degree from Northwestern, carried out the "Study in the Psychology of Adolescence" that became his Master's thesis. While a fellow, he organized boys aged twelve to fourteen into a league of athletic clubs that "played a series of indoor baseball games for a pennant," inspiring "much healthful rivalry." [92] Bogardus tried to spend as much time with the boys as he could, "ming[ling] freely with[them] in the clubs, on the baseball diamond, at the nickel shows, on the streets--wherever a boy could be found who was at all open to friendly conversation." [93] The boys Bogardus

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[91]Report of Head Resident Jan. 1 to April 1, 1912, Box 10, Folder: Head Residents/Quarterly Reports/Drafts 1911-19, NUS.
[92]Report of Head Resident, Oct. 1909, Box 1, Folder: Annual Reports, NUS.
[93]Bogardus, "A Study in the Psychology of Adolescence," M. A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1908-09. Student Papers, NUS.

studied came from mainly Polish, Jewish and German households.[94] As he interacted with them, he discovered the issue central to his study. Up to the age of sixteen, boys in the seventeenth ward participated "with alacrity" in settlement house activities but after that age, many "lose interest and drift away." Bogardus hoped to discover the reasons for this phenomenon.

He began his study by assuming that all these adolescent boys had the potential to develop in positive directions. Thus, he looked to their environment to determine why they broke away from family, church and settlement house. In his view, the adolescent years were a tumultuous time. Drawing on the work of psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall, Bogardus described the period as one of intense mental and physical development characterized by struggle and unrest. The sense of "discontent" intensifies after "age sixteen or seventeen" "if the inherent needs are not supplied." To Bogardus and the thinkers whose work he incorporated, young men were undergoing severe growing pains. They needed "sympathy" and to "be understood," as well as to "learn to master [their] animal impulses." In order for these needs to be fulfilled, a thorough understanding of adolescence itself was essential. [95]

Bogardus believed home, church, school and state were key to helping youth find direction. In his eyes, these institutions were failing miserably:

> The home shoves the boy in an arbitrary direction, the Church instils [sic] into his mind dogmas which have no meaning to him, the school requires of him a certain amount of routine work

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[94]Of fifty-six "active members" in the clubs Bogardus studies, "twenty-three [were] Polish; eighteen, Jews; eleven, Germans; two, Irish; one French; and one, Swede." (Bogardus, 9)
[95]Bogardus, "A Study," 14-16.

> instead of fitting him for real life, and the State in dealing with him exercises an unsympathetic if not an iron hand. [96]

Without the aid of "society's best institutions" the sixteen- to twenty-year-old youth "seeks satisfaction for his ardent energies and spontaneous interests in his own unguided and often misguided way." [97]

But why did these institutions fail? The answer, Bogardus believed, was that they were unaware of the psychology of adolescence. Lacking understanding of the tenuous, volatile nature of these years, family members, church leaders and educators could not address the problems. If they knew what Bogardus and his mentors knew, he believed they could apply this knowledge to prevent older youths from "drifting." To better serve adolescent youths, such institutions needed to understand that "physical well-being is essential to mental and moral well-being." To counter detrimental "emotions and passions," young men required "wholesome food and sunshine, plenty of sleep and of fresh air." [98] People who addressed adolescents should also employ the principle "no impression without expression." In other words, institutions should address the needs youths expressed themselves; otherwise, they would make "no impression" because youths would have no need for their ideas. Like other students of adolescence, Bogardus believed young men were re-living the "race development." [99] Invoking Hall's notion of recapitulation, Bogardus presumed that youth themselves went through an evolution that mimicked that

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[96]Bogardus, "A Study," 10.
[97]Bogardus, "A Study," 4, 11.
[98]Bogardus ," A Study," 15.
[99]Bogardus, " A Study," 23.

of the human race. Without proper training at each life stage, adolescent boys would not develop to their full capacity.[100]

However, Bogardus' study found that the institutions that could best serve these boys were not making use of this information. Home, church, school and state were either ignorant or unwilling. Chief among the problems young men faced was their tenement homes themselves:

> You notice an utter lack of sunshine and fresh air. The foulness of the air in some of the rooms is stifling beyond power of description. Ill-sanitation is everywhere noticeable. The hall-ways are thick with dirt; bath-rooms are unknown. In many houses cleanliness is a stranger and unwelcome.[101]

Such conditions hardly met the requirements for physical well-being that Bogardus and others believed essential to adolescent development. Moreover, parents themselves appeared apathetic about these youths: "His parents see nothing in him to develop; would not assist him if they could. Many of them think more of a pail of beer." [102] The exceptions only proved the rule. Where parents took "an active interest in the welfare of their children, the response, and interest in the home which the children show are remarkable."[103] Parents were not "wholly to blame," Bogardus observed. The conditions he described proved his point that the crowdedness of the home made parents happy to have their "'good-fer-nothing rascals out-of-the-way.'"

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[100]On Hall, see Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995) 90-94.
[101]Bogardus, "A Study," 23.
[102]Bogardus, "A Study," 24.
[103]Bogardus, "A Study," 24.

The ethnic church was as ineffective as the ethnic family: "The churches are magnificent pieces of architecture, but they stand in blocks of hovels. In the main, they are typical of the teachings of the Polish Catholic churches--perfect in form perhaps but furnishing little else."[104] The church encouraged only rote learning, ignoring the "spontaneous interests" of youth. Meanwhile, Bogardus implied, church leaders even encouraged immoral behavior: "the priests frequently join in when beer flows most freely--at weddings and funerals."[105] Parochial schools were equally lacking. They used outdated methods, and emphasized "the Polish rather than...the American language; instruction regarding American institutions is generally slighted."[106] Part of developing adolescents properly, Bogardus presumed, was helping them adapt to American life and customs. In his view, ethnic religious institutions could not provide the skills necessary to adapt to life in the new world. In actuality, the Catholic church was a cornerstone of the West Town neighborhood, bringing together its numerous Polish inhabitants. This type of community, however, fostered an ethnic identification that counteracted the Americanization process reformers hoped to expedite. Because it did not aim to Americanize, it failed Bogardus' standards from the start.

Yet while Bogardus indicted ethnic institutions for their inability to meet adolescent needs, he also criticized American institutions. He reserved some of his harshest words for the hypocrisy of a society that allowed tenement conditions to exist: "The sarcasm of modern civilization! Room for saloons, but not for boys. Room to destroy life, but not to develop manhood."[107] The public schools, he found, did not encourage boys' interests any more than the church,

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[104]Bogardus, "A Study," 26.
[105]Bogardus, "A Study," 26.
[106]Bogardus, "A Study," 31.
[107]Bogardus, "A Study," 30.

and did not teach them practical skills like saving money.[108] Meanwhile, adolescents became delinquents. Those who were sent to reform school became only more unruly as a result of associating "with more vile delinquents." [109] Some state institutions had the right idea: appealing "to the feeling of honor," for example, and giving boys responsibility for maintaining order among their peers were tactics that encouraged good behavior.[110] Though the state encouraged gymnasiums and playgrounds, which Bogardus believed positively influenced youth, it also permitted nickel shows, saloons and gambling. These recreations were "harmful," allowing boys to "mix with older and disreputable characters and...become regular users of intoxicants." [111] The relationship that currently existed between youth and the state, Bogardus believed, did little to teach civic duty and did not "provide proper facilities, and living conditions fit to produce sound physiques and minds."[112]

The settlement, in Bogardus' telling, provided a solution for adolescent boys. Settlement workers hoped "to give every boy something to be decent for."[113] The settlement contained the tools and the knowledge to offset the "drift" young men experienced. Until "society's best institutions" joined the settlement in addressing youths' needs more effectively, however, boys would continue to develop attitudes that turned them away from the settlement. Equally important, the Settlement taught "a different type of religion. While the subject is not mentioned, a real form of applied Christianity is presented."[114] In Bogardus' view, this subtle religion was superior to Polish Catholicism. The settlement's

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[108]Bogardus, "A Study," 30.
[109]Bogardus, "A Study," 32.
[110]Bogardus, "A Study," 32.
[111]Bogardus, "A Study," 33-35.
[112]Bogardus, "A Study," 39.
[113]Annual Report of Head Resident 1911, Box 1: Folder: Annual Report of Head Resident 1910-29, NUS.
[114]Bogardus, "A Study," 28.

"Christianity" encompassed Protestant ideas about morality, family and gender and, more importantly, took steps to teach local people how to realize those ideals. While the substance of Catholic and Protestant views about such issues might not have been that different, the settlement hoped to relocate neighborhood authority in Protestant institutions.

Bogardus himself was twenty-six when he began his study of the seventeenth ward's adolescent boys. He was well past the danger years of sixteen to twenty. But the tendencies he remarked in Chicago's youth were in many ways similar to those educators observed in youthful college students, many of whom fell into this age category. When Bogardus described "countless youths break [ing] away from their homes" and "'sow[ing] their wild oats'" he could have been discussing the unruly male college students whose character educators were so concerned with developing. As at University House, these anxieties were heightened when transported to a tenement environment. Under the influence of the unhealthy environment settlement workers perceived, young boys might become "delinquents," "criminals," or even murderers. Unresponsive to "society's vital institutions" they also became a threat to them.

Bogardus' study epitomizes the approach Northwestern University Settlement workers took toward their neighborhood. Bogardus linked settlement and university, applying his college education to his real-life West Town experiences. His study was at once scientific, Christian and humanitarian. He made West Town his "laboratory" for investigating the problem he delineated; he applied the theories of adolescence he had learned in school to the actual situations he observed; and he befriended local youth. His final conclusion was that greater knowledge about adolescence could solve the problems these youths faced. The problem with home, church, school and state was not their inability to help young men, but their unpreparedness to do so. While the Polish

churches and Jewish synagogues were not themselves inherently incapable of producing well-developed boys, in Bogardus' view they lacked the requisite intellectual framework. If properly instructed, these institutions could help these youth along the way to wholesome living. Proper instruction meant the intervention of experts--trained like the psychologists Bogardus studied, and like the student himself--to diagnose the problems of tenement living and apply the theories of adolescence to individuals. It also meant adopting a distanced scientific stance in order to solve human problems, an approach that meshed settlement workers' two-fold goals of being both Christian humanitarians and "laboratory" investigators. To resolve the problems of tenement youth, local ethnic institutions needed to remake themselves to fit this model.

Sometimes, settlement workers believed local girls and boys could benefit most by being removed from the tenement environment entirely. To this end, social workers often found jobs for working-class city girls in the country. As domestic servants, these girls lived with the families they served and returned home only infrequently. When NUS Head Resident Harriet Vittum sent eighteen-year-old Rose to work in Vittum's own hometown of Canton, Illinois in 1913, she believed she was doing the best thing for the girl and her family. [115] Vittum selected a Canton family whose members were her own life-long friends. She also knew Rose well. The settlement house had been keeping case files on Rose's family since the girl was thirteen. Her mother was unwell, and Rose helped her family by sending about two dollars from her Canton wages home each week. In Vittum's view, the job provided Rose with a unique opportunity, removed her from dirt, vice, and crime, and let her assist her family from afar. In

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[115]Northwestern University Settlement Case Files, Box 2, Folder One, Case 685., NUS. All following information about Rose, and quotations from letters, comes from this source. Case Files must remain anonymous; Rose is not the young woman's real name.

this instance, it seemed, the settlement's desire to create stable home environments was best served by separating family members.

For Rose, life in Canton was not always the unmixed blessing that Vittum imagined. The correspondence between the headworker and the young woman reveals their different and sometimes conflicting perspectives. The two wrote frequently while Rose stayed in Canton, a period of more than a year. Rose also wrote to her family and sent occasional presents. Vittum, in turn, sent Rose news of her family, along with a picture of the girl's sister. She also tried to reassure the young woman that she was doing the best thing by living more than 150 miles from home: "There is no work in Chicago for anybody, and girls just like you are hanging around the street corners without work and without money to buy clothes or food. You do not know how lucky you are. I wish I had such a place as Mrs. R's home for all the girls who need it. " Rose, in turn, fluctuated between assuring "Miss V" that she was "getting to like it better and better every week" and expressing homesickness. She wanted Miss Vittum to visit her and she inquired anxiously after her mother. At the same time, she proudly told "Miss V" how "fat" she was becoming, a change that meant she was more healthy than she had been at home.

Life in the country was not always easy for Rose. When her employer wrote to Vittum, she told the headworker she was pleased with Rose's progress: "I believe I've gained a little ground. Her room shows great improvement, her care of herself is much better, and her work is very satisfactory. If I can keep her ambition stirred up I think she is capable of learning to be able to command very good wages." At the same time, "Mrs. R" continued to fear that Rose was "easily influenced," and commented that she would not be certain that the young woman would return to Canton after her week's vacation in Chicago until she saw her again. Relations between employer and employee were sometimes less

than smooth. Sometime after this vacation, Rose wrote to her brother and told him she was coming home, despite apparent opposition from her mother, "because I can't stand it out here anymore they just scold me for everything and Mrs. R gets a spell sometimes and she won't even talk to me so I guess I won't stay any longer."

Rose's correspondence to her family was not private. Whether it was because they needed help reading her mail, or because they wanted to keep the settlement informed of her progress, Rose's family members brought her letters to Harriet Vittum to read. Rose was aware of this, since Vittum's letters to her often referred to those the girl had written to her own mother, sister or brother. Rose's distressed letter to her brother received an immediate response from Vittum, who rallied all the moral, emotional and practical tools at her disposal to convince Rose not to leave Canton. Vittum told the young woman she would be squandering "all the chance you have been given to live a good, healthy, happy life" and "disappoint[ing] all of your friends, and worst of all, your mother." She informed her bluntly that " before long you will have no mother [because of illness]. If you are the kind of girl I think you are, you are going to stay where she wants you to stay, and send her every cent of money that you can spare to make her life easier the little while she has to live." Because of Rose's restlessness, the family's summer plans had been ruined:

> We were making plans to send her and [your sister] to some nice place in the country, where she could get stronger and have plenty to eat. You know she doesn't always have enough at home. Mr. Spies was going to take the boys to his camp, and everybody was very happy.

> And then your letter came, spoiling all the plans and making your mother feel that there was no chance for happiness for her at all.

In Vittum's view, Rose had a responsibility to herself and her family to remain in Canton and try to make the most of the opportunity to work and look after herself.

Furthermore, Vittum reminded her, "There are many girls who would be glad of the nice home you are having, with so many good things to eat and that great big, beautiful country all around you, an automobile to ride in, all the animals to love and to pet, and flowers everywhere." In case these appeals to Rose's sense of duty and appreciation were not enough, Vittum concluded with a harsh promise of the consequences Rose could face on her return:

> If you should give up all of these nice things and come back to this dirty old part of Chicago and stay out nights as you were doing and spend your time the way some of the girls spend theirs, there is only thing that we can do, and that is to take you to the Juvenile Court. And I am sure Judge B-- would be pretty severe to a girl who would do what you say you are going to do. Now don't come home until you have thought it over very carefully and decide which is the nicer place--the R-- farm near Canton or the place Miss B would have to send you.
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> Be a woman, [Rose,] and prove to your mother that you appreciate all her hard work, and her suffering.

Vittum signed this letter, "your friend," but in it she clearly crossed the lines between friend and social worker-turned-authority figure. Her admonitions

reminded Rose that being in the country was not necessarily her own choice—at least, not unless she viewed the choice between country and juvenile home as one worth making.

Rose was in the country not only to train for future domestic work and help support her family. Vittum also helped to prevent her from becoming sexually active. When Vittum reminded Rose of how she used to stay out late and mentioned how "some of the girls spend" their time, she obliquely referred to sexual behavior. Whether these other girls were prostitutes or merely what settlement workers and others considered "loose" women, they represented the brand of immorality that reformers hoped to suppress. At worst, they feared a girl like Rose could end up like "Maggie Darling" a prostitute whom William Stead reported meeting in his 1893 tour of Chicago. Born in Boston, Maggie moved to California with her family where she began her working career in a shoe factory, did well there, learned to read, and became a companion to an elderly woman. After that, she served as a chambermaid in San Francisco. She had "all the charming audacity and confidence of inexperience" and fell in love with an older man who used promises of marriage to lure her into bed. Maggie became pregnant, and though the child died, she had no recourse but to become a prostitute. Kind friends helped her out of her predicament, but just when she had finally overcome her past, it came back to haunt her. She had a domestic job in California where "gradually the memory of her past life...was becoming faint and dim" when her employers invited to dinner a man who had patronized the brothel where Maggie once worked. Maggie admitted to her past, hoping for clemency, but her employer resolutely cast her out: "'I have nothing against you, but I cannot have a person of your character in my house. . . . I cannot have a —in my house." Once lost, a woman's moral character, defined by sexual purity, was impossible to regain. Maggie became a prostitute once again and felt "'It is no

use. No use, never any more. I have taken dope, I drink. I'm lost. I'm only a ---. I shall never be anything else."[116] The image of Maggie underlay reformers' concerns about working-class female sexuality. Reformers saw the loss of female virtue as a first step in a cycle of moral decay that encompassed the prostitutes themselves, the madams who housed them, the pimps who sold them, the police whose corruption allowed the brothels to exist, and, of course, the men who left their own families to visit them.

Perhaps with an image like Maggie's in her mind, Vittum discouraged Rose from answering letters from a male admirer from her Chicago neighborhood: "That boy who keeps writing to you has lost his job, and he isn't a very good friend of yours and if I were you I would tell him not to bother to write anymore." A young man without a job could not be a "good friend" to a girl like Rose because he could offer her no form of support or security. If she should get pregnant, he could not support her and might well leave her in the kind of plight Maggie had experienced. An unemployed man and a sexually loose girl would do little to make West Town into the stable and controlled neighborhood settlement workers envisioned. When Vittum told Rose to "be a woman," she called on her to eschew sexual behavior and adopt a cloak of passionless female morality.

Rose did eventually return to Chicago. After that, the settlement records cease to mention her. Her story shows the tension between neighborhood residents' ideas about home and family and those promoted by settlement house workers. Certainly, Rose's mother supported her daughter's job in the country. Perhaps for her, her daughter's wages and absence made life easier in a household with little money or food. If she realized she would not live long, Rose's mother might well have hoped to give her daughter another way to

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[116]Stead, 49-54.

support herself after her death. Whether or not she agreed with Vittum's interpretation of Rose's desire to return home is impossible to tell. In Vittum's view, breaking up a family was worthwhile if temporary separation would help make one member into "a fine woman." In Canton, Rose--like boys and girls that settlers sent to summer camp--occupied a pastoral, confined environment where those around her had ample opportunity to "influence" her. Ironically, in the open spaces of the country Rose experienced more intense surveillance than in the close, crowded city. Vittum believed that if separated from negative home influences, Rose could become a model worker "able to command very good wages." If her sojourn in the country proved successful, Rose could be smoothly integrated into the work force, removing another threat to social order from the West Town streets.

Like Rose's mother, other West Town residents approached the settlement for help. When they wrote to the head resident asking for help, or when they came to the door to ask for work, food, or a loan, they attempted to use the settlement to their own advantage. Some local people asked for help in upholding living standards in the neighborhood. Occasionally, people approached the settlement to report a neighbor's unsavory actions. One woman "complains that both Mr. and Mrs. X drink to excess and lead immoral lives. The children are neglected and allowed to run loose. Miss Y thinks that they are frequently spectators of immoral practice, says that all neighbors are indignant."[117] In these situations, residents and settlers reinforced each others' goals. For local people, the settlement provided recourse when a neighbor became dangerous or annoying.

Others sought out the settlement for assistance with their family situations when they could not intervene themselves. One young man wrote to Vittum

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[117]Case Files, Box One, Folder One. May 29, 1916, NUS.

while he was serving in the army in World War I, telling her how his blind mother and responsible brother and sister were being exploited by two brothers who did not work:

> Now I wish you would go to my home in Chicago and make them work and see that they keep on working or put em where they belong. . . . Now my mother is too good hearted for em. She keep on waiting day in and out and saying maybe they will go to work tomorrow. But if some action is not taken they never will and it is my plea to make em I know you can do it cause you helped us before. I don't like to see my sister and brother supporting them all the while they are able to do it themselves.

Vittum said she would send a visitor to try to encourage the two brothers to work and promised to write the enlisted man with news of his family.[118] The settlement provided this young man with a go-between in a family dispute. The man also used it to protect his own financial interests by preventing his brothers from getting the money he sent home.

When Northwestern University Settlement workers intervened in their neighbors' lives, they did so sometimes at their request, and sometimes on the basis of their own investigations. They addressed tangible problems: the poor condition of local housing, uneven job opportunities, the paucity of choices available to young women and men. Their solutions to these difficulties were based on their own conceptions of the proper way to run a home, attend church, or train young people. Students from Northwestern were emissaries between the settlement and local people. Themselves products of a middle-class Protestant

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[118]Case Files, Box One, Folder Two, NUS.

upbringing, students brought their own values with them when they traveled from Evanston to West Town. The settlement gave them a place to carry out first-hand observations of city conditions they studied in school. At the same time, Northwestern students connected the university to its society. By making themselves part of contemporary movements for change, students showed that schooling was indispensable to social betterment. They also helped Northwestern come to terms with its own changing direction. As a research institution, the University seemed uniquely equipped to carry out social investigations and experiment with solutions to urban problems. As a Protestant school, Northwestern also retained a humanitarian outlook that permeated its approach to settlement work.

When students went to the settlement "laboratory," their roles of researchers and observers threatened to recreate the very social distance settlement workers sought to breach. By emphasizing its Christian approach and sense of shared humanity, the settlement workers countered this tendency. Thus, a student could be, like Emory Bogardus, both researcher and friend, observer and participant. That, at least, was the settlement's ideal. As situations like Rose's demonstrate, however, the balance of power between reformers and the working class was unequal. With professional agencies as well as juvenile courts on their side, settlement workers had the ammunition to enact their views of right living. The research university, like the YMCA and the College Settlements Association, encountered these contradictions as it sent its students into the Chicago slum to "influence the surrounding community *as members of it*."[119]

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[119]Circular No. One (March 1892), Box 16, Folder: NUS Circulars 1891-1907, NUS.

CHAPTER SIX:

THE LEGACIES OF THE STUDENT REFORM MOVEMENT

Between 1880 and 1914, college students added social service to their growing catalogue of extracurricular activities. The women and men at Denison House, University House and the Northwestern University Settlement were not alone in this endeavor. Students at Johns Hopkins worked in city missions. Wellesley's Christian Association taught classes for college maids in gymnastics, dancing, sewing, elocution, singing, English and English literature. Through their YMCA, students at Cornell held religious meetings in the city jail, taught local Sunday Schools, and attempted to start clubs for the boys who lived in "the slums of Ithaca."[1] Women at Goucher College volunteered at the College Settlements Association (CSA) settlement house in Baltimore, and Harvard students ran an extension school offering classes and lectures for Cambridge's working men. Not all student service efforts existed on as large a scale as the University of Pennsylvania's settlement house. Often, students participated in existing city charities, missions or settlements. Whatever the scale of their work, students were widespread in social reform efforts during these years, a noticeable presence despite their relative silence in the historical record.

Students active in social reform work contributed to several important cultural shifts. They helped redefine the source of personal identity in terms of

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[1]"Mid-Winter Report of the Christian Association of Cornell University 1902-1903," YMCA Student Work Files, Box 16, Folder: NY: Cornell University, Ithaca. YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota.

their relationships with other people, particularly the community outside the college. In the process, they challenged prevalent ideas about student elitism. In their own lives, they put these experiences to work to counter their feelings of restlessness, disconnectedness, and drift. Their actions allowed administrators and educators to redefine the college or university as a major force for addressing the social problems caused by industrialization. This role for educational institutions grew as social service became institutionalized on college campuses through permanent service organizations and as the link between youth and college responsibility became reflexive in the public discourse.

College student reformers also reconstituted the American middle class in these years. Female and male students who joined social reform efforts tested their own gender identities, but they also reaffirmed central aspects of middle-class identity. Not least important, they continued a long tradition of middle-class benevolence, and, by practicing service under the auspices of the college or university, helped give it a home in another social institution. At the same time, they contributed to the professionalization and legitimization of social service. By institutionalizing the solutions to social problems, professionalization created a new niche for middle-class workers.

This chapter will explore these legacies of the student service movement. While the numbers of students who participated were not always great, and certainly not the majority advocates hoped for, their work had important ideological and tangible consequences that helped shape later twentieth-century attitudes toward youth, class and poverty.

The rhetoric that reformers used to propel students into social service expressed a new image of young people as idealistic and socially responsible. The movement to involve students in reform created an apparent affinity between young people and social consciousness. Service was to be a rite of

passage that would help young people develop to their full potential as American citizens. In many ways, this view of youth marked a departure from earlier visions. Young people had participated in earlier reform movements such as abolition and the Civil War antidraft movement. [2] But until the Progressive Era, they had not been singled out by older educators and reformers as particularly qualified for such work.

By identifying college-aged men and women as a group with special characteristics that could be used to better society, student service advocates also promoted a youth culture based on social responsibility. This community-minded youth culture was to be a counterforce to the enclosed, self-sufficient world of the college campus. Service advocates also popularized the idea of youth culture itself by positing a group of young people who would be linked by common activities, aptitudes and desires. Historians, however, have not generally applied the term "youth culture" to young people before the 1920s. Paula Fass has richly documented the college youth world of that decade. In her view, the "problem of youth" in the twenties was different because these young women and men were children of the middle class, whereas in previous decades, youth unrest was a problem of "outsiders...children of the ghetto and the slum."[3] In the '20s, she contends, young people from privileged backgrounds suddenly became a social problem as their life styles and attitudes appeared to threaten their elders' notions of order, particularly in terms of sexual expression. As Fass herself suggests, however, young women and men did not threaten the political order. Rather, they were predominantly apathetic about political and social issues. [4] Their main strategy was a defiant new image characterized by personal

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[2]Philip G. Altbach, Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997) 13.
[3]Paula Fass, The Damned and The Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's (NY: Oxford, 1977) 14.
[4]Fass, 330-331.

choice in cultural matters. They sought to distinguish themselves from older generations through their dress, activities, attitudes toward sexuality and their embrace of personal freedom. In this rebellion, they were legatees of the rambunctious campus culture that flourished late in the nineteenth century. The '20s were not the first time older generations had expressed concern with youthful pleasures and lamented the apparent directionless of youth. The educator-reformers who debated the merits of football, pondered the legitimacy of educating women, and found the answer in student service addressed similar concerns in previous decades.

The promotion of student service on college campuses between 1880 and 1914 came from a variety of sources--religious idealism and anxiety about secularism, urban reformers' responses to poverty, and young people's own uncertainty about the direction their lives should take. But in part, the student service movement marked an effort to both define a youth culture based on social idealism and to respond to a contemporaneous college culture that set students apart from the outside world and fostered directionlessness and "drift." In this way, the youth of the earlier period fit Fass's own definition of youth as "not simply a physical or biological fact. It is a cultural expression of social relationships and a product of a specific set of historical conditions."[5] The term "youth culture" today implies a national phenomenon, dominated by media treatment and propelled by mass consumption trends. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these social forces were not, of course, nearly as powerful as they are today. Nonetheless, the impulse toward defining a distinct culture centered on age emerged in these years. The impulse was galvanized by anxiety about the situation of college youth and by perceptions of the "outsider" youths Fass describes. The creation of a middle-class youth culture that would

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[5]Fass, 6.

address social problems in the Progressive Era was an ingenious method with which American reformers hoped to combat two problems at once: the dangers posed by working-class youth and the potential directionlessness of their own middle-class children.

The culture they promoted was defined in terms of social and economic class. In their approach to working-class boys and girls, reformers, including college students, sought to address the gap between their own life experiences and those of working-class children. In their perception, the working-class experience appeared not only different, but inferior. As with the promotion of leisure activities by Denison House students, student-reformers cultivated a youth experience that was distinctly middle-class. Besides advocating experiences likely to be out of reach for many working-class young people, these efforts also presumed a middle-class reference point for defining youth experience. Youth culture emerged as a class-based phenomenon. Reformers who hoped to add social idealism to this culture furthered this process by making exchange between social classes a central part of the process of self-definition for college youth.

Late nineteenth-century reformer-educators helped create college-aged women and men as a distinct category. By defining them as sympathetic, talented, and socially conscious, they gave them a special place in American reform movements. They also suggested that promoting social service among these students was one way of helping them reform themselves. As students developed their social conscience, they would realize their full potential as human beings and as citizens. This program went beyond the desire to help young people find direction and fulfill themselves, however. Training students to do service was an important way of maintaining social order. Constructing an instinct for altruism was one important strategy in this effort.

In later years, students converted the altruism instinct into political action. In so doing, they built on the foundation of community-oriented self-definition laid by the Progressive Era generation. The differences between the Progressive Era's socially conscious students and the socially active youth of the 1930s helps clarify the meaning of social service to college youth. These two groups of young people expressed vastly different impulses, despite their shared sense of social responsibility. The actions of these Progressive-Era publicly minded students reflected the ambivalence of their time and of other Progressive reforms. In the end, they sought to better society, but not to change it fundamentally. Student activists who challenged university and national policies sporadically in the 1920s and vociferously in the 1930s built on the foundation of community-mindedness left by these earlier students, but shared little else with them. To their elders, these later generations may have appeared as a reincarnation of the rambunctious impulses they feared.

When scholarship on Progressive-era youth discusses student service work, it portrays these efforts as a seedbed for later radicalism.[6] However, little evidence exists to suggest such an evolution from social consciousness to radicalism, other than in the general orientation toward public affairs that such work suggests. The student activism that emerged full-fledged in the student protests of the '30s was directed at reshaping social institutions themselves. In the hedonistic student culture of the 1920s, these efforts made few waves.

On the whole, the predominantly middle-class college student culture in the 1920s mirrored the excesses of its wider society.[7] During these years, student life was dominated by fraternities and sororities whose selection processes made social acceptance appear vital to success at college. Paula Fass

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[6] Altbach, 21.

[7] Robert Cohen, When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement 1929-1941 (New York: Oxford, 1993) xiv, 5, 9, 11. Fass, 168-221; 260-326.

argues that as schools became larger, peer acceptance was no longer nearly automatic. Consequently, standards for acceptance emerged that included students' involvement in different organizations and "conformity to peer attitudes and styles." [8] In an era when conformity was the rule, any rebellion that did occur was against adult-determined norms of dress and sexual behavior.[9] Though the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (later the League for Industrial Democracy) had been founded in 1905 and remained active through the 1920s, it drew few supporters. Other '20s organizations like the National Student Federation of America, the Young Communist League, and the Young People's Socialist League marked a step toward the political consciousness of the '30s, but remained isolated and without national impact. [10]

As Robert Cohen describes it, student consciousness about the wider world was not galvanized until the early 1930s, when the Depression had begun to take a toll on middle-class Americans. Before 1932, most collegians acknowledged the national economic crisis, if at all, by integrating it into their regular round of activities. Students at the University of Kansas, for example, held a Hobo Day to raise spirit at a football pep rally.[11] Gradually, political consciousness grew. Radical students remained a fringe group, but as members of the National Student League and other organizations, they galvanized other students to become involved in labor protests, anti-war activism and to protest college policies such as tuition hikes or censorship of student publications.[12] Cohen sees this political consciousness as growing out of a more radically

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[8]Fass, 145-147.
[9]Cohen, 14-15.
[10]This is how Altbach describes these groups, 19-21. In When the Old Left Was Young, Cohen dismisses them, pretty much, saying that '30s is first instance of a mass national student movement. In that definition, the two agree, as Altbach does not see those '30s efforts as being "national" in scope. However, Cohen does not give that much credit to '20s radical groups as a foundation for those of the 1930s.
[11]Cohen, 7.
[12]Cohen, 34-40.

inclined sector of the student population: lower-income students who grew up in Eastern European immigrant communities in New York City amidst traditions of radicalism and communalism. These students, he argues, brought a different worldview to campus organizing.[13] Thus, student radicalization in the 1930s stemmed partly from changes in the student body itself. The students who sparked more radical action and political thought were a group largely underrepresented in the 1920s or in the Progressive Era. The alternative worldviews present among children of East European immigrants did not exist among the predominantly middle-class, native-born college students who staffed the YMCAs and student settlement houses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The college students who worked for university extension programs, volunteered at city missions or reading rooms, and contributed to settlement house work did not seek to change the basic structure of their society. In this way, their goals were sometimes at odds with their older mentors who encouraged them in these efforts. Many of the women residents and supporters of Denison House, for example, championed the labor movement, expressing a desire to address class conflict and workplace injustice. Student work at Denison House, however, represented more conservative goals. At the Northwestern University Settlement, students were part of a settlement house that helped pioneer the sociological analysis that became standard at settlements and in professional social work. The men of the YMCA made no pretenses at changing social hierarchies. Though they hoped to better conditions among the poor and to

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[13]Cohen, 24-28. He says "The political implications of living in the U. S. while still thinking at least partially in European terms could be quite radical because it facilitated a certain critical detachment from the American social order, and an awareness of alternative systems of political thought and organization." (28)

improve understanding between members of different socioeconomic groups, their tactics aimed more at ensuring their own social position.

Certainly, there is no reason to assume young people should have made eliminating class distinctions a major goal. But realizing that they did not suggests the significance of student involvement in social service efforts in the Progressive Era. Students in service reflected the profound contradictions of this era's reform efforts. Believing that the environment was more to blame for social problems than the individual, they sought to improve living conditions in America's cities. Espousing principles of common humanity, they set forth to learn about life in urban slums. Yet the means they employed to establish common ground with local people--from singing college songs, to paying home visits, to carrying out behavioral studies--also re-created the distance between them. Because their work presumed the rightness of their own paradigm for change, their efforts at betterment contained elements of social control. Equally important, the practice of student service in these years, and the rhetoric reformer-educators used to promote it--helped create a new identity for young people. This new definition of youth included a sense of social responsibility. Social responsibility had long been a purview of America's middle class, but to have middle-class young people specifically designated as both obligated and especially fit to address social problems was something new. This shift had lasting effects for the students who performed such service, for the institutions that supported it, and for the ways in which the American middle class defined itself during these years.

Social service was a coming-of-age experience for young people. Through it, they engaged in a process of class recognition that allowed them to locate themselves and others in the social order. Participating in a common cause also gave them a sense of group consciousness. Because of their shared backgrounds,

this group consciousness also translated to a middle-class consciousness. Part of this common identity involved identifying themselves as the solution to the social problems that reformers believed threatened American social stability.

The Progressive Era students who enacted the service ideal both challenged and reaffirmed aspects of middle-class identity. They challenged conceptions of gender identity for themselves and thus broadened the scope of acceptable middle-class identities for men and women. But their sense of mission and group consciousness was profoundly class-based. Motivated in part by personal concerns about their status as educated individuals in their society, they adopted a program that was often profoundly conservative. The service programs they worked with did little to challenge conventional definitions of gender roles for working-class people or to reconcile the gap between their privileged student experiences and working-class lives. After graduation, student service workers often made either service or philanthropy central to their lives. Those who chose service-oriented careers contributed to the professionalization of social work in the early twentieth century and helped codify class boundaries.

During the early twentieth century, student service became institutionalized within colleges and universities. Extension schools and university-sponsored settlement houses, among other initiatives, had already begun to give universities a central place in social reform.[14] But after the turn of the century, some colleges and universities gradually began creating the organizations that would make student service a permanent part of academia. Yale's Dwight Hall, established to house the YMCA in the 1880s, later became the school's umbrella organization for service.[15] Radcliffe created the Radcliffe Guild

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[14]Steven J. Diner, A City and its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
[15]Intercollegian January 1887.

in 1911, which united the Christian Association, the Emmanuel Club and the College Settlement Chapter. The goal, its founders observed, was to express "the serious side of college life" and to create "greater strength" through "unity."[16] And at Harvard, Phillips Brooks House opened in 1900, housing the Christian Association. By 1905 the association had incorporated the school's Social Service Committee, which included these projects: "Attending juvenile court, acting as volunteer probation officers , visiting home libraries for Children's Aid Society of Boston...coaching in fencing, boxing, basketball, football and baseball at South End House, North Bennett Industrial School....teaching and management of boys' clubs at the Prospect Union and East End Christian Union, Cambridge; and Ellis Memorial, Italian Mission, South End House, Social Service House, Emmanuel House, Ruggles St. Neighborhood House."[17] Not all schools had such unifying organizations. At many institutions, smaller, disparate associations provided entry into student community work. But the growing presence of these organizations shows that student altruism went from being a spontaneous venture to being permanently organized and institutionalized. Between 1880 and 1914, social service found a permanent place in the college extracurriculum. In this way, student service on campus formed a part of the Progressive trend toward systematization, bureaucratization and professionalization.

In the lives they chose after college, students continued their commitment to service. Their pursuits as students proved as important to their futures as to the people they had aimed to help. For young people who felt adrift in a changing industrial world, service provided one anchor to the "reality" Vida Scudder and others sought.[18] The choices they made after they left college

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[16]"Editorial," Radcliffe Magazine April 1911.
[17]Phillips Brooks House Annual Report, 1905-06. Harvard Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
[18]On the notion of "drift" and the quest for reality, see T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," In Lears

suggest that service affected their personal lives and shaped their identities as middle-class American women and men.

The majority of college students who became involved in social reform initiatives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries entered service-oriented careers after graduating. They became teachers, doctors, or ministers, and they went to work for local or national service organizations such as the YMCA or the Boy Scouts. Those women who married and did not pursue careers generally remained very involved in philanthropic or charity work. Men who pursued business or other non-service jobs also became committed civic leaders.[19] University House alumnus Bruce Byall, for example, became head of his family's jewelry business, but he had also worked for the Philadelphia Children's Bureau and served as secretary of the Pennsylvania Conference for Social Welfare. For these young people, college social service experiences had lasting effects on their personal choices and opportunities, whether or not they pursued careers in the field.

Young men who had been active in college YMCAs often chose a career within the national organization. Participation in Christian Association programs, whether campus missionizing or service work--could be the stepping

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and Richard W. Fox, eds., The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History 1880-1980 (New York: Pantheon, 1983) 3-38; also Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994 (Pantheon, 1981)) 3-38.

[19]Tracing students who worked in settlement houses is difficult to do. Many remain nameless in the historical record. The assertions in this chapter about their post-college careers is based on the students whom I was able to identify and trace at Radcliffe, Wellesley, the University of Pennsylvania and Northwestern . If anything, the high number of service-oriented post-college careers is probably lower in my data than in actuality, since many students who participated in service can not be traced. Here, I define service to include teaching and medicine. My data is as follows: At Wellesley, I was able to trace 21 students. Of these, 17 pursued service-oriented careers or volunteer work. At Radcliffe, eight of eleven were active in service. At Northwestern, seven of thirteen were active in service. At the University of Pennsylvania, ten of twenty were active in service. At the Harvard Prospect Union, five of seven students traced chose service-oriented careers. Overall, then, 47 of 72 students whom I could identify and trace pursued service careers, broadly defined to include clergy, missionary work, teaching, medicine and social or reform work.

stone to a lifetime post in the association. [20] College graduates became secretaries of college chapters, administrators of YMCA programs in the U. S., and missionaries in the organization's many foreign outposts. Of the Christian Association (CA) students who worked at University House, many became doctors, which was not surprising, given that the CA's most committed members came from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Some chose to become medical missionaries working in India.[21] There, they staffed YMCA-affiliated hospitals or medical schools or institutions affiliated with other U. S. hospitals and universities. University House founder Josiah McCracken became a surgeon in Shanghai, served as President of the University Medical School in Canton, the Christian Association's China affiliate, and eventually was dean of a medical school in China. Like many YMCA members, McCracken worked for relief efforts in World War I, serving as the Director of the Junior Red Cross for China. [22] Numerous YMCA graduates expressed their missionary impulses in the YMCA's Student Volunteer Movement. These students went abroad to teach and proselytize and often organized new YMCA branches overseas.

The central goal of "the foreign work" was to convert young men in other countries and encourage them to become leaders of their own Christian Associations: "The missionaries believe that if the young men of those countries can be charged with the missionary spirit which is the crowning characteristic of the YMCA, they will effect a greater work in the evangelization of their people than foreigners alone can ever accomplish."[23] A Mr. Hambleton, Macalester Class of 1889, wrote from Chile that four boys in his school had begun "a little society

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[20]Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

[21]Alumni Records, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

[22]1917 Alumni Catalogue ,University of Pennsylvania; Alumni Records; Box 4, Folder 45, Christian Association Records, University of Pennsylvania. University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

[23]Luther D. Wishard,"Significance of Our Foreign Work" Foreign Mail May 1895.

for prayer and Bible study," and if by coincidence, named themselves "sociedad de Jovenes Christianos" (or YMCA). To Hambleton, this spontaneous choice of name indicated "plainly the guiding of the spirit." Among Hambleton's tasks in Chile was the conversion of Catholics. Unlike that of University House members, Hambleton's critique of Catholicism was not subtle. He counted as one of his successes a series of discussions with a "devout Catholic boy" who, following study of the gospels, "has become a thorough Christian." In their forays abroad, YMCA members clearly indicated who did and did not conform to their definitions of Christianity.[24]

When they entered "the great white harvest fields of heathendom," YMCA-trained college graduates had a definite agenda for Protestant conversion that expressed a religious imperialism less explicitly stated in their work in American cities. [25] The "evangelization of the world" meant nothing less than gently bending to their will the people of countries like India, China, and Brazil, using Protestant methods infused with practical business skill. Although their enterprise was trans-national, efforts at evangelization mirrored the imperialism of the United States in the 1890s.

YMCA college graduates joined a male reform complex similar to the "female dominion" that characterized female Progressive reform efforts.[26] An international organization, the YMCA operated like a spiritual business. The Association trained recruits in college, grooming them for missionary or leadership positions. The vastness of the YMCA international network assured college students that they would find a permanent place in the organization if they chose. In the YMCA, young Protestant men could get paid for proselytizing

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[24]"The First College Association in South America," Foreign Mail 1893, YMCA Archives.
[25]"Farewell Address of Mr. Raymond J. Davis," (Bucknell student) Foreign Mail December 1894, YMCA Archives.
[26]Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform 1890-1935 (New York: Oxford, 1991).

and practicing their religious beliefs. To be sure, such work was not always easy. Missionary recruits sometimes left the field for more settled lives. If they did so, the Y could offer them domestic positions as local field secretaries. Men in these jobs represented the YMCA to colleges within a particular region. YMCA graduates who preferred missionizing in a familiar environment could also find work as general secretaries of college associations.

Although women and men students performed similar reform activities, social assumptions about sex differences gave different meanings to their work. Women experimented with nineteenth-century middle-class notions of women as nurturers, spiritual leaders, and moral mothers. They extended these roles into new territory both literally and figuratively by carving career paths in poor city neighborhoods.[27] However, women's social service work in the late nineteenth century was in tension with that of men. YMCA visions of a strong, sympathetic manhood appropriated aspects of the female role, as if to counter the strong female presence in social reform. When YMCA men created a world without women where they nurtured manhood among working-class boys, they implied that women were irrelevant to their social project. YMCA men also employed strategies that shored up their dominant socio-economic position. Women, on the other hand, occasionally tested the social system through strategies like labor organizing. [28] Ultimately, however, women reformers reaffirmed the middle-class values of home, manners and morals that defined them. Reform work by college students, then, was more than a battle for the souls of the reformed or the

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[27]On the ways women test and reaffirm traditional roles see Maureen Fastenau, " Maternal Government: The Social Settlement Houses and the Politicization of Woman's Sphere, 1889-1920. " Ph.D. Diss, Duke, 1982; Regina Kunzel, Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work 1890-1945. New Haven: Yale, 1993; Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion.

[28]Susan Traverso describes Denison House women's role in the various Massachusetts labor disputes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "A Watch Upon the Road Going Down to Jericho': Denison House, 1892-1903," MA Thesis, University of Wisconsin--Madison, 1989.

re-making of the reformers. It was also an arena in which men and women disputed, expanded and sometimes merged traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity as they forged usable gender identities for themselves. [29]

Women college graduates who had performed social service work generally maintained their commitment to service in later life. Those who married preserved their civic-minded worldviews through volunteer or philanthropic activity. Others became teachers or joined the growing field of professional social service. In these choices, they simultaneously tested and reaffirmed notions of female identity. Women who worked in service fields expanded traditional notions of woman's sphere by adopting an activist stance in an alien environment. At the same time, however, they perpetuated notions of maternalism by becoming mothers to the poor. [30] Professional women reformers created a network that was extremely influential in the Progressive Era and on into the New Deal. To do so they developed alternative professional networks to the male routes closed to them.[31] Elite women often funded professional women's initiatives, as with Lillian Wald's Henry Street Nurses' Settlement in

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[29]Joyce Antler observes that women in late nineteenth became oriented toward service, and found their identity "not from preoccupation with self or learning in the abstract...but through the experience of relating to the social world around them." "The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminine Identity 1890-1920. " Ph. D. Diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1977, 72.

[30]In "Maternal Government," Fastenau describes these women's attempts at creating a "maternal government," celebrating their efforts and suggesting that it was too bad that their woman-centered vision did not win out. In Creating A Female Dominion in American Reform 1890-1935 Robyn Muncy offers a more complicated interpretation of the tension between traditional roles and new venues, pointing out that female identity and the notion of a common culture remained central to female reform, and that such efforts were also handicapped because the unity these women found depended on an opposition to their working-class "sisters." Also see Elizabeth Palmer Hutcheson Carrell, Reflections in A Mirror: The Progressive Woman and the Settlement Experience. Ph. D. Diss, University of Texas at Austin, 1981, on the creation of female reform communities with distinct values that challenged "male-dominated culture." See Joyce Antler, "The Educated Woman and Professionalization. "

[31]Muncy, xiii, xvi-xvii.

New York City.[32] Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century female reformers were instrumental in Progressive reforms that included establishing the Children's Bureau. They were equally active in the growing profession of social work. Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, for example, were central to developing the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration. Julia Lathrop became the head of the Children's Bureau, while Florence Kelley led the National Consumer's League. These leaders made a new space for women in national politics and in a burgeoning new profession. Even so, they remained restricted by their gender and class identities. In their efforts to establish the "female dominion," many of these professional women formed interpretations of social problems that blamed their "nonprofessional sisters" and resulted in policies that restricted less privileged women. [33]

Although the college women who had worked at Denison House did not all become nationally prominent like Lathrop, Kelley, and others, their own lives expressed similar tensions between old and new conceptions of female identity. Many women chose traditional paths. After they married and become mothers, they maintained their commitment to community activities. Jane Williams, Wellesley '94, taught for a few years, then married, had a son, and volunteered at the Public Heath Nursing Association and Free Kindergarten Board in her area. She also retained other college interests, belonging to "several literary clubs and a dramatic club." Winnifred Augsburg, Wellesley '95, married and was remembered as "a valuable citizen as a member of the active Women's Club, the College Club and the Drama Club. She and her husband were invaluable to the Episcopal Church and tireless workers. She had a rare capacity for making friends among the rich and the poor alike."[34] Certainly, Augsburg might have

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[32]Muncy, 9, 36. 19-20.
[33]Muncy , xv.
[34]Wellesley College Biographical Files, Wellesley College Archives, Wellesley, MA.

developed that "rare capacity" during her forays to Denison House as an actor. Augsburg played Beth in a performance of "Little Women" by which it was "hard to tell which [was] more delighted--the neighbors or the girls. "[35] Later in her life, Augsburg became a social worker at the Connecticut State Farm for Women. [36] Sarah Yerxa was a regular worker at Denison House as a Radcliffe student. After graduation, she remained closely connected to her alma mater, serving on the residence halls committee and as a trustee. She pursued graduate work at Radcliffe, and informally mentored the school's graduate students. For Yerxa, the school that had given her "an interest in young college students and a deeper understanding of world affairs," became the object of her philanthropic efforts. [37] Women like Augsburg, Williams and Yerxa perpetuated a long tradition of middle-class married women's reform activism and benevolence.[38] Augsburg deviated from this path when she became a full-time social worker. Her decision demonstrates the link between the new field of social work and expanding career options for college-educated women.

Many female graduates became teachers, a profession common among those who had worked in social reform and those who had not. Their attitude toward teaching suggests they viewed it more as a foregone conclusion than a true choice. Often, teaching was only a stop-gap measure along the path to marriage. Wellesley graduates' descriptions of their teaching careers express a sense of self-deprecatory resignation: "My story is similar to that of many another

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[35]Thursday Feb. 18, Denison House Daybook 1893-94, Folder 75, Denison House Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge MA.
[36]Wellesley College Biographical Files.
[37]Radcliffe College Biographical Files; Class of 1894 Fiftieth Reunion Book 1944. Radcliffe College Archives, Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, MA.
[38]See, for example, Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States (New Haven: Yale, 1990); Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, NY 1822-1872(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History. (Chicago/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

'92 girl, and it can be told in very few words," wrote Annie M. Coulter '94. "Last year I was at home in Clinton, Mass., spending my time in various ways....Since last September I have been in Auburn, R. I., teaching a variety of subjects in the Cranston High School....I will not take any more space, but leave it for those who have something more interesting to tell." [39] Others, however, enjoyed their pursuits: Alice Walbridge Dansfield "lived and worked among boys for a year and a half," and found them "very interesting and decidedly original, and unexpected specimens of human nature." [40] Former Denison House worker Mary C. Tracy, Wellesley '94, taught mathematics for nearly thirty years after graduation, and described her interests as "'global,' the problems of the world and their solutions." The sense of social responsibility she might have gained through settlement work became a permanent part of her worldview. Still other graduates continued teaching evening classes at Denison House, entertaining, or giving occasional lectures. [41]

Other college women turned to settlement work. Helen Worthington Gauss, an associate head worker at Denison House for five years, made settlement work her career. As headworker at an Omaha settlement, Gauss started a Folk Arts Society and was known as the "'Lady of the Melting Pot.'"[42] Mary Gove Smith of Smith College came to Denison House as a Fellow in 1904 to study the "Italian Colony," and remained for more than ten years, eventually heading the House's Italian Department. [43] Wellesley graduate Florence Converse, Vida Scudder's life-long companion, lived at Denison House for five years not long after her 1893 graduation, where she "carried on my own writing

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[39]Epistolae, Class of '92, 1894. Wellesley College Archives, Wellesley, MA.
[40]Epistolae, Class of '92. No evidence that Dansfield and Coulter worked at Denison House.
[41]Radcliffe Magazine, December 1900; March 1902.
[42]Radcliffe College Biographical Files. (Not clear if Gauss '01 worked at Denison House as a student also.)
[43]Denison House Executive Committee Meeting Minutes 1901-06, Folder 17, Denison House Papers (DHP); Annual Reports, Folder 58+, DHP.

and editorial work...but also taught an evening class of working girls, and assisted at the entertainments held in the House." [44] Bertha Scripture organized evening classes at Denison House soon after graduating Radcliffe in 1897 and lived there for several years. She also taught at various schools in the Boston area, and remained active in many volunteer organizations and in the town of Lincoln's League of Women Voters. Scripture retained close ties to the Radcliffe chapter of the CSA, serving as graduate elector and recruiting students to work at the settlement. She too, never married, but maintained a life-long commitment to social activism: "I am a member of about all the Peace Societies and various other more or less so-called Radical organizations and have worked for getting signatures to petition for our entrance into the League of Nations and the World Court, for the Abolition of War, etc." [45]

At least one feminist activist found inspiration at Denison House, expressing the settlement's more radical ideals. Maud May Wood Park was a dedicated suffragist and first president of the League of Women Voters. An 1898 Radcliffe graduate, Park lived at Denison House from 1904-05. Though in the minority of suffrage supporters at Radcliffe--only two students in her seventy-two person class favored the amendment--she tried to win her classmates to the suffrage cause. After graduation she worked for the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and helped organize College Equal Suffrage League chapters at campuses across the country. When the League of Women Voters was founded in 1919, she became its president. Her career illustrates the professional connections and paths that emerged from or overlapped with settlement house work. [46] In her personal life, Park also followed an alternative

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[44]Wellesley College Biographical Files, Wellesley College Archives.
[45]Biographical files, Radcliffe College Archives, Cambridge, MA.
[46]Here, drawing on Muncy's notion of these networks. Information on Park from Sharon Hartman Strom, Maud Park entry in Notable American Women, the Modern Period, and from Radcliffe Archives Biographical Files. 519-522.

path. Widowed in 1904, she never had children. In 1908, she married again, but lived separately from her husband and never made the marriage public. Their careers kept them in different cities.[47] In her unconventional marriage, she challenged the precepts of nineteenth-century images of home and family as much as did women who remained unmarried or found alternative communities in settlement houses or Boston marriages. It is not surprising that she wrote "yes" in an answer to a thirtieth-reunion questionnaire's query about whether a woman could simultaneously be married and pursue a career. She was more skeptical about pursuing a career while having children.[48] As for many of her cohort, her own experiences demonstrated the possibilities and limitations of life for an educated woman in the early twentieth century.

Other students integrated their settlement experiences into the growing field of university sociology or the new profession of social work. Northwestern student Emory Bogardus, who conducted several neighborhood studies while a fellow at the university settlement, later said his experiences were useful both practically and philosophically. He founded the sociology department and School of Social Work at the University of Southern California, and years after his tenure as fellow wrote Headworker Harriet Vittum to thank her for an experience that "helped me to chose[sic] a profession, gave me a greatly broadened viewpoint of life, and deepened my interest in human nature and public welfare alike. It afforded training for citizenship which can be secured in no other way."[49] For Bogardus, at least, working at the Northwestern Settlement had achieved exactly what its founders intended. As a student, he had been groomed to carry out scientific analysis among the poor. In the process he

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[47]Maud Park entry in Notable American Women, the Modern Period.
[48]1928 Questionnaire, Maude May Wood (Park) file, Radcliffe College Archives.
[49]Emory Bogardus to Harriet Vittum, Correspondence 1910-35 Folder, Box 6, Northwestern University Settlement Papers, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

became committed to public welfare, making it part of his definition of citizenship. He also adopted a sociological perspective that mirrored the settlement's approach to the working people of Chicago.

Bogardus later credited the settlement with developing his understanding of city conditions and the need for Americanization. He distinguished between "true Americanization," and the "melting-pot" approach. While the latter subsumed immigrants' own identities, "True Americanization. . . invites the immigrant to give himself, as Native Americans [white, Anglo-Saxon citizens born in the U. S.] are expected to do, to improve the quality of American standards, and at the same time, to retain his identity, in fact to grow into a more socialized personality."[50] Contact between "natives and immigrants" was essential to "assimilation." "Native," "average" Americans should help relieve immigrants from the problems of disease, sickness, poverty and prejudice. In this way, he asserted "we can best advance the cause of American democracy." To that end, "Native Americans must set the highest examples of unselfish public service." [51] Here, Bogardus neatly restated the formula of exchange between the working class and the reformers that drove settlement workers in earlier decades. In his text, he called for others to do exactly what he had done fifteen years earlier as a settlement house fellow.

Another Northwestern fellow expressed a similar sense of gratitude. R. C. Jacobson told Vittum that the fellowship taught him about the world, giving a perspective he lacked during his youth on an Illinois farm. Before he came to college and the settlement, he said, " I had been a good unsophisticated Sunday School sort of a boy. I knew little about the world (outside of the baseball world)

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[50]Emory S. Bogardus, Essentials of Americanization (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1923) 18. Bogardus does not mean Indians by Native Americans; he is talking about the predominantly white Anglo-Saxon population born in the United States.
[51]Bogardus, 22-23.

and I had had very little vocational guidance." The Fellowship helped him find a vocation "working with folks," and taught him "'heaps about life.' I learned how human folks are, how interesting, how appreciative, how responsive, and how helpful." He credited the settlement with helping avoid the cynicism "all too common among social workers."[52] In this graduate's telling, working at Northwestern University Settlement had yielded exactly what educator-reformers promised students would gain: a broader sense of life, a shared sense of humanity--and a job.

Students who did social service in college also helped create the new profession of social work. Their contributions to service gave it a permanent place in colleges and universities. Although university sociologists and professional social workers often advocated different strategies, the link between service and education propelled some reformers to seek more specialized preparation for their work. [53] The New York School of Philanthropy and the Boston School for Social Workers opened in 1904. Others followed in St. Louis, Philadelphia and Chicago. Two were connected with universities; the others grew out of the charity organization movement. [54] Thus, educational institutions joined with advocates of scientific charity to legitimize a new profession.

The field began to form professional associations--a process begun as early as 1879 with the National Conference on Charities and Corrections (NCCC), and culminating with the American Association of Social Workers in 1921. Social workers focused on casework, which supplied the authority necessary for social

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[52]R. C. Jacobson to Harriet Vittum 6 October 1922, Correspondence 1910-35 Folder, Box 6, Northwestern University Settlement Papers.
[53]On the difference in the two approaches see Martin Bulmer, "The Social Survey Movement and Early Twentieth-Century Sociological Methodology," in Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds. Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) 21-29.
[54]Muncy, 67-68.

work to validate itself as a profession.[55] Settlement houses often resisted professionalization, believing its tenets to be at odds with their original goals. Gradually, they too gave in to the trend, to the dismay of movement leaders like Vida Scudder. In 1905 settlement leaders began to work more closely with the charity organization movement. In that year, the two movements merged their journals, and, in an important gesture of unity, Jane Addams became president of the NCCC. [56] In 1911, settlement leaders formed their own professional group, the National Federation of Settlements. Soon more settlement workers had social work degrees, and gradually residence grew less common as settlements became community centers. [57] The profession of social work offered a new middle-class career directed at addressing the problems created by the class gap in American society. In addressing the inequities of social class, social workers as well as professional reformers forged themselves a permanent niche in the middle class.

Service work, then, provided both male and female graduates with post-college work in which they continued to define themselves in terms of their relations to other people and to broad social problems. The exchange between middle-class students and working-class people was a central part of this experience. For these students, part of the coming-of-age process at college meant learning to identify themselves in relation to--and often in opposition to--people from different backgrounds. In the process, they created a youth culture based on a sense of social responsibility that left its legacy in the community-mindedness that characterized later generations of college youth.

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[55]Michael Katz, In The Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America (NY: Basic Books, 1986) 164-66; Kunzel, 39-43.
[56]Katz, 160.
[57]Judith Ann Trolander charts these tensions and changes in settlement houses in Professionalization and Social Change: From The Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers 1886 to the Present (NY: Columbia University Press, 1987).

EPILOGUE: SAME TUNE, DIFFERENT TIMES

March, 1998: professors across the United States complain that college students have become "'classroom terrorists.'" Undergraduates talk in class, they swear at professors, and they harass them over the telephone.[1] In response to unease about student misbehavior, universities have instituted task forces on the issue and professors have begun include common-sense behavioral standards on their syllabi: "'This class is...too large for chit-chat, please do not.. . . Everyone who registers for this class is an adult. You are legally able to marry without parental consent, buy a home, pay taxes, vote, work. . . You should also be adult enough not to disturb others. Mindless talking during class is immature, inconsiderate behavior.'"[2] Gerald Amada, author of Coping With the Disruptive College Student observes that today, though "traditionally regarded as safe and hospitable havens for young students, the typical...college no longer stands apart from the stresses and violent social upheavals that take place in the society outside its hallowed walls." [3] Amada acknowledges historical precedents for student disorder, but believes that today's "recurrent and sometimes virulent forms of student misconduct" are unmatched.[4]

Those who observe contemporary student behavior cite various explanations for current forms of unrest. Many believe that students have grown

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[1] Alison Schneider, "Insubordination and Intimidation Signal the End of Decorum in Many Classrooms," The Chronicle of Higher Education 27 March 1998, A12-14. Gerald Amada, Coping With the Disruptive College Student: A Practical Model (Asheville, NC: College Administration Publications, Inc., 1994) 1-5.
[2] qtd. in Schneider, A12.
[3] Amada, 1.
[4] Amada, 2.

increasingly practical and no longer care about learning for itself. They see themselves as consumers who have the right to control the classes they have paid to take. University of Massachusetts administrator Mary Deane Sorcinelli suggests that the literal distance between professors and students in lecture halls of more than 300 make students feel cut off and justified in their incivility.[5] Conservative columnist George Will thinks students receive an inadequate education in high school and come to college unprepared for its challenges.[6] Others, like Amada, attribute student attitudes to broader social causes such as "dysfunctional" families, drugs, "economic privation" and exposure to "wanton violence in the media."[7] Still others believe the problem is overstated: Kathy M. Franklin of the University of Arkansas points out, "'Historically, what's happening today isn't unusual.'"[8]

Franklin has a point. Indeed, not only perceptions of unrest seem historically familiar; attempts to explain and ameliorate them do as well. Certainly, Amada's prescriptions for treating student misbehavior might equally well have been directed at nineteenth-century educators disturbed over food riots or book burnings, or at 1930s or '60s professors who watched students become politically active and question school policies with campus protests and sit-ins. Today's manifestation of student classroom unrest may be a new variation on the theme. But discussions about present-day student attitudes share several themes with anxieties voiced at the end of the nineteenth century. Then as now, student unrest formed part of a broader discourse about the content and purpose of higher education in the United States and the best ways to train students for citizenship.

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[5]all information from Schneider, A12-14.
[6]George Will, "Disorder in the Schools,"" Newsweek 13 April 1998.
[7]Amada, 3.
[8]qtd in Schneider, A13.

When late-nineteenth-century educators tried to address students' aimlessness, isolation and incivility, they believed their solutions would also prove means to national salvation. If trained to be ideal citizens, young people could put America back on the right track. The student service movement emerged as a tool to shape students' sense of civic responsibility and address broader social problems. Today, similar themes run through discussions of student unrest and once again, social consciousness is posed as both a solution and as proof that young people are less disaffected than many perceive.

The image of present-day young people as socially conscious stands in stark contrast to a competing view of youth as aimless drifters. The idea that young people today are apathetic members of "Generation X" who would rather watch TV, take drugs and get piercings than read, think, or cultivate a social conscience has become commonplace. Building on Allan Bloom's The Closing of the American Mind (1987), many social critics and educators have lamented college students' lack of a moral center. Bloom tied youthful apathy to modern educational methods. In his view, the modern university's acceptance of "openness" has failed to encourage students to develop a common "vision of the public good." As a result, "relativism has extinguished the real motive of education, the search for a good life, "leading students to become complacent and individualistic, unmoved by serious social issues. [9] Bloom's vision has inspired a decade of debate about whether academics should return to more values-oriented teaching and over the place of multicultural studies in such a curriculum. In a counterattack, Lawrence Levine has answered Bloom and his followers by arguing that a golden age of education never existed, that social fragmentation has been part of the nation since its beginnings, and that the

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[9] Allan Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987) 25-28, 34,82-88.

educational "openness" conservatives criticize is a positive force that leads to deeper cultural understanding. [10]

As pressing as critiques of educational content, however, are present-day views of the connection between national moral decay and college student attitudes. Many perceive "meaninglessness" on contemporary campuses, a parallel to late nineteenth-century "drift." Academics William Willimon and Thomas Naylor assert that college education offers no moral groundwork to make students feel connected to their society. In their view, educators have abandoned "the moral, character-related aspects of education," and made "the widespread but...erroneous assumption...that it is possible to have a college or a university without having an opinion of what sort of people ought to be produced by that institution." Consequently, college students are prone to "substance abuse, indolence, and excessive careerism."[11] In his study of present-day student consciousness, Paul Rogat Loeb seeks to explain many students' apolitical stance. He attributes political apathy to students' experience coming of age in the Reagan-Bush years "under the sway of political, cultural, and economic currents that convinced citizens in general to seek personal well-being over a common social good."[12]

To counteract student apathy and disorder, social critics and educators believe young people must be taught a sense of "common social good." Willimon and Naylor believe institutional restructuring is essential to this process: undergraduate schools should be separated from university research programs, sports should be de-emphasized, and the curriculum should include a

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[10]Lawrence W. Levine, The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).
[11]William H. Willimon and Thomas H. Naylor, The Abandoned Generation: Rethinking Higher Education (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995) 14-18.
[12]Paul Rogat Loeb, Generation At the Crossroads: Apathy and Action on the American Campus (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

"Search for Meaning" course that would "integrate the spiritual, intellectual, emotional, and physiological dimensions of life."[13] Colleges and universities must "recover a sense of themselves as intellectual and moral communities dedicated to the mutual pursuit of knowledge and character." [14] How different is this perspective from late nineteenth-century discussions of character training? Today's educators have abandoned their predecessors' discussion of ideal manhood and womanhood as a basis for citizenship, but they express an equivalent desire for moral teaching and community consciousness.

Many laud contemporary volunteerism as one antidote to perceived apathy and malaise. In recent years, student community service has risen to record highs at many colleges and universities.[15] More than sixty percent of students on some campuses have engaged in service projects ranging from tutoring children to fixing houses.[16] Attendance at meetings of Campus Opportunity Outreach League, a national student service group, has risen steadily, drawing between 1500 and 2000 students annually. [17] The Catholic University and Georgetown began service dormitories whose residents pledge to do volunteer work and discuss it weekly with their housemates. Many other institutions have made "service learning" part of the curriculum, incorporating volunteer projects into course requirements. In a sociology course at Drexel, students compile a profile of West Philadelphia residents and use their information to develop programs to help "at-risk youth."[18] At San Francisco State University in 1997, fifty courses included community service. The school's

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[13]Willimon and Naylor, 99-107, 130.
[14]Willimon and Naylor, 162.
[15]Loeb, 231-247.
[16]Diana J. Schaub, "Generation X Is OK (Part II)," The American Enterprise Jan./Feb. 1998, 43; Brooke A. Masters, "The Call to the Community," The Washington Post Education Review, 31 October 1993, 8.
[17]Loeb, 233.
[18]Masters, 8.

initiative was funded partly by a state university grant of $850,000.[19] Administrators and faculty often encourage these developments; several years ago, about 400 college presidents established a "Campus Compact" to promote campus service.[20]

President Clinton has been another vocal advocate for youth community service. The National and Community Service Trust Act passed in 1993 supports community volunteer initiatives, and the AmeriCorps program established in 1993 provides students with money for college tuition in exchange for service work. At his 1997 Summit for America's Future in Philadelphia, Clinton called on young people to help form a "more perfect union" through "citizen service":

> Young people above all...have the time, the energy and the idealism for this kind of citizen service. Before they have their own families, the young can make a unique contribution to the family of America. In doing so, they can acquire the habit of service and get a deeper understanding of what it really means to be a citizen.[21]

In Clinton's calculation, 90 million Americans were already "citizen volunteers," and 50,000 had participated in AmeriCorps. [22] Service, he said, was the key to resolving the problems caused by crime, poverty, drug abuse and "dysfunctional environments." Most importantly, citizen volunteers would benefit "millions of our children [who] are being left behind."[23] "Big citizenship" would help renew

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[19]Ben Gose, "Many Colleges Move to Link Courses With Volunteerism," The Chronicle of Higher Education 14 November, 1997, 45-46.
[20]Masters, 8.
[21]Bill Clinton, "Remarks at the Opening Ceremony for the Presidents' Summit for America's Future in Philadelphia, April 28, 1997," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Vol. 33, 5 May 1997 (Washington D.C.: Office of Federal Register, 1997) 609.
[22]Clinton, "Remarks," 609.
[23]Clinton, "Remarks," 608.

America, Clinton promised. [24] To that end, "Commitment to community should be an ethic that our children learn as early as possible, so that they carry it with them throughout their lives. " One way to do this, he said, was to make service part of high school and middle school curricula. [25]

Today, student service proponents have new allies in local, state and national government officials, despite the resistance to "big government" that is a major part of contemporary political debates. Although conservative politicians oppose federal funds for service initiatives like President Clinton's AmeriCorps program, college service has become part of a national agenda.[26] With "big citizenship," Clinton promises national change without "big government." Progressive era student reformers helped expand the federal government's social welfare responsibilities when they moved into public life. Present-day voluntarism advocates have reversed that tendency, hoping to use service initiatives to make individuals, not government, responsible for social change.

If President Clinton were to sit down to lunch with modern-day educators and the ghosts of Vida Scudder, Henry Wade Rogers and Josiah McCracken, they might all agree about the reasons for promoting student voluntarism. Clinton's reasons echo those of these earlier reformers, professors and religious leaders. He argues that students have unique qualities that suit them for the work; that service will develop their sense of ethics and social responsibility; and that voluntarism will forge a stronger, more unified America. Schools provide a logical and vital tool in encouraging this social ethic, and should take action to make it part of everyday college life.[27] Pioneering Progressive-Era sociology

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[24]Clinton, "The President's Radio Address, July 26, 1997," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Vol.. 33, 4 August 1997 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Federal Register, 1997) 1131.
[25]Clinton, "Radio Address," 1131.
[26]Jennifer Shecter, "After a Bruising Fight, AmeriCorps Ponders Future," The Chronicle of Higher Education 24 May 1996, A25.
[27]Clinton, "Radio Address," 1131.

courses began to incorporate settlement work as a tool for student research papers; today's service learning courses take the practice a step farther by making the service experience itself the subject of research. Such classes typically require students to analyze their own social action to determine its meaning for them and for the community. Today, social responsibility itself has become the subject for study.

Like AmeriCorps and service learning, Teach for America has heightened the national profile of student service. The program epitomizes the motivations for student service and also its challenges. Founded in 1990, Teach for America recruits young women and men just out of college to teach in poor urban or rural school systems. The recruits take a crash summer course in teaching and then begin a two-year job in their assigned school, bypassing traditional certification requirements. About 500 college graduates, most from elite schools, enroll in the program each year. Of these, the numbers who finish the full two years has been rising, and about 55 percent of the very first group are still teachers.[28]

Once in the classroom, many new teachers get a culture shock when they come from backgrounds far different from those of the children they encounter. They find classrooms that lack adequate books and other supplies and schools with bars on the window and paved play areas instead of fields. The children they teach might have emotional or discipline problems or might be so poor they do not have enough clothing to wear to school. These young teachers bring with them ideals about education that often clash with the difficulties they face in practice. They try to inspire their students with intellectual enthusiasm, but they also try to teach them manners and good behavior.[29]

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[28]Tim Larimer, "Reach Out and Teach Someone," 14 February 1993, The Washington Post Magazine, 9-27. Rachel Shteir, "Teach for America: Learning the Hard Way," The New York Times, 7 January 1996, IVA: 26.
[29]Larimer, 9-27.

The program has many supporters, but it has been criticized for failing to train new teachers adequately, not giving them enough support, and supplanting certified teachers who might be better qualified to do the job. [30] Education professor Linda Darling Hammond criticizes the program for recruiting only for the short term, arguing that this policy cheats at "'risk'" children. [31] Teach for America supporters, though, say it allows people who want to teach to do so without negotiating the bureaucracy, job hunt stress and red tape of the educational system. Furthermore, one recruit says, "'It's the greatest education you'll ever have.'"[32] Like this Teach for America member, college students who do community service assert it allows them to "'give something back' to society," to find out more about themselves while helping others, and to learn about life experiences very different from their own. [33] Sometimes they combine their social consciousness with political action. But the community service movement is often divided over whether to fight for broader political changes or to continue to focus on immediate needs. [34]

Young women venturing into settlement house neighborhoods to teach local children might find much in common with today's community service volunteers. Like their Progressive-era counterparts, today's students often enter a world largely unfamiliar to them. They face the challenge of making their own experiences useful to the less privileged people they meet without adopting a paternalistic pose that imposes their own frame of reference on an "underclass." They, too, are part of a larger movement that seeks to teach young people social responsibility and make them part of the answer to perceived social problems of poverty, poor education and class and racial divisions. Like Amy Brooks, Bill

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[30]Shteir, 26-47.
[31]Shteir, 32.
[32]qtd. in Shteir, 47.
[33]Larimer, 9-27; Loeb, 231-47.
[34]Loeb, 234-239.

Remington and Emory Bogardus, they receive an "education" in the process of providing one.

Of course, parallels between social movements nearly one hundred years apart can be difficult to sustain. To suggest similarities between today's student voluntarism and that of the Progressive Era is not to deny the differences. College students today come from backgrounds far more diverse in terms of race, class and ethnicity than their mostly middle- and upper-class Anglo-Saxon predecessors, a development that no doubt affects the perspectives they bring to their volunteer work. Explicit discussions of gender appear absent from modern-day discussions about service. And, although proponents of service make a case for its usefulness, they are less vociferous in explaining exactly why students are qualified to do this work. Volunteers in earlier generations have already done that work for them. Today's debates focus more on the forms community service should take. Meanwhile, questions of citizenship, educational merit and personal usefulness resonate now as they did a century ago, while education itself remains a hallmark of privilege.

The conditions that give rise to today's push for student service closely resemble to those of the past. In the confluence of anxiety about youth, fear of national decline, and controversy over education, motivations for modern-day service echo Progressive-era initiatives. These similarities illustrate that student service is a product of distinct social forces that make it appear part of the answer to broader national problems like poverty, racial and ethnic division and an elusive sense of community. Service advocates today propose that making young people socially responsible will help rejuvenate the moral conscience of the nation. They promise that service will address the fears about young people's character and the debates over the university's social role that permeate contemporary public discourse. Social service counters stereotypes of an

apathetic, apolitical Generation X, and fostering community-mindedness supplies the cure for indolent, self-oriented youth.

Late-nineteenth-century white middle-class reformers rallied students to service partly out from fears of unchecked immigration and its effect on national identity. Today, their anxieties find a parallel in an outcry over multiculturalism, movements to make English the national language, backlash against affirmative action, and laws to restrict the rights of migrants and aliens working in the United States. To understand the way these issues play into contemporary service would require analyzing the class, religious, racial and ethnic backgrounds of its practitioners. Only then could we understand the social implications of modern-day student service and fully comprehend the legacy of its forerunners who staffed settlement houses a century earlier. As in the Progressive Era, the impulse to serve remains far more complex than its spokespersons acknowledge, rooted in intense and often unspoken feelings about the connections between race, gender, class and national identity.

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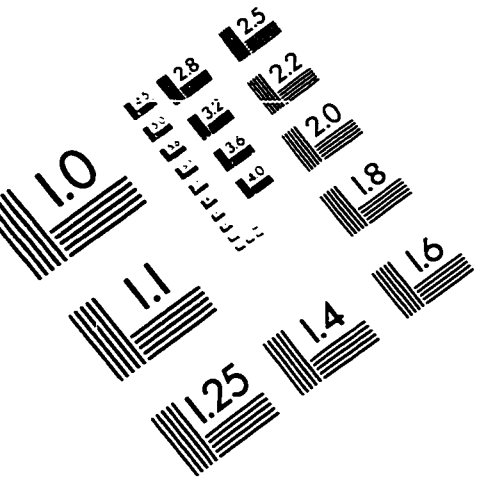

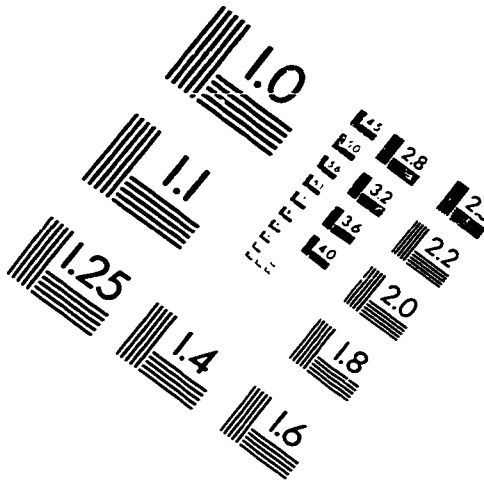

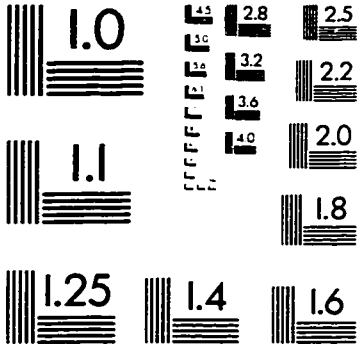

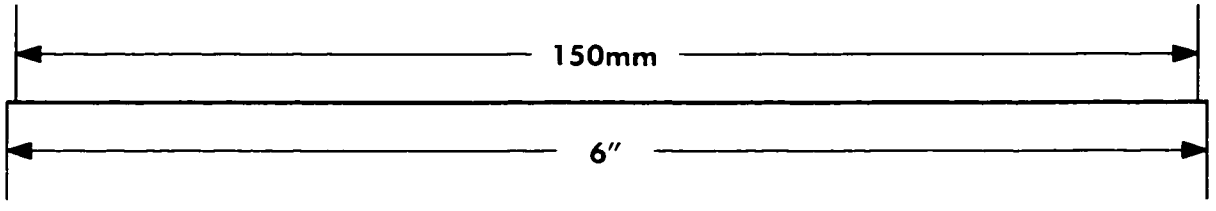

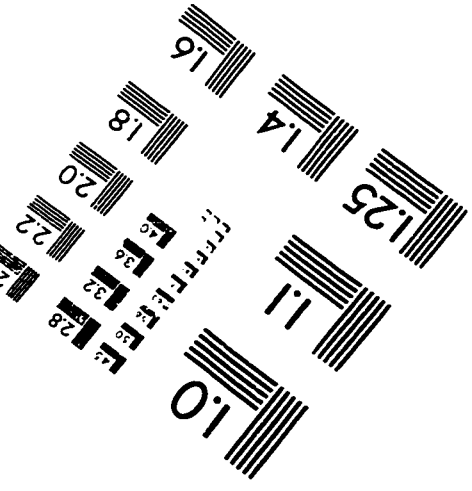

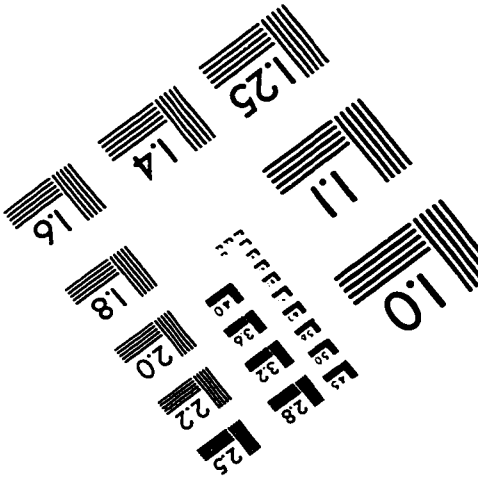

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